**WINNIE**

**TIMED TRANSCRIPT OF THE CUT DOWN TRT 84.10**

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| V/O Phil Donahue  *Pre-title sequence* | 00:00:25  00:00:51 | 00:00:38  00:00:58 | Ladies and Gentlemen, I am pleased to present – one of the women in the struggle in South Africa who stood not behind their men but for many years in front of them while their husbands were in prison.  And I ask you to share our excitement in enjoying the company of Mrs Winnie Mandela.  **MIXED WITH MUSIC: ALICE COLTRANE** |
| *TITLE*  *DATE* | 00:00:53  00:01:11 | 00:01:03  00:01:14 | **TITLE: WINNIE**  **1964** |
| *ARCHIVE* | 00:01:11  00:01:21  00:01:33 | 00:01:20  00:01:33  00:01:41 | ROBIN DAY: “ At the back entrance to the Pretoria court large crowds gather to watch the accused being driven away to start their Life sentences.  PANORAMA PRESENTER: “MANDELA and seven fellow prisoners, accused with him of sabotage, were all condemned to life imprisonment after a trial that lasted 8 months  Robin Day: The Government has crushed a plot to overthrow the South African Government by sabotage and revolution with Communist assistance. |
|  | 00:01:41  00:01:46 | 00:01:46  00:01:54 | ROBIN DAY: “ MRS MANDELA what are your feelings today, after the life sentence passed on your husband?  Winnie Mandela: Well I am slightly relieved, it could have been far worse than this – in fact my people and I expected death sentences for all the accused. |
| WINNIE | 00:01:54  00:02:08 | 00:02:08  00:02:38 | It was actually scary to visualize the future- we were all caught up in that war of Liberation. Self no longer mattered. The country came first.  When they were incarcerated … on hindsight, they actually looked after our leaders, because from then on the violence we witnessed in the country was untold and one doesn’t know what would have happened to the leadership if they were out there with us- we were the cannon fodder- we were the foot soldiers and we were vulnerable  We were exposed to the viciousness of apartheid. |
| WINNIE | 00:02:54  00:03:07 | 00:03:03  00:03:22 | When they were incarcerated, on Robben Island- we were allowed one visit  in six months-  – we hardly actually knew each other.  We married in June 1958  – It’s like, it happened yesterday |
| WINNIE  SEE PONDOLAND | 00:03:28  00:03:33  00:03:45  00:03:59  00:04:12  00:04:23  00:04:38 | 00:03:33  00:03:38  00:03:52  00:04:09  00:04:21  00:04:33  00:04:46 | I was just a young girl. I just qualified as a social worker  And he asked me to help them raise funds for the Treason Trial.  We oscillated towards each other and that was IT - we were great lovers!  He was banned and confined to Johannesburg so he had to get permission to travel to my rural home- where we got married.  I came from a family of 11  My father was a school Principal - he had a tremendous influence on me.  He would tell us about our ancestors fighting for their land, because these people had come to grab our country.  That is probably what made Winnie to be who she is today |
| *BRAII SCENE*  Anne Marie  Du Preez | 00:05:03  00:05:34  00:05:49  00:06:04 | 00:05:33  00:05:45  00:06:04  00:06:09 | Winnie threw her entire weight into the struggle,  In every conceivable way, Winnie worked for the ANC.  Of course that made her a huge target for the South African Security Police, who hadn’t expected that, they were quite surprised initially, and then the Head of the Security Police, General van den Berg said, ‘we will destroy this woman’. They understood that they had to destroy Winnie if they wanted to destroy the struggle.  And of course, as soon as they focused on Winnie, entered the inevitable barrage of  informers and spies.  She was betrayed time and again by people that she trusted, who inserted themselves into her life, she, very often, ended up arrestedand shocked that people would do that.  These, very often were trained people and were paid, to share whatever they got to know. |
| *TITLE DATE* | 00:06:11 | 00:06:14 | **1969** |
| Winnie | 00:06:13 | 00:06:33 | When I was taken  the house was swarming with the Security Branch. All white !  (see photo of girls) – I remember Zeni clinging on my skirt and with little Zindzi behind pulling me and saying ‘Mummy, mummy, don’t go!’ |
| Winnie | 00:06:36 | 00:07:03 | You were held in solitary confinement for months and months. It was mean to kill you emotionally and to kill you to such an extent that there were only 2 options: You either decided to fight to the last drop of your blood or you succumbed to the enemy and decided to work with them. |
| ZINDZI  *PHOTO OF WINNIE AND*  *GIRLS* | 00:07:11  00:07:25 | 00:07:25  00:07:32 | I love that picture.  Zeni and I with Mummy, wearing the ANC douk- it wasn’t like an ANC douk but it had the colours. She used to love wearing that. It’s the black and green.  you know- like part of our flag- Black for the people- green for the land. |
| ZINDZI  *PHOTOS*  *GIRLS*  *THEN WINNIE*  *BEAUTY PHOTO*  *WINNIE IN ANC DOUK* | 00:07:32  00:07:37  00:07:53 | 00:07:35  00:07:53  00:07:59 | That was the gate at home- Vilekazi Street.  With my mother you’re not supposed to say don’t because then she will do. If you’re gonna say we’re going to ensure that we lock this man up, that people forget him that  They forget even what he looks like, they forget what he sounds like- they forget that he even exists  *That* makes her commit to ensuring the opposite.  She’s an activist- she’s a fighter! She’s not the type of person who can be voiceless. |
| *DATE TITLE* | 00:08:01 | 00:08:04 | **1976** |
| SOPHIE MOKOENA  *ARCHIVE*  *MOZAMBIQUE* | 00:08:07 | 00:08:20 | By the mid-seventies, most of the African countries up north, central Africa, were liberated. And down south there were still countries that were still under colonial rule. But that was changing. |
| SOPHIE MOKOENA | 00:08:28 | 00:08:40 | When the students took to the streets, protesting against Afrikaans being used as the medium of instruction, the whole country was engulfed into this wave of violence. |
| WINNIE SPEAKS IN ARCHIVE | 00:08:46 | 00:09:04 | We don’t even regard them as Soweto riots as such- BUT A national disaster- it is the beginning of what we have always warned the Nationalist, racist Government about. |
| SOPHIE MOKOENA  *ARCHIVE* | 00:09:21 | 00:09:32 | The system blamed Winnie for inciting those uprisings and she was taken away to a rural province 100 kilometers away from Johannesburg. |
| Zindzi | 00:09:33 | 00:09:45 | When they came to take my Mum- we thought it was the usual raid- they’d taken her to Protea police station- she’s being interrogated and completely unaware that she’s being packed up and sent to Brandfort. |
| Winnie  *See road to Brandfort*  *Then houses* | 00:09:47  00:10:01 | 00:10:00  00:10:10 | Well I had gotten so used to being arrested  that I had two little suitcases where I packed the bare necessities- toothbrush, toothpaste,  I was so used to that that I honestly did not anticipate the banishment. |
| *Archive* | 00:10:24  00:10:28 | 00:10:28  00:10:45 | Journalist: what is your lifestyle like, here in Brandfort?  WM: I am really here in a prison- it’s really being in prison at your own expense. Being in exile in this kind of area.  Brandfort is really a living grave. |
| *ZINDZI*  *PHOTO ZINDZI AND WINNIE* | 00:10:45 | 00:11:08 | That’s in Brandfort.  That was second or third day there.  We didn’t know where we were- we ‘d never even heard of the place  I think it was deliberately done like to take her from the relative comfort of what she was more familiar with- like the house in Soweto- to this harsh new reality, where she knew absolutely nobody … |
| ZINDZI  *See houses Brandfort*  *Archive* | 00:11:08  00:11:21 | 00:11:19  00:11:34 | And understood the language but didn’t speak it- so it was designed to completely crush her- and make her feel isolated from everybody!  To make her feel trapped.  Even as we were driven to the house and we saw people like walking past- people were even afraid to look at us – to smile at us- there was just this huge sense of fear. |
