

Sunday Profile

The uncrushable spirit of ANC's sport-loving Steve Tshwete

TWENTY years ago Robben Island prisoner Steve Tshwete watched warders order his friend to dig a hole, climb into it, and cover himself with loose earth. Then they urinated on his head.

Mr Tshwete's large hands may be scarred from the crushing of rocks in prison — but not his mind.

This week Mr Tshwete, the ANC national organiser and sports liaison officer, came to London with Ali Bacher to plead the case for South Africa's re-admission to international sport.

"There's no room for bitterness or revenge in this cause. The prison authorities tried to break my body — and very nearly succeeded — but could not crush my spirit or hope," he said this week.

Mr Tshwete, 52, son of a migrant labourer, was born in Springs in 1938 and attended schools near King William's Town. He played first team rugby for Forbes Grant Secondary School, Welsh High School in East London and for the Township Home Defenders, the Ginsberg township's team.

In February 1964, he and four other members of the ANC's Border Regional Command were charged with sabotage and furthering the aims of a banned organisation. He was sentenced to 15 years on Robben Island.

When Mr Tshwete was released in 1979, he counted himself among the lucky survivors and was determined to get on with the things he had enjoyed most in his youth — sport.

"I played cricket as a youngster and rugby in secondary school. I was elected to the Border Rugby Union in 1979 — a member of the SA Rugby Union."

Following his release, Mr Tshwete was restricted to Peeltion for two years and took a key leadership role in the UDF's Border region.

He was detained for four months in the Ciskei and, after his release in February 1984, was fired from his teaching post at the local school.

After three months without work, he found employment as a clerk with a legal firm in King William's Town.

His political commitment remained undimmed. He was detained more than 30 times by the Ciskei authorities. A close friend was killed by the Ciskei Combined Forces in suspicious circumstances. Scores of his friends were rounded up and detained.

In October 1984 Mr Tshwete was declared *persona non grata* in SA and for months he slipped secretly back and forth into SA.

A year later, the tall man with scarred hands went into exile in Lusaka, working from the ANC headquarters. Sport was put on the back burner while he turned his attention to mass mobilisation inside the country.

He underwent military training and was appointed a commissar of Umkhonto we Sizwe and was co-opted on to the

national executive committee in 1988.

But his capacity for reconciliation remained. When a group of white South Africans visited Lusaka in 1988, former security policeman Donald Card was among them. Tshwete was at the airport to greet his one-time interrogator with a warm embrace.

"I was worried about coming," admitted Card.

"You need not have been — you are among friends," replied Mr Tshwete.

He maintained his sporting links and was instrumental in starting the ANC initiative to create alternative sports bodies as a force against apartheid.

"I sometimes thought the problems insurmountable, especially with the rugby and cricket organisations.

"There were those leading the non-racial side who were naturally embittered and difficult. We had to discuss the need to unify at length, but many remained unconvinced.

"On the other hand, we had to

convince administrators that tours of any kind to South Africa should be discouraged while unity talks were in progress.

"Tours would invite demonstrations which, if they turned ugly, would involve police action and the perpetuation of bitterness. It was hard," he said.

Mr Tshwete was part of the ANC's delegation at Groote Schuur and in May last year he returned permanently to SA to take up the position of national organiser and chairman of the national organising committee.

Has Mr Tshwete come the full circle in his fight for South Africa's integration into world sport?

"Not quite. I want world bodies to realise that isolating non-racial, democratic sport in SA is counter productive for the movement. I want to see the end of the boycott for those bodies who are on that list.

"However, I still believe that those sporting organisations which cling to old-style apartheid or refuse to be part of the non-racial, democratic movement need to be avoided at all costs."

Charmain Naidoo

A NEAT little wood and iron church stands on a prime piece of land in the heart of Durban's Berea where domestic servants have quietly worshipped for the past 98 years. Now, financially powerful property developers and fussy neighbours want to change all that, but the rightful owners refuse to budge

MORE than 200 domestic servants have squared up against multi-million-rand property developers and hostile neighbours to save a century-old little wood-and-iron church in the plush Windmill Road area of Durban's Berea.

While the developers are desperately trying to get their hands on the prime piece of land, the women said this week they were equally determined to fight to the bitter end to save a place of worship that had served generations of domestic servants serving the city's rich and famous.

The women in distinctive, red, black and white uniforms, are members of the *Umenyano* black women's movement in the Methodist Church of Southern Africa.

However, the Methodist leadership in Durban does not seem to know what to do about the sensitive issue.

It has suggested to the women that they join the predominantly-white congregation in the Musgrave Road church.

But the women have said they would have difficulty in adjusting to this.

Some of the worshippers who spoke to the Tribune this week, said that while they were engaged in a fight to keep powerful developers off their land, they also had to contend with some white neighbours who do not want the church anywhere near their affluent neighbourhood.

"We are pressured by persistent would-be buyers on one hand, and harassed by some neighbours on the other," complained one woman.

Church stewardess Winnie Mashiya said that although most of the property developers had great financial muscle, the domestic servants had vowed not to budge an inch on this issue.

"We have repeatedly told people who make us

Lay off our tiny piece of heaven. . .

all sorts of offers to buy the property, that our church is not for sale and that it never would be. We have made it clear to all that the church is too close to our hearts and would not be sold — even for a million rands," said Mrs Mashiya.

Mrs Mashiya said the parishioners would rather see their 98-year-old little church become a permanent fixture, as a historical symbol of the city than to watch some

developer pull it down for something else. If pushed, she said, they would request the Monuments Council to intervene.

"We've taken great care to look after this place all these years, what we need is all the help we can get to reconstruct the church using proper building materials. We don't need someone to come and take away our place, simply because it has gone up in

value," said Mrs Mashiya.

The property at the centre of controversy is a very old but neat, wood-and-iron church built on prime land in the elite and pricey residential area, sandwiched between Essenwood and Musgrave roads.

The tiny church at 51 Windmill Road stands on land which was given to domestic servants in 1893 by some white families who lived in the area at

LAY OFF OUR TINY PIECE OF HEAVEN . . .

Report: **MDU LEMBEDE**

Picture: **STEVE NAIDOO**

the time. The Methodist Church is registered as the owner of the land.

"This was a donation to God, in the name of the poor and simple folk. No one person has a right to sell what belongs to God. The church must never be sold," said Albert Mshengu, an elderly man who said he was an evangelist and ran the church from 1948 until

his retirement, 36 years later.

In an interview at his Edendale home, Mr Mshengu said initial offers to buy the property started as early as 1950s.

"Big property developers and individuals who wanted to build homes on the land came to us at the time with tempting offers, but we turned them all down".

This was echoed by the church's present minister, Rev Cleopas Damoyi, who said offers to buy the church were still pouring in.

The domestic servants said that some white neighbours had tried every trick to have the church demolished or moved.

"We don't understand why these people are

doing this to us because we don't trouble anyone and only use the place on our afternoons off (Thursdays) and sometimes on Sundays. We are not a noisy lot and we always keep this place very clean."

Although part of the Methodist fold, the building has seen no improvements over the years.

People who know the history and background of the little church — dwarfed by Durban High

PRAYING for the future: Domestic servant Winnie Mashiya and her friends pray that the tiny 98-year-old wood and iron church, and the land it stands on in the heart of Durban's up-market Berea suburb, remains in the hands of its owners — the domestic servants.

School across the road — say among the people who gave the land for the church were well-known Durban families of the time, including the Baumanns, the biscuit manufacturers, and the Greenacres family.

They bought the land for their maids and gardeners to build a church near their places of employment, largely to avoid them having to request time-off to be able

to travel long distances to far-flung black areas, whenever they wished to attend a church service.

An official at the Durban Estates Department said that in January 1989, his office evaluated the Windmill Road property at R145 000. Although the piece of land could easily fetch far more than R200 000 in the open market, the irony was that the church building was valued at a mere R4 000.

Uproar over spears based on ignorance of historical facts

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 26/5/91

DR Jeff Guy, author of *Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: The Civil war in Zululand 1879-1884*, must be commended for attempting to find a historical solution for the use of cultural weapons by Zulus in the past. It is indeed true that through better understanding of history we can be in a position to solve political problems confronting South Africa.

But Dr Guy has tried to convince us through the use of a single source (Colenso Digest of Zulu Affairs) that at a certain umkhosi (commemoration), the regiments carried only sticks.

As a seasoned historian, Dr Guy knows well that a historian cannot rely on only one source. It is significant that his source was obtained after the conquest of Zululand. Bishop Colenso's sympathy "towards traditional African society" as Dr Guy may be fully aware, is suspect. Colenso worked hand in glove with Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Natal's Secretary for Native Affairs, whose so-called sympathy came later.

