

ANC opposes call to shun Mandela's wife



SUNDAY TRIBUNE 19/02/89
By Quraish Patel

and Sarah Sussens

THE African National Congress, accusing the Government of infiltrating agent provocateurs into the controversial Mandela United Football Club, has called on anti-apartheid bodies not to shun Winnie Mandela.

Yesterday's unprecedented call contrasts directly with a statement earlier this week by former United Democratic Front publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe, and Cosatu president, Elijah Barayi, asking "progressive" members of the community to distance themselves from Mrs Mandela, who was denounced for allegedly dragging the family name into dishonour.

It is expected the organisations involved in opposing Mrs Mandela will probably heed the ANC's appeal for unity and soften their harsh attitude towards Mrs Mandela, but community outrage appears to have reached fever pitch, sources said.

A major obstacle to the ANC peace call is the release of a secret document — apparently sent to ANC president Oliver Tambo — detailing the alleged activities of the "football club" bodyguards and Mrs Mandela's alleged involvement. This document could be used to try to split the anti-apartheid organisations, sources say.

Organisations which challenged Mrs Mandela and her alleged involvement in abductions and assaults on five youths, might refuse to change their attitude to Mrs Mandela.

Sources said until the full impact of the ANC statement sank in among the community, it would be difficult to predict how conflict surrounding Mrs Mandela and ANC support for her would be resolved.

A TOP-SECRET document, published by the **Sunday Tribune** today, reveals a remarkable picture of the role played by WINNIE MANDELA (above) in the Stompie scandal.

The document, drawn up by the Mandela Crisis Committee and sent to the ANC in Lusaka, details confrontations with Mrs Mandela.

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Mrs Mandela's bodyguards have been linked to the disappearance and death in January of teenage activist "Stompie" Moeketsi Seipei and the abduction of four others. A "democratic movement" statement said the community had been outraged by the "reign of terror" allegedly carried out by members of the team.

The ANC statement, released in Lusaka yesterday, appealed to anti-apartheid groups not to ostracise Mrs Mandela.

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But it also condemned the "unbecoming activities" of club members and said Mrs Mandela had been "left open and vulnerable to committing mistakes which the enemy exploited".

Because Mrs Mandela had ignored ANC advice to disband the club "we consider it necessary to express our reservations about Winnie Mandela's judgment in relation to the Mandela Football Club", said the ANC.

"We have every reason to believe the club was infiltrated by the enemy and most of its activities were guided by the hand of the enemy," the statement said.

Meanwhile, it has been established that Mrs Mandela has not left the country and apparently has no intention of leaving.

Widespread speculation — fuelled by a police statement — that Winnie Mandela was "missing" and had left or was on the verge of leaving South Africa has been denied categorically by Professor Fatima Meer, a close friend of the Mandela family.

Professor Meer — author of Nelson Mandela's biography *Higher than*

Hope — said yesterday: "I am in contact with Winnie Mandela and I know that the thought of leaving the country has never entered her mind."

Meanwhile, Mr Mandela has advised Winnie to "remove" all the youths from her home in the wake of the "Mandela football team" crisis.

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, who held a five-hour meeting with Mrs Mandela yesterday, announced at a Press conference last night he would ensure this was "acted upon promptly".

He also announced the fifth youth who had been abducted with the other youths had been released into his care for urgent medical attention.

The youth, Katiza Cebekhulu, is to lay charges against Methodist minister Paul Verryn.

Police launched a murder investigation in connection with the "football club" and the team's alleged involvement in the abduction and murder of 14-year-old Stompie. Police impounded Mrs Mandela's minibus for forensic tests.

Imbali parents seek new schools for pupils' safety

LECHO 19 JAN. 1989

Echo Reporter

MANY Imbali parents who fear their sons risk being killed in the on-going violence are sending their children to areas outside Pietermaritzburg for education.

This follows an incident on Monday when men entered the township in a white kombi and a Datsun bakkie and killed four people, including an 11-year-old schoolboy, in Unit 1.

Witnesses said the vehicles were "well-known" in the area.

The witnesses, who asked not to be named for fear that they would be killed and their houses burnt, told Echo that a number of armed men — whom they named — alighted from the vehicles and began walking through the area shooting at people.

The first to die, according to the residents, was 11-year-old Simphiwe Majozi, a standard 2 pupil at Funulwazi Lower Primary School, who was returning from a tuckshop in Msululu Road. Witnesses say he was grabbed by two men who shot him twice in the head.

The next victim was Donnybrook man Mr Zazi Gwala (23), who was sitting in a kombi nearby. The men walked up to

the kombi and shot Mr Gwala in the head, killing him. The dead man was a relative of ANC activist Mr Harry Gwala.

The men then attacked Mr Mbongeni "My-dolly" Sithebe (21), shooting him three times — in the head, chest and back.

The killers then came across a man described as the local simpleton, Mr Frank Mdluli (20). They taunted him briefly before shooting him three times in the head and once in the chest.

The murderers then jumped in their vehicles and left the township.

Another three people have been killed in Imbali in the last week.

On Friday Thokozaan Hlela (18) and Lolo Moloi were shot dead near Mdubu Road and on Saturday a prison warder, Mr Mjibha Skhakhane, was shot dead near the old bus terminus in Imbali.

The police unrest report said: "At Imbali police found the bodies of four black males. All appear to have been shot. One body was that of a 10-year-old child."

Nelson orders bodyguard to quit family home as police

swoop again

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DON'T

DITCH

WINNIE -

ANC

THE African National Congress has rallied to the support of Mrs Winnie Mandela, beleaguered wife of its imprisoned leader — but cautiously.

A hastily convened two-day meeting of ANC executives in Lusaka ended in unprecedented public criticism of Mrs Mandela for her involvement with the "Mandela Football Club" — her private bodyguard.

But it called on domestic political groups such as the United Democratic Front not to shun her. This flies in the face of earlier decisions by the "mass democratic movement" to isolate her politically and socially.

Crisis

The ANC statement came in a week of drama as the country's revolutionary and radical groups faced their biggest internal political crisis in years.

