

# Stubborn guardians of apartheid's heritage

NOTHING would please President F W de Klerk more than to go down in history as the quiet revolutionary who scrapped apartheid in South Africa and led in a new era of non-racial, consensus government.

Nelson Mandela, who holds Mr de Klerk in genuine esteem as a man of integrity whose promises should be taken at face value, is doing all he can to help in that ambition. The stronger Mr de Klerk's position, the greater the likelihood of success in the venture to which the two leaders are committed.

Mr Mandela knows only too well that the greatest challenge Mr de Klerk faces is to shake the white population out of the conditioned belief that the end of apartheid will mean the beginning of chaos. That is why he insists again and again to his own people that negotiations can only succeed if they are conducted in a climate of peace.

Accordingly, it has become fashionable to think of the renewed gun-toting zealotry on the extreme right as the greatest stumbling block.

If the police wished to eliminate the potential for white terrorism, they could do so with ease. All they would have to do is apply the same rules with which they have always dealt with perceived black "terrorists". Alternatively, they could apply the law with due process and impartiality. That, too, would control the white militants.

But it is not the extremists which are the real stumbling block. It is the police themselves. They still inhabit the bullying Boer world of white supremacy and to Mr de Klerk's deep embarrassment, continue to enforce white man's law.

An apt portrait of police double standards has come to light in Welkom, in the geographical heart of the country, a mining town so wracked by the political changes Mr de Klerk is seeking to effect that all of South Africa is seeing it as a sort of laboratory, the testing ground for what may come.

## Police are at the heart of South Africa's problems, says John Carlin

Last Sunday afternoon, the police, typically edgy at the sight of a large black crowd, opened fire in Welkom's Thabong township, killing 11 people. Young blacks, playing their part in the accustomed drama, went on the rampage, burning buses and houses and killing a local black councillor appointed by the white government.

On Wednesday, more than 1,000 police went on a dawn sweep through Thabong, arresting 37 people and seizing a substantial number of knives.

A few hours later, a convoy of police vehicles went on a triumphal tour of the white Welkom suburbs. The show of strength, a police spokesman said, was designed to allay the fears of the white community.

Never would it have crossed their minds to shoot on the white vigilantes or to go on a sweep of the Welkom suburbs, a task which would yield a much richer harvest of dangerous weaponry.

Exactly the same principles lie behind the dramatic increase nationwide of township "unrest".

A judicial inquiry into the shooting of five people by police in Sebokeng, near Johannesburg, on 26 March found that the police believed a black crowd was poised to march on the white town of Vereeniging and that the first constable to shoot did so, as he himself testified, "out of anxiety and a fear reflex".

The fact that black people take the law into their own hands and set about their own internally generated violence, often taking the shape of the much derided "people's (or kangaroo) courts", is hardly surprising in the manifest absence of "black man's law".

The police have continued, quite at odds with the spirit of reconciliation Mr de Klerk is seeking to generate, to detain and harass black activists loyal to the perfectly legal ANC for no other reason than that they be-

long in the ANC. Mr de Klerk no longer sees the ANC as the enemy, but as a legitimate rival and, indeed, a potential ally. But the police in Natal, scene of the worst violence in the country, continue to take sides with the conservative Inkatha movement against ANC supporters.

It was suggested in the Press this week that the answer to the problem lies in securing advice and training in policing methods from Britain or some other western European country.

A more immediate step which Mr de Klerk might be tempted to take is to sack the Minister of Law and Order for the last three and half years, Adriaan Vlok (friend of Inkatha, friend of the white extremists), and replace him with an individual sufficiently resolute and politically sensitive to drag the police, kicking and screaming if necessary, into the new age.

Mr Mandela, who has stopped just short of asking publicly for Mr Vlok's resignation, appears to be willing to give him one more chance. The two men held a lengthy meeting on Friday and, as Mr Mandela said in a speech the next day, he was persuaded that Mr Vlok was at least making an effort to bring his police to order. Mr Vlok knows that Mr Mandela is in a position to insist to Mr de Klerk that his head be delivered on a platter.