| Norah  Moahlolo  *Brandfort shots then* | 00:11:36  00:12:16  00:12:28 | 00:12:04  00:12:26  00:12:36 | The whites told the people who are working ‘you must be very very careful about a Communist woman who has been placed in your community – don’t talk to her!  And even the schoolchildren they were told by their masters:  Don't talk to a certain woman – called Winnie Mandela- who has been placed in your community- she is a Communist!  This area is area for the whites- you see now- the Boers here- It was for the whites only.  Even on the station we could not even sit on the benches, ‘Whites Only’- yours is just right down there! |
| WINNIE OFF  *See sassy archive*  *Winnie and Zindzi get out*  *Red VW*  *See camps* | 00:13:01  00:13:21  00:13:35 | 00:13:18  00:13:33  00:13:52 | The first thing I did of course, was to recruit soldiers, into Umkhoto we Sizwe. I arranged their transport, from there to cross the borders into Lesotho.  Thousands from the Orange Free State.  The most important thing was communication-  I was getting my directives from the Senior leadership – O.R and Chris Hani –  Our strategy at the time, was – you hit targets at the same time in the whole country so that they cannot measure the power of the other side. |
| *TITLE DATE* | 00:13:47  00:13:52 | 00:13:50  00:14:04 | **1980**  SEE SASOL BLOW UP – V/o journalist  The ANC strategy of attacks on important economic tragets like this SASOL oil refinery was also stepped up- this year by a third on last year and by four times on two years ago. |
| *ARCHIVE WINNIE*  *IN BERET* | 00:14:04  00:14:18 | 00:14:16  00:14:36 | JOURNALIST (OFF): Would you be prepared to take up a gun and kill someone in order to achieve what you would regard as your freedom?  WINNIE: NOW I know I can.  JOURNALIST (OFF): You would.  WINNIE: NOW I know I can. In the past I didn’t.  But when I saw my children mowed down in Soweto in 1976 then I realized that in order to defend that, I would do exactly the same. |
| *See Brandfort tower*  Norah  Moahlolo | 00:14:47 | 00:15:00 | Up there there’s that mountain whereby the Special Branch would stand over there using their telescopes- to see everything that is happening in Winnie’s house. |
| Zindzi | 00:15:07 | 00:15:23 | There’s thinking people and there’s people who are determined to survive and there’s fighters!  We just always, always managed to beat the system.  We had a coded way of speaking. We would express ourselves in such a manner that the enemy wouldn’t be able to detect what we’re talking about. |
| *TV interference to Winnie*  *archive* | 00:15:25 | 00:15:34 | I know and the people of this country know- that Mandela will lead this country to freedom |
| Anton Harbor | 00:15:34 | 00:15:57 | It’s very hard now to imagine someone in a small place like Brandfort- isolated in this dry, dusty township but who came out with such strength and such charisma and was the only person who would stand up in front of the media and the international media and speak without inhibition |
| *Archive*  *Winnie* | 00:15:57 | 00:16:04 | It is the usual cosmetic South African racist Government story. |
| Anton Harbor | 00:16:04 | 00:16:09 | Act illegally, promote the aims of the ANC- quote her husband.. |
| *Archive*  *Winnie* | 00:16:09 | 00:16:17 | QI If your husband is released- would he be prepared to go into exile? Into Zambia or elsewhere?  WM: Not at all. |
| Anton Harbor | 00:16:17 | 00:16:30 | There she would stand up and do it without sign of fear- any concern for the law- complete contempt for power and authority- and it was an amazing show of strength and courage and fortitude. |
| *Archive*  *Winnie*  *(pink)* | 00:16:30 | 00:16:38 | We are prepared to respond likewise- to the Government that has declared war |
| Anton Harbor  *SEE PHOTO* | 00:16:38  00:16:44 | 00:16:43  00:16:48 | I was political reporter of the Rand Daily Mail and I was assigned to cover Kennedy’s trip  So I went down to Brandfort. And it was completely remarkable. |
| **DATE** | 00:16:46 | 00:16:50 | **1985** |
| Kennedy | 00:16:48 | 00:16:50 | Thank you so much. |
| *Archive*  *Winnie*  (Kennedys) | 00:16:50 | 00:16:59 | JOURNALIST V/O BUT visitors managed to find her – whether she was banned or in internal exile- as the world began to respect her – as a dominant political force in South Africa. |
| Zindzi | 00:17:01  00:17:16 | 00:17:14  00:17:27 | In the same way that people were supposed to forget about my father – in prison- were supposed to forget about her in Brandfort and her spirit was supposed to be broken and so on, and she was supposed to be written out of History- (SEE KENNEDY AND WINNIE) It was a bold statement from the Kennedys to acknowledge the role- recognize that if they wanted to discuss the future of South Africa- that she’s a key player. |
| ZINDZI  *IN THEN PHOTO OF WINNIE CLENCHED*  *FIST* | 00:17:29 | 00:17:40 | She’s the constant. She was always there. She was there before Tata and them went to prison- she was there when our people were exiled,  Some people come in and out of History – but Mummy’s a constant |
| *ARCHIVE*  *PIK BOTHA* | 00:17:43 | 00:17:59 | Q; …Mr Mandela’s release- is there any possibility that could happen any time soon?  Pik Botha: The moment he declares that he would not be involved in the planning of violence- he can be set free. It is the ANC which is jailing him at present. |
| *ARCHIVE ZINDZI JABULANI 1985* | 00:17:59  00:18:09 | 00:18:04  00:18:23 | My father says, I am a member of the African National Congress (applause)  My father says, I cannot and will not, give any an undertaking, at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. |
| ZINDZI | 00:18:23 | 00:18:32 | She was banned at the time. But she was there, at the stadium. Dressed as a domestic worker and she was there in the audience- and nobody had a clue who she was… |
| *Zindzi jabulani*  *archive* | 00:18:33 | 00:18:35 | Amandla!  One South Africa! |
| *TITLE DATE*  Anne Marie  Du Preez | 00:18:37  00:18:40 | 00:18:40  00:19:07 | **1986**  The declaration of a State of Emergency was an admission of defeat.  The Government had been battling the struggle and had got nowhere with it – not through political means, not through terrorizing the population, not through infiltrating the ANC and it was a declaration of war.  Which meant that the ANC had no choice but to do the same … |
| *MONTAGE OF STATE OF EMERGENCY* | 00:19:07 | 00:19:25 | Journalist: V/O : “the explosions caused extensive damage – inside they ripped out the walls and floors- outside windows were shattered in nearby buildings-“  “21 people died during the riot last week- the fighting with police started after about 500 people had gathered to protest against eviction from their homes” |
| *Archive* | 00:19:25 | 00:19:35 | “State President PW Botha declared a State of Emergency in South Africa. The township riots, he said, must stop. |
| *PW Botha*  *Archive* | 00:19:35 | 00:19:38 | This state of affairs can no longer be tolerated |
| *MONTAGE* | 00:19:38  00:19:42  00:19:50  00:20:00  00:20:04  00:20:08 | 00:19:42  00:19:50  00:20:00  00:20:02  00:20:08  00:20:25 | “so for the army and police a whole new arsenal of tough security laws-“  “the police in their heavily armoured Caper vehicles went back into the townships this morning- the death toll has been rising almost every hour”  “Emergency legislation that allows them to arrest anyone without a warrant- imprison them without access to a lawyer, impose curfews and seal off townships at will”  “..is now virtual warfare”  “local people say police were responsible for most of the killings”  Dr Motlana: “well I’ve just seen 15 young people with gunshot wounds all over their bodies- well when the police saw groups of young people moving around the townships, they simply shot them!  Unprovoked- just shot them!” |
| *Archive Winnie* | 00:20:35 | 00:20:50 | It’s just the tip of the iceberg. It’s really an ominous sign of the times ahead.  It is the beginning of what we have always feared. |