Latest developments include:

- The imprisoned Mr Nelson Mandela has ordered the removal of the football club — allegedly responsible for numerous acts of violence in Soweto and now the focus of public outrage — from the Mandela home;

- Police from the Soweto murder and robbery squad seized a second vehicle from Mrs Mandela's home early yesterday for forensic tests as part of an investigation into the murder of Moeketsi James "Stompie" Seipei which may have been committed by her bodyguard and at the same time took the driver, Mr John Morgan, 61, for five hours of questioning;

- Details emerged of a recent desperate written appeal by the Mandela Crisis Committee — comprised of high profile local leaders — to ANC president Oliver Tambo to intervene in the row with Mrs Mandela;

- Urgent weekend meetings between Mrs Mandela and prominent community leaders aimed at resolving the crisis — she met the Reverend Frank Chikane, secretary of the SA Council of Churches, for five hours yesterday;

- Confirmation that Mrs Mandela intends staying in the country and braving it out rather than fleeing as some reports suggested.

In its Lusaka statement yesterday, the ANC said: "It is with a feeling of terrible sadness that we consider it necessary to express our reservations about Winnie Mandela's judgment in relation to the Mandela United Football Club."

It said she had ignored its advice to disband the club and had not co-operated with the mass democratic move-

ment. "Under these circumstances she was left open and vulnerable to committing mistakes which the enemy has exploited."

The ANC referred to the "unbecoming activities of the football club members. We fully understand the anger of the people and their organisations towards this club."

"We have every reason to believe the club was infiltrated by the enemy and that most of its activities were guided by the hand of the enemy for the purpose of



Winnie Mandela with daughter Zinzi Picture: JAMES SOULLIER

WINNIE MANDELA: A FALLEN STAR — P2



"STOMPIE" SEIPEI was found murdered

causing disunity within the community and discrediting the name of Nelson Mandela and the organisation of which he is the leader."

The ANC said, however, people should not lose sight of the "immense contribution Mrs Mandela had made to the liberation struggle. Nor should they forget the persecution she has suffered at the hands of the authorities".

The ANC said Mrs Mandela should be helped to find her way back into the structures and disciplines of the mass democratic movement.

Resigning

The ANC statement was the first time the organisation had publicly criticised the tempestuous wife of Mr Mandela although it had sent a number of private warnings to her to lower her profile.

The statement follows a confidential memorandum from the committee appealing for Mr Tambo's help in resolving "the ghastly situation that is developing before our eyes".

It asked: "Is there a possibility (at the moment we don't see any) of re-integrating Winnie into the community? Some ideas are required regarding this."

The document confirmed Mrs Mandela was considering resigning from the ANC.



FANTASY... the TV soap opera wedding

WINNIE MANDELA: A FALLING STAR

Publicity destroys the portrayal of a celluloid heroine fighting apartheid

WHEN Winnie Mandela took her marriage vows in front of millions of international TV viewers, the blurring of fact and fantasy was complete.

The TV soap opera, *Mandela*, screened in 30 countries, glamorised her larger-than-life role as the symbol of black resistance to apartheid.

At Christmas, BBC radio listeners voted Mrs. Mandela as popular as Princess Diana and Mother Teresa — just a short-head behind Margaret Thatcher.

This week, the two-dimensional celluloid image is in tatters.

In its place, the real-life drama of the toppling of an idol as community leaders stepped forward to condemn her for her bodyguards' actions — actions which might have even stretched to murder.

Now the woman they called Mama Wetu — the Mother of the Nation — has been effectively banished by her own people and even the romance which enchanted foreign audiences is reportedly about to end.

Disowned by the "mass democratic movement", which includes the UDF and Cosatu, Mrs Mandela's world has crumbled overnight.

AGONISING

Imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela — agonising over events in his home in the grounds of the Victor Verster prison near Paarl — is said to be under pressure to end the 30-year-old marriage.

Their marriage took place in 1958 when they were far from being international celebrities.

Winnie Madikizela was 22 when she married Nelson Mandela, 40, a Transvaal attorney who had gone into a legal partnership with Oliver Tambo.

Special report by by DAVID JACKSON

Mandela, a rising political star at home, had been a key figure in the ANC defiance campaign of the '50s. "The Black Pimpernel", as the media dubbed him, was soon on the run from the police.

The marriage was four-years-old when Mandela, then SA's "most wanted man", was caught at a police roadblock in Howick, Natal. He began a five-year prison sentence on Robben Island for incitement to strike and leaving the country without a permit.

At the famous Rivonia trial the next year, Mandela was convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment.

From that moment on, his wife became a symbol — although she never held any official position within the ANC. As the knives sharpened this week, ANC spokesmen have been at pains to point this out.

Mrs Mandela was banished to an eight-year house arrest in the Free State town of Brandfort in 1977. It only served to heighten outside media attention.

She was even nominated for the Nobel peace prize.

Winnie Mandela giving the black power salute in the good old days

International celebrities who sought her out during her Brandfort exile included Senator Edward Kennedy and film-producer Richard Attenborough, then doing research for his Biko movie, *Cry Freedom*.

But the countdown to Mrs Mandela's fall from grace effectively began in 1985 when she returned to public life after her eight years in exile.

LIFESTYLE

She claimed to be in almost daily telephone contact with Mr Tambo, the ANC president in Lusaka.

But soon she was on a collision course with radical leaders because of her autocratic style and her issuing of political statements made without con-

sulting the ANC leadership.

Tensions bubbled to the surface when, in September 1986, a mob surrounded her car outside the Cape Town Supreme Court and hurled abuse at her.

Her lifestyle was at odds with the ANC's portrayal of grinding poverty and suppression in the townships. She surrounded herself with an entourage, a fearsome team of personal bodyguards, who came to be known as the Mandela United XI.

She swept in and out of media conferences — like a madonna of the left — flashbulbs popping.

A R500 000 Soweto mansion — dubbed Winnie's palace and completed for her in 1987 — was a huge political embarrassment. Such

was the opposition within the black community that she did not move in. It is unoccupied to this day.

Then there was the infamous "necklaces and matchboxes" speech in 1987 in which she told a gathering at Munsieville near Krugersdorp: "With our matchboxes and our necklaces we will liberate this land."

It was an oft-repeated TV film clip — and it backfired badly on the ANC. It described Mrs Mandela's remarks about necklacing as "unfortunate".

TERROR

There were also rumblings about her dealings with the right-wing US businessman, Rupert Brown, who claimed Man-

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REALITY ... Winnie on her wedding day

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WINNIE MANDELA! A FALLING STAR

Crisis tarnishes her image

By JAYNE LA MONT: London

WINNIE MANDELA's international image has taken a severe battering and it may never recover.

