

Saturday 2 June 1990

# PAC and ANC citizen clash in Vosloorus

By Rohan Minogue  
and Sapa

FOUR people, including a nine-month-old baby, have been killed in political violence in the Vosloorus township on the East Rand since Wednesday night.

A gang of Black men, armed with AK47 assault rifles and handgrenades, attacked three houses in the township of Vosloorus near Boksburg yesterday, shooting dead two women and a 10-months old baby, police and township activists reported.

A further three people were wounded in the attacks, which occurred during the early hours of the morning, and are receiving treatment in the Natalspruit Hospital.

The victims all appear to be connected to the Vosloorus Crisis Committee, which is closely linked to the African National Congress.

It was not known who the attackers (reported to be four Black men) were, but "the information would tend to suggest that they might be Pan Africanist Congress members", said Major Reg Crewe of the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria.

On Wednesday evening a member of the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation died when assailants poured petrol over him and set him alight, PAC spokesman, Mr Philemon Tefu said.

There had been several attacks on PAC and PASO members recently, including incidents of stabbing and arson, and it was possible that PAC

members had taken retaliatory action, he said.

In the first attack at 2.00 am, Mrs Bella Motsopi (65) was killed when she was hit several times in the back by bullets, VCC public secretary, Mr Keith Montsitsi said.

Her grandson, Thusi Motsopi, a member of the ANC-linked South African Youth Congress, was unharmed in the attack.

"It looks like Beirut here this morning," Mr Montsitsi said.

At 2.30 am the same gang fired on the house of VCC chairman, Mr Ali Maziya (37), killing his wife (32) and baby, and wounding him and his 68-year-old mother, Mr Montsitsi said.

The attack had lasted seven or eight minutes, he said.

Maj Crewe confirmed the incidents, saying AK47's and handgrenades were used in both cases.

In the third attack, the grandmother of VCC secretary, Mr Vuyani Mopofu, was injured, Mr Montsitsi said.

Maj Crewe was unable to confirm this attack.

Mr Montsitsi said the attacks might be linked to a boycott of businesses

owned by "discredited" Black town councillors, which began on May 7.

The VCC had demanded that the councillors, who had acquired business monopolies in the township, resign before they would lift the boycott, he said.

The VCC had its suspicions on who had carried out the attacks, Mr Montsitsi said. "it is our political opposition."

Rival youth organisations of the ANC and PAC had clashed repeatedly in the township over the past three weeks, he said.

The PAC has rejected recent talks between the ANC and the government, and claims increasing support, particularly among Black youth.





Members of the Transport and General Workers' Union marched through the city centre yesterday to protest against poor wages and conditions. Among other things they are demanding a minimum wage of R1 000.

## THE Natal Witness 2 June 1990 TGWU march to protest wages and conditions

### Witness Reporter

MEMBERS of the Transport and General Workers' Union marched to the offices of the Department of Manpower yesterday morning to protest the wages and working conditions of contract cleaning staff and security workers.

They also protested against the proposed implementation of the Security Officers Act.

Union secretary Mr Themba Duma said that among the workers' demands are a 40-hour week with eight-hour shifts, a national provident fund and insurance, a month's annual leave, no illegal deductions from their pay, proper protection for those working in dangerous places and an end to illegal overtime. They are also demanding a minimum wage of R1 000 a month.

Mr Duma said the union was embarking

on this action nationally and was negotiating with all organised companies.

The march started at Churchill Square and proceeded up Pietermaritz Street to the offices of the Department of Manpower, where a memorandum was handed over.

A memorandum dealing with the implementation of the Security Officers Act was also handed over to the South African Police.



LONDON.

Saturday 2 June 1990

The Times  
London.

## Buthelezi lieutenant resigns

Ulundi, South Africa (AFP) — The leadership of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement was shocked by the resignation of Chief Buthelezi's right-hand man, Oscar Dhlomo, 47, the general secretary of Inkatha.

He said he wanted to "rest and reflect on various options pertaining to my future occupation," adding he had thanked Chief Buthelezi "for affording me the opportunity to make a modest contribution in the service of our people".