To accuse Zulus of "using culture and tradition in a highly subjective way" is not convincing if it is not supported by historical evidence.

My understanding of Zulu history and tradition is that spears have always been part and parcel of Zulu culture, having been used at weddings, ceremonies and during wars. We should remember that iron was first used on the African continent before being introduced to any other part of the world (John G Jackson, *Introduction to African Civilisations*, Carol Publishing Group, New York, 1990:62). KwaZulu was one such place where iron was used to make spears and hoes for years before colonisation (J Stuart (ed), *UVusezakithi*, London, 1938/56).

Thus, the uproar about the carrying of spears and their use as cultural weapons is in my opinion based on ignorance of historical facts and motivated by a desire to destroy any worthwhile cultural heritage of the African.

It is an insult transparent enough for scholars of African history. The fact that there is dead silence on the use of AK-47s and hand grenades (European creation) speaks volumes.

Prof SJ Maphalala,
Department of History
University of Zululand

Prakash Naidoo

RICHMOND farmers fear that unless immediate steps are taken to house hundreds of refugees squatting in the town centre, another "Ventersdorp situation" could easily arise.

In an interview this week, several farmers accused the Richmond Town Board of "under-handedly" trying to move more than 600 refugees on to a vacant plot of land bordering their farms without consulting them.

According to one farmer, who declined to be named, only an urgent meeting with the town board last week prevented the move going ahead and prompted officials to find another site.

"We already have a security situation here that is not enviable and such a move would only have provoked a more severe crisis," he said.

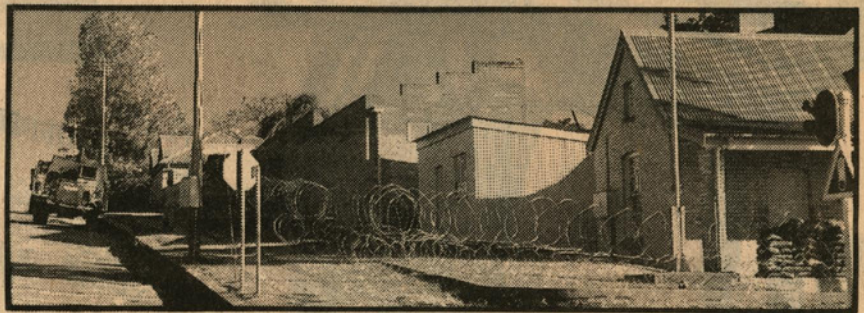
Another resident, Mr Les Wilson, said that farmers feared that once the refugees were moved on to the land, they would become squatters and a health hazard.

"Things could easily have developed into a Ventersdorp-type situation here and residents could have taken the law into their own hands if the authorities had not resolved it quickly," said Mr Wilson.

Richmond Town Clerk Mr Tony Brown, however, denied this and said the situation had arisen because of a misunderstanding by the owner of the land, and once the farmers had voiced their protest, other arrangements had been made.

There is a long history of simmering conflict between residents of the Phateni and Magoda areas near Richmond,

Alarm bells ring over refugees



Barbed wire at the Richmond army base to keep out refugees

and in January this year thousands of refugees poured into the tiny town after an outbreak of violence.

According to Mr Brown, it is believed that more than 35 000 people may have fled the townships since the start of the fighting earlier this year, most of whom had passed through Richmond.

"We are a very small town of about 2 500 people and to service so

many refugees was most traumatic for us," said Mr Brown.

At the moment there are about 600 refugees living in an open field in the centre of Richmond who are waiting to be moved into a refugee camp that the town board is preparing.

These refugees had previously been squatting on the grounds of the army base in Richmond, but after complaints from neighbouring residents, they were moved

and the area cordoned off with barbed wire.

As a result of negotiations with the NPA, preparations are now being made to move the refugees on to the new site once sanitation facilities have been provided and tents erected.

"It is very basic, but it's the best we can do and we can only hope they will be comfortable there until the situation improves and they can return home," said Mr Brown.

26 May 1991

For many in the black townships, Winnie Mandela, the woman they once called 'Mother of the Nation', is already history and about as relevant as a bad dream, write JOHN MATISONN and COLIN SMITH

MOTHER OF THE NATION'S GLORY FADES

AS if another indication of Winnie Mandela's faded glory was necessary, it came with the visit of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. By the end of Mrs Thatcher's sojourn in South Africa it was obvious that the African National Congress much preferred to concentrate on the "other woman" in their lives. There were to be no official protests at a judge's conviction of their leader's wife for abduction and kidnapping.

It was the member for Finchley, putative sanctions buster, and now immortalised by white fruit farmers as a new strain of Stellenbosch nectarine, who brought the demonstrators on to the streets. For many in the black townships, the woman they once called the Mother of the Nation was already history and about as relevant as a bad dream.

"Of course she's guilty," said a waiter at a city centre hotel who lives just behind the palace Winnie Mandela has built herself in Soweto. He was among those who stood by and let her old home burn together with many prized possessions including part of the wedding cake from her marriage to Nelson.

The property was torched by high school students protesting against the actions of the Mandela United Football Club, Winnie's bodyguards.

"Those boys, they never played football," said the waiter. "All they ever kicked were people."

'The woman is now no better than a common criminal. We went off her when she refused to condemn necklacing, but she has always been a disreputable character'

— Brent councillor

Jerry Richardson, the team's "coach", is now on death row having been convicted of the murder of Stompie Moeketsi, a 14-year-old boy who may have turned police informer after being subjected to electric shock torture when he was 12.

Even when the trial was in progress, for Mandela United it was business as usual. Apparently, like the mafia, members are never permitted to entirely sever their connections. If they do they're regarded as *impimpis* — informers.

One man who parted company with the club was Andrew Lerothodi Ikaneng. At the beginning of 1989 he was the subject of a celebrated murder attempt when his throat was slit with a blade from a pair of garden shears. Two of the youths Winnie Mandela was convicted of kidnapping, Kenneth Kgase and Thabiso Mono, were obliged to hold the victim down as part of a bloodying initiation that would bind them to the club.

Winnie Mandela, however, still has her admirers. Her energy and charm continue to win her friends in remote country areas for she is often the only senior member of the ANC who bothers to visit them.

She is still remembered by members of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). They remember her for her sheer physical courage, the way she would risk the rope to hide weapons and guerrillas.

But for some time now, Mrs Mandela's support has been measurable in concentric circles as you move away from South Africa. In the outer circle, the one that encompasses the liberal salons of New York and London, it burned brightly.

In New York the Reverend Al Sharpton, fresh from his recent scourging of "racist" Britain, led 200 demonstrators to the front door of the South African consulate. In Johannesburg, the number of sympathisers who greeted her outside the court after she received her six-year sentence and was allowed out on bail pending an appeal were considerably less.

When Nelson attended his Roman Triumph at the Soweto football stadium after his long-awaited release from jail in February last year, and the ANC's other luminaries and their women came on to the platform to take their bows, Winnie was actually booed.

What changed Winnie Mandela from Mother of the Nation to Mr Justice Michael Stegmann's "calm, composed, deliberate, unprincipled and unblushing liar"? At what point were the first seeds of hubris sown?

When Winnie Mandela defied the Government and returned to Soweto from internal exile in the little Free State dorp of Brandfort it was an act of courage and defiance that aroused the admiration of the world. But one American diplomat, who spent his days trying to meet Washington's demands for some explanation of township politics, saw it differently.

A few weeks after her return, he cabled the State Department saying that Pretoria had not bowed to world opinion at all. They were allowing her to stay in Soweto for their own good reasons. The diplomat's cable said that the personalities of both Winnie and Zinzi, the daughter who still lives with her, were so disruptive they would create havoc among their own supporters. He proved to be right.

Within days of the kidnapping and beating of Stompie and the three others who had been staying at the Methodist manse, members of the anti-apartheid

leadership in Soweto were trying to deal with it. It was the difficult period of January 1988. PW Botha was still president although he had the mild stroke that month that was to begin his retirement from politics, there was a national state of emergency, and going to the police was out of the question.

Community leaders and Nelson Mandela, working through his lawyer from prison, tried to obtain the release of the two kidnapped youths who remained in her house after Stompie had disappeared and one had escaped. Mr Mandela's intervention was eventually successful.

Winnie Mandela's allegation that for three years the media has run a campaign against her over the kidnapping and assault is largely justified. Journalists have aggressively investigated this story. And a number of newspapers, especially in South Africa, have kept alive reports about the incident and others relating to her bodyguard.

But this investigative journalism was not done by pro-government reporters or even by media regarded as entirely neutral about South Africa's politics. Many of the journalists involved are regarded as campaigners against apartheid, some dating back several decades. Their sources were often inside the African National Congress itself.