Massive media coverage both in Britain and Europe of the "Mandela Crisis" this week saw her transition from a shining symbol of her nation's dignity to an embarrassment for the black liberation cause.

But Nelson Mandela's reputation and name have emerged untarnished.

The African National Congress's external leaders are still deciding on an official policy regarding Mrs Mandela, but it's reliably understood they will support the stand taken by black organisations in South Africa.

In Lusaka, Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, endorsed the disbanding of Mrs Mandela's bodyguards.

London's large community of exiled South African activists also insisted that the liberation movement had not been harmed by publicity surrounding the activities of the Mandela United Football Club.

"The ideals of the movement are greater than any individual," said one prominent

anti-apartheid activist. "Mrs Mandela is not the ANC."

The national Press devoted entire pages to lengthy profiles of her — from her courage in the face of banishment and banning to the taste she later developed for haute couture outfits and other finer things in life.

The London Daily Mail said in an editorial: "Her glamorous image can no longer conceal the instincts of the gangster."

Meanwhile, PATRICIA CHENEY reports from Washington that Mrs Mandela's fall from grace featured prominently in all major American newspapers.

They all carried long articles concerning her in their Thursday and Friday editions.

The Washington Times quoted friends of Mandela who said she had "become bitter and very tough, a hater of whites who rarely smiles."

"What has driven the once rocklike 'mother of the nation' to become an embarrassment to her husband and her cause?" the paper asked.

CREDIBILITY

The London Times reported: "There are signs that Nelson Mandela has tried hard to keep his high-spirited wife on the political rails. He has nominated advisers for her. She (Mrs Mandela) would accept them for a while — and then go back to her bad old ways."

The film-star image abroad of the embattled martyr was fading fast.

The ANC and the "mass democratic movement" were hatching plans to curb Mrs Mandela and limit the damage to the movement's international credibility. The complaints from

Soweto also could not be ignored.

Last October, a crisis committee was formed to probe the activities of Mrs Mandela's bodyguards — now the focus of ongoing investigations into the alleged abduction of four youths, including "Stompie" Mokhetse Seipei, from a Methodist hostel in Orlando East.

Committee members included union and church leaders such as Cyril Ramaphosa and the Rev Frank Chikane.

It was a last-ditch attempt to plug the dyke internally before the storm

became an international flood of unsavoury publicity.

Foreign media reports about a rift in the Mandela marriage were persisting. They quoted sources as saying Mandela was angered by his wife's political statements. Mrs Mandela issued a statement through her lawyers denying there was tension in the marriage.

DRASTIC

Community organisations now began to distance themselves from the growing "Winnie" problem.

A meeting in Dobsonville, Soweto, of 150 com-

munity leaders took a drastic step, ratified by Cosatu's shop stewards council. It was resolved, among other strictures, that no progressive organisation should grant Mrs Mandela a political platform, that she could no longer claim to speak on behalf of the community and that no "progressive" lawyer should act for her.

Events came swiftly to a head when Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said last week Mrs Mandela and her club would be the subject of a top-level probe. The committee's investigation then fell away.

And Mrs Mandela had effectively been ostracised.

Mandela had agreed to sign over power-of-attorney to him to protect the use of the Mandela family name and its "worldwide interests".

That was repudiated by Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismael Ayob, who said only the ANC was empowered to act on Mandela's behalf.

The Mandela XI, meanwhile, was putting the boot in. They were not respected for their footballing skills — but feared for a reign of terror that was provoking ugly counter-reactions.

Mrs Mandela's home in Orlando West was burnt by a group of 100 rampaging youths who had also stoned it — apparently in anger at the Mandela club's excesses.

The Mandela XI then stepped up a purge of dissident factions. Fears of open gang warfare in Soweto between the rival groups and news of Mrs Mandela's open intransigence were conveyed to Mandela.

Inkatha leaders get stern warning

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19/02/89

ULUNDI: Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday sternly warned certain local and regional Inkatha leaders that unless they behaved properly they would be "left behind."

In his presidential address to Inkatha's central committee in Ulundi he said the violence in the greater Pietermaritzburg area had spread to other black townships because certain of the Inkatha leadership were not sufficiently rooted in the people.

Some of the black liberation movement's local and regional leaders were behaving "as though the struggle is a way of life and as though they are going to die or retire doing what they are doing," he said.

There was growing belief nationally and internationally that Inkatha had failed to meet a challenge. It was painted as a has-been organisation which worked within the status quo and was incapable of making necessary transition.

Such propaganda was untrue. Inkatha would adapt — "and in adapting it will leave some of you behind".

Dr Buthelezi said he would not slow his own pace because of people who did not want to keep up with him. — Sapa

She held us all in utter contempt

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is "above" the community and of showing "utter contempt for both the crisis committee and the community".

It says: "She told us (the crisis committee), and she repeated this to a church delegation... that she is contemplating holding a Press conference at which she will publicly announce that she is resigning from the ANC."

"We do not know what this means! We asked her to hold back pending a meeting between her and a full complement of the crisis committee which can only take place in mid-February..."

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka confirmed a memorandum had been received by Mr Tambo, but did not know details of its contents.

The document was written before there was any certainty about the death of child activist James "Stompie" Moecketsi Seipei, 14, and tells of an approach to the crisis committee by "comrades" from Tumahole (Parys) as well as by the Methodist Church alleging that "Winnie's boys have kidnapped five kids who were staying at the Methodist Church mission house in Orlando West..."

"We approached Winnie, who promised to give us access to the kids... She immediately asserted that they came to her house voluntarily because they were tired of being sodomised."

"She promised that the kids would confirm that to us... The names of the kidnapped kids are Gabriel Mekgwe (Ikageng, Potchefstroom), Thabiso Mono (Ikageng), Katiza Cebekhulu (Hammarisdale), Moecketsi — better known as Stompie to his comrades (Tumahole, Parys), and Kenny (Pretoria)."

"When we approached Winnie, we did not divulge to her that we knew the number of kids involved. The reason for this was that Stompie, the 14-year-old kid from Tumahole, was feared dead by our informants."

Their fears were based on testimony that Stompie had been taken away for further interrogation after he had been so badly assaulted he could not even walk.

Torture

The report says that "Kenny managed to escape and he is presently hospitalised as a result of the heavy torture he received..."

"Winnie produced Gabriel Mekgwe, Thabiso Mono and Katiza Cebekhulu to the crisis committee. When we interviewed them, both Gabriel Mekgwe and Thabiso Mono tried to tell us that they left the mission house voluntarily and went to Winnie for protection..."