Mr Dhlomo joined the KwaZulu legislative assembly in 1977, reportedly to back Chief Buthelezi in his stand against accepting "independence" from Pretoria.



# ANC ideas on economy drafted

ALAN FINE

A FUTURE democratic state should — in the context of a mixed economy — assume a leading role in the reconstruction of the economy, a draft ANC economic policy document recommends.

The draft arose from the ANC/Cosatu workshop on a post-apartheid economic policy held in Harare a month ago and has been handed to the two organisations' policy-making structures.

While ascribing a key role for the state in building infrastructure, industrial restructuring, and regulation of the capital market, the recommendations also propose conservative fiscal policies.

The document proposes a shifting of the tax burden from individuals to corporations to make the system "more equitable and effective".

It recommends the state retain ownership of existing nationalised industries, the possible renationalisation of privatised industries and, "where necessary", the setting up of new state corporations. Nationalisation "would be ef-

fectuated through due legal and constitutional processes".

The draft steers clear of recommending the nationalisation of parts of the economy until now in the private sector.

But it does recommend that "the possibility of the state making strategic investments in mines" be considered, while consideration should also "be given to the extent of state ownership within the financial sector."

## Savings

The basic goal of economic policy should be "to achieve economic growth through a process of increasing equality in the distribution of incomes, wealth and economic power".

Reconstruction should be financed by domestic, including personal, savings with foreign capital seen as supplementary rather than as a substitute.

The document stresses a future government "would not replicate the recent practice of using borrowings to finance current state expenditure."

Because the capital market "does not sufficiently direct investment into productive activity", the new government would seek to rationalise and restructure the financial sector.

It recommends the present system of exchange controls be retained, although in a modified form, to retain domestic savings in the country and prevent "destabilising speculative capital flows".

The document also proposes action to counter the volatile nature of mineral prices by the formation of cartels, value-added mineral production, and improved miners' wages and working conditions "without weakening or making less efficient the mining industry."

The 18-page document also includes proposals for the dismemberment of conglomerates where feasible, industrial restructuring, agriculture, and labour and human resource development.

# PAC unveils economic blueprint

PETER DELMAN

THE PAC, in its most explicit statement of economic policy yet, has detailed a sweeping programme of redistribution coupled with "massive" upliftment of black entrepreneurs and consumers.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander unveiled the detailed policy document in a speech to an Achik dinner at the weekend on behalf of PAC president Zeph Mothopeng.

Elements of the "exploratory" PAC document include the "localisation" of the ownership of resources.

It also proposes active state intervention in the economy and control over natural resources, the redistribution of wealth in favour of indigenous African people and the redistribution of land for use by all "Africans". Land compensation will be paid in the form of interest-bearing government bonds.

In an interview yesterday Alexander said the organisation did not wish to promote the illusion that only the state could develop the economy. Towards this end an Africanist gov-

ernment would promote businesses owned individually and by co-operatives of indigenous people.

Blacks would be encouraged to acquire managerial, technical and professional skills and to increase their growing ownership of the economy.

Further privatisation of state economic units would "not be encouraged" unless this enhanced the PAC's political and economic aims, he said. Despite this, the PAC preferred a "lean" civil service.

State corporations would be run autonomously by professional managers within the framework of developmental and redistributive goals.

Private sector workers would have the right to participate in all investment and financing decisions, with representatives serving on companies' boards of directors. Workers would hold a "certain percentage" of a company's equity, capital, initially to be financed by the state.

Business Day 5/6/90



# WEEKEND MERCURY



FREWIN TROPHY WINNER 1989

SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1990

60c (53c + 7c GST)

NATAL NEWSPAPERS

MERCURY 2 JUNE 1990

## Shock blow for Inkatha leader

Patrick Leeman

IN A shock announcement yesterday, the secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said he would be resigning from the organisation, the KwaZulu Cabinet and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on June 30 this year.

The move is seen as a major setback for Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, because Dr Dhlomo, who is also Minister of Education and Culture of the region, was widely tipped as his successor.