A few ANC supporters went the whole hog and gave evidence against Mandela. Among these was Bishop Peter Storey whose Methodist church is the main venue for anti-apartheid meetings in central Johannesburg. Prosecution witnesses were looked after by lawyers and clergymen with a long record as human rights activists.

But one advantage the Mandela defence had was that key people in the anti-apartheid movement, who had tried behind the scenes to end the kidnapping and control the football team, could not bring themselves to testify against her in an open court. These included Albertina Sisulu, whose quiet dignity and unblemished reputation has led many in Soweto to call her "the real Mother of the Nation". But Mrs Sisulu is a matronly figure without Winnie's glamour and the international media could not bring themselves to project her in quite the same manner.

Even so, Mrs Sisulu did find a way to state her position in what she considered to be the appropriate forum. In the middle of the trial the inaugural congress of the ANC's women's league was voting for a national president. At one time there would probably have been no contest. Winnie would have been voted in unopposed.

At the congress, Mrs Sisulu withdrew her own candidacy and urged all those who supported her to vote for Mandela's remaining opponent, Gertrude Shope. The result was a landslide defeat for Mandela who polled 196 votes against the victor's 400.

The ANC itself has vacillated between calling for the case to take its course and blaming the media and the South African justice system for running a political trial. One person who has never vacillated is Nelson Mandela. In court, when she was convicted, he walked over and kissed her and asked: "My darling, how are you?"

His love for Winnie is as real as ever. It is mixed with guilt for what he has put her through over the years.

Nonetheless, the trial has done the ANC considerable harm. It comes at a time when Mr Mandela is trying to force concessions out of a National Party Government which seems increasingly confident of retaining power in coalition with other opponents of the ANC.

There is a feeling that Mr Mandela, for all his courtly dignity, is out of touch and that President FW de Klerk is running circles around him. At least one of the bright young men who used to be at Mr Mandela's side to advise him, ex-Robben Island prisoner Murphy Morobe, is now in political exile at Princeton University. It was Mr Morobe who told a press conference: "We are outraged by the reign of terror conducted by Mrs Mandela's so-called football club." He was banished from the ANC's inner circle by Winnie. — London Observer

Mother of the
Nation's Glory
fades.



How times (and a few place names) have changed

Sunday Tribune
26 May 1991

LONDON: Yesterday's mother of the nation is today's "Lady Macbeth" of the anti-apartheid movement. British press and public are coming to terms with Winnie Mandela's fall from grace.

As Mandela pondered her appeal this week, at least four cities, three universities, and a charity in Britain were also considering their options.

All face demands to either rename buildings honouring her, or rescind other titles given her in the past. The mood reflects a sudden reversal in the public image of the woman once called South Africa's "First Lady".

London's Sunday Times dubbed her a "singularly unpleasant character". A Fleet Street columnist referred to "Nelson Mandela's greedy, manipulative, shrieking shrew of a wife".

Yet these and other papers, just 10 years ago, competed for the ultimate accolade: She was the "magnificent Mrs Mandela" (the Observer), or the "lady with a dazzling smile and sparkling brown eyes" (the Times).

The change, from international heroine to a figure of opprobrium has been sudden

Jeremy Brooks
Foreign Staff

and complete. Winnie Mandela T-shirts were bottom of the pile in the discount bins of Carnaby Street stalls this week, Winnie Mandela jigsaws were on sale at the ANC at R5 each, a 70 percent reduction, and postcards bearing her portrait sold slowly.

In Tory-controlled Brent, councillors are pressing for their office block, Winnie Mandela House, to be renamed.

Spokesman Irwin van Colle said the naming was a legacy of the former Labour administration. He said: "The woman is now no better than a common criminal. We went off her when she refused to condemn necklacing, but she has always been a disreputable character."

Labour and Liberal Democratic councillors are pressing for just "Winnie" to be dropped from the name, leaving it in honour of the ANC deputy president.

In Aberdeen, Tory councillors fired off a letter to Winnie Mandela this week, asking her to relinquish her freedom of the city.

Michael Hastie, Conservative leader, said: "It is important that other recipients,

such as the Queen Mother, are not besmirched by the activities of Winnie Mandela."

Officially, the Labour-controlled council says it will do nothing — yet.

"We are waiting for the outcome of the whole thing — until her appeal is heard," said a spokesman.

Similar moves are afoot in Southwark, where Tory councillors want to change Winnie Mandela House to Pelican House. Labour, who control the council, want it to remain. Islington, which recently closed down its Winnie Mandela Resources Centre, says it has no plans to honour her again.

In Sheffield, a student group kicked off a campaign at the polytechnic this week to rename the Winnie Mandela Room after Stompie Moeketsi, in memory of the 14-year-old boy killed by Mandela's bodyguard.

In Glasgow, university students pressed for her name to be removed from their list of rectors. At Durham, other students were about to launch a campaign to rename the Mandela ballroom — named not after Winnie but after her husband — and call it after Winston Churchill instead.

VICTIM

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 26/5/91

FORGIVES BOMBER WEBSTER

Janette Bennett and Carolyn McGibbon

DURBAN policeman Roelof van der Merwe, left severely scarred by a bomb planted by ANC hunger striker Gordon Webster, yesterday said he had forgiven the man whose action killed his colleague and disfigured him for life.

Warrant Officer Van der Merwe, based at the Brighton Beach police station, suffered 90 percent burns "from head to foot" in a limpet mine blast at the Chamberlain Road substation in January 1986.

Mr Webster, whose release was ordered by the government on Friday, said yesterday he did not know if society would accept him.

The freeing of the top ANC commander, serving 24 years for murdering a security policeman, has given other hunger strikers in jail hope that they may be released and they are now debating the suspending of their fast.

Country-wide consultations between hunger strikers and lawyers are taking place in the light of this week's developments and a decision is expected this weekend.

The blast that injured father-of-two W/O Van der Merwe took the life of security branch policeman Colonel Robert Welman — who had gone to the substation to investigate a blast when a second limpet mine exploded — and left Durban Corporation training officer Mervyn Dunn badly burnt. Colonel Welman died in hospital three weeks after the blast.

Mr Webster, a former teacher trainee at Bechet College, was convicted of

murder, attempted murder and 12 counts of terrorism. He was sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment.

After the sentencing W/O (then Detective Sergeant) van der Merwe spoke angrily, saying: "Webster should have been given the death penalty; he does not deserve the sentence he was given."

Yesterday he said he did not know Mr Webster had been released.

"If the government decides that a person will be released, it's something one has to accept. It's one of those things.

"I have accepted what happened as part of my work. I was on duty at the time. I just have to live with it."

Speaking from hospital at Somerset — in an interview cut short by a minor ANC official — Mr Webster said he had not expected the State to free him and he was not convinced that he would be welcomed back into society.

W/O Van der Merwe said: "A person, if they are religious, has to forgive. If it wasn't for my religion and the support I was given by so many people, I don't think I would be here today.

"I don't hold a grudge against Gordon Webster."

W/O Van der Merwe said he had "recovered well" from his ordeal, but was constantly reminded of it. "People see the scars and every day someone asks what happened to me," he said.

He has undergone several skin grafts, and still may have to undergo more.

He said he did not know how he would react if he met Mr Webster. "I saw him in court during the

trial. He just looked at me. "I wonder how he feels about what he did."

Mr Webster's mother, Mrs Agnes Webster, told the Tribune yesterday that if W/O Van der Merwe could forgive her son, "then God can forgive him too".

"I have prayed a lot for forgiveness. He (W/O Van der Merwe) must be a good person, a Christian person.

"My son was very sorry he had hurt people. I too was very sorry," she said.

Mrs Webster said she could not believe her youngest son was free.

"I never thought I would live to see him out of jail. When my son (George) phoned to tell me Gordon was free, I dropped the telephone and nearly fainted."

Minister of Justice Kobie Coetzee said yesterday the release of Mr Webster was "a completely different case" from that of Robert McBride and Barend Strydom.

There was "absolutely no change" in their situation.

"Webster killed a policeman. McBride killed innocent civilians. Webster only killed one person, McBride killed six."

After a visit to hunger strikers at Somerset this week ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said he had gained the impression they would be released soon.

Victim forgives bomber Webster.

Mr Mandela said, from conversations he had with Mr Coetzee, "I have gained the impression — not that I was told anything specifically — that the gravity of the situation was appreciated both by the national leadership of the ANC as well as the government and on both sides there is a realisation that there should be forward movement in this matter."



Gordon Webster

STAR

26/5/91

From Mother of Nation to Lady Macbeth

Jeremy Brooks

YESTERDAY'S Mother of the Nation is today's Lady Macbeth of the anti-apartheid movement. The British press and public are coming to terms with Winnie Mandela's fall from grace.