| Dali Mpofu | 00:20:51 | 00:21:43 | When she came back from Brandfort in the mid 80s which is when I met her for the first time- we were on the precipice of either descending into complete total anarchy or trying to rescue the situation. The 1985 state of Emergency, and the 1986 one which followed shortly thereafter- saw more than 10 – 15,000 mainly children really, being detained. What the regime wanted to do was effectively to intimidate the whole country into submission- and basically clean out the activist layer that was there- but also send a message that they’re not going to tolerate any dissent! |
| *Archive*  *See MUFC burying* | 00:21:48 | 00:22:02 | Winnie: “Apartheid is a criminal act! The white man has the audacity! He’s 3 and a half million, we are 30 million! The Botha regime can go to hell!”  Power to the People! |
| Dali Mpofu  IN | 00:22:03 | 00:22:35 | She was the only person who could wake up and wear ANC colours, go to a meeting and shout ‘Long Live ANC’ and then go home. If any one of us had dared to do something like that- then you would know that’s the day you must leave the country. And that was a very important position- to have somebody in the country who can defiantly be a member of the ANC, openly be a member of the ANC – and quite frankly the system didn’t know what to do with her. Because it was just a state of defiance. |
| *Favourite radical archive of Winnie!*  Dali Mpofu | 00:23:25 | 00:23:34 | AMANDLA!  The resistance movement- had actually penetrated to levels where even if you took another 10,000 there was just going to be another layer. |
| *Archive Reagan*  *Intercut with Stock Exchange* | 00:23:40  00:23:50  00:24:06 | 00:23:49  00:24:06  00:24:21 | Those who tell us the moral thing to do is to embargo the SA economy and write off South Africa should tell us exactly what they believe will rise in its place!  Strategically, this is one of the most vital regions in the world. Around the Cape of Good Hope passes the oil of the Persian Gulf. Southern Africa and South Africa are repository of many of the vital minerals for which the West has no other secure source of supply.  But the South African Government is under no obligation to negotiate the future of the nation with any organization that proclaims a goal of creating a communist state and uses terrorist tactics and violence to achieve it. |
| *Archive*  *Oliver Tambo in London* | 00:24:23  00:24:33 | 00:24:33  00:24:54 | Journalist V/O “The head of the ANC called a news conference at the palace of Westminster-angry the Government won’t see him unless he renounces violence- he insists the violence comes equally from President Botha.  OR Tambo: “it’s a bit heartless to keep saying the ANC must abandon its violence – because that is saying that the regime is not violent! Even at a time when daily on the television screens, we are seeing the regime shooting down children! |
| Dali Mpofu | 00:25:01  00:25:16 | 00:25:16  00:25:20 | She was considered as one of the most senior commanders of Umkhonto we Sizwe.  SHE AND Chris Hani worked closely together.  And that relationship grew over the period of the ‘80s.  So, she was basically the highest authority inside the country. |
| *Archive of caspers*  WINNIE  OFF  *See shots from Casper* | 00:25:23  00:25:31 | 00:25:27  00:25:43 | Apartheid was so vicious, they were *killing* our people.  It was safer for all the operatives underground to come into the country, hit a target and go back to Lusaka, because at the time the enemy was shooting to kill. |
| WINNIE | 00:25:48 | 00:26:12 | I used to receive the ammunition from outside. It would be buried  And Lusaka would then send a map of exactly where the weapons were and I had to see to it that we went to dig up at dead of night the stuff that had been buried there. |
| Vic McPherson | 00:26:19  00:26:39  00:27:00  00:27:27 | 00:26:37  00:26:59  00:27:26  00:27:41 | I was with the Security Branch and arrested many terrorists from Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC. And had them sentenced to 80 years imprisonment and some of them, hanged.  All my black agents had to infiltrate the ANC, trade-unions, and of course, South African Communist Party.  And I also had a surveillance team, with cameras, tape recorders and so forth.  When it comes to Winnie Mandela, she’s always been on the radar.  We were aware of her activities, listened into her telephone conversations and were following her around.  And had people all around her.  She was closely monitored by the Security Branch.  We were still in a position to persist in keeping the country under control – but then other things came into play. |
| **Title DATE** | 00:27:42 | 00:16:46 | **1988** |
| *VOLKSHOSPITAL ARCHIVE*  *TUTU ARCHIVE ON STAGE IN LONDON* | 00:27:41  00:27:46  00:27:56  00:28:02 | 00:27:46  00:27:53  00:28:02  00:28:13 | V/O “recently Mandela was moved from Polsmoor Prison in Cape Town, to a hospital for treatment of TB.”  V/O “The world got a fleeting glimpse of the man it hadn’t seen for years- the hospital visit fuelled speculation about his release”  “The Mandela demonstrators assembled in their thousands in a North London park before setting off on a march through the capital.”  “SOUTH AFRICA needs Nelson Mandela, the world needs Nelson Mandela!” |
| ANNE MARIE  Du preez | 00:28:14 | 00:28:32 | Towards the end of 1988 Nelson Mandela was moved to hospital and Winnie goes down to Cape Town to meet him and as fate would have it, is on the same flight as the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetzee, who was a hard liner |
| ZINDZI | 00:28:32 | 00:28:42 | Mummy approached Kobie Coetzee at an airport- she was leaving to see my father and she confronted him openly and said, ‘I want to know from you; when are you going to release my husband?’ |
| WINNIE | 00:28:44 | 00:29:03 | I went to sit next to him and Kobie Coetsee said: what will it take to shut you up?  So that we can release your husband. Who should we talk to?  I said who are you talking to now? |
| ZINDZI | 00:29:03 | 00:29:23 | After the initial shock and that type of, like in-your-face confrontation, they began to have a conversation and that conversation eventually led to an exchange between this apartheid minister of justice- where there was no justice - and my father as a prisoner. |
| ZINDZI  *See archive of Zindzi and Winnie emerging from hospital* | 00:29:25  00:29:32  00:29:38 | 00:29:31  00:29:38  00:29:42 | It started with this woman – whose role is so often overlooked and disregarded-  Journalist question “is he going to come out?”  WM: “No we don’t know – I am visiting him again tomorrow…”  Zindzi: She planted the seed and the rest is History. |
| Vic McPherson | 00:29:48 | 00:30:07 | And it’s then that the discussions started taking place between Nelson Mandela, through Doctor Neil Barnard, from National Intelligence Service, and the ball started rolling towards a political solution. |
| Niel Barnard | 00:30:10 | 00:30:26 | The answer to why was Nelson Mandela the God given individual with whom we could start that was that 27 years in prison, made him a world-wide icon! |
| *Archive*  *Wembley Arena birthday Party*  Anne-Marie  Du Preez | 00:30:26  00:30:35 | 00:30:35  00:30:56 | V/O “ In July 1988, over 200 million people tuned in to a pop extravaganza held as a tribute to Nelson Mandela on his 70th birthday”  The ANC leaders in exile didn’t focus their attention on Mandela for a long time. But now, positioning themselves internationally, for change, they understood that Mandela, thanks to all Winnie’s ceaseless efforts for more than two decades was perhaps their ticket! |
| *SEE VICTOR VERSTEER*  *PRISON*  NIEL BARNARD | 00:31:02 | 00:31:17 | WE HAD THE PINNACLE of power under our control and quite clearly,  he was more than interested in starting talks to try to- also from his side to find out, can we find some kind of understanding. |