"During the course of the interview we noticed that both of them had scars on their bodies — scars which were quite fresh. They denied having been assaulted. They maintained that the injuries were sustained when they fell from trees at the mission house."

Coincidence

The memorandum says "it is an improbable coincidence" that of the 16 or so children who lived at the mission house, "only those who had the propensity to climb trees" should be sodomised."

The report said Katiza claimed:

■ That both Gabriel and Thabiso were heavily assaulted. Stompie and Kenny were also assaulted.

■ That Katiza was instructed to contribute to assaulting the four. He was himself not assaulted.

■ He believed that Kenny had escaped, but suspected that Stompie was dead.

■ Before running away from Hammarisdale, Katiza was working with CR Swart Security Branch. He maintained he did this because of poverty. He was, accord-

ing to him, rejected by both the UDF and Inkatha. He reckoned both organisations were after him.

The memorandum said Mrs Mandela told the committee later that she had sent both Katiza and Xoliswa to Lusaka.

"This is what prompted us to take this step of communicating with you (Mr Tambo) — hopefully while the two are still in Lusaka."

"We believe that Xoliswa can help us understand her (own) role in the whole rigmarole. This is necessary because she seems to be very close to both Winnie and the football club."

Drafted

"Interestingly, Zinzi (Mrs Mandela's daughter) later told us that Kenny had escaped. She made no mention of Stompie."

"All organisational formations that are Soweto-based held a meeting to discuss the issue. Present at the meeting were Methodists priests including (Bishop) Peter Storey; both SM and our Sister from the crisis committee attended."

The memorandum says: "Both Gabriel and Thabiso said at the meeting that they were heavily assaulted by the football club. They were not taken to a doctor, but were treated by members of the football club."

"After recuperating, they were integrated into Winnie's staff. They were made to clean the yard, and were drafted into teams that take turns to guard the house at night."

Sodomised

"According to both Gabriel and Thabiso, they were told what to say to the crisis committee. At that stage they obliged because they were still captive. They withdrew almost everything they had told us..." including allegations they had been sodomised."

"The meeting took the following resolutions:

■ That Winnie be approached and be instructed to produce Stompie.

■ That all progressive organisations should no longer give her a platform.

■ That the football club be dismantled forthwith — lest the community dismantle the club for her."

■ That, from henceforth, she must desist from creating an impression that she speaks on behalf of the people."

■ That neither Krish Naidoo nor any other progressive lawyer in the country should act for her."

"We were later informed that those resolutions were ratified by the Cosatu Johannesburg shop stewards' council."

"When Winnie was informed about the decisions of the meeting, her immediate response was to demand a list of all the people who were at the meeting. She seems to think that she is above the community!..."

"When we insisted on demanding Stompie, she said that we must leave this to the police. We are raising these issues because we are imploring you to act on Xoliswa and Katiza."

"Help us. Map out the way forward in relation to the following fundamentals pertaining to Winnie's political life:

■ Is there any point in continuing to maintain the crisis committee? We promise that if you feel so, we'll continue to make our humble contribution. However, your input will be necessary, i.e. in helping re-define the new terms of operation designed to meet this new ghastly situation that is developing before our very eyes."

■ Is there a possibility (at the moment we don't see any) of re-integrating Winnie into the community? Some ideas are required regarding this."

ONLY I ASSAULTED STOMPPIE, CLAIMS FOOTBALL COACH

Tribune Reporter

STOMPPIE SEIPEI escaped from Winnie Mandela's home a week after he had been beaten.

This is the startling claim by one of the key actors in the drama, Jerry Richardson, 41-year-old former coach of Mrs Mandela's controversial "soccer" team.

Mr Richardson, who stayed at Mrs Mandela's home in Diekploof Extension, has told a Johannesburg newspaper he went to Methodist Minister Paul Verryn's residence in Orlando West in December where he removed a group of boys — including Stompie — and later assaulted them.

He said Stompie escaped about a week after being taken to Mrs Man-

dela's house.

Said Mr Richardson: "He left the room he was sharing with me to go to the toilet, but did not come back. I afterwards discovered he had disappeared, and haven't seen him since."

"I believe he's either in the hands of the Security Police, or is in hiding."

Stompie is, of course, dead. Mr

Richardson's account has two major holes.

□ Forensic tests have established that Stompie had been dead for a week when his body was discovered on January 7 between New Canada station and Noordgesig township, meaning he must have died within a day or two of his abduction.

□ At least one of the boys abduct-

ed with Stompie saw him on New Year's Day, terribly beaten and unable to walk. That suggests Stompie died around then, and not a week later, and seems to tally with the findings of the forensic experts.

Mr Richardson said: "I was the only one who assaulted the youths. None of the other people staying in Winnie Mandela's home took part."

WINNIE

Woman of suffering

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Tribune Reporter

WINNIE Mandela is familiar with suffering.

She has suffered for more than 25 years at the hands of almost every Minister of Justice since John Vorster in the 1960s.

Mrs Mandela is a veteran of banning orders, house arrest, banishment, and imprisonment without trial.

She has had to bring up two daughters, Zenani and Zinzi, single-handedly because husband Nelson Mandela was away most of the time. At one time he was busy co-ordinating the affairs of the African National Congress, at another he was abroad campaigning for his movement's cause. When he returned he had to go underground for many months to evade police capture, and finally he was sentenced to life imprisonment for offences rooted in his political beliefs.

The Mandelas' wedding cake was not even sliced — Nelson Mandela had to ask for special permission to leave the marathon 1956 to 1960 treason trial, at which he was accused, to attend his own wedding in the

Transkei. Then he returned to the dock.

Four years afterwards, at the end of the Rivonia Trial of 1964, Mrs Mandela saw her husband

being sentenced to life imprisonment.

Through it all Mrs Mandela, now 54, persevered, having to cope with raising two toddlers

and doing her job as a social worker to support them. At the same time she had to contend with a succession of banning orders which restricted her to the magisterial district of Johannesburg.

She was banned from attending or addressing gatherings, and was under house arrest be-

tween dusk and dawn every weekday, every weekend and on public holidays.

In the late 1960s up to the early 1970s Mrs Mandela (with others) was detained and charged under the Terrorism Act. She was eventually acquitted.

Her restriction orders were lifted temporarily in 1975, and the following year she was behind bars under the "preventive" detention clauses of the Internal Security Act following the outbreak of the Soweto uprisings.