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Heavy onus resting on SA's leaders

8/Star 26/5/91

If there was one clear lesson from this week's Pretoria peace summit it was the absolute imperative that future peace talks include all the players, however many compromises have to be made by all sides en route to the peace table.

The Government may have been right to insist on its duty to initiate the peace process, and the ANC had some merit in its argument that the summit was fatally flawed because it had been organised unilaterally.

But positive proposals coming out of the summit such as the need for a political code of conduct to restore peace and the idea of a peace secretariat will have little practical use without the legitimacy of an inclusive peace process.

Now that Mr de Klerk has completed his summit without the ANC, PAC and others, and that honour seems to have been preserved on all sides, they can all start afresh to plan the real peace process.

The seemingly never-ending litany of atrocities puts a massive onus on leaders to get it right this time.

But while some of their excuses might amount to little more than petty nit-picking, the relative groups underlines the crucial need to organise the next discussions in a neutral atmosphere.

That is why one of the most constructive proposals to come out of the summit was that the committee formed at last year's historic church conference in Rustenburg should be the most likely body to convene an independent peace summit.

One reason for the apparent failure of religious leaders so far to organise an inclusive peace summit is that their initiative was perceived by Inkatha, rightly or wrongly, to be dominated by the SA Council of Churches — and Inkatha sees the SACC as little more than the ANC at prayer.

The Rustenburg movement was a successful fusion of SACC and non-SACC churches which could provide a more neutral foundation.

Such a neutral peace conference could learn further lessons from this week's Pretoria exercise, which would then not have been held entirely in vain.

For example, the need for participants to avoid tub-thumping speeches, restating old divisive positions instead of fixing their vision firmly on solutions.

And the need for neutral chairmen to give equal protection to all participants, and to ensure that they stick to the subject of peace instead of using conferences to indulge in yet more war talk, threats and point-scoring.

16/1/20

And any successful peace conference must address the issue of violence not only by party-political groupings, but also by elements of the security forces.

While Mr de Klerk's summit this week might be widely viewed as a false start, it did have the insight to address these issues thanks to the courage of some participants who had attended despite advice to join the boycott.

This was proof that participation does lead to the free flow of ideas and that the main obstacles to representative peace talks are procedural ones.

With the political death toll rising daily, leaders must now justify the trust their followers have placed in them by overcoming these procedural difficulties — or else they will share the guilt for every death and injury suffered in political violence.

THE LION

SUNDAY TIMES 26/5/91

LADY

**BULL ELEPHANT
CHARGE FAILS TO
RUFFLE MAGGIE
ON SA SAFARI**



CAMPFIRE TALES ... Mala Mala owner Mike Rattray hosts a fireside chat with Maggie's personal assistant Cynthia Crawford, the former British premier and President De Klerk

FORMER British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was charged by a bull elephant during her visit to Mala Mala last weekend.

With her was Marike de Klerk who, when the bull began flapping his ears, suggested calmly that they "ought to move".

Mrs Thatcher was unfazed, said Mike Rattray, owner of the exclusive Mala Mala game reserve.

"I knew I was in good hands," she told him afterwards.

Special report by GLENDA NEVILL

"Nothing ruffles her," Mr Rattray said.

The informal weekend at Mala Mala was the only quiet time Mrs Thatcher had during her hectic visit to South Africa.

She was joined in the bush by President FW de Klerk, British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick and his wife, Lady Anne, and Hans Strauli and his wife, Mary.

Also there were long-standing friends of President De Klerk and a prominent Pretoria attorney, as well as Mr Rattray and his wife, Norma.

Mr Rattray said this week: "Mrs Thatcher could not wait to get into the bush.

"After arriving from Phalaborwa, she changed into comfortable clothes, drank a cup of tea and we set out in the Landrover."

At 11pm Mrs Thatcher wanted to know when she

could view game by night.

"I had to tell her the next trip was only scheduled for the morning," Mr Rattray said.

"She has an incredibly inquiring mind and expressed interest in conservation, the misuse of world resources and wanted to know all sorts of facts about the birds and game she saw."

She pondered on the environment rather than politics and, although she and Mr De Klerk spent a lot of time chatting, the conversation remained light-hearted.

The Lion Lady.

In fact, Mrs Thatcher became embroiled in some rugby banter when the president ragged Mr Strauli (whose son, Rudolf, plays for Northern Transvaal) about Northern's defeat at the hands of Natal at Kings Park.

Mr Rattray arranged for a doctor to be on hand at Mala Mala in case any health problems cropped up. Fortunately, he was there to treat Mrs Thatcher for sunburn and to provide her with sunscreens to protect her fair English skin on her excursions into the bush.

She also donned a floppy hat provided by the game

reserve, which complemented her navy blue safari-style outfits and shoes.

"She was perfectly dressed — understated and stylish — for a weekend in the bush," Mrs Rattray said.

Of all the animals she saw, Mrs Thatcher fell in love with the giraffe and rhino. They were, she said, respectively "very beautiful and very ugly".

When Mrs Thatcher left the reserve on Sunday afternoon, she told Mr Rattray she would return to visit again later this year with her son, Mark.

Sunday Times
20 May 1991



BUFFALO WATCH: Bush-hatted Margaret Thatcher, centre, on a game drive with husband Sir Denis and hosts President De Klerk, right, and wife Marike

PIMVILLE'S NIGHT OF TERROR

SUNDAY TIMES 26/5/91

Husband shot in front of his
wife

By VICTOR KHUPISO
SOWETO mother Emily Mosia watched in horror as her husband was shot dead in cold blood in front of her, and her baby battered by vicious gunmen who rampaged through Pimville on Friday night.

The smell of cigarette smoke had betrayed the fact that her husband, Louis Mashaba, 58, was hiding in their shack at the back of the main building — and it cost him his life.

Mrs Mosia's husband was one of eight people killed and scores injured in Pimville on Friday night.

And her four-month-old baby, Elizabeth, suffered an arm injury after being thrown to the floor.

She could not take the baby to hospital, she said, because all their money was stolen by the attackers.

A grieving Mrs Mosia told of her night of terror:

"I was sitting with my husband watching television about 11pm when we

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday declared Sebokeng and Evaton, near Vanderbijlpark, unrest areas.

This brings to 12 the total of unrest areas declared by Mr Vlok.

were disturbed by people talking outside.

"I heard them planning their strategy and immediately felt our lives were in danger.

"I peeped through the window and saw the attackers. They were armed with guns. But at the time I did not know that other gunmen were inside the main house and attacking people. I heard several shots and screams.

"We were scared. A little later they come to our shack and my husband hid under the bed.

"Within seconds they broke down the door. There were about eight men armed with pangas and guns. They asked where my husband was.

"I told them he had gone to see relatives. They

slapped me several times and my baby, Elizabeth, woke up and started crying.

"One of them dragged my baby from her bed and threw her on the floor.

"Then they started searching. My husband had just finished smoking and the smell of the cigarette was evident.

"The men looked in the wardrobe and under the table. While they were looking I prayed that they would not look where my husband was hiding.

"When they finally looked there, I knew he

was dead. He was pulled out from under the bed and shot five times in front of me. He pleaded for his life, but they just shot him.

"I screamed, but they threatened me and demanded money. I gave them R200 and they left.

"My husband was bleeding heavily. He had been shot twice in the head and three times in the body. He was still breathing and wanted to say something but could not because blood oozed from his mouth. He died in my arms shortly afterwards."

The attackers, armed

with AK-47 rifles and other weapons, raided houses across a five-street area, killing people and stealing furniture, money and other valuables.

Smashed windows and bullet-riddled houses bore testimony to the carnage which took embattled residents of Pimville completely by surprise.

And survivors of the attack are counting themselves lucky for escaping with their lives.

It is alleged that as many as 200 attackers descended on the township in two buses, then split into

To P92

PIMVILLE'S NIGHT OF TERROR FROM PG 1

four groups and began raiding houses.

Police, who arrived after the attack, say they have no idea who was behind the onslaught.

Soweto police liaison officer, Col Jac de Vries, confirmed that police had arrived only after the attack.

Their arrival did save a man suspected of being a spy for the attackers from being attacked by angry Pimville residents.

The man, who said he was returning from visiting his brother at Nancefield hostel, was taken away by the police.

Masekela concert SUNDAY Times 26/5/91 was the greatest

By Doc Bikitsha

HUGH MASEKELA's show *Sekunjalo* at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg was the ultimate.

Everybody who went to the concert on Thursday, Friday and yesterday was raving about the trumpeter and composer who took township jazz and mbaqanga to the world.