Political observers see the decision as having come at a particularly unfortunate time for Dr Buthelezi, with Inkatha locked in a deadly power struggle with the African National Congress and its allies in the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Dr Dhlomo said in a

Press statement yesterday that, after 12 years of uninterrupted public service, he felt it was time to make way for others so that he would be free to devote more time to his family and other interests.

He said he had informed Dr Buthelezi of his decision and had thanked him for affording him an opportunity to make a modest contribution in the service of the Zulu people.

The Inkatha secretary-general said he intended to rest and reflect on 'various options pertaining to my future occupation'.

### Distinction

In a statement the KwaZulu leader said it was with regret that he had accepted Dr Dhlomo's resignation.

'He has played a very important role in the development of Inkatha ... and has served as secretary-general with distinction.'

Dr Buthelezi thanked Dr Dhlomo for the service he rendered in helping pilot the Buthelezi Commission, his role in negotiations for the establishment of a Joint Executive Authority and his assistance to the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

Dr Dhlomo's career rise in Inkatha and national politics has been meteoric in the short time that he has been active.

Born 47 years ago at Umbumbulu, the soft-

### INKATHA

From Page 1

spoken Dr Dhlomo graduated with a BA in History and Anthropology from the University of Zululand before obtaining a University Education Diploma.

He then taught at a Durban school while continuing his studies and obtained a BA Honours degree from Unisa.

After gaining sponsorship, Dr Dhlomo travelled to Britain, the United States and several African countries where he researched teacher training for his doctoral thesis, which he was awarded through Unisa in 1980.

Mr Peter Mansfield, former executive director of the Indaba, said he hoped the politician's withdrawal from politics was not permanent.

'Dr Dhlomo has a rare combination of ability, integrity and intellect that will be much needed in the new South Africa,' he said.

Professor Mervyn Frost, professor of political science at the University of Natal, said the resignation would have a profound effect on people's perception of Inkatha because the secretary-general was seen as the heir apparent and a very able politician.

Turn to  
Page 2

INKATHA



# OSCAR DHLOMO QUITS INKATHA

*Daily News*

Shock resignation  
*2 June 1990*  
of Buthelezi's  
right-hand man

## Political Staff

INKATHA and the KwaZulu Government were dealt a major blow when the influential Dr Oscar Dhlomo announced his resignation from politics yesterday afternoon.

Dr Dhlomo (47), Inkatha's general secretary and the Minister of Education and Culture in KwaZulu, announced in the Legislative Assembly at Ulundi yesterday that he would resign at the end of the month from Inkatha, the Cabinet and the Assembly.

He has been Dr Buthelezi's most trusted lieutenant, and number two in Inkatha. He has had a strong moderating influence on KwaZulu politics.

In a surprise announcement, Dr Dhlomo said last night that it was "time for him to make way for others", and that he had informed KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi of his decision to resign on June 30.



Dr Oscar Dhlomo

"I intend to rest and reflect on various options pertaining to my future occupation," Dr Dhlomo said. He added that he wished to devote more time to his family and other interests.

Dr Dhlomo has made a significant contribution to KwaZulu/Natal and South African politics in the past decade. He was instrumental in KwaZulu's decision not to accept independent status from the South African Government.

He played a leading role in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, the creation of the Joint Executive Authority, and in discussions between Ulundi and Pretoria on South Africa's political future.

Last night politicians said they did not expect Dr Dhlomo's absence from politics to be permanent.

Mr Peter Gastrow, the Democratic Party MP for Durban Central, said Dr Dhlomo's vast practical experience in negotiations would be indispensable in the negotiation process leading to a new constitution.

The African National Congress's convener for Southern Natal, Mr Patrick Lekota, said Dr Dhlomo's resignation from the KLA was "a further indication of the disintegration of the homeland policy".

□ Dr Buthelezi said last night he regretted Dr Dhlomo's resignation. "He has played a very important role in the development of Inkatha and the development of Inkatha's outreach in the world.

"I am sure that Dr Dhlomo will succeed admirably in whatever he chooses to do after he has had a period of rest and after he has had time to consider his options," Dr Buthelezi said.



# ANC, PAC clash in new wave of violence

STAR 2 JUNE 1990

A NEW wave of violence is sweeping South Africa's townships, much of it between the ANC and members of Azapo and the PAC.

