

19-4-92

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## Shaping a constitution by push and shove

**P**RESIDENT DE KLERK's campaign to win support for the National Party from coloured and black voters has taken him from one devoutly Christian community to another, from Mitchell's Plain in the south to Moria, headquarters of the Zionist church, in the far north.

The glint in his eye, one assumes, is the vision of a political alignment that pits the NP's "Christian democrats", against the ANC's "social democrats". Leaving aside such troubling details as finding a name to accommodate Muslims in a Christian-democratic party, it's a nice idea but it raises two questions.

The first is whether it can succeed, and on this point I am sceptical. Members of the Democratic Party, it is true, are already choosing sides, some going left and others going right, leaving the old-fashioned Progs like Zach de Beer and Colin Eglin, who don't have such fast footwork, sitting lonely on their liberal principles.

President De Klerk is bound to pick up large numbers of coloured Afrikaners voters, he will surely draw more Indian voters than TIC-NIC, as Codesa's only ethnic party is fondly known, and he may even win over the Zionists and other black Christian constituencies. The idea of an Afrikaner-Zulu alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party is fading, but it may not be dead.

On the other side of the great divide, the ANC, its policies in confusion and its organisation in disarray, must appeal to an increasingly fractured black constituency. Despite the support of a handful of white and Indian intellectuals, and a minority of each minority, its hopes of a two-thirds majority seem increasingly unrealistic. No wonder there is a glint in Mr De Klerk's eye.

Nevertheless, having watched at close quarters the liberation of African countries from the Sudan southwards, I suspect that in the end the mantle of liberation, the myths of the freedom struggle, the sheer psychological exuberance of racial rehabilitation, will prove too strong, and we shall end up with an ANC government.

This raises the second question: what happens if the grand coalition fails? To the ruling elite, and especially to the bureaucracy, the prospect of an ANC government is an unmitigated disaster. The public servants foresee purges, such as the Nationalists conducted in their early years against military officers and senior public servants; the business elite foresees nothing but taxes and restrictions; the whites foresee retributive oppression.

As a kind of insurance against such disaster, the Nationalists are trying to construct a constitution that will not simply transfer power, as the ANC demands, but "share" power. The thrust of Nationalist thinking is to build into the constitution a guaranteed role for minorities — in practical effect, to preserve the white bureaucracy, and to entrench the minority party in government.

The ANC, of course, wants a transfer of power, as unfettered as possible. It makes a pretence of accepting democratic safeguards, but it is not convincing. It will not, for example, relinquish majoritarian tyranny — it merely bargains over the size of the majority that is required before its authority becomes total.

On key issues, the ANC speaks with forked tongue, offering press freedom but demanding "control" of state media, or offering a guarantee of private property while continuing to whip up expectations of nationalisation and redistribution. It talks of democracy and conspires for majoritarian power.

**T**HE attitude of Cosatu is instructive. As the government begins, at long last and very timidly, to dismantle the corrupt instruments of power by which it has dispensed privilege to its supporters — the boards, the parastatals, the immense state enterprises — Cosatu does not applaud, it rages: the present government is stripping the future government of economic weapons.

There is not much, when you think of it, to choose between the Nationalists and the ANC, the one seeking to pre-

serve its bureaucracy and its privileges, the other seeking to inherit them. The one clings, the other grasps. Either of them, whichever comes to office, will be confronted with demands for vast expenditure to overcome what one calls "backlogs" and the other calls "injustices", and both relish the prospect of meeting those demands.

The making of a constitution is an intensely political process. It is no use lamenting that both the government and the ANC have already made the constitution hostage to their own political agendas. The state president is openly campaigning for election, and the ANC is pushing for an effective transfer of power to an interim government, ahead of a new constitution.

**T**HAT interim government would serve both as a constituent assembly to draw up the constitution and as an interim administration with executive powers. A more satisfactory arrangement would have been an independent constituent assembly, capable of quietly drafting the constitution while the government simply kept the show on the road, but that obvious course has been rejected. The shaping of the new South Africa has already been politicised, beyond retrieval, and the constitution will be created not by adherence to principle or by intellectual rigour but by plain old political push and shove.

This may perhaps produce a good constitution, since each side must at least contemplate the prospect that the other might win, but it would be a lot more comforting if President De Klerk, instead of banking on his grand coalition, began to contemplate the prospect of ANC rule.

Then, instead of trying to keep his bureaucracy and its powers intact, he might concentrate on limiting the size and scope of government, and entrenching the protection of the weak which is the essential feature of democracy.

**KEN OWEN**



SUNDAY TIMES  
19-4-92

## OPINION

# Fire and water

**T**HE apartheid state tried to break Mrs Winnie Mandela's revolutionary spirit, and failed; the moderate leadership of the ANC is trying to break her political power, and it may have no better success. In the ranks of the liberation movement she is a formidable figure, both hardened by struggle and oppression, and made arrogant by leadership and success. She will not easily be removed from centre stage.

When Nelson Mandela was on Robben Island, and Oliver Tambo and Joe Slovo were in exile, Winnie Mandela was, as it were, on the barricades. It was she who came to the funerals, dressed defiantly in ANC colours, and it was she who egged on the youngsters, in toyi-toyi or in marches, to break and to burn. She was the natural leader of the young people, the lost generation, who abandoned education, from 1976 to 1990, in order to make the state ungovernable. Like Argentina's Evita, she lives close to where their hearts beat; she knows, she understands, she articulates their passions and puts a stylish stamp on their endeavours.

For Winnie Mandela, as for the desperate youngsters schooled only in street battle and callow rhetoric, the coming of peace is more threat than fulfilment. There is no role in a peaceful state for those who can do nothing but smash or burn. The new situation calls for the more subtle skills of politics and diplomacy, and the street-fighters have become obsolete in their own struggle. It happened to Che Guevara

in Cuba, and it is happening to Winnie Mandela: she is an embarrassment and a liability to the movement of which, at times, she was the only effective leader.

She still embodies, however, the spirit of the struggle, and the lost generation — as threatened by peace as she — is coming to her support. The fiery youth leader, Peter Mokaba, has openly declared for her; Ronnie Kasrils, the romantic revolutionary, lingers close by; Chris Hani and the young men of Umkhonto we Sizwe, trained for a battle that never came, are rallying to her banner. For she embodies their rage.

Nelson Mandela, his spirit refined by long imprisonment, is water to her fire. If she was chosen by fate to keep the flames of resistance burning, he was selected to preside over the creation of a new order in which her anarchic passion has no place. Whatever their personal relationship, they were politically incompatible, and Nelson Mandela was compelled, if he was not to sacrifice his own destiny, to sacrifice his wife.

The drama is not yet played out, but the outcome is certain: Winnie Mandela will fight, and she will gather about her the angry young people, uneducated and undisciplined, to whom peace and order offer nothing; and Nelson Mandela will work, persistently and diplomatically, to rescue the ANC from its own turbulent past, and from the wife he has put aside for a greater cause.



# ANC looks set to get its first four MPs

BY next week the ANC should have its first four Members of Parliament.

All indications are that the four Democratic Party MPs suspended by party leader Dr Zac de Beer will complete their break with the party this week.

Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Rob Haswell (Pmb South), Jan van Eck (Claremont), and Jannie Momberg (Simonstown) were suspended this week after they met the ANC and discussed joining the movement.

It is believed that Dave Dalling (Sandton) would also have attended the meeting, but was in hospital.

The rebel MPs told the Tribune the split was virtually inevitable.

Sam Sole

"By taking the action of suspending us, Zac has left very little room for negotiation," Mr Cronje said.

"A separation is imminent," said Mr Van Eck. "The action (of suspending the four) is not based on what happened at any meeting. There has been an active campaign to get those who support the ANC out of the party."

Rob Haswell has remained tight-lipped, but Mr Momberg said there was little chance he would attend a party hearing to

"sit in the box and be cross-examined".

Suggestions the ANC might balk at having members in a racist Parliament appear to be unfounded.

A highly placed source said the the issue had already been thoroughly discussed: "As things stand now, there is no chance the four will resign their seats if they join the ANC."

However ANC spokesman Gill Marcus told the Tribune yesterday it was premature to speculate on the status of the four should they become ANC members: "They would not represent the ANC because they have not been elected by the ANC," she said.