| WINNIE | 00:31:21 | 00:31:41 | It was quite clear that at a certain point the ANC was going to take over the government of the country. So therefore it was important to work on him, on his own. Without the leadership in Pollsmoor Prison. |
| NIELS  BARNARD | 00:31:42 | 00:32:02 | I think it’s a wonderful idea of Kobie Coetzee, ‘let us prepare the man in normal circumstances, in a house where he can, at least for some time, lead a normal life.’  Although it is on the area being controlled by Correctional Services, called a prison, it's a normal house! |
| ZINDZI | 00:32:03 | 00:32:11 | Victor Versteer was very strange. This false sense of reality that they were trying to give him. |
| Niel Barnard | 00:32:13 | 00:32:33 | Yes we bugged the house in which he lived. It’s no secret- and we were discussing with Mandela- and I myself many times: Sir, we have a problem with Winnie. She’s your wife |
| ZINDZI | 00:32:34 | 00:32:54 | My father was there actually quite excited because he had be told that his family can now move in with him. And then my mother had to come with this blow- to say: you will not- we will not become glorified prisoners. I will not allow you to do that and compromise yourself! |
| *ARCHIVE*  *Winnie and Dali* | 00:32:54 | 00:33:01 | JOURNALIST: CAN YOU TELL US HOW THE VISIT WAS and whether it’s clarified things ..  WINNIE: “yes of course, it has clarified things a great deal. |
| Zindzi | 00:33:01 | 00:33:13 | She was very much in his life as that wake-up factor – you know- wake-up factor and always the person who had the ground intelligence- |
| *Archive*  *Winnie in yellow bonnet* | 00:33:13 | 00:33:25 | He would have loved to go with us today- and he would love to be released any day and he wants to come home like all the leaders – his release is not in his hands. |
| WINNIE | 00:33:26 | 00:33:54 | Madiba wasn’t aware of it at first. Taking him and isolating him from the rest of the prisoners was in fact to work on him in such a manner that he would come out of prison actually preaching as much peace as possible. To protect *them*, more than anything else, |
| ANNE MARIE  Bezdrob  *Archive helicopter*  *Caspers and military vehicles* | 00:34:06  00:34:19 | 00:34:12  00:34:40 | The townships were war zones. There were tanks and Armored Personnel Carriers in Soweto.  ARCHIVE: WINNIE “What are YOU doing?!”  The youth were up in arms. There was enormous anger from the side of the youth towards the elders whom they saw as not fighting hard enough. And Winnie understood, more than anybody else in the ANC, that the younger generation, were the hope for the future. |
| Zindzi | 00:34:41 | 00:34:58 | Mandela FC has been demonized- at that time there was a war between comrades and car jackers- who were used by the system- you know that whole “black-on-black” violence- they were using against each other- so there’s a lot of brutality and fighting there |
| *Archive* |  |  | V/O For the friends and relatives of Victoria Nxenge … |
| Zindzi | 00:35:01  00:35:06 | 00:35:06  00:35:15 | Secondly, Victoria Nxenge had been assassinated in Durban  V*/O the civil rights lawyer was gunned down in her own drive way after a day spent preparing the defence of two fellow United Democratic Front members facing High Treason charges-* |
| Zindzi | 00:35:16 | 00:35:27 | So, at the same time that Mummy’s thinking we need to remove these children off the streets, these children are thinking we need to protect our leader, because leaders were vulnerable and were killed. |
| Murdoch | 00:35:35  00:36:06 | 00:36:04  00:36:29 | I met Winnie when I was harassed by the Security Branch forces- I stayed in her house- for the hiding place, she taught me about the politics of the ANC – what is the ANC and what it’s all about in the ANC and she taught me about the army things. About the armed struggle, what is the armed struggle and what a guerilla army is.  Because that time the slogan was: Disarm the Enemy and Arm the People!  I joined the Mandela Football club there – and that time I thought that it was just a football club- but when times go on – I saw that these guys are cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe- |
| Murdoch | 00:36:34  00:36:53 | 00:36:50  00:37:06 | There were about 8 guys guarding the house and the family of Winnie. There were track suits that we wear of Mandela FC – but when times goes on we saw that people now are crying for Mandela Football Club.  We found that people were using our track-suits to rape and kill sometimes, they kill people and say: Yez, Winnie’s boys! They thought it’s us!  So we stopped using our uniforms. |
| *Winnie in archive*  *outside her house* | 00:37:06 | 00:37:16 | Oh you couldn’t communicate with them at all!  They said they were waiting for Protea because the boys were wearing illegal T-shirts or some kind of rubbish like that |
| Murdoch | 00:37:18 | 00:37:34 | We were not allowed by Mama to interrogate someone. - but us, in our corners- we were doing it, to get the information -who’s working with the Security Branch – for the enemy side- |
| Vic Mc Pherson | 00:37:42 | 00:38:13 | It was 1989. I was still with the Intelligence Section. And President PW Botha said, we must come up with a Psychological Warfare strategy against the enemy.  Everything was coordinated between the Defence Force, National Intelligence and Foreign Affairs. It was called Covert Strategic Communication. STRATCOM. |
| *ARCHIVE*  *PW BOTHA* | 00:38:13 | 00:38:40 | We are being agitated against world-wide and threatened in the name of freedom and liberation. Pressure is being exerted on us as the arch-oppressors of our time. Many of the methods involved are suspect because of either the slyness or the dishonesty involved. |
| Vic McPherson | 00:38:41 | 00:39:16 | I had different projects approved by him. One was Operation Romulus. Now Romulus was counter- Revolutionary. So Winnie Mandela fell amongst those people.  I already had about 40 journalists working directly or indirectly for me.  So through them I could have specific reports placed in newspapers and it would be Front Page! |
| ***Title DATE*** | 00:39:21 | 00:39:24 | **1989** |
| *See newspapers* | 00:39:16  00:39:25  00:39:32 | 00:39:25  00:39:32  00:39:46 | V/O  FEMALE: “Four members of the Football club were arrested in a raid on Winnie Mandela’s house on Sunday. Police gathered all their possessions in a detailed search for evidence.”  MALE: “ Stompie Moeketsi was kidnapped by the so called Football Squad – Stompie- suspected of being a police informer was later murdered- “  FEMALE “the charges will add to growing controversy about the Football Club bodyguards. Throughout the 8-hour operation, Winnie Mandela had cooperated fully with the police, though she insisted that the boys had nothing to do with the murder of 14 year-old Stompie Moeketsi on Sunday. |
| *Archive*  *Winnie looks at papers* | 00:39:46 | 00:39:59 | Winnie: “the kind of reporting we’ve seen. The deliberate and mischievous lies that keep being perpetrated by the media is beyond anything we have seen. |
| *Archive of Stompie funeral* | 00:39:59  00:40:17 | 00:40:17  00:40:44 | V/O MALE: “ a political funeral with a difference- just this once the SA Government allowed full news coverage- normally banned under the Emergency and kept police out of sight, all because the murder of 14-year old Stompie Moeketsi is blamed not on the State but on the body guards of Winnie Mandela.”  V/O MALE: “Police imposed no restrictions at this funeral raising accusations they’re trying to exploit Stompie’s killing and deepen divisions among blacks. “  V/O AMERICAN MALE: “plain clothed police with cameras watched from a distance while authorities made no move to interfere- his murder has outraged many South Africans sparking divisions within the anti-Apartheid movement.  Many black activists are refusing to back Mrs Mandela and have severed all ties with her. |
| *Archive*  *Murphy Morobe* | 00:40:44 | 00:40:54 | The Mass Democratic Movement at this point- hereby wishes to distance itself from Mrs Mandela and her actions. |