In Orlando West, Mrs Mandela endured night attacks on her home, including petrol-bombings. Her attackers were never brought to book.

Then, in 1977, the then-Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, Jimmy Kruger, banished Mrs Mandela to the small Free State town of Brandfort.

She left Brandfort after her home was gutted inexplicably by fire.

Fearing for her life, she fled to the Johannesburg home she had left under her banishment order in 1977, but in doing so she contravened her banning orders.

It was soon after, in Krugersdorp in 1986, that she made the remark that some believe laid the foundation for her fall from favour.

It was at the height of the barbaric "necklacings" — by which people were burnt alive by mobs on suspicion of being informers for the "system". and she said: "With our necklaces and our boxes of matches we will liberate this country."

But *uMama Wethu* (Our Mother) became even more alienated from her community when an expensive, double-storey mansion rose in Soweto's affluent suburb of Beverly Hills.

There were uncomplimentary remarks about the house — sarcastically known as "The Soweto Sun". When, on its completion, it was not occupied the remarks became more biting.

When Mrs Mandela rounded up a large number of youths and formed a "football" club (not exactly known for

its wizardry on the soccer fields), her critics found more fuel for their ire.

Her allies, on whose platforms she regularly delivered tough addresses, turned their backs on her.

They have declared that "she has not been a member of any of the democratic structures of the United Democratic Front and Cosatu, and she has often acted without consulting the democratic movement".

Mrs Mandela has overcome great hardships — she is still suffering, but now the suffering is of another kind.



Winnie Mandela in Cape Town this week flanked by her daughter, Zinzi, and one of her friends, Farieda Omar

Stompie: A legend by 13 ... dead by 14



□ Stompie Mokhetse (right) as he appeared in the **Tribune** of October 1987

THE Sunday Tribune was the first South African newspaper to interview the "child general", Stompie Mokhetse. Sarah Sussens, of the Tribune's Johannesburg bureau, recalls meeting the boy who had set himself firmly on a path of martyrdom and who believed he would die at the hands of the "system".

Instead, his death was allegedly caused by his own people and it caused the downfall of Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson, whom Stompie revered.

Interviewed in October, 1987, Stompie said he took orders from his "African National Congress leaders".

He had a strong sense of his own power. Yet, behind his tough political rhetoric and dismissive attitude to death and violence, Stompie was eager to please and, like a child, prided himself on being popular.

Stompie led 1 500 little soldiers in his army of "Under-Fourteens" — children who defended themselves with dustbin lids. The youngest was eight years old.

Stompie's adult "comrade" friends from Tumahole spoke proudly of the boy who was feared the length and breadth of the town. He was a symbol of hope.

When we met him in Tumahole, the "fearsome" Stompie surprised us by greeting us with a friendly kiss. He had a bright, open face and listened intently to our questions. Despite his reputation and his toughness, Stompie was just a township kid — hungry and angry. He wanted to be heard.

Exit Winnie Mandela

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1989

THOSE who lead the "mass democratic movement" must have anguished long over their decision to denounce Winnie Mandela. She has been at the forefront of the "struggle" for so many years and undoubtedly suffered much in the interests of the movement of which her imprisoned husband has been the undisputed figurehead for close on three decades.

She has the name; she has the courage and determination. She earned herself recognition in the world outside and acclaim at home as "the mother of the nation". That recognition came mainly from what started as quiet and dignified but resolute resistance to the years of harassment by the authorities.

Then she lost her cool.

Occasional lapses were dismissed as rashness, understandable in the light of the extremeness of the provocation. Rashness turned to recklessness. She was unrepentant. Now by her sayings and doings she has become so much an embarrassment as to be an unbearable burden.

In human terms her behaviour has about it all the elements of tragedy, particularly since her husband seems so close to freedom. In political terms her rejection must have far-reaching consequences.

It will be divisive. Bodyguards and thuggery are, after all, fast becoming endemic to that element of society that has allowed impatience and bitterness to distort reason. Even killings of the insufficiently radical are held to be excusable.

To others, and we hope, to most, it will be reassuring. It will offer consolation and hope to the hundreds of thousands of all races and all persuasions who still keep faith with reason and the commitment to a peaceful settlement.

No matter what the politics of those who do not see themselves as part of the "mass democratic movement", they must surely recognise that disowning Winnie Mandela in the name of popular organisations like Cosatu and the United Democratic Front required great political courage, and very much more than that, steadfastness to standards of decency indispensable to harmony. As long as those standards remain uppermost with most South Africans there will be hope for real peace in the future.

Return to rule of law

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok shows a great deal more concern for those he incarcerates than did his predecessor Jimmy "Biko's Death Leaves Me Cold" Kruger.

Mr Vlok has met and listened to the pleas of those speaking for the hundreds who have been detained without trial, sometimes for years, and has undertaken to release "a substantial number".

The last thing Mr Vlok wants is for detainees to die of hunger in his jails, and his meetings with lawyers and churchmen, his subsequent, even if belated, releases, show he is a man of some flexibility with courage to act when he has to.

Of course there should be no detainees at all. As minister, Mr Vlok has been given far too much executive power to detain people as he sees fit. As Minister of Law, he is the law. No court gets the opportunity to review his decisions.

Negotiating a peaceful political settlement in this country will be almost impossible until such time as this Government returns to the rule of law in which the courts have the final say on the rights of the government and the individual.

Paying Caesar

WITH barely concealed irritation, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has accused business of mustering its best brains to team up against the tax system. He seems to be asking how business dare to avoid paying so good a government as much money as possible.

The only surprising thing is that the Minister seems surprised.

Money earners in this country are among the highest taxed in the world and whoever can legally avoid paying the government an extra rand in tax does so with no blot on reputation of individual or institution.

Until he and the government make lower taxes possible, by getting rid of costly ideology, he must accept that people will pay unto Caesar as little as they legally can.

Tambo's help needed in 'ghastly situation'

CITY PRESS 19/02/89

Crisis Committee sends document to exiled leader

CP Reporter

WINNIE Mandela planned to announce her resignation from the ANC at a Press conference, but was asked by the Mandela Crisis Committee to postpone any decision until after a full meeting with the committee planned for earlier this week.

This was revealed in a secret document sent to ANC president Oliver Tambo in Lusaka shortly before the body of 14-year-old Stompie Seipei was identified in a police mortuary this week.