# I won't go, says defiant Knowledge

Janette Bennett and Thabo Thulo

THE University of Natal says Knowledge Mdlalose is no longer a student there. But Mr Mdlalose says he is.

"I am not leaving," he said defiantly this week in the wake of the Senate's decision to not allow him to return.

"I have not been officially informed of the decision not to allow me to be admitted to Humanities. A letter from the acting warden was pushed under my door this morning, telling me that I must vacate my room," he said this week.

"But as far as I am concerned, I am still a student."

Mr Mdlalose said his dream was to become a lawyer, and he was determined to complete his studies.

Controversial, yet undeniably charming, Mr Mdlalose said he would abide by the special Senate Review Committee's recommendation that he be admitted to the Humanities under certain academic conditions. The Senate, however, went against this.

He said it was the committee's decision that was binding.

Mr Mdlalose has been attending lectures while the committee reviewed his case. He said he had performed well during that period.

Asked what he would do if the university did not allow him to partake in academic life, he said: "There comes a time in a revolution when one is dictated to by material conditions. I rely on that revolutionary logic."

He said he had the "undivided support" of fellow students.

"I want to emphasise that the actions of students during protests have always been seen by some as black-white actions. That was not the case. A considerable number of white students told me

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- Knowledge Mdlalose

they did not attend lectures because they were not associating themselves with the administration's approach."

He said he was not surprised by the Senate's decision — "because a position was taken against me after I was elected to the SRC and took up students' issues. The same position was taken against some other progressive students."

He was told mid-way through last year to "pull up his socks" academically. "I did that but conditions were un conducive in the shakey situation on campus."

He said his life was threatened following "rumours" that he would disrupt the opening of the Albert Luthuli residence.

The "sexual indecency" case followed. "I wanted a fair trial for the accused students, so I represented them at the Vice-Principal's tribunal and arranged legal representation at the disciplinary court."

"I was accused of sexist behaviour and condoning rape. But at a commission of inquiry, the so-called witnesses did not turn up. They said they feared for their lives. I was cleared, and I look forward to getting letters of apology from those who made the allegations."

He said there had also been a rumour that he was running a taxi service with university transport, but this was untrue, he said, as "I cannot drive".

Vice-president of the SRC, Earl-El Mailula, who was part of the student negotiating team, said Mr Mdlalose's case highlighted the issue of exclusions.

About 350 students, excluded because of a financial crisis, had been taken in, he said, due to efforts of student leaders including Mr Mdlalose.

"He is still a student here," Mr Mailula said, pointing to Knowledge. He said students would ask the ANC to intervene.

When the third term begins after the Easter break, students will meet to decide on action.



# Buthelezi's man 'hid murderers'

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**MARK STANSFIELD**

Weekend Argus Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former right-hand man, Mr M Z Khumalo, hid murderers from the police, it was alleged this week in testimony given to the Goldstone commission of inquiry.

And top Kwazulu policemen may have given at least one of the men with a false identity to get the police off his trail by killing a man and leaving the wanted man's identity documents beside the unrecognisable, charred corpse.

Mr Khumalo, who resigned as Chief Buthelezi's right-hand man after the Inkathagate scandal, was also actively engaged in paying the salaries of the 200 Inkatha "bodyguards" who were trained in the Caprivi using Military Intelligence funds.

The Goldstone commission is testing allegations that the "bodyguards" were Inkatha hit squads which sowed death and fear in ANC strongholds in Natal and elsewhere.

This week one of the Caprivi trainees, Mr Vela Nchunu, 26, was allowed out of his Durban cell — where he is awaiting trial on two murder charges — to give evidence before the commission about his involvement in the Caprivi training and his subsequent "work" as an Inkatha bodyguard.

Mr Nchunu told a chilling tale of deception by Mr Khumalo, who he referred to in his evidence as "Mashobane."

According to Mr Nchunu he was

spirited away and hidden by "Mashobane" when police were hot on his trail and wanted to question him about several murders in the Kwazulu/Natal region.

Mr Nchunu also told the commission that four men wanted in connection with the Trust Feed massacre were also hidden by Mr Khumalo at the Mkuze training camp in northern Zululand.

Mr Nchunu also sketched ongoing top-level Inkatha involvement with the Caprivi trainees that contradicts earlier evidence given by Kwazulu's deputy chief of police, Brigadier Siphon Mathe and Mr Khumalo.

Nchunu's story confirms that the 200 men trained at Caprivi were absorbed into the Kwazulu police without official induction and were issued with false Kwazulu police identity cards.

Mr Nchunu told how he had been recruited for "training" in Hammarsdale in 1986.

On his return from Caprivi six months later he had been issued with a firearm by "Mashobane" (M Z Khumalo) and acted as a security guard in the Hammarsdale district.

He had shot and killed Mr Robert Dlamini there.

Charges of murder and being in possession of an unlicensed firearm were withdrawn when he appeared in Camperdown Magistrate's Court in 1987 in connection with Dlamini's death.

The inquiry continues.



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BUNE

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 19-92

APRIL 19, 1992

## New evidence casts doubt on Inkatha claim that base trained only bodyguards

TWO hundred hand-picked Inkatha members were trained in abduction, interrogation and other military techniques at a secret SADF base in Caprivi, according to evidence this week at the Goldstone Commission.

The inquiry, addressing allegations of SADF sponsorship of "black on black" violence, heard a witness — "Mr C" — claim he was trained during 1986 in:

- Abduction and interrogation techniques;
- Urban and guerrilla warfare;

### Sam Sole

- Use of limpet mines, anti-personnel mines and plastic explosives;
- Handling assault weapons, including AK-47s.

The existence of a base to train an elite Inkatha unit was first revealed in September 1990 by the *Weekly Mail*. At the time it was denied by the SADF.

Following subsequent revelations by the newspaper, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi admitted a group of 200 had been sent for training. However, he vehemently denied allegations by Inkatha defector Mbongeni Khumalo that the group was trained as a "hit squad" and claimed they were merely trained as VIP bodyguards for KwaZulu and Inkatha officials.

Now the evidence of the man identified only as "Mr C" has cast doubt on that explanation.



svat medical records cast doubt on 'out of town' alibi

SUNDAY TIMES  
19-4-92

# FRESH SHOCK IN WINNIE CASE

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN and FRED BRIDGLAND

**FRESH** doubts have been cast on Winnie Mandela's testimony at her trial by medical records that indicate she was in Johannesburg on the day she claimed to be in Brandfort.

A medical logbook handed to the police last year corroborates a record card from Dr Abu-Baker Asvat's surgery which shows that Mrs Mandela's co-accused, Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, consulted Dr Asvat in Soweto on December 30 1988 — and not on December 29, as Mrs Mandela testified in court.

The date was a crucial aspect of Mrs Mandela's alibi. She claimed that she went to Brandfort after taking Mr Cebekhulu to Dr Asvat's surgery on December 29, and could therefore not have been present when Stompie Seipei was assaulted in her back room. She said she returned on December 31.

Dr Asvat was later murdered and Mr Cebekhulu was kidnapped and taken to Zambia, where he is being held in prison. However, records kept by Dr Asvat's surgery show the date of Mr Cebekhulu's visit as December 30 1988.

This confirms the account of events given last week to the Sunday Times by Mrs Mandela's former driver, Mr John Morgan, which placed her at her Soweto home rather than in Brandfort on December 29 1988.

The medical card, of which the Sunday Times has a copy, was referred to only briefly during Mrs Mandela's trial, and Mr Justice Michael Stegmann accepted her alibi as "reasonably possibly true".

## Stompie case: new shock

□ **From Page 1**  
never even questioned by police.

Had they been subpoenaed, some would have been quite willing to give evidence, sources close to the now defunct Mandela Crisis Committee told the Sunday Times yesterday.

Included in this group were Mr Sydney Mufamadi, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the Rev Frank Chikane, the Rev Beyers Naude, Mr Aubrey Mokoena and Sister Bernard Ncube.

A key witness in the Stompie case, Mrs Mandela's co-accused Mr Cebekhulu, was spirited away

before the case began and emerged several months later in Zambia.

Recent attempts to trace the youth have failed, but in November last year he told Zambian president Frederick Chiluba and British Tory MP Emma Nicholson that he had been abducted from South Africa on Mrs Mandela's orders and put in an ANC safe house in Lusaka.

Mrs Nicholson has a tape-recording of a conversation between Mr Cebekhulu and a Zambian human rights lawyer on November 15 last year, in which he says:

"Winnie was deciding

(sic) to kidnap me because I knew all about the scandal about Winnie ..."