As things are, the combination of rising expectations among blacks and the prevailing sense of injustice will generate more bus-burnings, more township mayhem and Mr Mandela will, in turn, see his own authority eroded, undermining, perhaps, the most ambitious and unexpected political partnership of the twentieth century.



# Pressure grows for prosecution of Mrs Mandela

From Gavin Bell in Johannesburg

PRESSURE increased yesterday for criminal charges to be laid against Mrs Winnie Mandela, the wife of the African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, after a Supreme Court judge found she was present on the evening that four young black men were severely assaulted at her home in Soweto.

Mr Justice B. O'Donovan, finding Jerry Richardson, one of Mrs Mandela's associates, guilty of murdering one of the youths, said testimony by the survivors in which they incriminated Mrs Mandela appeared to be honest and credible. He rejected statements by Richardson and two other witnesses that Mrs Mandela was absent on the night the youths were abducted from a church mission and taken to her home on December 29, 1988.

"There is no reason to suggest why the state witnesses, who had every reason to remember December 29, should be untruthful. Their

evidence that Mrs Mandela was present during only part of the assaults on that night, and that she left while the assaults were proceeding, has a ring of truth. The court finding on this issue is that Mrs Mandela was present on December 29 for at least part of the time."

Mr Justice O'Donovan had been asked by both the state prosecutor and defence counsel to rule on the question, following controversy over initial decisions not to prosecute Mrs Mandela or to call her as a witness.

While he did not implicate Mrs Mandela in the actual assaults, his ruling may preface criminal proceedings. Mr J.A. Swanepoel, the Deputy Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand, said this month that his department would consider the possibility of charges against Mrs Mandela on the basis of the trial evidence.

Rejecting suggestions of political considerations, Mr

Swanepoel said: "Wait until the trial is over, and then we will decide whether Mrs Mandela is to be prosecuted."

Reviewing the evidence in the Rand Supreme Court, Mr Justice O'Donovan said it was alleged that Mrs Mandela had punched and whipped each of the abducted youths after declaring they were not fit to be alive. Testimony to this effect by the three who survived corroborated each other in all material respects, he said. By contrast, there were manifest absurdities in Richardson's evidence, and two witnesses called to corroborate his assertions did not impress the court.

While evidence that Richardson murdered 14-year-old "Stompie" Moeketsi Seipol was solely circumstantial, it led irresistibly to the conclusion that he was guilty as charged. He also found Richardson guilty of one count of attempted murder, four of kidnapping, and five of assault. The case was adjourned until August 6 for psychiatric reports.

Richardson, aged 41, was formerly the coach of a football team bearing the Mandela name which served as Mrs Mandela's bodyguards, and which has been accused by Soweto residents of conducting a reign of terror in the township.

After the ruling was announced, relatives and friends of the abducted youths said they welcomed the verdict and wanted Mrs Mandela to be prosecuted. Mrs Maria Matlakala, the mother of one of the youths, said: "The children would not lie. She was there. She must come before the courts."

Mrs Matlakala said community leaders in Soweto were demanding a similar investigation into the abduction of two other youths by members of the football team, a month before "Stompie" and his friends were seized.

Mr J. Ramohlali, a council worker attending the trial, said: "This Mandela thing

is very bitter and angry against Mrs Mandela." Asked whether the affair was likely to embarrass Mr Mandela, he said: "We don't care. Lives were lost."

Mr Mandela protested earlier this week that his wife's reputation was being besmirched in the case, in which she had no opportunity to defend herself. "They don't want to charge her and give her the opportunity of proving she is innocent." It now appears that she may be given that opportunity.

Mrs Mandela has consistently denied that she or any members of her entourage — including Richardson — were responsible for Stompie's death.

The court heard that the youths were abducted for questioning about alleged sexual misconduct with a white Methodist minister, and allegations that Stompie had been a police informer.

However, police witnesses said they had no record of "Stompie" acting on their behalf, and Mr Justice O'Donovan said no evidence had been produced to substantiate rumours concerning the Methodist minister.



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# Murder verdict taints name of Mrs Mandela

TRADITION has it that when an ANC loyalist is convicted of a crime in court the people in the public gallery stand up, fists raised, and sing freedom songs in a gesture of defiance against a state perceived to be unjust.