In the most recent outbreak, four people, including a nine-month-old baby, have died and at least three people have been injured in politically motivated violence in the East Rand township of Vosloorus this week.

Other incidents included:

- Two grenade attacks on the homes of policemen in Soweto.
- The wounding of a policeman in a shooting incident in Chesterville, Durban.
- Petrol-bomb attacks on the Khotsonk, Bothaville, homes of policemen.
- A bloody clash between supporters of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the African National Congress (ANC) in Maokeng, Free State.
- The death of an Umlazi, Natal, businessmen, who was shot dead and set alight.
- A clash between SADF members and residents of Lulekani, Gazankulu.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has become so concerned about the political violence that he held lengthy talks from his hospital bed with a high-ranking Azapo leader.

The Saturday Star learnt that the meeting was held at Johannesburg's

## STAFF REPORTERS

Park Lane Clinic, where Mr Mandela has been since Sunday.

Muntu Myeza, Azapo projects co-ordinator and national executive committee member, yesterday confirmed that he held a 1½-hour meeting with Mr Mandela at the clinic on Wednesday, after the ANC leader had asked to meet him urgently.

"We had a long meeting, which centred on the need to avoid acrimony between organisations, and we reached an agreement on that," Mr Myeza said.

"We also discussed ways and means of avoiding future occurrences such as those at Maokeng, and agreed that organisations should get around the table to thrash out the road ahead."

Azapo and ANC supporters were involved in violence at Maokeng on Monday. At least seven people were injured, three seriously, in the clashes.

Mr Myeza revealed that the leadership of the two organisations had held a number of similar meetings in the past. He said another meeting would be organised between Azapo and the ANC's internal leadership during Mr Mandela's overseas tour.

Mr Mandela is expected to leave the Park Lane clinic today shortly after addressing a press conference.

● TO PAGE 2.

In Vosloorus, a child and two adults were gunned down and another person burnt to death in this week's spiralling violence between ANC and PAC supporters. The two groupings have blamed each another for starting the war.

Police confirmed the four deaths in Vosloorus.

Those who died are Lindiwe Maziya (32), wife of Vosloorus Crisis Committee (VCC) chairman, Ali Maziya; her nine-month-old baby, Zwelakhe; Bella Motsupi (65), grandmother of Vosloorus Students Congress activist Allison Motsupi, and Azanyu member John Rantho (24).

Mr Maziya (38) and his mother, Elizabeth Matsie, (63) were admitted to the Natalspruit Hospital after being injured during the attack on the Maziya home. Mrs Matsie is reported to be in a critical condition.

Mr Keith Montsitsi, publicity secretary of the VCC, said political

violence in Vosloorus was sparked off when members of the Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) attacked Vosloorus Student Congress (Vosco) activists on Wednesday. He said a Vosco member was seriously injured in the incident.

"Vosco activists subsequently regrouped and went out in search of their attackers," Mr Montsitsi said.

"A fight ensued and Mr Rantho, a Paso member, was burnt to death."

Mr Montsitsi said the spiral of violence flared early yesterday morning when PAC supporters attacked the homes of VCC and Vosco members.

"About 10 armed men entered the home of VCC co-ordinator Vuyani Mpofu and started shooting. Mr

Mpofu and his wife narrowly escaped death, and Mr Mpofu's grandmother was injured in the incident. She has since been admitted to the Natalspruit Hospital."

Vosco activist Mr Thusi Motsupi said his grandmother was killed when Paso supporters fired several shots at his home early yesterday.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said fighting gained momentum last week when eight Paso members were attacked at a high school in Vosloorus.

"They had to flee the area and all PAC members have left the township as a result of attacks on them," he said.

"On Wednesday Mr Rantho, an Azanyu member, was burnt to death. After PAC members left the area a third element exploited the situation for its own ends. The PAC was definitely not involved in any killing."

Mr Alexander said discussions were held yesterday afternoon between PAC president Zeph Mothopeng and ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu. He said they had agreed to "have the situation addressed on the ground".

"A possible meeting between the leadership of the ANC and PAC is being mooted," Mr Alexander said.

ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada confirmed that the meeting would take place.