He also says that on February 8 1991, four days after Mrs Mandela's trial started, "Winnie was fighting with me in the shebeen. She was saying to me, 'Do you want to die now or do you want to go into exile? If you go into exile, I'll give you a car, a house, money and everything, education.'"

"Winnie Mandela assaulted Stompie himself (sic). Asvat was checking Stompie before he died. Dr Asvat told Winnie Stompie could die at any time. Winnie Mandela told Asvat to say white man was raping

me. She told Asvat to write in the book that this white man was raping me. This white man didn't rape me. It was a plan between me and Winnie to destroy this priest."

Mr Cebekhulu says of Dr Asvat's refusal to record medical evidence that he had been sodomised that it was "the reason why Winnie Mandela killed him".

He says: "I showed two men where Asvat was ... Winnie Mandela herself telling two men to kill Asvat ... reason Mrs Mandela killed Dr Asvat is because he was checking Stompie before he died."



# HOGARTH

## Relief as top envoy opts to stay on

THE reason for the sighs of relief emanating from Tuynhuys, the HF Verwoerd building in Cape Town and the Union Buildings in Pretoria is that Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden has decided to renew his contract.

Like all department heads, Mr Van Heerden was appointed for five years. The contract has just expired. He has built, but has yet to occupy, a new house in Cape Town, and confided earlier in the year that the prospect of entering the private sector was not unattractive to him.

However, he has been persuaded to renew his contract for a year, and is believed to have set himself two last goals: first, to make the foreign service more reflective of the nation it serves — which means getting more black faces into prominent positions.

The second is to establish diplomatic ties in the Middle East. Word has it that he is personally overseeing the latter and that a breakthrough in one of the Gulf States, probably Bahrain or Dubai, is imminent.

## DP glory boys move on

THE Democratic Party is rapidly shrinking back to its old "Prog" core of liberals as the carpetbaggers and political drifters move on. Wimpie de Klerk was first to go (back to the Nats); Wynand Malan left politics; Sampie Terreblanche and David de Villiers have faded into the background.

Now the Gang of Four, Jannie Momberg, Pierre Cronje, Jan van Eck and Rob Haswell, have been suspended for flirting with the ANC. The old reformist joiner, David Dalling, who was recently converted from the right-wing of the party to the left by his marriage to an Afrikaans ANC militant, escaped blame because he was in hospital.

The party, once again reduced to the role of keeper of the liberal flame, has found a new vigour in Codesa, where its contribution is disproportionate to its size — but that's not glamorous enough for the glory boys. They're moving on.

## Silence speaks volumes

AN astonishing silence has followed the appeal by Azapo to churchmen Frank Chikane, Beyers Naude and Peter Storey, along with Sister Bernard Ncube, to come forward with any knowledge they may have about events surrounding the murder of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat and Stompie Seipei.

Also astonishing is the apparent inability of the government to have Katiza Cebekhulu, a key witness, returned to this country from Zambia. That should be easy to do, now that Dr Kenneth Kaunda has been toppled.

The newspapers are slowly unravelling what looks like an extensive cover-up of the whole evil business, but it might speed things up if church and state helped a bit.

## Bearding the Leon

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa addressed the Jerusalem Club in Johannesburg this week at the invitation of Houghton MP Tony Leon.

Mr Ramaphosa confessed that on first meeting Mr Leon he felt he hated the man with every fibre of his being. However, Mr Leon had charmed him, he said.

The charming Mr Leon responded that when Mr Ramaphosa became the next president of the country, he felt certain that he would be sent to a rehabilitation camp somewhere on the Mozambican border. That's a sentiment often expressed by members of Mr Leon's own caucus since he proposed linking with the Nats.

Mr Ramaphosa's response was enigmatic: "You never know, Tony."

## Blocked by bureaucrats

SISTER newspapers of the Sunday Times this week published a leaked copy of a report on government agencies involved in development work, commissioned by Dr Wim de Villiers before he died.

The report claimed that valuable opportunities to rationalise government development assistance had been squandered through a mass of bureaucratic structures and that: "Unfortunately, vested interests have too often prevented sound conclusions and recommendations by previous investigations to come to fruition."

Presumably those same vested interests are to blame for the fact that the report itself has been bottled up in secrecy for 18 months.

## Zion's Easter fare

SPARE a thought for the faithful of the Zion Christian Church who gather at Morija in the far northern Transvaal today. Instead of Easter eggs and hot cross buns, all they have to look forward to is FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

## Bold and the Boesak

ELNA has left home. Is it too late? Has Dorothy given up waiting? Where is Di? Will Allan ever overcome his infatuation? Who is the new blonde? For the next exciting chapter in our national soapie ... watch this space.

SUNDAY TIMES

19-4-92



# Winnie on comeback trail

WINNIE MANDELA has won the backing of ANC militants, including top Youth League and Umkhonto we Sizwe members, in her fight for political survival.

After a week which saw her split from her husband, ANC president Nelson Mandela, and resign her position as head of the ANC's social welfare department, Mrs Mandela was campaigning hard in the townships.

The controversial chairman of the PWV region of the ANC Women's League faces her first test on May 3, when the region holds elections.

Powerful ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba vowed this week: "We are going to confound those who are biting her behind her back. She has my support and she can be assured of the political support of all those who support me."

The Natal Midlands region, the power base of hardline Stalinist Harry Gwala, is preparing a huge welcome for Mrs Mandela when she addresses a rally there tomorrow. Invitations for her to visit other regions had been re-confirmed despite fresh allegations against her.

"It is clear that there are some people who are baying for her blood. They are not going to get her. I am one of those who will ensure that she is defended," said Mr Mokaba, who last year survived allegations that he

was a police informer to be elected unopposed as president of the ANC Youth League.

He was not alone in voicing his continued political support for Mrs Mandela this week.

Senior members of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SACP said their political support for her would continue.

"Because of her strength and spirit, those who are writing her political obituary are going to be proved wrong," a senior SACP member said yesterday.

## Desperate

The continued popular support for Mrs Mandela represents a crisis for those in the ANC leadership who consider her a liability to the organisation.

Mrs Mandela has won the blind loyalty of many of the militant youth in the country by successfully articulating their fears and aspirations.

Her regular visits to violence-stricken areas throughout the country ensure her the support of the poorest and most desperate men, women and children whose lives have been devastated by poverty and violence.

And there are those MK

cadres who will never turn their backs on the woman who gave them refuge and resources during the darkest years of the liberation struggle.

Mrs Mandela's appeal to the most desperate and militant of the country's disenfranchised is acknowledged by the ANC's top leadership. But they believe her behaviour has alienated other large sections of the population whose support in forthcoming elections will be crucial.

"We can no longer afford her, but we can't get rid of her. If it was so easy we would have got rid of (former MK chief-of-staff and SACP secretary-general) Chris Hani three years ago," said a senior official.

This week saw the first attempts by the organisation to downgrade Mrs Mandela's status to that of a normal ANC member in an attempt to lessen her political profile.

Following the advice of senior members of the ANC — including national chairman Oliver Tambo, deputy president Walter Sisulu, and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa — Mr Mandela this week announced that "in view of the tensions that have arisen owing to differences between ourselves on a number of issues in recent months, we have mutually agreed that a separation would be best for each of us".

While ANC leaders say there is no doubt the separation stemmed from per-

sonal problems between the two, Mr Mandela's announcement on Monday also signalled a political distancing from his wife in the face of damaging allegations against her.

Mrs Mandela then resigned her appointed position as head of the ANC's social welfare department on Wednesday, saying this step was in the best interests of the ANC.

However, Mrs Mandela still holds the positions of chairman of the Women's League's PWV region, national executive member of the Women's League, and member of the ANC's National Executive Committee.

The ANC can do nothing to remove her from these democratically elected positions unless she is found guilty of political misconduct.

Besides her conviction and six-year sentence — which she is appealing against — for kidnapping and being an accessory to the assault of murder victim Stompe Mooketsi Seipei, and allegations that she was involved in the death of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, Mrs Mandela is being accused of: being involved in drawing up a hit-list of top ANC officials; alcohol abuse; having extramarital affairs; and financial mismanagement of the welfare department.