Even cynics who thought they'd be fed the normal 50s music were astounded by the fusion of other international sounds into his repertoire.

A concertgoer said yesterday: "His music is timeless."

It made me remember a talent show one night decades ago in the Johannesburg City Hall, when Masekela, then a teenager, stuck his tongue out in displeasure at a squeaking sax.

It is funny that he now does the same when showing appreciation for a song

well rendered.

Between acts, Masekela said the bubblegum music of today, and its exponents, should not be discarded, but assimilated.

Music fan Jimmy Konki Qghwetha, from the East Rand, said: "One thing special about Hugh is how he uses those old tunes, including traditional melodies, to tantalise and win over the rather biased pop generation."

The presentation was novel with its drum introduction and its finely honed dancers. Supporting bands Sankomota and Bayethe were great, but give me that statuesque beauty, singer Faith Kekana, any time.

When the concert ended with the national anthem *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* sung with emotion by the performers and audience, it was evident Hugh had touched a tender spot. Stay home, lad.

Beer hall deaths: Four held

FOUR people have been arrested in connection with an armed attack on a beer hall in Sebokeng on Thursday night in which 13 people died, police announced yesterday.

Police also seized two AK-47 rifles, which have been sent for ballistic tests. At the scene of the shooting, several spent AK-47 cartridges were found.

● Sebokeng and Evaton were declared unrest areas yesterday.

Zulu king calls meeting

Sunday Times Reporter

KING Goodwill Zwelethini Ka Bhekuzulu has called a gathering today of his people at the First National Bank Stadium near Soweto at 10am.

The king will be accompanied by his chief minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Prince of Kwaphindangene, chiefs of the Zulu nation and other dignitaries.

The king and his entourage will be attired in their cultural dress and those attending are asked to wear traditional attire.

Amakhosi of the Zulu nation have urged Zulus to "solidly support" the king at the gathering, when "he wishes to deliver a statement to his people".

TO PG 3



Emily Mosla with her injured baby, Elizabeth

Picture: JOE SEFALE

Sunday Times 26/5/91

Makwetu tours

Sunday Times Reporter

PAC president Clarence Makwetu, leaves today on a whirlwind month-long tour that will take him from Swaziland to China.

A PAC statement released on Friday said Mr Makwetu's first stop was Swaziland where he would meet King Mswati III and Prime Minister Obed Dlamini.

From Manzini he would go to Tanzania on May 29 to meet the PAC external leadership. He was to attend the OAU Summit in Nigeria at the beginning of June and then travel to China on the invitation of the Chinese Government.

He returns to South Africa at the end of June.



ON TOUR . . . Clarence Makwetu

'Halt train attacks' call

SUNDAY TIMES 26 May 1991

A TOP Inkatha official dropped a bombshell at this week's IFP Youth Brigade League rally this week — accusing some members of harassing and assaulting train commuters travelling between Johannesburg and Soweto.

This must stop, Stezi Lamula, chairman of the IFP's Mapetla branch told the rally at Johannesburg's George Goch stadium.

About 4 000 delegates and members from various branches in the Reef townships and hostels were at the rally.

They heard what was probably the first public admission of the attacks by a senior official.

Mr Lamula said he was terribly aware that a section of members were busy dragging the name of Inkatha "further and further into the mud", something that could not be tolerated.

"Comrades," he charged, "I wish to register the organisation's displeasure about the harassment of poor commuters on the trains travelling between Johannesburg and Soweto.

"We are aware of such members and they themselves know too well that this is causing disturbing undertones."

As he angrily wagged his finger at a section of murmuring members, Mr Lamula said: "We have been told that when these members find that a commuter did not belong to Inkatha, or was speaking any language other than Zulu, they became unnecessary victims of attack — in some instances, such commuters were thrown through train windows.

"I can assure you here and now that such people are not representative of the organisation and we are disturbed by such behaviour. People have to take cognisance of the fact that Inkatha does not belong to the Zulu people only.

"This is an organisation for the people irrespective of colour, religion, creed or conviction."

Asked later whether any action was being contemplated by the organisation against such people, Mr

Lamula said:

"As you well know, a matter like this cannot be left unattended. We are and will continue to deal with such people decisively. We may not at this stage disclose the methods and the nature of the measures as this is an internal mat-

ter."

A series of strict measures were being formulated by Inkatha to deal with such people, he said, refusing to refer to them as renegades.

As the chairman of the IFP Youth League, Themba Khoza, took the

centre stage, raising his clenched fist, his supporters responded.

He did not mince his words as he launched a scathing attack on the ANC, accusing the organisation of being responsible for the escalating violence in the country.

Attack

He reiterated that Inkatha found itself in a cleft stick — being attacked by ANC members and having no alternative

Story: CAMUEL DIKOTLA Pics: JOE SEFALE

but to defend itself from physical attack.

Mr Khoza said violence in the country could be stopped overnight if a compromise between his organisation and the ANC could be struck, adding that the fighting was to the

advantage of the enemy.

In a ferocious five minute attack on the media, Mr Khoza said it was about time that Inkatha was afforded a fair deal in news reportage, rather than the slanting that had been going on for many years against his organisation.

"The local and international press has painted Inkatha as a violent organisation. This is in itself an unfair aspersion. They (the press) know very well

that we are peace lovers — people who believe in democracy rather than autocracy.

"We have been trying to attain a reasonable level of mutual understanding with various organisations, but, oh, in vain."

As he threw up his hands in exasperation, Mr Khoza said it would not surprise him if he could read in the newspapers on the following day that Inkatha impis were seen waving pangas, spears, and other danger-

ous weapons at the rally.

"For 10 years we have on the receiving end, but through thick and thin, we have survived and have multiplied our numbers.

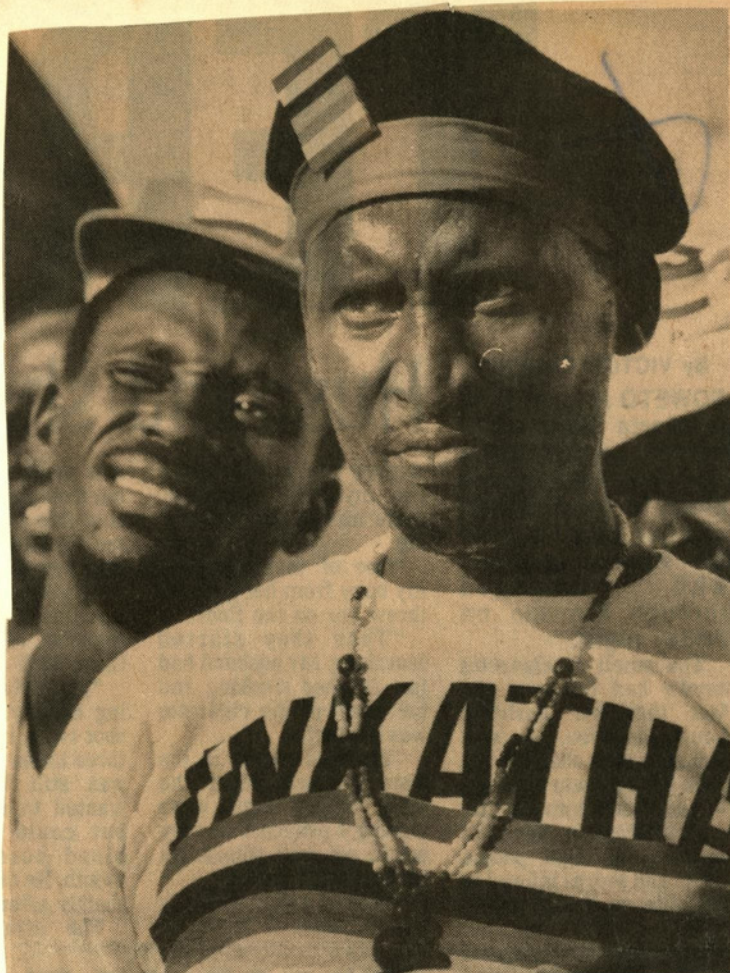
"There is a growing tendency to say that Zulus or Inkatha were fighting residents in the township. This is a distortion of fact. Strange, I live in the very township where the Zulus are allegedly attacking the people.

"I do not remember any Zulu coming to me to attack me. There is nothing written on my face that I am a Zulu, Pedi, Tswana, Sotho, Venda or even Xhosa. I want to take this opportunity to congratulate the ANC and the SACP on their propaganda machinery of influencing the press against us."

Mr Khoza said it was Inkatha which had called for round table talks with the government; what the ANC had been doing in the past year was merely an endorsement of Inkatha's initiative.

"This is a platform of our creation and we cannot just give it to anyone — just like that. We are being looked at as a violent organisation.