| *Archive*  *Graffiti*  *Kid killer* | 00:40:54 | 00:41:01 | V/O AMERICAN MALE: “Throughout the town- graffiti was scrawled on billboards, charging Winnie Mandela with involvement in Stompie’s murder” |
| *Archive Winnie in white* | 00:41:01 | 00:41:07 | There’s no rift whatsoever between the African National Congress and this family- and never will be. |
| *Archive Winnie*  *In square cut afro* | 00:41:11 | 00:41:41 | Perhaps the idea is to so destabilize the political situation in black communities that the Government simply sits back and look at us fighting amongst each other, discrediting each other – dividing each other and it would suit the Government to release comrade Mandela in that political atmosphere. |
| Niel Barnard  *Winnie in suede*  *beret* | 00:41:42  00:41:54 | 00:41:54  00:42:26 | Many people to this day believe that we tried to divide and rule. The whole notion is not historically correct. She had all the capacity to be a Jacquie Kennedy.  And you know-even from the Intelligence service side, we discussed and hoped and dreamed even, that she must play a responsible role at the side of Nelson Mandela- he will become President she will be first Lady, the Mother of the Nation so to speak and we will all be working together in this new country- sadly, that was not to be! |
| ***Title DATE*** | 00:42:31 | 00:42:34 | **1990** |
| *Archive*  *FW De Klerk* | 00:42:29 | 00:42:40 | I’m now in a position to announce that Mr Nelson Mandela will be released at the Victor Versteer prison on Sunday the 11th of February at about 3 pm. |
| *WINNIE*  *archive* | 00:42:40 | 00:42:57 | Winnie: The most wonderful news we have all been waiting for- perhaps this is the moment to thank the organisations, individuals, groups, Governments and all those who have campaigned for this day. |
| *Archive*  *RELEASE* | 00:43:22  00:44:00 | 00:44:00  00:44:26 | V/O  “There is a clear sign of movement.  This is the hour the world has been waiting for -  There’s Mr Mandela- Mr Nelson Mandela - a free man- taking his first steps into a new South Africa – Mrs Winnie Mandela next to him, waiving to the crowds,  hand in hand- they leave the Victor Versteer prison  –officials, marshals of the National Reception Committee trying to get the people . ..and a salute from Mr Nelson Mandela, his wife Winnie greeting the people outside the fences of the Victor Versteer prison-  that is the man who the world has been waiting to see.  People running alongside the car |
| Anne Marie | 00:44:28 | 00:44:54 | In many ways, when he was in prison, Mandela was looking at the world through Winnie’s eyes, because she brought back information to him.  He in turn trusted her with information he really didn’t trust anybody else with.  And so that moment of him seeing this new world into which he’s released- through Winnie’s eyes, is so poignant. |
| Niel Barnard | 00:45:02  00:45:27  00:45:51 | 00:45:27  00:45:51  00:46:06 | Prior to his release, I would say about ten days before his release, I had one of my last discussions with him, and I told him: Sir may I give you some advice- the first speech after your release the world will be looking: please don’t make one of those long struggle, slogan, ideological speeches  Do not fall back to apartheid and whatever happened wrong, and you will carry on with the struggle – and so forth and so on-  Be brief- say “here we are, we’re carrying on to make peace, thank you for everybody- you will understand that I’m tired now and things like that – you will have your time for speeches-  that was not to be.  Mandela: AMANDLA! Ewetu! I-AFRIKA! MAYIBUYE! |
| Anne Marie  *Mandela in square* | 00:46:06 | 00:46:26 | The point when he’s on the balcony making his first speech, as a free man,  but reading what he had written with Winnie’s glasses because he had misplaced his own, is so symbolic of Winnie’s role in Mandela’s life for so long. |
| MANDELA  SPEECH | 00:46:26 | 00:46:37 | MANDELA: The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today! We have no option but to continue!  VIVA! |
| NIEL BARNARD | 00:46:38 | 00:46:59 | I was with my family –watching it- at that moment I had already started calling some of our sources, asking them what the hell is going on- because I was sitting there and what is going on?! what we’ve been working on can develop into a catastrophe- |
| Anne Marie  *See Mandela and Winnie in garden in Constancia* | 00:47:03 | 00:47:38 | What of course was really sad is that Mandela did not specifically talk about Winnie’s role in the time that he was in prison.  For many people it was an oversight, he should have given Winnie the recognition that she deserved, at least alluded to the fact that he would not have been there, had it not been for her, and her ceaseless work and organizing and her suffering and everything she sacrificed in order to get him there. |
| WINNIE | 00:47:38 | 00:47:51 | I was horrified when I realised that I had lost my identity. And suddenly I was nobody.  Mandela’s wife. |
| *Archive press conference garden*  *Mandela* | 00:47:53 | 00:48:12 | Nelson Mandela : “I’m absolutely excited to be out …  WE ARE LOYAL AND DISCIPLINED MEMBERS OF THE ORGANISATION.  It is my intention to go to Lusaka at the earliest possible CONVENIENCE –  They WILL TELL ME WHAT ROLE I SHOULD PLAY. |
| Zindzi  *See Zindzi and Winnie and Nelson arrive at Vilekazi Street* | 00:48:18  00:48:38  00:48:59 | 00:48:33  00:48:59  00:49:21 | When people on the ground know who their leaders are there’s nothing that you can do successfully to alter that relationship because that is genuine and that is real and that is historically strong-  I think they were too formidable- I think together as a couple they were just too powerful- as a couple – because these people who are so influential – within their communities and beyond- they have impacted and they’re together- and they had this ability to see things from two different perspectives but wanting the same thing- for the same objective.  I just think it was too much power to have as a couple and I think there were various people who felt threatened by this and for anybody who had an agenda - they had to get rid of this, they had to get rid of this solid foundation first, and then proceed. |
| *ARCHIVE USA* | 00:49:24 | 00:49:38 | DAN RATHER: NELSON MANDELA GOT A ROUSING welcome from the city of New York today as he began a ten day tour across the United States- the former long time political prisoner will address Congress and the United Nations and he’ll be received at the White House. |
| Vic McPherson | 00:49:38  00:50:06 | 00:50:06  00:50:20 | I made a documentary film through the South African Broadcasting Corporation – of course I had all the friends there. And we put all the material together and that I flogged into America and it was shown on 40 different channels. And that led to her being declared an International Terrorist.  And when she wanted to visit America with him Americans said No you can’t come because you’re still on our list. So they had to delete her name specially for her to come. |
| *ARCHIVE* *WINNIE*  *USA*  *PHIL DONAHUE* | 00:50:22  00:50:40 | 00:50:40  00:51:01 | IT IS true I am much angrier than him.  It is true I have personally found it very, very difficult to believe in the sincerity of the ruling class- the Afrikaaner-  I do battle with myself about believing their sincerity.  As far as I’m concerned, we will watch that negotiation table.  If anything goes wrong there, I will be the first to go back to the bush, take up arms and fight the South AfrIcan Government! APPLAUSE |