The first indication of whether Mrs Mandela will succumb to those in the organisation who want her banished to obscurity or fight to retain power in her own right will come during the PWV Women's League's annual general meeting to re-elect executive office bearers.

"Should she accept the nomination and agree to compete in the elections, then we are in big trouble," a senior ANC official said this week.

## CLAUDIA'S CONFESSIONS

A real-life romance





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He said his life was threatened following "rumours" that he would disrupt the opening of the Albert Luthuli residence.

The "sexual indecency" case followed. "I wanted a fair trial for the accused students, so I represented them at the Vice-Principal's tribunal and arranged legal representation at the disciplinary court."

"I was accused of sexist behaviour and condoning rape. But at a commission of inquiry, the so-called witnesses did not turn up. They said they feared for their lives. I was cleared, and I look forward to getting letters of apology from those who made the allegations."

He said there had also been a rumour that he was running a taxi service with university transport, but this was untrue, he said, as "I cannot drive".

Vice-president of the SRC, Earl-El Mailula, who was part of the student negotiating team, said Mr Mdlalose's case highlighted the issue of exclusions.

About 350 students, excluded because of a financial crisis, had been taken in, he said, due to efforts of student leaders including Mr Mdlalose.

"He is still a student here," Mr Mailula said, pointing to Knowledge. He said students would ask the ANC to intervene.

When the third term begins after the Easter break, students will meet to decide on action.



*Sunday Tribune 19/4/92*

## ANC faces onslaught from international right-wing groups

HAVING barely escaped from the Winnie Mandela affair with its image intact, the ANC faces a propaganda onslaught by the international conservative community on everything from its human rights record to its economic policies.

The conservative campaign, which will involve all shades of international rightist opinion, from fundamentalist Christian anti-communism to middle-of-the-road free market multi-party democracy lobbies, will get into high gear as the negotiation process moves closer to finality.

The ANC will find itself the target of everything from newsletters and pamphlets to questions and statements in foreign parliaments, even to smear campaigns and disinformation.

\* An all-out anti-Swapo propaganda campaign in Namibia — which focused particularly on its human rights abuses and its alleged tribalistic outlook — did considerable damage to the liberation movement in the election campaign in 1989.

### Brendan Seery

Some of the first salvoes aimed at the ANC came in the past fortnight, as the allegations against Mrs Mandela mounted.

The International Society for Human Rights (ISHR), a right wing-funded organisation which is based in Germany, raised the question of alleged human rights abuses by the ANC at its camps in Africa. The ISHR, which claimed it had sworn statements from former ANC prisoners alleging torture and executions in foreign camps, wrote to ask Codesa why its Working Group One had not heard evidence from such prisoners.

The ISHR's statement was followed up this week by one from the International Freedom Foundation (IFF), which called for an impartial investigation into the allegations against the ANC.

The IFF's International Chair-

man, Duncan Sellars, said the allegations raised a "serious question" about the ANC's commitment to human rights and democratic values.

The IFF is becoming more and more accepted and influential in Western capitals, and — with a budget of about R9-million a year — has the resources to mount sophisticated publicity campaigns.

The administrative director of the South African branch of the IFF, Martin Yuill, denied that the organisation was anti-ANC, but said it was committed to exposing or questioning policies or attitudes which were anti-free market or anti-multi-party democracy.

The ANC has said it has given carte blanche to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to visit and investigate its former camps, and has promised that the results of its commission will be made public. However, the ICRC has said officially that it has still not managed to gain access to the camps, despite the open invitation.



Sun Times 19/4/92

Asvat medical records cast doubt on 'out of town' alibi

# FRESH SHOCK IN WINNIE CASE

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN and FRED BRIDGLAND

FRESH doubts have been cast on Winnie Mandela's testimony at her trial by medical records that indicate she was in Johannesburg on the day she claimed to be in Brandfort.

A medical logbook handed to the police last year corroborates a record card from Dr Abu-Baker Asvat's surgery which shows that Mrs Mandela's co-accused, Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, consulted Dr Asvat in Soweto on December 30 1988 — and not on December 29, as Mrs Mandela testified in court.

The date was a crucial aspect of Mrs Mandela's alibi. She claimed that she went to Brandfort after taking Mr Cebekhulu to Dr Asvat's surgery on December 29, and could therefore not have been present when Stompie Seipei was assaulted in her back room. She said she returned on December 31.

Dr Asvat was later murdered and Mr Cebekhulu was kidnapped and taken to Zambia, where he is being held in prison. However, records kept by Dr Asvat's surgery show the date of Mr Cebekhulu's visit as December 30 1988.

This confirms the account of events given last week to the Sunday Times by Mrs Mandela's former driver, Mr John Morgan, which placed her at her Soweto home rather than in Brandfort on December 29 1988.

The medical card, of which the Sunday Times has a copy, was referred to only briefly during Mrs Mandela's trial, and Mr Justice Michael Stegmann accepted her alibi as reasonable.

## Shot

He found her guilty of being an accessory to the assault in the back room of her house, not of the assault itself.

but the medical card, on which Dr Asvat entered: "Mentally confused, occ (occasionally) cries, occ hyst (hysterical). Insomnia" is dated December 30.

Dr Asvat — who was called to Mrs Mandela's house a few days later to examine child activist Stompie Seipei, who was later murdered — was shot dead three weeks later, on January 27 1989.

Dr Ebrahim Asvat, elder brother of the murdered physician, told the Sunday Times this week that there was no possibility that the card had been tampered with.

"I saw the card at the time, shortly after my brother was killed, and there have been no changes to it. The police took possession of it," he said.

## Willing

He said that during the trial last year a police officer, Captain Fred Dempsey, took from him a logbook that recorded the date of Mr Cebekhulu's first visit to the surgery as December 30 1988. This book was used to record the first visits of all new patients.

However, the logbook was never presented in court.

Material witnesses to the murders of both Dr Asvat and Stompie were never called to testify at the subsequent trials. In some instances, prominent churchmen and political figures who were involved in attempts to extricate the youths being held hostage at the Mandela home were

□ To Page 2

## Stompie case: new shock

□ From Page 1

never even questioned by police.

Had they been subpoenaed, some would have been quite willing to give evidence, sources close to the now defunct Mandela Crisis Committee told the Sunday Times yesterday.

Included in this group were Mr Sydney Mufamadi, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the Rev Frank Chikane, the Rev Beyers Naudé, Mr Aubrey Mokone and Sister Bernard Ncube.

A key witness in the Stompie case, Mrs Mandela's co-accused Mr Cebekhulu, was spirited away before the case began and emerged several months later in Zambia.

Recent attempts to trace the youth have failed, but in November last year he told Zambian president Frederick Chiluba and

British Tory MP Emma Nicholson that he had been abducted from South Africa on Mrs Mandela's orders and put in an ANC safe house in Lusaka.

Mrs Nicholson has a tape-recording of a conversation between Mr Cebekhulu and a Zambian human rights lawyer on November 15 last year, in which he says:

"Winnie was deciding (sic) to kidnap me because I knew all about the scandal about Winnie ..."

He also says that on February 8 1991, four days after Mrs Mandela's trial started, "Winnie was fighting with me in the kitchen."

She was saying to me, 'Do you want to die now or do you want to go into exile? If you go into exile, I'll give you a car, a house, money and everything, education'."

"Winnie Mandela assaulted Stompie himself (sic). Asvat was checking Stompie before he died. Dr Asvat told Winnie Stompie could die at any time. Winnie Mandela told Asvat to say white man was raping me. Saa told Asvat to write in the book that this white man was raping me. This white man didn't rape me. It was a plan between me and Winnie to destroy this priest."

Mr Cebekhulu says of Dr

Asvat's refusal to record medical evidence that he had been sodomised that it was "the reason why Winnie Mandela killed him". He says "I showed two men where Asvat was ... Winnie Mandela herself telling two men to kill Asvat ... reason Mrs Mandela killed Dr Asvat is because he was checking Stompie before he died."



Sun Times

19/4/92

## Bishop's peace plea to Zionist millions

BISHOP Barabas Lekganyane, 37, leader of the Zionist Christian Church, will today preach peace to at least a million people at Moria in the Northern Transvaal.

By contrast, Pope John Paul II will be speaking to 200 000 people at St Peter's Square in his Easter Sunday address.

President FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be at Moria.

By CAS St LEGER

Like the Pope, Bishop Lekganyane will also deliver a message of peace.