"You people seem to miss a point. The ANC has never had an opposition in its existence bigger than Inkatha."



WARNING . . . Stezi Lamula who called for the attacks to stop

'HALT TRAIN ATTACKS' CALL
FROM PSI



YOUTHS AT THE RALLY . . . some carrying spears and sharpened sticks

20 May 1991

SACP are flying in face of history

THE thought processes of Jeremy Cronin and his SA Communist Party comrades (May 12) are like those of lemmings which, after witnessing others of their species hurling themselves over the cliff, proclaim: "Salvation is at hand, friends. It's not the fall that kills: it's the sudden stop at the bottom."

And so they fly in the face of history, tumbling euphorically into the void of socialist delusion, attempting to will away the sudden stop.

In his efforts to resuscitate the corpse of a bankrupt ideology, Jeremy Lemming applies a bizarre form of CPR: Cancel Pragmatic Reason. Invoking a rationale that verges on the lunatic, he blames the plight of the Third World on the prosperity of the First World, blithely ignoring the reality that the latter embraced cap-

italism while the former leapt lemming-like upon the jagged rocks of socialism, tinpot dictatorship and Marxist-elitist tyranny.

And here's another reality, Jeremy Lemming: the First World does not have a monopoly on the reservoirs of wealth. These reservoirs exist everywhere but must be continually refilled by a stream called entrepreneurial foresight, whose waters do not spring from the bureaucratic wastelands of socialism.

And, poor Jeremy, how can you expect the First World to share its reservoir when the benefactors persist in channel-

ling the waters down a socialist drainpipe?

I will not dispute your assertion that 70 percent of urban Africans in this country favour socialism. This highlights the popular misconception (which the SACP nurtures) that they live under capitalism. In fact, they live under apartheid, a system that exerts state control over every aspect of their lives. In other words, Mr Lemming, a brand of socialism.

Have another look before you jump over that cliff, Mr Lemming. It isn't bottomless, and those jagged rocks await. — JP McMAHON, Johannesburg.



LEMMING-LIKE ... Jeremy Cronin

Liberals' fears legitimate

IN RESPONSE to Jeremy Cronin's article, I think it is imperative to distinguish between the traditional red-scare tactics of the Nats before February 2 1990 and the legitimate fears of the communist ideology among liberal and democratic thinkers of the present.

While the former was a totalitarian regime using fear of communism as a

tool to suppress any opposition to the state (much of it emanating from non-communist liberals) and to prevent the acquisition of political rights by the majority of the population, such is not the case among liberals and democrats who opposed communism.

Most liberal opponents of communism worry about those characteristics the SACP holds in common with the Nat racist regime

of the past: curtailment of individual liberty, a monopoly on political power and the disintegration of the due process of law.

The above list of crimes was characteristic of virtually all communist regimes established since 1917 — from the Soviet Union to Cuba and the communist regimes of Africa. — MARC FURMAN, Johannesburg.

End toyi-toyiing

I REFER to your May 19 report, headlined "Black intimidation rampant". Your reporter has chosen to put into my mouth words I did not use. Most of these are inconsequential. He is wrong in reporting me as saying the toyi-toyi should be banned. I did not say this.

The term "banned" has particular connotations in South Africa in that it usually refers to arbitrary actions by the government.

I used the term "stopped" and what I had in mind was that leaders of organisations who perform the toyi-toyi should get their supporters to stop it. At no stage did I have in mind arbitrary action by the state.

Your report also says that necklacing and other burning accounted for nearly all deaths since the violence began 6½ years ago. The correct figure is 10 percent. — JS KANE-BERMAN, SA Institute of Race Relations.

□ The Sunday Times regrets the error. — Editor.

Hendrickse: Nats have betrayed me

SUNDAY Times 26/5/91 J

LABOUR PARTY
leader Alan Hendrickse has admitted that he could be toppled as leader of the House of Representatives within a week.

The bitter politician accused President De Klerk of having plotted to grab power from him in the House.

His attack came as the number of Labour Party defections to the National Party reached 30 — within striking distance of a majority.

Mr Hendrickse said this week he felt "betrayed and double-crossed" by the National Party.

"I am gearing myself, if

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

necessary, to lead the LP as official Opposition against those who defected to the Nats.

"They must expect no mercy when I deal with them. I have plenty of ammunition," he warned.

Abused

"The Nats prostituted the tricameral constitution they wrote. They have used and abused me and my party and then dropped me."

He vowed yesterday that "on Monday I will deal with that betrayal when I speak in Parliament, be

damned the consequences".

Mr Hendrickse's opposition to provisions in one of the five Hernus Kriel land reform Bills aimed at scrapping the Group Areas and Land Acts caused the government to drop the Residential Environment Bill — apparently the last straw in the government's patience with Mr Hendrickse's "confrontation" politics.

Mr Hendrickse was yesterday a dejected and frustrated man. He spoke bitterly of Mr De Klerk's role in his political career.

He said Mr De Klerk

"had helped me to bring about reconciliation in my caucus, then went behind my back and gave moral support to deserters from my party".

Last Thursday, he said, President De Klerk personally intervened, at his request, to stop dissident Labour MPs from staging a coup planned for the next day.

Downfall

Mr De Klerk, he said, "then finished the demolition job against me" when he accepted 21 coloured MPs of the House of Representatives as Nat MPs.

A further 11 joined on Friday, making the NP tally of "Brown Nats" 30 against 50 of the LP.

Mr Hendrickse said he was aware an attempt at his downfall was being plotted over a long period. After covert meetings, the plan was to come together last Friday on the Vat Bill

which the Labour Party intended opposing.

Unbeknown to him, he said, Mr De Klerk and provincial leaders Dr Dawie de Villiers (Cape), George Bartlett (Natal) and Bar-end du Plessis had met the MPs who had applied for membership of the NP at Tuynhuys on Wednesday night.

On Thursday morning, another special caucus was called, attended by the rest of the LP MPs.

By then his former colleagues had handed in their resignations and walked out on him — into the arms of a delighted National Party.

President De Klerk said he had "no doubt" the NP would eventually become "the political home of all moderate South Africans".

He said "these events" did not mean the NP would discontinue seeking co-operation and alliances with other parties.

● See Page 17

Practice of an Old Croc

PRESIDENT PW BOTHA may be out of office but not out of practice.

Hogarth hears that when an unknown person suddenly telephoned him at his Wilderness home this week to tell him that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela wanted to visit him, the Groot Krokodil said no.



There is, after all, such a thing as protocol.

Positions for the pals

EXCERPTS from a National Party document titled The NP's answer to critical questions and misrepresentations.

Question: "Will white officials not be kicked out of their posts by an ANC government?"

Answer: "The State President has put it unambiguously: 'We will not agree to a constitution which makes place for a jobs-for-pals system...'"

At least, not all pals...

HOGARTH

Now the platteland goes liberal

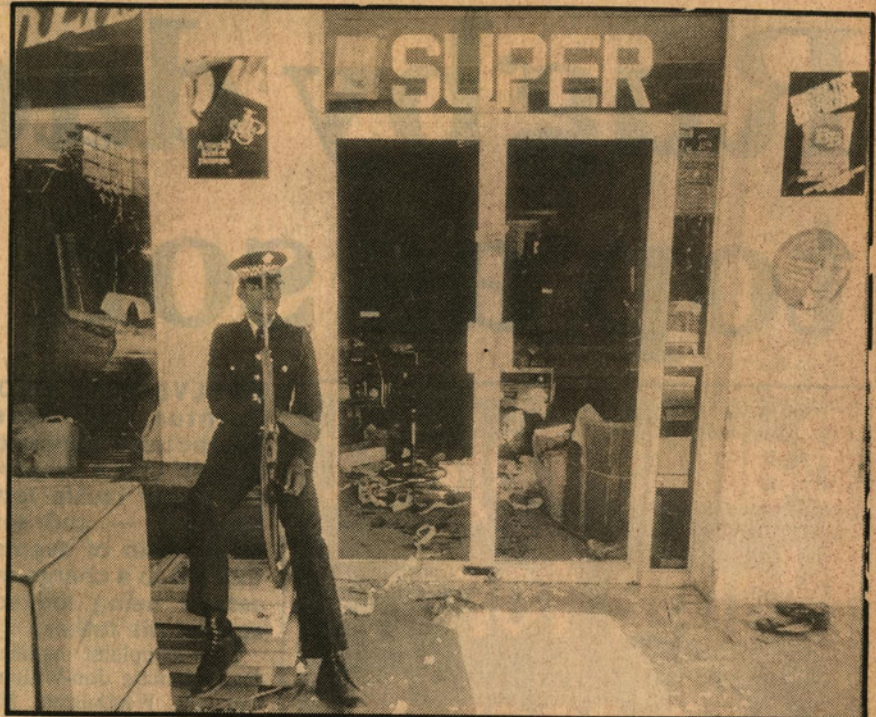
Sunday Times 24/5/91

TWO years ago, fewer than 500 people in Ladybrand were prepared to vote for a political party (the DP) that sought to release Nelson Mandela from prison, unban the SACP and the ANC, and commit itself to a process of negotiation leading to full democracy. More than 11 000 voted for parties — the Nats and the CP — which opposed that liberal policy.