| *BUILDINGS*  *WINNIE’S TRIAL*  *1991*  **Title DATE**  *SEE JERRY IN RAID ARCHIVE* | 00:51:15  00:51:26  00:51:31  00:51:34  00:51:45  00:51:51 | 00:51:25  00:51:34  00:51:36  00:51:45  00:51:51  00:52:02 | V/O American MALE 1: “MANDELA had gone to an emergency meeting of the African National Congress to discuss black factional violence, when the Government filed charges against his wife.  At the courthouse a strong show of support for the Mandelas.  The Government has claimed that charges against Winnie Mandela are not politically motivated.  **1991**  The case involves 14 year old Stompie Sepei”  V/O American Male 2: “Today Winnie Mandela was formally charged with kidnapping and assault and the death of a teenager allegedly murdered by her body guards.  V/O 1 “The Government arrested Mrs Mandela’s bodyguard  Convicted him of murder and last month- sentenced him to death.  It’s taken authorities nearly two years to charge her. And many in the black Community suspect that the Government may be using their case to harm the Mandelas and the African National Congress. |
| ZINDZI | 00:52:07  00:52:21 | 00:52:21  00:52:32 | That was the intention of apartheid – to break things down – to break down family units- to fragmentise anything that was black unity-  that was the purpose so in many ways they succeeded in creating some kind of division.  SO then they tried to pitch my parents like the Saint and the Sinner and you’re thinking like, what even gives you the right?! |
| DALI MPOFU  *Archive Winnie* | 00:52:34 | 00:52:48 | It was a period of ambivalence- the return of the exiles- which is what she was tasked to do by the ANC- and this was now the beginning of the Negotiations and the doubts as to whether this was the real thing or not. |
| ANTON HARBER  *See archive Chris Hani etc* | 00:52:49 | 00:53:13 | THE ANC was making critical choices about compromises it was prepared to make and the path it was setting the country on. And what was dominant in the ANC was a kind of centrist, middle-of-the road preparedness to concede a great deal and to make the deals both with Afrikaaner Nationalism and with global Capitalism. |
| WINNIE | 00:53:16 | 00:53:39 | I personally feel that we over-negotiated in CODESA. Because we found that capital- capitalism is a very difficult system, because the owners of production, the owners of resources, are those who are in power. |
| ANTON HARBER | 00:53:41 | 00:53:58 | There was a very important constituency led by the likes of Chris Hani  in which Winnie was a critical figure, who were arguing against too much compromise- against that middle-of-the road path and looking for a socialist transformation. |
| Anton Harber | 00:53:58 | 00:54:09 | The ANC leadership were looking to manage her- contain her-  as part of the attempt to contain those left wing forces |
| Anne-Marie  *Outside courtroom again* | 00:54:14  00:54:33 | 00:54:33  00:54:46 | The incident with Stompie Sepei and Jerry Richardson is symptomatic of what happened with Winnie throughout her life.  With all the informers that had been planted who changed their testimony by 180 degrees in court – what exactly was the truth?  They testified that she hadn’t been there. Then they changed their minds and said that she had been there. How could anybody have really come to a reliable verdict with all that murkiness around that case? |
| *Helicopter fly over archive* | 00:54:49 | 00:55:04 | V/O male: “for anti-apartheid groups in SA scenes like these are a cause for despair-  in areas of the Natal Province- black-on-black violence has reached proportions of  near civil war as political factions wage running battles for control of the local black townships” |
| Anton Harber | 00:55:06 | 00:55:25 | It was a critical period in the interim between 1990 and 1994 where the balance of power was being played out.  The apartheid Government in its negotiations was trying to elevate the status of the Inkhata Freedom Party, as an alternative – as a counter to the ANC. |
| *Archive*  *Chief Buthelezi* | 00:55:25 | 00:55:40 | Chief Buthelezi: “The biggest counter to the liberation of SA and to the sorting out of things in SA is caused by this black on black violence because even if the whites were prepared to negotiate tomorrow- I mean we blacks are still busy butchering each other. “ |
| Anton Harber | 00:55:45 | 00:56:05 | There was a high and dangerous level of black on black violence that threatened to destabilize the whole transition process – it was not really black on black violence but Government instigated or supported or encouraged attempts to weaken and undermine the ANC as its chief negotiating partner. |
| WINNIE | 00:56:10 | 00:56:37 | I actually said to Madiba at one point - we know these people.  We fought against them- not only politically, not on platforms, we fought them physically- we know each other- we know each other so well that we cannot trust the Apartheid State forming any Government of Unity with you! Tata. |
| *Mandela cross*  *(archive)* | 00:56:37 | 00:56:45 | MANDELA: It is quite clear that the Government has either lost control over the police or the police are doing what the Government wants them to do. |
| *FW de Klerk*  *(archive)* | 00:56:45 | 00:56:59 | I take very strong exception to the alleged statement attributed to Mr Mandela to the effect that I am seeking to promote my cause over the corpses of his supporters. |
| *Archive of Nelson* | 00:56:59 | 00:57:10 | V/O Male American : “Nelson Mandela is under siege- his search for a peaceful end to apartheid in jeopardy. And now his wife’s prosecution threatening to further damage the Mandela name.“ |
| *Nelson*  *(archive)* | 00:57:10 | 00:57:19 | Mandela: ”I have never believed that she was guilty of assaulting anyone.“ |
| Dali Mpofu | 00:57:20 | 00:57:34 | It was not some façade- I think he believed deep down in his whole being – as we all did – that this was part of a wider conspiracy aimed at her but also aimed at him. |
| *Archive Nelson in Mac leaves court with Winnie* | 00:57:34  00:57:43 | 00:57:43  00:57:49 | V/O Male American “ Nelson Mandela- borne by the dignity of his moral crusade but tainted now by the woman he loves and cannot bring himself to criticize”  V/O MALE ENGLISH “ but as ever unbowed – she’ll now appeal- and as ever- with the full support of her husband.” |
| Vic Mc Pherson | 00:57:54 | 00:58:13 | Strategic Communications is the planned, coordinated, presentation of a message by means of various communication instruments to change attitudes, values and to reach the National objectives. |
| Vic McPherson  ***Title DATE*** | 00:58:15  00:58:35  00:58:42 | 00:58:32  00:58:39  00:58:52 | When it comes to Winnie Mandela we were more concentrating on her personal life, which was in tatters and so easily … to see and to hear and to expose.  **1992**  So many people would read it and it’s not going to cost us a cent. That was the purpose. My purpose. |
| *NEWSPAPER* | 00:58:55  00:59:04 | 00:59:02  00:59:08 | WINNIE Mandela has many enemies, but none hates her as much as the person who sent us an embarrassingly explicit letter she wrote to Dali Mpofu, a man young …  IN HER own hand she admits that she put her love for young lawyer Mpofu before her marriage to Nelson Mandela |
| George Bizos | 00:59:09 | 00:59:40 | I was given that letter by Nelson, who was given it by the editor of the Sunday Times, to go to Winnie and ask her whether it was genuine or not. She looked at it, burst into tears and said she was betrayed. |
| Dali Mpofu | 00:59:46 | 01:00:03 | Obviously it was some witch-hunt, which was meant to isolate her.  There was, even then, a clear campaign to delegitimize, as it were,  the so-called radical wing of the ANC. |
| Anne Marie | 01:00:04 | 01:00:19 | Mandela was given the ultimatum to divorce Winnie, to in fact get rid of Winnie OR not be President.  That was the ANC leadership who decided on that. |
| *Archive Nelson Press conference* | 01:00:19 | 01:00:40 | NELSON MANDELA: “In view of the tensions that have arisen owing to differences  between ourselves in a number of issues in recent months,  we have mutually agreed that a separation would be best for each one of us “ |
| ZINDZI  *See photo of NELSON AND WINNIE* | 01:00:42 | 01:01:00 | You know Mummy wouldn’t make it seem like she suffered that much – but that’s the thing- Mummy’s always had that capacity- you know- to die inside and just be beaming and glowing externally. She’s just always been that person. |