The Zionist worshippers — there are an estimated five-million church members — began congregating at Moria on Thursday from as far afield as Malawi, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Namibia. They arrived by special trains, 1 200 buses, thousands of cars, donkey carts, bicycles and on foot.

Despite the congestion, crime has been rare at recent gatherings. Security was tightened when, in 1983, two men attempted to assassinate the bishop and were stoned to death.



Sun. Times 19/4/92

# ANC denies attack plan

By CHARLENE SMITH

THE ANC has dismissed as "monstrously false" claims that members of Umkhonto we Sizwe's PWV command discussed attacking four hostels last month.

The allegations were made to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation in unsigned statements by two police informers, who claim they were present at the MK meeting.

Police say the two feel "in jeopardy of their lives" and would not meet commission members.

## Immediate

Commission chairman Mr Justice RJ Goldstone said on Thursday that, in view of the seriousness of the allegations, the ANC had been "requested to arrange for a suitable representative of MK to attend the hearing and to give evidence on oath concerning the allegations".

Barbara Hogan, of the ANC's PWV branch, said the organisation immediately investigated the allegations.

"We examined the minutes of the meeting. No such issue was brought up."

The Goldstone Commission is expected to adopt a new procedure at next week's hearings to speed up the process of hearing allegations of violence and intimidation. It is expected that before starting the Phola Park inquiry it will hold a preliminary inquiry to survey allegations, then draw up the terms of reference for the committee to investigate.



San Times 19/4/92

### **AK-47 attack**

A MAN wielding an AK-47 shot and killed a policeman in the East Rand's troubled Phola Park squatter camp yesterday.



Sun Times 19/4/92

## WHY DR MANDELA SAID NO TO CHANCELLOR LEON

BY ROY RUDDEN

MANDELA biographer Fatima Meer disclosed this week that — at Nelson Mandela's request — she had tried to persuade Natal University to replace its chancellor, Mr Justice Leon, as the one to bestow an honorary doctorate on him.

She was responding to charges put to the Sunday Times by academic and legal sources that she had

helped stir up a threatened boycott of the ceremony by students.

This was not true, said Professor Meer.

However, she confirmed that she had alerted Mr Mandela to the fact that Mr Justice Leon was the judge who had sentenced ANC activist Andrew Zondo to death for the 1985 Aman-

zimtoti bomb blast.

Five people, including two children, were killed and scores were injured in the supermarket blast.

As there were no extenuating circumstances (a finding subsequently confirmed by the Appellate Division), Mr Justice Leon was legally bound to apply the death sentence.

Mrs Meer, a former professor of sociology at

the university, who gave evidence on extenuation at the trial, subsequently wrote a book sympathetic to Zondo.

She said: "When I alerted Nelson he was shocked and asked me to do everything I could to save him the embarrassment of receiving an honorary degree at Leon's hands."

"This was clearly unacceptable because An-

drew Zondo would go down in history as a national hero of the people's struggle."

She had then met "three relevant senior members" of the university staff and had told them about her concern.

Two of them had agreed with her.

Although the procedure had already been cleared with the chairman of the ANC's Southern Region, Mr

Jeff Radebe, it was undertaken to consult him again.

"It was quite extraordinary," said Mrs Meer.

Jeff Radebe repeated that there was no objection to Ray Leon officiating.

In the event, Mr Justice Leon did officiate at last Saturday's graduation ceremony.

But Mr Mandela was unable to attend because of "reasons of state".



San Star

A/4/92

Assault alibi totters as co-accused speaks of 'bombshell' evidence

# New shadow over Winnie

SanStar Reporter

THE main pillar of Winnie Mandela's defence — her alibi that she was in Brandfort on the night when several youths were assaulted in her home — stands on shaky ground this weekend.

Key defence witness Nora Moahloli, the Brandfort schoolteacher who told the Rand Supreme Court that Mrs Mandela was in the Free State town that night, now says she cannot remember the day and date the ANC's leader's wife was there.

And Xoliswa Falati, co-accused of Mrs Mandela, now states that Mrs Mandela was never anywhere near Brandfort on the night in question but was in her house "and led the assault on the youths".

In an interview this week Ms Falati said she intended to drop a bombshell — "which will drive the final nail into Winnie's coffin" — about a particular incident involving three members of the Mandela "football" club. She would reveal all when the time came.

Ms Falati said that on February 19, 1993, she was secretly whisked out of Johannesburg to Durban under a false name. On the same day the Sunday Star broke the kidnap and assault story, and told a shocked world about Stompie Moeketsi's gruesome death and the circumstances leading to it.

## Durban flight

Said Ms Falati: "They booked me on the four o'clock flight as Nomonde Ndamsa. In Durban some people, who included a well-known Natal academic and two journalists, cobbled together a statement which they instructed me to release to the press. The statement covered up the kidnap and assault, and protected Winnie."

This week Nora Moahloli, the teacher who told the Rand Supreme Court that Mrs Mandela had been in Brandfort on the night of the kidnap and assaults, told the Sunday Star she could not remember the exact day and date.

Mrs Mandela's defence is that she was in Brandfort on the night the youths were assaulted at her home.

The Sunday Star asked Mrs Moahloli if, on the basis of denials by Mrs Mandela's driver, John Morgan, that his employer had been in Brandfort that night, the teacher could contradict him and say with certainty that Mrs Mandela had been there.

## Blank memory

Mrs Moahloli's memory drew a blank. Three times we repeated to her what she had said in court, including the date she had given. Three times she claimed she could not remember the day and date of Mrs Mandela's visit to Brandfort. "It was in the late '80s, but I can't remember when. She told me it was the last time she was coming here, and said next time I would have to come to Johannesburg to see her. But I can't remember when she was here."

Asked if "the late '80s" could be taken to mean Mrs Mandela was in Brandfort on the night in question, Mrs Moahloli said: "I am not saying she was here. I can't remember."

Ms Falati rejected outright the version that Mrs Mandela had been in Brandfort on the night in December 1993 when the youths were kidnapped from an Orlando West church house and taken to the Mandela house in Diepkloof.

Said Ms Falati: "Winnie was not in Brandfort. She was at her house, and she led the assault on them. She punched each one with her fist. She hit Kenny (Kgase) in the face and his eye swelled up. When she wanted to hit him a second time Kenny shielded his face with his arms, but members of the (Mandela United) football club pulled his arms from his face, leaving it open for another blow."

John Morgan, a co-accused in the case, has said he lied to protect her.

Like Mr Morgan, Ms Falati said she had perjured herself to protect Mrs Mandela, but now she wanted to tell all.

● On Thursday night the Sunday Star offered Mrs Mandela space of up to a thousand words to state her case, assuring her text would not be edited in any way. She indicated interest, but late yesterday morning she decided not to take up the offer.

● Silence of the Lions — Page 10.



# 'Bodyguard' alleges top-level lies 'Ex-Inkatha man hid murderers from SA police'

**Mark Stansfield**

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former right-hand man, MZ Khumalo, hid murderers from the SA police, it was alleged this week.

And top KwaZulu policemen may have supplied at least one of the men with a false identity to get the SA police off his trail.

There is speculation that the identity swap may have involved killing a man and leaving the wanted man's identity documents beside the unrecognisable, charred corpse. Police believed he had been killed, and stopped their search for him.

Khumalo, who resigned as Buthelezi's right-hand man after the Inkathagate scandal which involved SA police funding for Inkatha rallies, was also actively engaged in paying the salaries of the 200 Inkatha "bodyguards" who were trained in the Caprivi, using Military Intelligence funds.

The Goldstone Commission is busy testing allegations that the "bodyguards" were Inkatha hit squads which sowed death and fear in Natal and elsewhere.

This week one of the Caprivi trainees, Vela Nchunu (26), was allowed out of his Durban cell where he is awaiting trial for two murders — to give evidence before the commission.

Nchunu told a chilling tale of deception by Khumalo, who he referred to in his evidence as "Mashobane".

According to Nchunu he was



FORMER AIDE ... M Z Khumalo left after Inkathagate.

spirited away and hidden by "Mashobane" when the SA police were hot on his trail and wanted to question him about several murders which had taken place.

Nchunu also told the commission that four men wanted in connection with the Trust Feed Massacre were hidden by Khumalo at the Mkuze training camp in Northern Zululand.