ANC internal chairman Walter Sisulu yesterday said the ANC had no way of knowing what the real situation was. "We are still investigating the matter," he said. He did, however, condemn the violence.

● Responding to allegations that SA Youth Congress members had harassed other youth organisations, Sayco president Peter Mokabaco said at a press conference yesterday that Sayco encouraged "a spirit of political tolerance and wants to teach this to the youth".





ON THE JOB: Soldiers of 32 Battalion undertake a house-to-house search in Edendale near Maritzburg. To them a shanty town in Natal is not much different from a shanty town in Angola.

# ANC/UDF want SADF out of Natal

A CONCERTED effort is being made by the UDF/ANC/Cosatu alliance to get the South African Defence Force out of the troubled Maritzburg area where fighting between the alliance and Inkatha has resulted in an estimated 3 000 deaths since 1983.

If President F W de Klerk does not heed the demands of Cosatu to immediately resolve the escalating conflict in Natal, the giant workers' body has vowed to embark on nationwide stayaways and marches in the first week of July.

A Cosatu spokesman said plans for a countrywide stayaway on July 2 in sympathy with the victims of violence in Natal were under way.

## SAP probe urged

Nationwide demonstrations and marches were also scheduled for July 7.

Cosatu has also called for the immediate appointment of an independent commission of inquiry into the role of the police in Natal. Further demands include the dismantling of the KwaZulu police and the arrest or prosecution of Natal warlords.

Getting most of the flak from the alliance is the crack 32 Battalion. This unit was formed during the Angolan war — from former FNLA members — and waged a most effective campaign against the Cuban and MPLA forces. The battalion was brought to Maritzburg — with half a dozen other SADF units — to assist the SA Police in maintaining law and order in the area.

But, according to one of several pam-

phlets issued by the ANC Natal Midlands, these soldiers are "mercenaries" and formerly of the FNLA "who fought alongside apartheid forces against the popular MPLA government, under the leadership of comrade Agostinho Neto (sic)".

The pamphlet goes on to claim that this unit was "led by CIA agents".

In an interview, top UDF official Dr Deliza Mji had this to add to the anti-32 Battalion campaign: "This is an anti-communist force who fought the MPLA and Swapo in Angola, both close allies with the ANC."

"Here they are fighting on the side of Inkatha, which is pro-free enterprise and anti-communist. In fact, it is our sincere view that, if all troops could be withdrawn from the townships, there would be peace, because Inkatha on their own cannot do any damage."

And what would the UDF/ANC suggest as a possible solution?

"If a force has to be maintained in the townships it's got to be neutral. The deal that we are coming up with now is that the SADF has lost all credibility among our people. This also applies to the SA Police."

"The only force our people have any confidence in are the Umkonto we Sizwe (ANC) force which, we feel, could hold the peace."

"We actually want the Ministry of Police disbanded — there must be no KwaZulu police. As to the availability of our forces that

is a matter to be discussed between the Government and the ANC, namely the repatriation issue. These highly trained forces have to come back to South Africa in any case."

But when accompanying 32 Battalion's "Foxtrot" company in the Edendale/Mpumalanga area a few days ago, it seemed that they are able to move around unhindered among the local population and appear to be able to conduct their duties effectively.

## 'They feel safe'

Says Sergeant Mario: "The people here are getting used to us. We talk to them and, sometimes, bring out some smiles and handshakes. They feel safe with us around. Even the children, although scared because of the weapons we carry, and the uniform, relax after a while."

Commanding officer Colonel Johan Swanepoel said: "We have had no complaints of ill treatment by one of our members. As to the accusation of being mercenaries — these troops are all fully fledged SADF members and subject to all standard regulations. Also, incidents of violence have decreased dramatically since the Defence Force moved in to assist the police."

Official figures are that in the first week of April there were 37 murders, 12 attempted murders and 17 shooting incidents.

But towards the end of April there were five murders, nine attempted murders and 11 shooting incidents.

STAR

2 JUNE 1990

CLOETE BREYTENBACH  
and STAFF REPORTER



# ANC chided for media inactivity

STAR 2 JUNE 1990

THERE'S one area of struggle in which the ANC isn't winning, says the Durban-based weekly New African — that of the media. And the organisation is taken to task for not making it a priority.