A copy of the document came into the hands of *City Press* this week.

A Crisis Committee meeting was held at the Mandela home last weekend, but it is not known whether Winnie's offer to resign was discussed.

Winnie told *City Press* last week if Stompie was dead she would resign from the ANC, and shortly after Stompie's body was identified she announced she would hold a Press conference.

However, it was postponed while she and daughter Zinzi flew to Cape Town to see Nelson Mandela. She has refused to speak to the Press since then.

The secret document to Tambo also alleged Winnie participated in assaults on Stompie and three other youths allegedly abducted by Winnie's "football team".

It says that although the youths were severely assaulted they were not taken to a doctor but were treated by members of the team.

After recuperating they were allegedly integrated into Winnie's staff. They were made to clean the yard and were drafted into teams to take turns to guard the house at night.

The youths allegedly said this after they were released from Winnie's house following the intervention of Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela.

Two of the youths had previously denied this.

After their release two of the youths said they had lied to the committee because they were still "captive" in the Mandela house at the time, and had been instructed to say the Rev Paul Verryn had sodomised them.

The youths said their allegations against the Methodist minister were not true, says the document.

It condemns Winnie and claims she showed "utter contempt for both the Crisis Committee and the community".

The committee claims the "Mother of the Nation" should be made to stop creating an impression that she speaks on behalf of the community.

The document also reveals the intrigue in which a few committee members tried to trap Winnie and establish what happened to Stompie, whom informants believed to be dead.

Kenny allegedly told the "informants" he had last seen Stompie when Stompie was being taken away for "further interrogation". He said Stompie had already been so severely beaten that he was unable to walk.

The committee also requested that Winnie no longer be given a platform by any progressive organisation and that neither Krish Naidoo nor any other progressive lawyer act for her.

Shortly after the document was sent to Lusaka Naidoo announced he would no longer represent Winnie.

As Crisis Committee members Frank Chikane and Beyers Naude were out of the country and Cyril Ramaphosa was very busy, investigations into the so-called Mandela United Football Club were conducted by Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, the former secretary of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, Aubrey Mokoena and Sister Bernard Ncube.

The document says a memorandum was drawn up by some of the youths who lived with Verryn who witnessed the kidnapping of five youths who were staying at the Methodist Church mission house in Orlando West.

"We approached Winnie, who promised to give us access to the kids so we could see them for ourselves. She immediately asserted that they came to her house voluntarily" it said, allegedly they were tired of being sodomised by the priest who was giving them sanctuary. "She promised that the kids would confirm that to us when we saw them."

Only three of the five youths were produced, according to the document. The missing two were Kenny, who had escaped, and Stompie.

"Interestingly, Zinzi later told us that Kenny had escaped. She made no mention of Stompie. This reinforced our suspicions about Stompie. We also kept mum about Stompie at that stage," it says.

At the meeting with the youths, Mekgwe and Mono "tried to tell us that they had left the mission house voluntarily and went to Mandela for protection from Paul Verryn".

The document says that during the interview members of the committee noted that the two youths had fresh scars on their bodies.

Under questioning they denied having been assaulted and said they had injured themselves in falling from trees at the mission.

The committee's impression of Katiza, the third youth produced to them, who was brought to the meeting by Naidoo, was that he was a maverick.

Katiza later laid a charge of indecent assault against Verryn.

The committee claims to have established from Katiza that Gabriel, Thabiso, Stompie and Kenny were assaulted; that Katiza, who was not himself assaulted, had been instructed to assault the others; and that Katiza believed Kenny had escaped and Stompie was dead.

The committee says it was prompted to send the document to Tambo because Winnie had said she had sent both Katiza, and the woman, Xoliswa - who had also made a statement against Verryn - to Lusaka.

The committee says Xoliswa, if questioned, could help them understand her role in the whole "rigmarole".

"This is necessary because she seems to be very close to both Winnie and the Football Club. She was heavily implicated in the information we received during our investigations."

However, from inquiries by *City Press* in Lusaka this week, it does not appear that Xoliswa or Katiza have been there.

The document says that after the findings and recommendations of the committee Winnie started accusing the Crisis Committee of various "petty" things, such as:

- That the Crisis Committee communicates with Tambo and Madiba (Mandela) behind her back;
- The committee was assisting the police by investigating the abduction allegation;
- The SACC and the Christian Institute (transparent references to Frank Chikane and Beyers Naude) were "wolves in sheep's clothing".

"This was said to our faces. Winnie does not seem to be aware that the Christian Institute was banned years ago."

The committee wants to know whether there is any point in it continuing to function.

However, it feels Tambo's input will be necessary to help redefine the new terms of operation designed to meet this "ghastly situation that is developing before our eyes".

The committee members also want to know whether there is a possibility, which they do not see at present, of reintegrating Winnie Mandela into the community.

See Pg. 2



Winnie Mandela has offered to quit the ANC.



Lawyer Krish Naidoo no longer represents Winnie.



Oliver Tambo...sent a secret document by the Crisis Committee.

Brutal system blamed

THE *New York Times*, which has been giving extensive coverage to the Winnie Mandela saga, yesterday said:

"For supporters of black freedom in South Africa, watching Winnie Mandela over the last few years has been like watching a bad accident in slow motion and feeling one's confusion turn to anguish and finally, to profound sadness..."

"Winnie Mandela's greatest burden may have been fame. Without ever having sought the role, she was cast as 'Mother of the Nation'. Yet ultimately she could only act like what she was - a black person angry at being maltreated..."

"The tragedy is that, treated brutally by an evil system, she too has become brutal." - Sapa

TAMBO'S HELP NEEDED IN
'GHOSTLY SITUATION'

From Pg. 1

19-02-1989

Don't desert Winnie, ANC pleads

DERRICK LUTHAYI reports

CITY PRESS from Lusaka 19/02/89

THE ANC last night called for peace and co-operation between the democratic movement and Winnie Mandela and asked them to bring her back into the fold for counselling and guidance.

The ANC said it was with "terrible sadness" that the movement considered it necessary to express its reservations about Winnie's judgment in relation to the Mandela United Football Club.

The ANC said it should not be forgotten what Winnie had gone through – apart from her immense contribution to the liberation struggle, she had suffered the anguish of separation from her husband for over a quarter of a century.

She had also experienced unending persecution at the hands of the government – her banishment to Brandfort, imprisonment, torture and sustained harassment for more than 20 years.