| ***Title DATE*** | **01:01:02** | **01:01:07** | **1993** |
| WINNIE | 01:01:06 | 01:01:09 | I was at home when Chris was killed. |
| *ARCHIVE* | 01:01:09 | 01:01:15 | v/o male English : “Chris Hani was shot five times in the driveway of his own home in a quiet JBG suburb Dawn Park. “ |
| WINNIE  *Archive Winnie breaks down* | 01:01:17 | 01:01:28 | I do not know how one puts the degrees of hurt and a feeling of total helplessness - a feeling of despair. |
| WINNIE | 01:01:38 | 01:01:48 | It was so clear that it was a very complicated assassination.  You couldn’t attribute it to the enemy, completely. |
| *Chris Hani archive state funeral* | 01:01:48 | 01:01:55 | VO English JOURNALIST: “85,000 South Africans pay homage to a revolutionary.  ANC leader Chris Hani received a Statesman’s funeral” |
| Winnie | 01:01:55  01:02:17 | 01:02:17  01:02:36 | When he was killed, one of the hopes of the country was gone.  Here was a man who had led the military wing of the African National Congress.  We literally worshipped Chris Hani.  We dreamt of a South Africa where he would be President one day  ARCHIVE NELSON : “those who have deliberately created this climate – that legitimates political assassination, are as much responsible for the death of Chris Hani as the man who pulled the trigger. We want an election date now!” |
| ANNE MARIE  DU PREEZ  *SEE VIOLENCE* | 01:02:36 | 01:03:13 | After Chris Hani was assassinated, the country was in flames.  Winnie’s appeal came up barely three months later, there would have been enormous violence if Winnie had been sent to prison.  I don’t think any court would at that point have thought it prudent to deny her appeal. |
| *ARCHIVE WINNIE* | 01:03:13 | 01:03:28 | V/O WOMAN JOURNALIST ENGLISH: “one candidate who could be a problem for the ANC particularly in attracting moderate voters-  is Winnie Mandela, her overwhelming popularity in the townships has put her number five on the ANC list. And she’ll almost certainly become a cabinet Minister. |
| *Archive Winnie dancing on podium* | 01:03:28 | 01:03:34 | WINNIE: “I never went away- I’ve always been with my people – that is why they have spoken” |
| WINNIE | 01:03:34 | 01:03:56 | My political aspirations have never changed! I’m where I belong- the parliament of the people- I’ve been put there by the masses of this country-  I have never stood for a position and said: I’m available! I’m available!  Elect me as President of the Women’s League – no I’ve never done that! |
| **TITLE DATE** | **01:04:01** | **01:04:04** | **1994** |
| ANNE MARIE | 01:04:02  01:04:09  01:04:22 | 01:04:09  01:04:20  01:04:29 | She had already made it quite clear that she didn’t see eye to eye with Mandela and the ANC about much of the policies.  That she leaned towards a more socialistic state, that she wouldn’t have bent over backwards to accommodate the former rulers and oppressors etcetera.  So they needed to isolate her to eliminate her from the inner circle of the ANC. |
| *Nelson at elections*  *(archive)* | 01:04:35 | 01:04:46 | NELSON MANDELA: It is the realization of our hopes and dreams that we have cherished over decades. |
| Anne Marie  Du Preez  *See Winnie arrive and vote* | 01:04:49  01:05:03 | 01:05:00  01:05:15 | It was all a question of the ANC understanding Winnie’s power,  Understanding how easily she could mobilise ground root support.  There’s no question in my mind that had she been embraced by the ANC,  had they made her part of the inner circle, she would have been Deputy President  and she would have been President after Mandela. |
| WINNIE | 01:05:15 | 01:05:38 | That’s then I felt triumphant- after such a bitter struggle- after losing so much blood.  After losing almost everything we had!  Our children! Our uncles our aunts~~.~~  That moment is indescribable! |
| ANNE MARIE  BEZDROB  *Fly over – inauguration*  *Then see crowd*  *And Nelson being sworn in* | 01:05:51  01:06:13 | 01:06:13  01:06:31 | When he became President and Winnie was not even seated with the v.i.p guests, it was just heartbreaking that Mandela would not allow her to even be seen as a very important person on that occasion.  And one understands that his ego had been injured by Winnie,  however, he was always so fair to everybody. one would expect of somebody of that stature to be able to overcome that.  If he could forgive other people for such terrible transgressions against him and against the country, and his family, he could have done that for Winnie. |
| WINNIE | 01:06:33  01:06:45 | 01:06:43  01:06:52 | I had achieved everything I fought for, what more did I want?  I didn’t care for this- it was just like water on a duck’s back!  It still is, to this day.  As long as he would be President of the country and lead the people to Liberation, that’s all that mattered to me |
| *Nelson speech*  *(ARCHIVE INAUGURATION)* | 01:06:56 | 01:07:13 | NELSON MANDELA: “Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another. “ |
| WINNIE  *NOBEL PEACE*  *PRIZE ARCHIVE* | 01:07:13  01:07:40 | 01:07:38  01:07:49 | I realized that there was this huge programme –  that I became a project to certain people,  I became a project to prepare Madiba for this Presidency, there had to be all kinds of hangers-on around him who continued this programme of discrediting me.  Madiba was safer without me. Because I would always see through the political  intricacies of their plans. |
| Henk Helsinga  *See archive of Sidney, then archive of Leeuwkop Max Prison*  *SEE SIDNEY MAFUMADI COME INTO ROOM*  *SEE JERRY PUTTING HIS TROUSERS ON IN RAID ARCHIVE*  *SEE KATIZA*  SEE *BARONESS* | 01:08:20  01:08:34  01:09:03  01:09:20  01:09:31  01:09:51 | 01:08:33  01:09:01  01:09:19  01:09:31  01:09:51  01:10:12 | During 1994 I received a phone call from the Commissioner of the South African police service that I must come to his office because the Minister of Safety and Security want to see me.  He told us that he was a member of the Executive Committee of the ANC during those times and that we must start a, re-start the investigation into all the cases against Winnie Mandela.  And we must start from Stompie Sepei right through.  And try to get evidence that Winnie can be charged for murder.  I think there was some political motivation behind him – because the Minister is the political head of the police and I thought that the ANC through Sidney Mufamadi,  was behind the request to re-investigate Winnie Mandela.  So we started this whole investigation – we went to Jerry Richardson in prison. He was serving a life sentence for the killing of Stompie Sepei.  AND there he told me Stompie found out he was a registered informer of the Security Branch in Soweto.  So he killed Stompie Sepei to cover his own tracks and Winnie Mandela must never find out that he was a registered informer.  The Minister gave us carte blanche money-wise, logistic-wise, and we can travel through the world- where we need to go.  And there was a South African citizen closely involved with Winnie Mandela in the custody of a British MP – he lived in her house and so on. |
| *TRC ARCHIVE*  *JOURNALIST*  *MAX DU PREEX*  *INSIDE STORY* | 01:10:14  01:10:29 | 01:10:26  01:10:40 | V/O [Max du Preez – SA journalist]: “Katiza Khebukulu has since become famous. He was the central character in a book and a BBC documentary- he was rescued by British Baroness Emma Nicholson who has since taken him under her wing.  Baroness: “She should go down for life. They’re not going to forget! That evidence is going to be theirs!” |
| ISMAEL SEMENYA  *SEE BOOK COVER*  *BENEATH THE SURFACE OF SOUTH* *AFRICA’S SHAME*  *SEE BARO-NESS PRESS CONFERENCE* | 01:10:44  01:10:51  01:11:03 | 01:10:51  01:11:03  01:11:15 | BARONESS: “ but you will find that the book also contains very significant material on the events that surround his testimony.  I mean it was a very clear portrayal of demonizing somebody who spent the rest of  her life trying to liberate SA.  And it was very clear that its orientation was to de-legitimize her – make her look like a criminal and a hater! |