He sketched ongoing, top-level Inkatha involvement with the Caprivi trainees — information that contradicts earlier evidence given by KwaZulu's deputy chief of police, Brigadier Sipho Mathe, and Khumalo.

Nchunu's story confirms that the 200 men trained at Caprivi were absorbed into the KwaZulu police without official induction, were issued with false KwaZulu police identity cards — signed by Brigadier Mathe and issued by Khumalo — and paid a monthly salary by Khumalo at

the Inkatha offices in Ulundi from a fund which required the signatures of Khumalo and Chief Buthelezi.

Earlier evidence suggested that money transferred to the special account and used to pay the "bodyguards" came from Military Intelligence.

During the tangled web of evidence before the Goldstone Commission into allegations of Inkatha hit squads, it has been said that 200 "loyal" Inkatha supporters were taken to the Namibian Caprivi area in 1986 and were trained there in, among other things, the handling and firing of automatic weapons and RPG-7 rocket launchers, explosives and demolition; ambushes; and the kidnapping of people.

SA Defence Force counsel has admitted that the men were trained in the Caprivi only as bodyguards for top Inkatha officials and were shown various types of weapons, but were never taught to fire them.

Nchunu told how he had been recruited for "training" in Hammarsdale in 1986.

On his return from Caprivi six months later he had been issued with a firearm by "Mashobane" and acted as a security guard in Hammarsdale.

He had shot and killed Robert Dlamini there. Charges of murder and being in possession of an unlicensed firearm were withdrawn when he appeared in the Camperdown Magistrate's court in 1987 in connection with Dlamini's death.

The Inquiry continues.

Sun  
Star  
19/4/92



Sun Star 19/4/92

## ANC condemns shooting at camp

### SunStar Reporter

THE ANC has condemned the police for the shooting at the Power Park squatter camp in Soweto on Friday, which resulted in the deaths of two civilians and a policeman.

Vusi Sithole, vice-chairman of the ANC's Orlando West branch, said a group of policemen arrived at the camp at 1 am, kicked on a few doors and started shooting.

"While the shooting was going on, Casspirs arrived bringing in more policemen, who also

joined in the shooting," he said.

The shooting allegedly continued until 7 am, after which police began searching the camp.

Mr Sithole claimed police confiscated residents' belongings and money, and spilled their food.

"People were sleeping and there was no way they could have provoked the shooting."

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said he could not comment on the incident because police were still investigating.

One of the injured, Johannes Donayisha, told the Sunday Star the police were "abusive" and "insulting".

He said he was shot in the back and had his nose smashed with the butt of a rifle.

Among ANC leaders who visited the squatter camp was Winnie Mandela, who claimed she had heard gunshots from her house at 1 am.

Mrs Mandela also visited the injured at Baragwanath.

One of the injured is still in a critical condition.



Sun Star 19/4/92

# Mandela crisis body meets

SunStar Reporter

THE Mandela Crisis Committee, reeling under criticism for having kept silent for nearly four years about atrocities committed by Winnie Mandela's "football" club, last night denied it had conspired to cover up facts relating to the deaths of Stompie Seipei and Abu-Baker Asvat.

The committee, now disbanded, reconvened on Good Friday. Present at the meeting were SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane, Catholic nun Sister Bernard Neube, trade unionist Sydney Mufamadi, former Release Mandela Campaign leader Aubrey Mokoena, and prominent churchman Beyers Naudé.

Absent was ANC secretary-general

Cyril Ramaphosa, who had "prior engagements".

The committee says it attempted to meet Dr Asvat's family before releasing its statement, but had failed.

"We wish to place on record that at no stage did we, individually or severally, contemplate consoling at any 'covering up' of the facts relating to the deaths of both 'Stompie' Mooketsi Seipei and Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

"It is regrettable that some organisations have elected to deal with these matters (including speculation on the role played by the Mandela Crisis Committee) through the media rather than approaching us directly," it says.

The committee gives its origins as August 1989, when members of Mrs Mandela's "football" club clashed with the pupils of Dullwouga Secondary School in Dube,

## Cover-up of atrocities of 'football club' denied

Soweto.

The result of the confrontation was that Mrs Mandela's home in Orlando West was burnt down by the pupils.

"Although we were just a collection of individuals brought together to defuse the crisis which was then at hand, the media christened us the 'Mandela Crisis Committee'."

The committee says the facts relating to the kidnap and assault of four youths by Mrs Mandela's team "have been tested by the Supreme Court in two cases, one involving Jerry Richardson and the other involving Mrs Man-

dela and others. It is common cause that these matters are now before the Appeal Court and therefore subject to the time-honoured sub judice rule which we wish to respect."

The MCC said claims and counter-claims were made by the parties concerned.

"On one hand it was claimed that the young men were removed from the Manse against their will.

"On the other hand, there were claims that they willingly joined those who offered to take them away because that was going to relieve them of the sexual abuse which they were continually sub-

jected to at the manse."

According to the statement both Thabiso Mono and Polo Mkgwe maintained that they went to the Mandela house willingly and that they were not assaulted.

In a 1989 memorandum to then ANC president Oliver Tambo — the committee says the memo was "confidential but not secret" — the MCC adopted a much tougher line than in its statement last night.

It accused Mrs Mandela of thinking that "she is above the community ... she shows utter contempt for both the crisis committee and the community".

The memo made it quite clear the committee was suspicious of allegations that a white minister had molested the youths kidnapped from his care. The boys, explaining the "scars which were quite fresh" on their bodies, said they had fallen from trees at the mission house.

The MCC had stated: "It is an

improbable coincidence that of the 16 or so kids who lived at the mission house, the Reverend could sodomise only those who had the propensity to climb trees."

The committee wrote that it "broke" one of the youths, Kaitza Cebekhulu, and eventually established from him that both Gabriel Mkgwe and Thabiso Mono had been heavily assaulted, as had Stompie and Kenny Kgase.

Mr Tambo was told of the tough resolutions the MCC had adopted against Mrs Mandela.

They included a demand that she produce Stompie, that all "progressive" organisations should no longer give her a platform, that she dismantle her club right away, that lawyers taking her briefs would put their practices in jeopardy, and that she must immediately "desist from creating an impression that she speaks on behalf of the people".



# San Star

## Grenade attack injures 5 in Soweto

19/4/92

### Sefako Nyaka and Sapa

A BOMB rocked Meadowlands hostel in Soweto yesterday morning.

According to Soweto police spokesman, Captain Joseph Ngobeni, no one was injured in the blast which went off at about 10 am.

"We do not know what type of bomb was used. Police are still investigating," he said.

In another incident on Friday evening, five members of the Internal Stability Unit sustained slight injuries when a hand grenade was thrown at them in White City, Soweto.

"Members of the unit were on patrol when they noticed two suspicious-looking men," a police spokesman said.

### Fatally wounded

"When they approached the men, one of them took an AK-47 rifle from underneath his coat and pointed it at them. He was wounded by police and arrested.

"While police attended to the wounded man, his accomplice threw a grenade at them."

In Jouberton, Klerksdorp, a policeman was fatally wounded when he attempted to stop a fight. One man was arrested.

In Alexandra, police found two bodies with bullet wounds, two others with head wounds, and a fifth body was found hanging from a beam at a house in the township.

Police said they could not establish whether Peter Stanford Phokani (23) had hanged himself, or if there was foul play.

In Sebokeng, Jabu Poswa (13) was killed on Thursday when unidentified gunmen opened fire with an AK-47 rifle on his parents' house, police said.

In Phola Park on the East Rand a policeman was killed yesterday morning when a patrol came under AK-47 rifle fire.



# 'Slow' Codesa 2 faces crisis

## 'Damp squib' warnings as negotiations stutter

NEGOTIATORS have warned that Codesa 2 next month could become a "damp squib" as progress towards solving key differences between the Government and the African National Congress remains painfully slow.

Observers now see little chance of major progress on interim government and on preparing the climate for democracy in time for the second plenary session of Codesa, due to

be held on May 15 and 16.

Both major players this week used the Easter recess at Codesa to dig themselves into entrenched positions.

The ANC and its allies will block Codesa 2 if there is no substantial progress in the working group dealing with transition, and there can be no report-back session without sufficient consensus. Without ANC backing, that consensus cannot be achieved.

A senior ANC source told the Sunday Star: "We either decide Co-

desa 2 should not take place, or we take the other route and let it go ahead, which will lead to the biggest public slanging match in South Africa's history and which could damage the entire negotiating process."