This week, more than 5 000 voters in Ladybrand voted for a party — the Nats — that released Nelson Mandela, unbanned the SACP and the ANC, and committed itself to negotiations leading to full democracy.

Hence, argues Natal MP Pierre Cronje, support in Ladybrand for liberal policies has risen tenfold in two years — it's a breakthrough on the platteland!

Well, at least the argument is ingenious.



GUARD DUTY ... a policeman keeps watch over a ransacked supermarket

Locals accuse settlers of stealing their jobs

SIMMERING racial tension sparked the riots that this week turned Lesotho into a mini-Cato Manor, according to government and academic sources in the impoverished mountain kingdom.

National University of Lesotho Academic Staff Association spokesman Mafa Sejanemane said Basothos had become increasingly resentful of Taiwanese immigrants who were running the majority of small businesses and industries in Lesotho.

Hundreds of Taiwanese had flooded across the border within the past five years, he said.

Many had entered the country illegally, according to government sources, and apparently managed to obtain passports and business rights with relative ease.

The Taiwanese settlers were seen as taking jobs from Basothos at a time when the nation was suf-

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

fering starvation and chronic unemployment, Dr Sejanemane said.

"Within five years it seems that almost the entire country has fallen into their hands. What happened this week was a backlash worsened by the actions of criminal elements."

Pittance

Not only were the immigrants seen as taking jobs from Basothos, but they were also running businesses like vegetable stores and fish-and-chip shops that Basothos believed they should be running themselves.

Taiwanese employers were also reputed to be treating black staff badly and paying them a pittance.

Businessmen fear the instability will have a devastating effect on the coun-

try, which is almost wholly reliant on foreign funding and investment.

The possibility of many Taiwanese businessmen quitting Lesotho as a result would only serve to exacerbate unemployment, they say.

Severe retrenchments by Reef and Free State mines — which employ about 40 percent of Lesotho's workforce — have presented the ruling Military Council with one of its gravest crises yet.

As many as 70 000 of the 130 000 miners employed across the border are expected to be laid off.

General political turmoil set the scene for this week's uprising in which at least three people — two Basothos and one Taiwanese woman — were killed and which saw businesses throughout the country burnt and looted.

Earlier this month, military ruler Major-General Justin Metsing Lekhanya was ousted in a putsch.

Vlok urged to launch probe into intimidation of church workers

SUNDAY 26/5/91

Brian King

THE Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, has been requested to investigate and deal with the numerous attempts to intimidate church workers who assist the many victims of unrest in Natal.

The request from ecumenical agency Daikonia comes in the wake of repeated death threats to workers at the Amanzimtoti Crisis and Upliftment Centre.

The problem is not isolated, with churches housing displaced people in places like Gamalakhe near Port Shepstone having recently been shot at and many ministers on the South Coast having received death threats.

"We've been getting calls every day since the beginning of the month from men saying they

Agency says ministers threatened with death

have 'HMC guns and R1 guns' and will shoot us," the director of the crisis centre, the Reverend Gary Munson, told Sunday Tribune on Friday.

"They have mentioned each of us (he and his two associates) by name and they know our car," he said.

The crisis centre, next to the Catholic Church in Amanzimtoti, has been helping more than 100 displaced people in KwaMakhutha, KwaFelekisi, and Mangweni, and about 70 who come to the centre every day.

Almost all of them were ANC supporters, Mr Munson said.

"The problem is that the centre is seen as an

ANC centre but there is nothing we can do about it. We must assist anyone in need. The first victims we opened our doors to were Inkatha people."

Mr Munson was involved in a high-speed car chase last Sunday on the Adams Mission road in Umbumbulu after a group of men flagged his car down and tried to drag him out of his car.

This week displaced people in KwaMakhutha, who have been given food every day by the crisis centre, were attacked. One person is in hospital.

In an affidavit forwarded to Mr Vlok and also to Amanzimtoti MP George Bartlett, Mr Munson described his

close shave:

"... He then grabbed the door handle which was locked and then grabbed the window which I quickly wound up ... I started the vehicle. At the same time the occupants of the other vehicle ran over to my bakkie as I was driving off. One of them held on to the tail gate and held on for a few metres before falling off. I drove towards Isipingo with the men giving chase (in three vehicles)."

"Yesterday we got three death threats," he told the Tribune.

In a letter to Mr Vlok, Daikonia director Paddy Kearney wrote that "one person who was on the 'hit list' has already been shot and is in hospital" and urged his office to "take some action to prevent this type of violent intimidation".

Sunday Times 26/5/91

End violence, Boesak tells ANC

By MIKE ROBERTSON

DR ALAN BOESAK yesterday called on the ANC to abandon the "language of violence".

The former United Democratic Front leader was addressing the Western Cape regional conference of the Democratic Party.

He said the ANC alliance with the SA Communist Party had to be examined urgently.

"You cannot send a group of young political activists into the plateland with language which is a mixture of MK and

SACP rhetoric," he said.

"That sort of thing will drive people into the hands of the National Party."

Dr Boesak said the belief that problems could be solved by violence was an obstacle to peace and a cause of ongoing violence.

He had earlier appealed to the ANC, he said, to abandon the armed struggle. "But I think the ANC must go a step further.

"It must abandon the language of violence at any level."

Sunday Times
26/5/91

Auberon



Waugh

ON BOOKS

FEW outside the tight little world of Westminster knew anything about John Major until Margaret Thatcher appointed him her successor. First reactions were of dismay. The Conservative Party seemed to have landed us with some laboratory-produced hybrid whom we were asked to accept as the new Model Brit.

Faceless, characterless, classless, the former bank clerk was rumoured to be a native of the planet Vulcan, landed on some unknown mission. Within his phantom moustache, he was said to harbour invisible computer viruses which he could direct by willpower. They explained his meteoric rise from nowhere. The viruses were also said to have been directed with good effect against the electronic weaponry of Saddam Hussein in Iraq.

Perhaps this was an over-reaction to someone who seemed depressingly normal. Edward Pearce, in his *The Quiet Rise of John Major* (Weidenfeld) takes various political journalists to task by name for what he sees as their snobbery. Pearce is no snob.

Human

Indeed, if there is any serious purpose behind his book beyond the commendable desire to make a little money, Pearce might be seen as waving frantically towards the Prime Minister, throughout his hymn of adulation, to say: "Look at me, look at me, Prime Minister. I am working class, too."

But the first appearance of John Major as Mr Normal Brit was undoubtedly a depressing one. Pearce explains everything by the fact that Major, like the writer, had never been to a public school — but he is very wide off the mark. It was not that Major was hard to place, but that he did not seem recognisable as a human being at all.

He was a confection, something one saw in a television advertisement, rather than someone one met in the laundromat or the bank. What was resented was the thought that he should be regarded as a norm in our richly varied society. It was also something of a shock for those aged between 48 and 63 to discover that for the first time, they had a prime minister who was younger than they were.

So it came as an enormous relief to learn of Major's gloriously eccentric background — his father, Tom Ball, later Major

Mr Major, curry and a common touch ...

Ball, born in 1879, who trod the high wire, later to become an unsuccessful manufacturer of garden gnomes; his mother, also a variety artiste; the genuine poverty in which he was brought up; the period of unemployment on the dole; the long spell in prison ... oops, no, that is where the almost irresistible urge to improve on John Major impinges.

In every sense, you see, he is a paragon, and there is nothing so boring as unadulterated virtue. Wherever he has been, he has collected golden opinions and Edward Pearce trots along behind recording them.

Noticed

The two great adventures of his life have been when he was involved in a motoring accident in northern Nigeria, when he worked for the Standard (later Chartered) Bank and in which he lost a kneecap, and an accident on a parliamentary visit to Lebanon, when he approached within the sound of gunfire. He also, as a junior minister, once had a public disagreement with Mrs Thatcher. That was by far his worst moment, but we are not told what it was about.