The ANC also extended its condolences to the family and community of Stompie Seipei – around whom Winnie's predicament revolves.

The ANC stance adds a completely new dimension to the Winnie affair and follows the decision taken earlier this week by the mass democratic movement which called for the nation to distance itself from Winnie.

Winnie had increasingly become, in her own right, a symbol of resistance to racist tyranny – both at home and abroad, the ANC said.

"We firmly believe, without prejudging the issues, that whatever mistakes were made should be viewed against the background of her overall contribution," the ANC said.

"We consider it important that the movement as a whole should adopt a balanced approach," the ANC statement said.

The organisation said it shared the concern of the "mass democratic movement and struggling people as a whole" over the "serious developments" in the activities of the Mandela United Football Club and had tried to intervene to find an amicable solution.

It had tried to use its influence to disband the group, but "unfortunately our counsel was not heeded by comrade Winnie Mandela", the ANC said.

As Winnie did not belong to any structures, she "did not benefit from the discipline, counselling and collectivity of the mass democratic movement".

Under such circumstances, she was left vulnerable to committing mistakes "which the enemy exploited".

The ANC believed that the club had been infiltrated by "the enemy" who guided them with the aim of causing disunity and discrediting the name of Mandela and the ANC.

"Our people should not allow this. The ANC calls on people to close ranks and exercise maximum vigilance against the vile machinations of the enemy.

It was therefore necessary to help "comrade Winnie Mandela" to find her way into the structures and discipline of the mass democratic movement.

It was of paramount importance that Winnie co-operated with all those involved in the resolution of the problem, the ANC added, and said it was confident that the mass democratic movement would open its doors to her in the interests of the people and their struggle."

Winnie affair not likely to affect ANC or US support

DERRICK LUTHAYI
reports from Lusaka

19/02/89 CITY PRESS

THE rift between ANC leader Nelson Mandela's wife Winnie, the UDF and Cosatu is likely not to have any serious repercussions within the ranks of ANC.

This was the impression I gained in Lusaka on Thursday night from ANC members who said the divorce between Winnie and the two organisations was not the real problem of instability in SA.

Speaking as individuals while a statement was awaited from the ANC hierarchy who met on Friday morning to discuss the matter, they said different organisations had different ideas to resolve their problems, while the national organisation had its own.

A few minutes after it became known in Lusaka that the UDF and Cosatu had parted ways with Winnie, comrades were seen in groups holding separate discussions on the matter. At the end it became clear that they did not see it as serious, but left the real answering to the party executive.

The saga of Winnie and the democratic movement came at a time when the ANC in Lusaka had issued a statement expressing full support for efforts being made by the Soweto community and members of the public to solve the problems concerning Winnie's "body guards", the Mandela United Football Club.

This view is also shared by the ANC's overseas mission in the United States, which said the split between Winnie and the mass democratic movement was a "minor problem".

US black leaders have also joined the bandwagon, saying the divorce

would not affect their backing for the anti-apartheid movement as it was just "a passing show" as far as international support was concerned.

The ANC's New York representative, Solly Simelane, said the Mandela affair was just a "passing phase" and that the focus should be on the system, not on Winnie. He said he did not think this would have any serious consequences as far as support was concerned.

US black leaders who support the ANC said Winnie's censure was not likely to weaken international support for an end to racial separation in SA.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) spokesman Joseph Lowery said it was unfortunate that the situation had developed, but that it would have absolutely no effect on support for the anti-apartheid movement in SA.

"It contradicts the contention of the National Party Government that the leadership of the movement condones violence. This obviously shows they condemn violence," said Lowery.

He added that the SCLC had sent a message to Archbishop Desmond Tutu telling him and other black leaders in SA that "this will in no way diminish support. It actually may cause us to increase our support because of what is seen as a crisis there".

A spokesman for Congressman Ron Dellums said Winnie had never visited the USA and was only one individual in a large struggle.

"The situation would not affect legislation for comprehensive sanctions against SA. There are already 123 co-sponsors this year and we intend to go forward to maximise the vote," he said.

THE WRITING'S ON THE WALL FOR WINNIE MANDELA

By SOPHIE TEMA and SELLO SERIPE

GRAFFITI denigrating Winnie Mandela was this week sprayed on the walls of the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg and several other places around Johannesburg and Soweto.

Sprayed in black and red paint was the message "Kid Killer Winnie" on the church's Pritchard Street wall. Others signs read: "UDF Loves Winnie", "UDF S... Winnie" and "Storey Pray for Winnie".

The graffitists disseminated their slogans as far afield as Saxonwold and Parkview in the northern suburbs. "Swoop Nelson for Winnie" defaced the white wall of a house in Avonwold Street, Saxonwold.

Another message on a wall at Johannesburg's Zoo said in bold black and red: "Release Nelson, Hang Winnie". Other derogatory graffiti are unpublishable.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Major Dries Jacobs, said the matter was under investigation.

Bishop Peter Storey said he could not say who was responsible for the desecration of church property.

"This building is a place of worship and only sick-minded people would do this."

MANDELA GAGS

WINNIE

EXCLUSIVE

... but she
speaks to
City Press

19/02/89

DESMOND BLOW speaks to Winnie Mandela

NELSON Mandela has gagged his wife Winnie and their daughter Zinzi.

When Winnie sought his advice in a 70-minute meeting at the Victor Verster Prison near Cape Town on Wednesday, Mandela ordered her and Zinzi to not to make further Press statements.

Winnie told *City Press* in an exclusive interview yesterday: "Mandela believes the family should retain its dignity and not become involved in any more mud-slinging. He felt this especially as he felt the Press has not been giving me a fair deal."

Apparently Winnie and Zinzi have told people close to them that Mandela was his usual loving self as a husband and father and did not even refer to calls that he should divorce Winnie.

He sees the newspapers and is quite aware of what is being published, according to what Winnie said before she was gagged.

Winnie said she had cancelled a Press conference scheduled for after the visit on her husband's orders.

Winnie and Zinzi laughed at reports in yesterday's Press that she may have fled the country.

Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellet was quoted as saying the police did not know where Winnie was.

"All I can say is that we do not want to arrest her tonight - further than that depends on investigations."

Winnie and Zinzi looked very much at home yesterday at the Mandela house in Diepkloof, Soweto, and were busy deciding on a present for Zinzi's daughter, Zoleka, 9, to take to a friend's birthday party.

They did not appear to be preparing to leave the country, or even their home, for the day.