In addition, President de Klerk has given notice that he is to announce measures to combat violence — possibly during his Budget debate this week.

The ANC fears that strong-arm tactics by the Government to curb "private armies" could be a further

blow to Codesa, where the initial spirit of co-operation has become confrontational.

The best chance for compromise on the tangled differences on interim government arrangements is in the technical committee, which was set up recently.

Convener of the technical committee, Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party, told the Sunday Star: "I think we've made considerable progress, but there are very complex issues — a number of them

We have a long, hard road to travel.

"While I think progress has been significant, we are not close to the finishing line," he said, adding he would be "pleasantly surprised" if anything big was completed by mid-May.

The appointment of the technical committee follows serious differences on the nature and authority of an interim government.

The differences deepened this week as the ANC attacked the Government's intransigence while,

in a speech that could signal an even tougher approach by the Government, chief spokesman on Codesa, Tertius Delpport, said this week: "We cannot introduce a democratic structure as long as an undemocratic culture exists."

"Free and fair elections simply cannot take place in a culture where violence, intimidation, private armies and political intolerance are the order of the day."

The Government insists that sufficient progress must be made on ending the ANC's armed struggle before interim government.

The ANC wants interim government first.

Government sources are adamant they will not hand over power to a non-elected interim government body, and that they will only agree to an elected interim government if minorities participate fully.

### 'Shopping list'

The ANC held a media briefing this week at which it expressed concern that the Government's "intransigence" threatened the possibility of progress.

In turn the ANC revealed a 10-point "shopping list" which it wanted to push through at Codesa 2.

These included an agreement to establish an elected constitution-making body whose decisions could not be vetoed by any other body.

This issue is at the heart of the current impasse.

Dr Delpport said the ANC's latest attack on the Government was aimed at distracting attention from the Government's insistence that the ANC honour bilateral agreements on ending violence.

As accusations flew back and forth, key ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said that if Codesa 2 failed South Africa's negotiation process would be in peril and those responsible would stand condemned.

"Codesa 2 dare not end up as a damp squib. The eyes of all our people will be upon it, and they will be harsh judges of those who are perceived to be playing with their lives," he said.

Another sticking point is expected on the question of reincorporation of the TBVC states as Government sources have warned of "immense technical difficulties".

The ANC believes it will be asked to compromise on the reincorporation of the TBVC states during the pre-election phase.

The ANC is confident that it has overwhelming support in these states.



Sun Star

19/4/92

# Euphoric days before the fall

Reckless 'necklaces and matchboxes' statement first sign of Winnie's decline

SunStar Reporter

**O**NCE they were South Africa's most visible couple, eulogised in song and lionised across world capitals, feted by kings and queens as other heads of state tripped over themselves to host the Mandelas.

To many Nelson Mandela still symbolises resistance against injustice. Up to about six years ago Winnie was not far behind and, to underline her importance and recognise her worth in its own right, earned the appellation *Madama WeUhu*.

As celebrities the Mandelas have had few equals in the world.

Together they amassed an unprecedented string of laurels, ranging from streets and buildings named after them, to honorary doctorates. They became international citizens, receiving the freedom of more towns and cities than even the longest-living head of state.

The world's premier broadcasting networks pitched tent outside their home and beamed live satellite footage of every word, every whisper and murmur escaping the Mandelas' mouths.

Those were the triumphant days, powered by the euphoria of Nelson Mandela's release from 27 years in prison.

But the bubble burst.

Murdered teenage activist Stompie Moeketsi's ghost escaped from its bottle and came back to haunt Winnie and torment Nelson, his wife's connection with the child's death reduced him to no more than the spouse of a convicted common criminal.

Winnie, erstwhile darling of the masses, and in her own right a martyr for justice and freedom, was exposed as an intolerant woman who denied others the same.

A judge of the Supreme Court found her no more than a "bare-faced liar" with little regard for the truth.

Her diminished stature reflected heavily on Nelson Mandela, and he came under increasing pressure to act decisively against her.

And it has come to pass that this weekend Winnie Mandela is estranged from her husband and out of a job when she steps down as head of the ANC's welfare department.

The end was as dramatic as everything else about the Mandelas has been, and is.

Even their marriage was dramatic. He obtained special permission from the presiding judge in the celebrated Treason Trial to attend his own wedding, returning to the dock beside 150 others as soon as the traditional rites had been performed in their native Transkei.

**N**OW the legend, the mysticism, and aura behind the magic which the Mandela name held for many, is slowly falling under a harsher spotlight.

The love supreme which inspired a prominent sociologist to write a highly acclaimed book is now being questioned as a man 28 years Mrs Mandela's junior is increasingly being linked to her romantically.

The end of Winnie's political popularity began with one particularly reckless statement back in the mid-1980s at the height of the frightening, barbaric "necklace" method of mob execution.

But even before the notorious Krugersdorp statement — "with our necklaces and our boxes of matches we shall liberate this

country" — something else had gone horribly wrong.

She had banded a group of township youths into a "football" club which, as township cynics have unceasingly pointed out, was famous less for its prowess on the playing fields and more for the sheer terror its very name evoked.

**T**HE "footballers" became thugs who terrorised the living daylight out of ordinary folk. They were feared and, worse, hated. Their founder became synonymous with her charges and pretty soon she was equally reviled.

It was not long before the thugs trod on very sensitive toes. One of them forced himself on a schoolgirl while his mates assaulted her companion.

Reprisal was swift and unforgiving: pupils of Dalibonga Secondary School in Dube descended on the Mandela home and burnt it down.

The thugs fled, Nelson Mandela, then still imprisoned, instructed his attorney that the matter be solved by the community through peaceful avenues and there must be no reprisals.

But the damage had been irreparably done.

Stompie's death was the last straw. Winnie's erstwhile allies came out into the open against her as the unthinkable and unprecedented happened.

All organisations were called upon to deny her their platform; lawyers in the black community were exhorted to dissociate themselves from her or face the wrath of the community, and the public was openly called upon to ostracise her.

And now Winnie is fighting another battle. By all accounts she is some fighter. She is down, but many say not out.

Yet this may be her last major fight; the odds seem heavily stacked against her.

## 'My hands are tied'

WINNIE Mandela said this week she wanted to talk to the press, but that her hands were tied. "I want to talk to you more than you want to talk to me, but I have a case pending. These people are just waiting for me to say one word. Why don't you talk to Ismail Ayob?"

But Mr Ayob, the Mandela family lawyer, declined to grant the interview. "A British newspaper asked Mrs Mandela to write 500 words which would be published without any changes. ABC television has also offered her 30 minutes of airtime without anyone asking questions. Why should I give you an interview?"

"I have told you that these are our instructions and you can go and write what you like," he said.



Sun Star

19/4/92

## The

## silence of the lions

**T**HE ghosts will not lie down. Not that of Steve Biko and not that of Stompie Seipei. It's a reality the Nats never faced in their years of power and oppression, and never more so than in the case of Steve Biko. He died brutally in the hands of the police at a time when, under the Vorsters and Van den Berghs and P W Bothas, the Nats and their agents tried to bribe their way out of apartheid, invaded neighbours and tortured and killed in the name of the party.

When Biko died they tried to cover up the horror. From the Minister of Justice to the police involved and the district surgeons, they either lied or kept their silence and accused newspapers of lack of patriotism. Their cover-up failed, not because of official action, but because of the relentless investigation by some newspapers and the dedication of the family's legal and forensic team. The result: instead of Biko's death being shrouded in suspicion and supposition, and despite all official efforts to muzzle the press, the evil came out to haunt the Nats to this day. Sadly, the ANC doesn't seem to have learnt this lesson. Stompie wasn't Steve Biko. He was just a 14-year-old boy who may or may not have been a

police informer, who may or may not have had sexual relations with a white priest. But he was killed for this and his last few hours were, if anything, worse than Biko's.