"The unbanning of popular organisations on February 2 should have resulted in a flood of new media," writes expert commentator Don Pinnock, "but it hasn't."

"While people marvel at the sight of Joe Slovo and Thabo Mbeki on the TV set where P W Botha used to be, they rely overwhelmingly on the 'enemy' to interpret the world for them."

"Despite some support from the small and gallant progressive weekly papers," he writes, "the ANC and Mass Democratic Movement have failed to make the battle of the airwaves a national strategy and will suffer the consequences in any future test of power at the ballot box."

Pinnock has a suggestion or two on this score and if they are acted upon, a significant change in South African living habits

## The Left Stuff

SHAUN JOHNSON



could be in store.

He produces some interesting statistics: according to a recent survey, only 12 percent of black people watch television at peak viewing times, as against 60 percent of whites. The ratios are turned on their heads when it comes to radio and this is where Pinnock thinks the future of an ANC media strategy lies.

Firstly, the SABC's suffocating control of the airwaves is open to a court challenge in terms of the Monopolies Act of 1979. If such restrictive practice is found not to be in the public interest, he argues, it could be declared illegal. A long shot, as he seems to sense.

Then there is the previously unthinkable possibility of buying one of the SABC's regional stations. It would also be a rare case of privatisation working in the ANC's favour.

Inkatha, says Pinnock, is already interested in Radio Port Natal, and there's nothing stopping other consortiums from making bids. Farther afield, there are the "enlightened" homelands — one assumes Pinnock is excluding Bophuthatswana — which "could be used as a base for popular radio stations".

The New African argument is most thought-provoking (and humbling, for those of us in the print business) in pointing out that illiteracy levels mean the press is still the preserve of a minority.

"Until most South Africans can read," he says, "a future government would have less to fear from the press than it may imagine."

"If the main source of information is to remain Radio Bantu, the peace process is likely to be in for a very rough ride."

The new  
STAR  
SA can't  
afford  
1990  
'groups'

THE paranoia about group rights is as demagogic as "going back to my roots". In the human race which group is right? In the dynamic history which roots are mine?

People have come closer to each other in many ways so that we cannot avoid shedding our petty identities. Is it for the better or for worse? For the better I say.

History is marred with Assyrians fighting Romans, Catholics fighting Protestants, Sotho against Zulus, Jews against Muslims, Boers against British, communists against fascists and Africans against Afrikaners.

Mankind is in a perpetual development to ultimate oneness and goodness. Therefore, civilisations and cultures have always been transformed for the better. If we choose to get in the rut of "groups" and "roots", we may miss the chance to grow and explore other "frontiers" of the universe and galaxies which past "groups" failed to experience.

Kahil Gibril says about raising a child that we should not confine it to the limit of what we are and what we know, for it belongs to the universe and heaven. Likewise we should not suppress the growth of a new South Africa which is about to be born, with our past mistakes and thoughts. This new nation does not belong to any group, but to the human race.

Ernest Thabo, Alexandra.



# What price saving

STAR - 2 JUNE 1990

# face?

## Winnie's role in the Stompie affair puts the ANC

**PATRICK LAURENCE**

THE African National Congress faces a task of "damage control" now that the Supreme Court has found that Winnie Mandela was present on the night that four abducted youths were assaulted at her Diepkloof home in Soweto.

Mrs Mandela, of course, is not the ANC. She is, however, closely identified with it through her husband, Nelson Mandela, and through her long espousal of its cause.

One of the youths who was assaulted at her home was Stompie Moeketsi; according to evidence at the trial, he was accused by Mrs Mandela of being an informer.

His decaying body, punctured with stab wounds, was later found in Soweto. Jerry Richardson, coach of the Mandela United Football Club, was found guilty of murdering Stompie.

The evidence of the three youths who were abducted with Stompie — Kenneth Kgase, Thabiso Mona and Pelo Mekgwe — had the "ring of truth", Mr Justice B O'Donovan said.