A person close to Winnie said: "Mama will face the consequences whatever happens. She will never run away."

"Even during all those bitter years when she was restricted to Brandfort she refused to leave."

Police yesterday called at the Mandela home and took away for forensic tests a 30-passenger bus - claimed to be the vehicle in which four youths were fetched from the home of Methodist minister Paul Verryn on December 30.

This was the second Mandela vehicle seized within a week. On Wednesday police seized a minibus in which Winnie was being driven home from Jan Smuts Airport after her visit to Cape Town.

Police said the minibus was seized to undergo extensive forensic tests to see whether murdered boy Stompie Seipei had been transported in it.

Stompie's mom in funeral trauma

By SOPHIE TEMA

STOMPIE Moeketsi Seipei's mother has no money to bury him and is stuck with his body.

In an interview yesterday, Joyce Manankie Seipei said she was hoping to bury Stompie on Thursday - if she could raise the money.

"It is my earnest wish and desire to have him buried on Thursday because his body is already in a bad state of decomposition," she said. "If I had the money I would not let his body be kept any longer."

Seipei said the State had offered to have the body transferred from the Diepkloof mortuary to a parlour in Parys once she had informed them of the date of burial. However, no arrangements had been made for the burial because of financial problems.

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STOMPIE'S MOM IN FUNERAL TRAUMA FROM P.9. 1

Yesterday family members came together to look for a means of raising money for the funeral, but could not reach a conclusion.

Seipei said she was unemployed and her husband, Stompie's step-father, was earning a meagre wage as a gardener.

For the first time yesterday, the mother of the child activist openly spoke of her son's involvement in the "struggle to liberate his people".

Seipei said her son, known as "the army general of the under-14s", often told her that he wanted to meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela and speak to him before he or Mandela died.

Said Joyce: "Stompie often told me that he wanted to ask permission from State President PW Botha to allow him to speak to Mandela before one of them died."

PAGE 2

Families tell of events that led to the brutal butchering of seven children by Inkatha vigilantes

THE VICTIMS



Boy Mkwana, 15



Mduduzi Mkhize, 17



Makhehlana Ndlovu, 23



Sikhumbuzo Lushaba, 16



Bheki Mgwaba, 14

By Mdu Lembede

A FATHER of one of the seven school pupils bludgeoned to death in KwaMashu almost two years ago was not among the parents who cheered after a Durban judge sentenced two of the killers to death last week.

Thomas Mkhize of KwaMashu, suffered a heart attack immediately after identifying the body of his 17-year-old son, Mduduzi, a Std 8 pupil. He died in hospital a few days later and was buried a week after his son's funeral.

Mduduzi had been on his way home from school when he was abducted by a group of heavily-armed men in March 1987. He was bundled into a taxi and taken on a terror ride.

The following morning seven mud-caked bodies of schoolboys were found dumped in a ditch next to a deserted lane which borders the sprawling Lindelani squatter camp and KwaMashu township. Mduduzi was among them.

In what Mr Justice Broome described as "an efficient, well-organised and well-executed slaughter", the children were frog-marched to a cemetery in Lindelani where they were forced to jump into a shallow, muddy pond.

They were mercilessly butchered and then their bodies were dumped in a ditch.

Last week triumphant cries of "Amandla"

SHOCK KILLS VICTIM'S DAD

from scores of families, friends and relatives of the seven children greeted the death sentences passed on two Inkatha men who were among a party of armed Lindelani community guards (ama-butho) who hijacked taxis which they used to kidnap schoolchildren at random in KwaMashu.

Emmanuel Khanyile, 34, and Bhekani Phewa, 31, were sentenced to death on each of the seven counts of murder. The two men were also each sentenced to seven years imprisonment for the attempted murder of the eighth youth, Duncan Mntambo 17, who was twice left for dead but survived both attacks.

In the trial both men admitted to being members of Inkatha. At the time they were leaders of the community guards employed by the suspended Inkatha Central Committee member, Mandla Thomas Shabalala, the self-appointed squatter camp strongman.

Seven other men who were found guilty were given jail sentences ranging from six to 10

years.

Lefina Mkhize cried uncontrollably when she recalled the events leading to the killing of her son and the subsequent death of her husband.

Later she said: "Look, I appreciate that justice has finally been done, but it all does not matter any more because today I am a broken woman, and no amount of punishment given to these killers would bring back my baby and my husband."

Thulani Boy Mkhwanazi, 15, a talented musician and conductor of the Assemblies of God church choir in KwaMashu, was abducted in front of the gate of his home while handing out advertising flyers for an electrical repair business in the township. He ran to a neighbour's house but the men dragged him out of the house and shoved him into the waiting car.

Apparently, the illiterate vigilantes mistook the flyers for political tracts by the UDF.

"I want whoever was responsible for my son's death to know that he really hit me where it

hurts the most. Thulani was an only child, my only present from God," said his father, Michael Mkhwanazi.

"For more than a decade my wife and I tried everything humanly possible to have children but failed. Then 15 years after our marriage she gave birth to Thulani, and from that day he was everything we lived for ... and now he is gone."

Sixty-seven year-old Minah Mabele, grandmother of Eugene Boy-sie Mabele, 16, who was also kidnapped, said: "When my little baby was brutally murdered, a part of me died with him. I single-handedly brought up my grandson and was hoping that he was the one who would take care of me during my last days."

When the vigilantes abducted Makhehlana Ndlovu, 23, a few metres from his home, little did they know that his childhood sweetheart he was planning to marry was five months pregnant. His son, aptly named Nko-sikhona (God is alive), was born a few months after his violent death.

Bheki Mgwaba, a 14-

year-old Std 3 pupil at the time, had been sent to buy bread at a nearby shop when he was kidnapped. The little frightened boy is reported to have been terribly brutalised.

Norman Lushaba, father of Sikhumbuzo, 16, said he was a very bitter man. "Regardless of the sentences passed by the court, I am not ready to forgive and forget. They picked up my son in the yard of my house, and they lied to me when I went to them to try to get him back."

Mr Lushaba said when he received news that his son had been abducted he went to his ward councillor, who is also an Inkatha official and a close friend of Mr Shabalala, and begged him to do all he could to get his child back.

He said the councillor assured him that the children were not going to be harmed. He said Mr Shabalala just wanted to ask them a few questions, and would release them afterwards. The following morning Mr Lushaba was asked to go and identify the body of his son at the mortuary.