The gallery was packed with black people yesterday when a Supreme Court justice found Jerry Richardson, the coach of Winnie Mandela's so-called "football team", guilty of murder. However, when the verdict was announced they did not raise their fists, or sing, or, for that matter, weep. They nodded gravely, approvingly and softly smiled. "At last," said one woman, "we've seen a little bit of justice for the black man in South Africa."

She was Dudu Chile, whose house was burnt down in an attack by the "football team" — Mrs Mandela's bodyguards — last February. Her 13-year old niece, who was inside at the time, was shot dead. Mrs Chile and the group of women gathered around her all belonged to the Federation of Transvaal Women, a bastion of ANC support. They had come to the trial to gloat and Justice B O'Donovan had rewarded them by satisfying their sense of justice.

Richardson was found guilty on all 11 counts on which he had been charged: the murder of Stompie Moeketsi Seipel, a 14-year-old activist whose courage and leadership in battling against apartheid had won him the title of "boy general" in ANC ranks; the attempted murder of another Soweto youth; four kidnapping charges — Stompie and three of his friends — and five counts of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

In his summation, Justice O'Donovan implicitly found Mrs Mandela herself to have been an accomplice in the assaults on the four boys. She has not been charged — not yet, anyway — nor was she called as a witness in the trial, but her name was dragged through the mud. She had been found guilty in the public eye — if not judicially — precisely the outcome that Nelson Mandela had indignantly anticipated at a press conference on Monday, in which he accused the government of a plot to defame his wife.

Justice O'Donovan ruled yesterday that Stompie and three other boys, who were the key witnesses in the three week-long trial, had been abducted by Richardson and "associates" on the evening of 29 December 1989 from the Meth-

From John Carlin  
in Johannesburg

odist Church home in Soweto where they were staying. They were taken in a van to Mrs Mandela's home, also in Soweto, where they were separately interrogated regarding allegations of sexual misconduct with a Methodist Minister, Paul Verryn. (Justice O'Donovan made a point of refuting those allegations yesterday.) Stompie was accused by his abductors of being a police informer and he was singled out for particularly severe assault.

All the boys, Justice O'Donovan found, had been badly beaten. For "at least part of the time" that the assaults took place, Mrs Mandela — who according to one witness had said that they were not fit to be alive — was present. Allegations that she took part in the beatings had, the judge said, "a ring of truth".

Police found bloodstains on the floor and ceiling of the room in Mrs Mandela's home where the boys said they were beaten. Justice O'Donovan said that the evidence that Richardson had killed Stompie — whose rotting body was found on 6 January — on or shortly after the night of 1 January 1989 was "solely circumstantial" but cumulatively, "irresistibly" led to the conclusion that he was guilty as charged.

Two further trials of eight associates of Mrs Mandela's are pending. They have been charged with assaulting Stompie and his three friends. Mrs Mandela, who is expected to be called as a witness at one of the two trials, is likely to be charged herself in due course, lawyers were predicting yesterday.

■ **PRETORIA** — An ultra-right-winger yesterday told a local newspaper that he was behind Wednesday's bombing of Motrosc House, museum here, AFP reports.

Speaking from a public telephone, Piet "Skiet" Rudolph claimed responsibility for the grenade attack that damaged the entrance to Motrosc House, where on May 31 1902, 10 leaders of the old Boer republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State surrendered to the British ending the second Anglo-Boer war.

Observers said the blast could have been intended to raise the political temperature ahead of today's rally by the extreme-right Conservative Party at Pretoria's Voortrekker monument, which is an Afrikaner shrine.



## Winnie Mandela aide convicted of killing 14-year-old activist

Phillip van Niekirk  
in Johannesburg

**J**ERRY Richardson, the former coach of the so-called Mandela Football Club, was found guilty yesterday of the murder of a 14-year-old activist in a case closely connected to Winnie Mandela.

There is likely to be further pressure for Mrs Mandela to be brought to trial after Justice Brian O'Donovan found the leader of her bodyguard guilty of murder, attempted murder, kidnapping and assault.