Summarising part of their testimony, Mr Justice O'Donovan said: "Mrs Mandela punched and slapped each of them and called for a sjambok to be brought to her. Each of the four was beaten by Mrs Mandela."

One way, theoretically, in which the ANC can exercise "damage control" is to dissociate itself from Mrs Mandela. The pro-ANC Mass Democratic Movement took that option in February last year after news of the Stompie affair first broke.

It accused Mrs Mandela of abusing the trust placed in her, of violating the "spirit and ethos of the democratic movement" and — even at that pre-trial stage — of "complicity in the recent abductions and assault of Stompie." It called on "our people, particularly in Soweto", to dissociate themselves from Mrs Mandela while re-affirming its "unqualified for support for Nelson Mandela". But that choice

is, it seems, no longer open to the ANC.

Since the MDM's decision last year to "distance itself from Mrs Mandela and her actions", Mrs Mandela has gradually re-emerged as a "rehabilitated" figure in ANC-MDM ranks.

In recent months she has taken her place beside her husband at rallies in the townships at home and glittering banquets aboard. The MDM has, at the least, acquiesced with her public rehabilitation. To repudiate her a second time would be difficult and inconsistent.

Moreover, Mr Mandela, who more than any person symbolises the political aspirations of

## in a dilemma X



the ANC, has made it clear that he intends to stand by his wife. Only days before Mr Justice O' Donovan's judgement, the ANC leader accused the authorities of "persecuting" his wife.

His rationale was that by not prosecuting her they had deliberately denied her the opportunity of proving her innocence. "When my wife is not charged and the whole case centres around her, she has no way of defending herself and her innocence," Mr Mandela said.

"They don't want to charge her and give her the opportunity of proving her innocence. My wife's reputation is being besmirched without her having an opportunity to reply."

Mrs Mandela, who, on the advice of her lawyer, chose not to testify as a witness for the defence in trial of Richardson, may still have a chance to prove her innocence in a court of law.

After Richardson has been sentenced — the trial has been postponed to August 6, to enable his legal counsel to lead psychiatric evidence in mitigation — a decision will be taken on whether or not to prosecute Mrs Man-

del, Transvaal Attorney General Klaus von Lieres has said.

Until then the ANC can sit tight and refuse to comment on the grounds that a trial at which Mrs Mandela may be put in the dock, may be in the offing.

If Mrs Mandela is tried and acquitted, the ANC's problems may well be over on that score; if she is not tried or — worse still from the ANC's perspective — if she is tried and cannot prove her innocence, its problems may only have begun.

The suspicion will linger that Mrs Mandela may have — to quote the MDM's 1989 statement — abused her power and she may not be able to evade re-

sponsible for the "reign of terror" by "her creation", the Mandela United Football Club.

These suspicions have been rekindled by Mr Justice O' Donovan's judgement at an inconvenient time for the ANC. They have been reactivated amid charges of torture in ANC camps by dissident ANC members.

The "Mkata Shinga" dissidents, who returned to South Africa last month, accused the

African National Congress of:

- Abusing human rights.
- Refusing to countenance requests to hold a conference to hear guerrilla grievances about being deployed to fight against Ian Smith's Rhodesian forces and, later, against Jonas Savimbi's Unita insurgents.
- Detaining them as mutineers at the Quatro "prison camp" in Angola for daring to insist on democratic discussion of the ANC's "strategy and tactics".

In a ringing declamation, the Mkata Shinga rebels accused the ANC external leadership of "crimes of genocide", saying: "We are aware of the names of people who are now lying in shallow graves in Africa."

Earlier, another group of dissidents, based in Kenya, made similar accusations. They spoke of brutal beatings at Quatro, of having to lie on concrete floors while prison warders wearing heavy boots walked over them to see if their bones would break, of having to push a tank of water uphill and to endure beatings while doing so, and of having hot melted plastic dripped on to their bodies.

Known loosely as the Nairobi group, they spoke, too, of the "disappearance" of 60 inmates from Quatro.

Their allegations were, however, tempered by protestations of loyalty to the ANC political leaders. Their quarrel was with its military commanders and, in particular, its security person-

nel, known as Mbokodo, "the rock that crushes".