Let us examine the time of Biko and the time of Stompie. In the 1970s the security police acted with arrogant impunity; in the late 1980s the Mandela Football Club did the same, conducting a reign of rape, pillage, robbery and murder in Soweto. In the 1970s the Nats, even those who were ashamed, kept their silence in the name of the cause and patriotism. In the 1980s the ANC did the same. It was only after the Sunday Star had exposed the Stompie af-

fair, linked Dr Abu-Bakr Asvat's death with it, ran the full memorandum of the Mandela Crisis Committee to Oliver Tambo and told the full story of the football club, that the ANC condemned this "terrible crime". But that didn't stop it from attacking newspapers. We were wrong, we were trying to harm the cause. As for some members of the crisis committee, some of whom now hold high office in the ANC, their actions then are a far cry from their public stance today. Shut up, they tell us, let the law take its course. Quite rightly they didn't trust the police three years ago, and so they acted in secret: their actions were directed not so much at bringing the perpetrators of evil to justice, but to protect the name of their organisation. At least in those dark days there was some argument for not collaborating with the forces of apartheid, but those selfsame leaders who investigated the Stompie affair and who set out their horror in that secret document are the selfsame leaders who, today, are condemning the media for their investigations.

Let the law take its course, they say. And yet a key witness is smuggled out the country by an ANC unit. And yet four of Mrs Winnie

Mandela's co-accused vanish on the eve of trial, and one tells the Sunday Star it was the ANC which handled his disappearance. And yet Stompie's mother is terrorised by members of the ANC into praising the very people she suspects of being responsible for the death of her son. The ANC has denied official connivance with these deeds but it is impossible to believe that it hasn't turned a blind eye to this subversion of justice, or that if it really wanted the law to take its course, it couldn't have brought back the missing accused and the witness.

And so the cover-up goes on. We believe there are many leaders in the ANC who know the truth, or part of the truth, not just about Stompie's death, but about those of several other youngsters and that of Dr Asvat. The lambs cannot speak but it is time for the lions of the ANC, the church, and the law to break their silence.

If murder and torture are to be condoned or swept under the carpet in the name of the cause and patriotism, we might as well resurrect the ghost of Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger. We dare not allow any of our future leaders to reflect his mood. Stompie's death should leave no-one cold.



San Star 19/4/92

# Four DP 'rebels' a headache for ANC

David Breier  
Political Correspondent

THIS week's suspension of four pro-ANC MPs from the Democratic Party caucus is developing into a major headache for the African National Congress.

The movement has yet to decide whether to accept the membership of the four MPs as long as they remain members of the tricameral Parliament.

Some or all of the four suspended rebels are virtually certain to be kicked out of the DP this week on the grounds that they owe their allegiance to the ANC.

Anti-ANC DP MPs are eager

to "purge" the party of pro-ANC elements, especially as a large body of DP members want to move the party into a centrist alliance with the Nats.

The suspended MPs are hoping the ANC will accept their membership because of their "track record" in identifying with the "oppressed", without the ANC first insisting they resign from Parliament.

## Drag on

Political sources said this week that should the ANC accept the membership of the four MPs without their resigning from Parliament it could become a highly divisive issue in that it would involve the ANC in "system" politics.

The ANC insists that the tri-

cameral Parliament should merely legislate an interim government and then be abolished.

But as Codrington talks appear to be bogged down, the existing Parliament could drag on for some time. Four ANC MPs could become a serious source of division in the ANC.

This week DP leader Zach de Beer suspended Jan van Eck (Claremont), Janette Momborg (Simon's Town), Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) after they held a secret meeting with ANC leaders including Nelson Mandela with a view to their joining the ANC.

They could now suffer the embarrassment of sitting as unwanted independents if they are thrown out of the DP while the ANC decides whether to ac-

## Membership in doubt while still part of the tricameral Parliament

cept their membership if they don't resign from Parliament.

It is understood the four MPs were hoping to make a headline-grabbing announcement after Easter that they were joining the ANC. But the news of the meeting with the ANC was leaked to the media — and was seized upon by their opponents in the DP who put pressure on Dr de Beer to kick them out.

Dr de Beer's suspension has

in effect stolen the thunder of the rebel MPs leaving anti-ANC MPs in the DP clanking with danger.

A fifth pro-ANC DP MP, Dave Delling (Sandton) was to have joined the four, but has been readmitted to hospital after a recurrence of heart trouble. Mr Delling said from his hospital bed in Stellenbosch that he regretted the suspension of the four "very talented" MPs.

who had done valuable ground-work among the "deprived masses". He preferred not to discuss his own position while he was ill.

Another three DP MPs attended an earlier meeting with the ANC along with the four, but did not take part in the later secret meeting. Dr de Beer has reconfirmed their positions in the DP.

## Surprise

They are Kobus Jordaan (Umlanga), Wessel Nel (Mooi River) and Andre de Wet, indirectly-elected MP from East London.

The ANC has has merely expressed its surprise at the suspension of the four who had expressed "their personal desire to strengthen their links with the

ANC". However, ANC sources told the Sunday Star that the issue was complex and potentially divisive.

The four MPs will be given a hearing by Dr de Beer and other members of the DP caucus on Wednesday.

There was no question of suspending DP MPs who favoured a centrist alliance with the National Party.

"There is no suggestion from these members that they would leave the party," Dr de Beer said.

Mr van Eck appears at this stage to have resigned himself to leaving the DP, saying: "The step of suspending us summarily without having put any charges to us, and the manner it was done, merely indicates the relationship of the party towards us is terminal."

Mr de Wet, however, said that in view of the speculation about the possible ANC membership of the four MPs, Dr de Beer had acted reasonably.

Mr Nel said all parties were going through a period of soul-searching, and his meeting with the ANC leadership on Monday had to be viewed against this background.

Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg), who has had bitter clashes with the pro-ANC faction in the DP caucus, said the ANC could damage itself if it accepted their membership.

Mr Carlisle said four or five white MPs would bring no white support base whatsoever to the ANC, and could not be justified because of the high risk of divisiveness it would cause in the ANC.



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19/4/92

# Leaders must co-operate to end violence

**F**OUR ordinary members of society — a security guard, a carpenter, and two drivers, all working for this company — held my attention this week.

They were excited about today's mammoth church service in Moria to which Nelson Mandela, F W de Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthelezi have been invited and will speak.

How wonderful, said one driver, if it could happen more often that the three men could get together in less hostile and more humble circumstances. As individuals and before their separate constituencies they were demigods whose word was law, but before their Creator and on their knees they were mere mortals who were simply busy adding to the confusion in the world.

The second driver said the Moria idea should be expanded and extended to the rest of the country. "Immediately after the church conference the three men should seriously sit down together and draw up a joint strategy to end the violence in our communities once and for all," he said.

"They must draft speeches addressing the whole of South Africa and not just Inkatha, ANC, or Government supporters. They must express a genuine desire to see the violence ended, and must stop talking in terms of ethnic 'nations'."

"Once the speeches are drawn up, each must see the others' and approve them. After that the three must take their programme on the road."

And how, asked the security guard, would that help to end the violence?

Responded the driver: "First of all the three men would invite their followers to the biggest venue in Johannesburg. All the followers. Then each man would read his call for peace, and would have to keep his word about not departing from the prepared and agreed text, no matter how great the temptation to do so."

"After that would be a call to all present, representing the broad majority of all South Africans, to bury the hatchet there and then, and to begin accepting one another as equals and as fellow citizens."



**Just  
Jon**

JON  
QWELANE

"From there the three men would leave for Cape Town, choose its biggest venue, and invite all their members there to come together to listen to the calls for peace. Again all the people present would represent the broad majority of South Africans, and again it would be at that gathering that the first seeds of genuine peace in the Western Cape would be sown."

"After that the three men would leave for Durban, select its biggest venue and go over the process once more. Do you want to say you do not believe that strategy would work?"

The carpenter had held his peace for some time, but chipped in here: "How would that work, if a peace accord, which all three men have signed does not appear to hold?"

But the proposer of the novel idea had done his homework and was prepared to take it further. He replied: "Look, the peace accord depends on those who signed it to help make it work. If Mandela, Buthelezi, and De Klerk travel around the country addressing joint rallies and calling upon their members to end the fighting, they will only be doing exactly what the accord says."

"The reason you say the accord does not seem to work is because the grassroots do not see much action at the top in putting the accord into effect. Once that perception changes, we could see much improvement in relations between the various political organisations."

Personally, I was impressed with this kind of thinking. I asked the man if the thought had just occurred to him. I was in for another surprise.

He said: "A few of my friends and other people have been talking about this violence for some time, and we have looked at ways of ending it. Ultimately we have found that the only way to end it is if leaders themselves take the initiative."

"Otherwise people like myself will go nowhere at holidays such as this Easter. We are afraid to go to our villages; the trains are just not safe."