James "Stompie" Mosoketel Seipel was taken from the Mandela household in Soweto, where he was being held captive, on January 1, 1988, and stabbed to death with garden shears. Stompie had been abducted with three others from a Methodist church sanctuary.

The judge found that Mrs Mandela was present when Stompie and the others were beaten. Two nights later, Mr Richardson, aged 41, told Stompie to write out his address and pack his bags as he was going home. He was taken by members of the Football Club and never seen alive again.

Equally damaging for Mrs Mandela is the judge's acceptance of the testimony of Kenneth Kgase, a church worker who was also kidnapped, saying it was amply corroborated by

the other two captives. Mr Kgase had testified that he and the other two had been forcibly taken from the Methodist manse on December 28, 1988, and accused of sexual misconduct with the pastor, Paul Verryn. Stompie was accused of being a police informer.

Mr Kgase said Mrs Mandela had come into the room where they were being held and said they were not fit to be alive. She had punched and beaten all four while interrogating them about the "charges". She then beat them with a leather whip.

Justice O'Donovan found that Mrs Mandela was there, despite defence witness evidence to the contrary. He found Mr Richardson's denial that he was responsible for Stompie's death laced with "manifest absurdities" and lies.

The finding that Mrs Mandela was present is almost certain to increase pressure on the Attorney-General, Klaus von Meier, to lay charges.

Nelson Mandela has consistently defended his wife. In Nigeria last week, the deputy president of the African National Congress accused the government of persecuting her.

"When my wife is not charged and the whole case centres on her, she has no way of defending herself and establishing her innocence," he said.



# Mandela aide guilty of murder

A COURT in Johannesburg found Mrs Winnie Mandela's "chief bodyguard" Jerry Richardson guilty yesterday of murdering a 14-year-old boy. Reuter reports from Johannesburg.

The Rand Supreme Court court found that Richardson, aged 41, had killed black activist "Stompe" Seipel whose battered body was found, throat slit, in Soweto near Johannesburg in January 1989.

Richardson led the "Mandela United Football Club", which acted as Mrs Mandela's unruly bodyguard in Soweto during the final part of her husband Mr Nelson Mandela's 27-year imprisonment.

Richardson was also convicted of trying to kill another young man by cutting his throat with garden shears and leaving him for dead, four kidnapping charges and five counts of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

The trial began on the same day that Mr Mandela led an

African National Congress team in preliminary talks with the President F. W. de Klerk's Government early this month.

On Tuesday Mr Mandela accused the state of persecuting his wife by the way it ran the trial. "When my wife is not charged and the whole case centres around her, she has no way of defending herself and her innocence," he said.

Two Johannesburg lawyers, who asked not to be named, said the state probably had enough evidence to charge Mrs Mandela with assault or even complicity with murder. "I don't think it is going to be a legal decision, it is going to be a political decision," one said.

In February last year anti-apartheid leaders urged the black community to shun Mrs Mandela, once known as "Mother of the Nation", because of the Seipel incident and other thuggish actions by the 30-strong team.

Witnesses at the trial said Richardson took Seipel and

three older youths from a Methodist-run shelter for homeless boys because Mrs Mandela, a social worker, believed the white clergyman there was sexually abusing them. A charge the church denies. State witnesses testified that Mrs Mandela joined in whipping the boys in her home in late December 1988 to persuade them to admit to homosexual ties with the clergyman.

Justice B. O'Donovan found that Mrs Mandela had been present for at least part of the time that the youths were being assaulted.

Richardson will appear for sentencing on August 8.

● Tens of thousands of whites are expected to attend a giant rally today to launch a "freedom struggle" against reform of apartheid.

The Conservative Party predicted up to 100,000 whites would attend the rally at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria to denounce President de Klerk's reform plans.



## ANC proposes third party to monitor South African transition to peace

Mike Hall in Lusaka

THE exiled leadership of the African National Congress said yesterday that an impartial third party was needed to monitor the transition to peace in South Africa.

Outlining the way it sees negotiations on a new constitution unfolding, it said that President F. W. de Klerk's current position as both player and referee was "completely untenable".

Fello Jordan, the ANC's information chief and a senior member of the national executive committee, told an unprecedented meeting, between members of the ANC's military wing and former and active South African Defence Force officers, that the ANC had no "specific prescriptions".