(Coincidentally, and ironically, the dreaded KwaNdebele vigilantes who tried to drag people into accepting KwaNdebele independence, were also known as the Mbokodo).

These accusations, in turn, stimulated memories in South Africa and overseas of the largely ignored US Senate hearings in 1982 on the role of the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany in fomenting terrorism in Southern Africa.

Organised by Senator Jeremiah Denton, who spent eight long years in a North Vietnamese prison camp and who had no

love for communism or communists, or their allies, the hearings heard testimony from several ANC renegades.

One of them was Jeffrey Bosigo, who is presumably the same Askari who today serves in the police "anti-terrorist unit" or "death squad" highlighted by former policemen Dirk Coetzee and Almond Nofemela.

Another witness at the Denton hearings was Nokonono Kave. A niece of Ex-Ciskei President

Lennox Sebe's, she was converted to black consciousness by, she told the Denton sub-committee, its charismatic founder, Steve Biko.

After Biko's death she fled to Botswana, where she joined the ANC; from Botswana she travelled to Lusaka, Dar-es-Salem, the Soviet Union, and back to Lusaka.

During that time, according to her testimony, she was subjected to continued pressure to repudiate her black conscious-

ness beliefs and embrace those of the ANC. Her harrowing tale included allegations of torture: injections to make her lose consciousness, deprivation of food, re-

peated interrogation, multiple rape, being forced to sleep in a room with human cadavers and constant denigration of Biko as a "CIA agent".

At the time Ms Kave's allegations were rejected and/or ignored. It was assumed that she, like her co-testifiers, were South African agents co-operating with an embittered US Senator to discredit communism and movements like the ANC which co-operated with the commu-

**If Mrs Mandela is tried and acquitted, the ANC's problems may well be over; if she is not tried or if she is tried and cannot prove her innocence, its problems may only have begun.**



nists. Since then, however, the ANC, through Mr Mandela, has admitted that torture did take place in ANC camps.

The Manichean view of the South African struggle as a fight between total good and absolute bad no longer holds. Allegations about the ANC that many people refused to hear or consider can no longer be dismissed without careful appraisal.

Mr Mandela's admission, made in response to allegations from the Nairobi group, was qualified by two important corollaries: that torture was not ANC general policy, that its occurrence was an intolerable aberration, and that those responsible had been disciplined.

These potentially damaging allegations have been muted by several factors. Perhaps the most significant is the South African government's own heavily tarnished record.

Since the introduction of internment without trial, nearly 70 people have died in detention, without a single policeman being brought to trial.

According to the Human Rights Commission, nearly 50 people, the vast majority of them anti-apartheid activists, have been murdered since 1977 in what appear to be political killings. No one has been brought to justice. These unsolved killings do not include cross-border assassinations.

Suspensions of State-sponsored terrorism have — to a large extent — neutralised allegations of ANC excesses in its camps.

But the ANC cannot assume that the same neutralisation will apply in future. As the political pace increases, as the stakes become higher, the ANC's political foes will cast about for a stick to beat it with.

Hence the political pertinence of the Winnie Mandela saga.

It gives reasonance to accusations that the ANC has a "Stalinist" element, that it abuses power. It threatens to cancel the authority earned for the ANC by — to quote Nadine Gordimer in her testimony in 1988 for the defence in the Delmas 1 treason trial — the "moral sacrifice" of Mr Mandela and his comrades who were jailed in the Rivonia Trial of 1964.

If Mrs Mandela is not charged there will be allegations of a political deal between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela, struck in the interests of a Government-ANC settlement.

Mr de Klerk has already been accused of protecting Mrs Mandela from prosecution in an interjection in Parliament. It brought an adamant denial.

The allegations will undoubtedly be picked by forces to the Left of the ANC — pre-eminently the Pan-Africanist Congress — and used against it.

The need for the ANC to consider its "damage control" options carefully is as obvious as it is difficult.



STAR 2 JUNE 1990



**TOGETHERNESS . . .** Winnie takes her place at her husband's side after his release from Victor Verster prison on February 11. Since then Nelson Mandela, who more than any person symbolises the political aspirations of the ANC, has made it clear that he intends to stand by his wife.