| ***DATE*** | **01:11:16** | **01:11:20** | **1997** |
| *WINNIE PRESS CONFERENCE* | 01:11:24 | 01:11:58 | WINNIE : “I have watched in painful silence my character being butchered in the media.  I have witnessed my contribution to this democracy being vilified and ridiculed.  South Africa I ask: is it public interest that my name is littered all over the streets of this country?  That the media vandalize my dignity without just cause? |
| *SHOTS OF PRAYER HILL JBG* | 01:12:06 | 01:12:35 | ARCHBISHOP TUTU AUDIO: Order please. We are here not in order to put anyone  in the dock. Our objective is to find out the truth in order to assist in the process of  healing our land. To promote reconciliation and to ensure that the awful things  we hear about will not happen again. |
| *TRC ARCHIVE* | 01:12:35 | 01:12:44 | MAX DU PREEZ: From the word go the charges started piling up. The first day’s witnesses implicated Madikizela Mandela in 4 serious assaults and 6 murders. |
| WINNIE | 01:12:44 | 01:13:01 | To me the TRC was a trial, it was not established to find out anything other than the fact that I was being re-tried. Being humiliated to show that I was not fit to be his wife! |
| Ismael Semenya  *TRC Archive* | 01:13:03 | 01:13:33 | The first day of the hearing was a huge surprise because I hadn’t anticipated  such a wide international interest in her story. The allegations that were coming  out were serious- they were of a criminal kind- and yet there was no criminal  investigation in relation to those issues- they were there in a platform that enjoyed international attention. And there was no way her image was not going to be marred by that process. |
| *TRC Archive*  *KATIZA SPEAKING*  KATIZA STABS THE TABLE | 01:13:34  01:13:41  01:13:45  01:13:51 | 01:13:40  01:13:45  01:13:47  01:13:53 | MAX DU PREEZ : Katiza Cebukhulu says he saw Madikizela Mandela stab Stompie with a shiny object one night.  Translator : “it was something that was shining.  Investigator : After the hand was raised for the first time did you see what  Translator : “she was stabbing. She stabbed twice.” |
| Ismael Semenya | 01:13:53 | 01:14:09 | It was obvious that one was also dealing with witnesses whose credibility was questionable but whose motives were clear- they wanted money and in exchange they were going to say anything and everything against Winnie |
| *ISMAEL CHALLENGES KATIZA IN TRC* | 01:14:11 | 01:14:19 | Katiza [translator]: “ I do not have any police friends. I did know a lot of police but I was not friends with them.” |
| *See Jerry arrive with book* | 01:14:20  01:14:33  01:14:40 | 01:14:33  01:14:40  01:14:46 | MAX DU PREEZ – “on Tuesday the so called coach of the football club and the man who was convicted of killing Stompie Sepei, Jerry Richardson, will testify. He has said that he killed Stompie Sepei on the orders of Winnie.  TRANSLATOR “I slaughtered him, I slaughtered him like a goat”  Max du Preez: “But Jerry Richardson’s credibility as a witness was undermined this week when he confessed to being a police informer. “ |
| Ismael Semenya | 01:14:48 | 01:14:55 | Richardson was in prison by that time.  He may have been promised that they will help him somehow. |
| WINNIE | 01:14:57 | 01:15:15 | They knew I didn’t kill Stompie.  I was being tried just as a farce.  I was the only one in the African National Congress,  who was taken to the TRC by her own Government. The only one. |
| Ismael Semenya | 01:15:15 | 01:15:21 | I thought they were criminalizing her so that they can politically neutralize her |
| *Archive Ismael in court* | 01:15:21  01:15:33 | 01:15:33  01:16:08 | ISMAEL: Is there an opinion by a section of our country about the nomination of yourself to the Deputy Presidency of the African National Congress in December?  Winnie: Yes that is true- as a matter of fact as far as I was concerned-  the subpoena could have been served last year could have been served  many, many moons ago- and the unhealthy coincidence in my mind that this must happen a few days before the National Conference- to me suggests it is part and  parcel of that agenda. |
| ZINDZI | 01:16:09 | 01:16:31 | The whole perception of reconciliation was gotten completely wrong because it has been misinterpreted, in terms of what it was supposed to achieve, then Winnie Mandela becomes demonized, because she remains the voice of the down-trodden, and the conscience of the people, that voice that says we were not treated right and we’re still not being treated right. *That’s* the reality! |
| *TRC archive archbishop Tutu* | 01:16:32  01:16:59 | 01:16:58  01:17:21 | I speak to you as someone who loves you very deeply. Who loves your family very very deeply- I would have said to you let us have a public meeting, and at that public meeting for you to stand up and say there are things that went wrong.  There are things that went wrong and I don’t know why they went wrong and say I’m sorry – I’m sorry for my part in what went wrong –  Please I have not made any particular findings from what has happened here- |
| WINNIE | 01:17:21 | 01:17:49 | I was seething with rage- to this day, I ask God to forgive me, for not forgiving him. He was acting there for the public- acting there for Stratcom  Begging me to say I was sorry?! |
| TUTU | 01:17:49 | 01:17:53 | I beg you  I beg you  I beg you |
| WINNIE | 01:17:53 | 01:18:00 | I wasn’t going to say sorry about what HAPPENED- AS IF I HAD BEEN RESPONSIBLE for Apartheid! I mean, how dare… really?! |
| TUTU | 01:18:00 | 01:18:21 | You are a great person and you don’t know how your greatness would be enhanced if you were to say you’re sorry, things went wrong- forgive me.  I beg you. |
| WINNIE | 01:18:22  01:18:52 | 01:18:50  01:19:01 | The one person who kept the fires burning when everybody was petrified – and I didn’t blame them-because of those dark forces of apartheid were killing our people like flies. I didn’t blame them when sometimes I would shoot that fist alone – and they were too petrified.  You put me on trial before the TRC and a Desmond Tutu sits there judging me, judging me! |
| ANTON HARBER | 01:19:34  01:19:50 | 01:19:50  01:20:12 | For the first 20 years it was accepted that compromises were made, that deals were made, and  ..that they had to be made and that worked for the better of everyone  because it gave us what’s loosely called a peaceful transition.  But now you are very clearly seeing young people saying: but hold on.  The reason we still have so much inequality, the reason we are so frustrated in our attempts to study and advance and change our lives and change our children’s lives, is because of those compromises you made in the 1990s. |
| DALI MPOFU | 01:20:33  01:20:58 | 01:20:58  01:21:14 | Well I think the way it is going to end in South Africa is that people like Winnie Mandela will be vindicated. There will come a time where history will remember that some of the skepticism THAT they had about the so-called miracle of the solution that was found in the 90s was justified.  I think already people are beginning to wonder whether we were not sold a dummy as it were – that the deal was one sided and that the racist regime got away with murder.  Literally. |
| WINNIE  *SEE THE FREEDOM CHARTER* | 01:21:27  01:21:52  01:22:02  01:22:12  01:22:21  01:22:25  01:22:45  01:22:53 | 01:21:52  01:21:57  01:22:10  01:22:19  01:22:25  01:22:34  01:22:52  01:22:59 | To this day, when I sit in Parliament- every time I press that blue button- I’m constricted with pain- did it take so much loss of life, so much blood, in order for me to vote?  It cost us so much- and it continues to cost us so much.  We dreamt of a South Africa that was totally free of racialism  A South Africa where everyone would be fed equally  Where youth would be employed  Where the scarce resources would have been available for the dreams we instilled in them  The Freedom Charter says the wealth of the country belongs to all, who live in it.  That is the South Africa I would have loved to live one day |