But he did suggest that the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag), which played a key role in Namibia's independence, could guarantee the integrity of an interim government.

The ANC and Pretoria are considering reports from joint working committees on removing obstacles to negotiations. The obstacles include

ANC demands for releasing all political prisoners, lifting the state of emergency, and repealing repressive laws.

Mr Jordan reaffirmed the ANC's commitment to armed struggle, and said the organisation would demobilise its fighters only after a democratic election of a new government. Observers say this stance could be a stumbling block in the run-up to negotiations.

Many delegates, in discussions that were described as tense and emotional, yesterday appealed to the ANC to reconsider its commitment to violence, which made it difficult for the government to control the violence of extreme right-wing groups.

AP adds: Up to 100,000 whites are expected to attend a rally in Pretoria today to launch a "freedom struggle" to fight for apartheid and white-minority rule in South Africa.

The Conservative Party plans to use the rally to launch a campaign to force an election to oust Mr De Klerk.

The rally will be held at the Voortrekker Monument, which is a national Afrikaner shrine.



# Embarrassing silence for ANC's deposed matriarch

By Peter Taylor

WHEN Mr Nelson Mandela addresses a black crowd in South Africa, the chanting of his name is as insistent and irresistible as an ocean caressing the shore. Not many take a bit of notice of what he says, but the affection is palpable.

When crowds are invited to cheer for his wife, Winnie, the silence, accompanied by a few catcalls, is embarrassing. Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of Walter, has replaced the disgraced Winnie as "Mother of the Nation" and the focus for matriarchal sentiment.

The case which has just ended in Johannesburg with the conviction of Jerry Richardson for murder has done nothing to enhance her tarnished reputation.

Three witnesses — abducted with the murder victim from a Methodist church in Soweto and taken to Mrs Mandela's home — have testified that they were punched and beaten by her.

Forensic science experts also testified that human blood had been found on the walls, ceilings and curtains in two rooms of her house, and in a minibus owned by her.

Mrs Mandela was not asked to give evidence — she was on a tour of African states with her husband — and the government has been at pains to handle the affair with kid gloves.

Last year, Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister for Law and Order,

said: "We are proceeding carefully, so as not to give any indication that we are acting vindictively against Mrs Mandela."

"It is also very difficult for the police to find witnesses prepared to testify against her. In the past, such witnesses have either suddenly changed their minds or just disappeared."

An air of intimidation hangs over the case. Even Mr Richardson's counsel said: "He is protecting others, because if he mentions their names his life won't be worth much."

It is not the first time that Mrs Mandela has, surprisingly, not been asked to give evidence in a murder trial.

Two years ago, an African National Congress guerrilla was sentenced to death for the murder of two men after a bar brawl in Soweto. The murder weapon, an AK47 assault rifle, was kept at Mrs Mandela's house.

The only logical deduction is that a decision was taken to "lay off Winnie", who, since her endorsement of "necklacing" — killing by placing a petrol-filled burning tyre round the neck — in April 1986, has become a priceless embarrassment to the ANC, the Anti-Apartheid movement and the sanctions lobby.

From time to time, her husband appointed advisers to

guide her activities, but none lasted long.

Last year, as the activities of her guard of thugs, the notorious "Mandela United Football Club", began to receive wide publicity, even the ANC's internal wing, the United Democratic Front, had had enough. She was politically excommunicated.

The Mandelas have now moved into "Winnie's Folly", the 15-room mansion in Soweto which she built but was unable to occupy because of local opposition to such opulence in the midst of poverty.

She claims the house was built with profits from her book, *My Soul Went With Him*. But Mrs Mandela has a keen entrepreneurial eye, and her dealings with the Right-wing American businessman, Mr Robert Brown, to market the Mandela name have been widely noted. The house had been badly vandalised, but is now repaired.

Mrs Mandela had been put under extraordinary pressure during the years of her husband's imprisonment. But the Attorney-General must now decide whether there is sufficient evidence to prosecute.

Some will see such an action as another trial to add to her tribulations. Others will feel that, whatever the outcome, her erstwhile supporters have already given their verdict.