One thing puzzles me about the account of his Nigerian experience. He arrived in Kano, northern Nigeria, in early December 1966 when, as any student of Nigerian history will tell you, the area was in some confusion. Starting in August, the Muslims

had been massacring the Christian Ibos and others from the Eastern Region — reaching, by some accounts, a score of 33 000 dead — until, by December, the great migration of two million into the heartland of the East (later Biafra) was well under way. John Major does not appear to have noticed any of this.

Pearce quotes the golden opinion of Moses Dewa, who acted as steward to the expatriates and who recalls a teetotaler whose favourite meal at the local club was of potatoes, beans and carrots. Major never lost his temper, abstained from tobacco, never went to church and never involved himself with girls, says Dewa. He does not mention that any Christian church might have been rather a dangerous place to go to in the run-up to the Nigerian civil war.

The only other conflict of evidence is on the point of whether or not Major is a curry addict. In an important interview with Pearce, he denies it.

Pearce faithfully passes it on: "Various fallacies and false legends must be cleared from the record about the Prime Minister," he writes with the understandable self-importance of someone who has heard it from the horse's mouth.

"Mr Major is categorical that, contrary to several newspaper reports, he is neither an eater of exceptionally hot vindaloo — in spades — curries, nor someone

who eats curry every night. He quite likes it, but he is no curry freak."

Thirty-four pages later, however, we have one of the Prime Minister's oldest friends asserting that he was permanently to be seen in two Beckenham Indian takeaways.

But that is about all the mystery which Pearce allows us. He is immensely boring on Major's political career from the moment of his election for Huntingdon to his appointment to the Cabinet as First Secretary. Every Parliamentary Question he frames is quoted and praised for its insight, compassion and so on.

Every speech he makes — usually stock reiterations of Tory policy — is quoted approvingly. The adoption is a highlight in Pearce's calendar because at least two of the rival candidates — Lord Dour and Jock Bruce-Gardyne — were public school-boys. Their defeat produces an orgy of proletarian triumphalism from Pearce: "There is no escaping the impression that the Conservatives who chose the Prime Minister for his seat 14 years ago wanted a specific and spelt-out break from the rural paternalist (and toad-eating) tradition," he gloats, opining that Major was chosen because "he had a share of the squashed whistle of south London in his speech".

If I am not sure about the squashed whistle of south London — at least it seems a good idea — I am even less sure about the toad-eating tradition of Huntingdon. Do they eat toads there? Or is he confused with the colloquial expression "toadying"? On several occasions, Pearce gets his colloquialisms slightly wrong.

Obscure

In wartime, we might begin to suspect that Pearce was a German spy, parachuted into Britain disguised as a nun.

Is English, in fact, his first language? He writes unpleasantly, and large parts of the book are taken up with his own assessment — usually class-based — of various obscure backbenchers.

But through all the adulation, all the flag-waving and the toad-eating, a picture does emerge of the Prime Minister not only as a sweet, reasonable, patient, kindly man — a good egg — but also possibly as quite an effective one. I hope he is right. Time will tell.

□ Auberon Waugh writes for the Sunday Telegraph

Sunday Star

Heavy onus resting on SA's leaders

IF there was one clear lesson from this week's Pretoria peace summit it was the absolute imperative that future peace talks include all the players, however many compromises have to be made by all sides en route to the peace table.

The Government may have been right to insist on its duty to initiate the peace process, and the ANC had some merit in its argument that the summit was fatally flawed because it had been organised unilaterally.

But positive proposals coming out of the summit such as the need for a political code of conduct to restore peace and the idea of a peace secretariat will have little practical use without the legitimacy of an inclusive peace process.

Now that Mr de Klerk has completed his summit without the ANC, PAC and others, and that honour seems to have been preserved on all sides, they can all start afresh to plan the real peace process.

The seemingly never-ending litany of atrocities puts a massive onus on leaders to get it right this time.

But while some of their excuses might amount to little more than petty nit-picking, the relative groups underlines the crucial need to organise the next discussions in a neutral atmosphere.

That is why one of the most constructive proposals to come out of the summit was that the committee formed at last year's historic church conference in Rustenburg should be the most likely body to convene an independent peace summit.

One reason for the apparent failure of religious leaders so far to organise an inclusive peace summit is that their initiative was perceived by Inkatha, rightly or wrongly, to be dominated by the SA Council of Churches — and Inkatha sees the SACC as little more than the ANC at prayer.

The Rustenburg movement was a successful fusion of SACC and non-SACC churches which could provide a more neutral foundation.

Such a neutral peace conference could learn further lessons from this week's Pretoria exercise, which would then not have been held entirely in vain.

For example, the need for participants to avoid tub-thumping speeches, restating old divisive positions instead of fixing their vision firmly on solutions.

And the need for neutral chairmen to give equal protection to all participants, and to ensure that they stick to the subject of peace instead of using conferences to indulge in yet more war talk, threats and point-scoring.

And any successful peace conference must address the issue of violence not only by party-political groupings, but also by elements of the security forces.

While Mr de Klerk's summit this week might be widely viewed as a false start, it did have the insight to address these issues thanks to the courage of some participants who had attended despite advice to join the boycott.

This was proof that participation does lead to the free flow of ideas and that the main obstacles to representative peace talks are procedural ones.

With the political death toll rising daily, leaders must now justify the trust their followers have placed in them by overcoming these procedural difficulties — or else they will share the guilt for every death and injury suffered in political violence.

Tension mounts as 100 000 Zulus gather for Inkatha rally

STAR 26/5/91

Soweto fears a bloody Sunday

Chris Barron and Peta Thornycroft

A FEARFUL Soweto yesterday waited grimly for today's Inkatha-sponsored mass rally at the FNB stadium on its outskirts.

Anything up to 100 000 Inkatha supporters are expected to hear King Goodwill Zwelithini and his Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Blood usually flows after Inkatha rallies on the Reef and although life went on as usual in the streets of Soweto, there was great tension and fear.

And the question on the lips of nearly everyone we spoke to was:

Why is a rally like this, so tragically often in the past a harbinger of havoc, allowed to go ahead?

Zulus have been urged by King Zwelithini to wear "proper traditional attire" at the rally.

For "traditional attire", read spears.

After the recent Government ban these are no longer allowed in unrest areas, but, according to Inkatha Freedom Party

pokesman Suzanne Vos, the FNB stadium, being just outside Soweto, is not in an unrest area.

"You can't argue that because it's outside Soweto they can carry weapons," said Moses Chempe from Diepkloof. "They'll pass through here on their way back — that's when there's always trouble."

"These rallies should be banned," said his friend and neighbour Sahara Marumo. "We don't want rallies here. We don't want it at all."

"There is always trouble with these rallies," added another

neighbour Esme Leeu. "We know these people, we know what they're like."

"We don't know if we'll sleep tonight," said housewife and mother Peggy Tshabala, whose misfortune it has been to live within spitting distance of the Nancefield hostel, so often the source of death and destruction.

She'd just had one sleepless night, with random gunshots keeping her in a state of fear. When she woke it was to find that another six victims had been added to the relentless list of township fatalities.

Her children played at her feet, oblivious of her fears for their safety, but her face was taut with worry. "We have got no weapons. We have nothing. We cannot protect ourselves."

"None of us will be sleeping tonight," said Tumelo Mogatle, also living uncomfortably close to the hostel.

"But we are prepared and we'll be waiting."

"All we are thinking of is about tonight," echoed Karabo Cetywayo. "How will we protect ourselves and our families?"

"When these people come to destroy us the police are not around. But when we fight back, then suddenly they are here."

"We're just going to lock ourselves inside all day," vowed Alinah Moeketsi, who lives near the Jabulani Hostel.

"There's always trouble, and there will be tomorrow. These people don't care who you are or what your nation is."

"This rally should have been banned," stressed shopkeeper Chief Gum.

"Definitely, definitely. Because there's been so much trouble over traditional weapons, these people will now want to show just what they can do with these weapons."

"They're going to provoke people, and this will make things worse."

The Reverend Frank Chikane, secretary general of the South African Council of Churches sent a message to Minister Vlok on Friday night expressing his fears that the aftermath of the Inkatha rally could lead to blood-letting.

● To Page 2

Fears mounting over Zulu rally aftermath

● From Page 1

He told the Sunday Star he had asked a participant at the Pretoria peace conference to see Minister Vlok and pass on his message that the Government should do everything possible to prevent violence after the rally.

"I was just adding my voice to those of many others. We expect the Government to do all in their power to prevent what has almost become a tradition in these cases, violence and loss of life.

"If people are carrying weapons this is going to cause intense fear among residents in Diepkloof who are on the front line from the stadium. This fear could even cause an over-reaction. It can be a very dangerous situation."

Mr Chikane said he had information that busloads of In-

katha supporters were being brought to the rally. "While there is nothing wrong with that we are concerned about the weapons."

Reverend Chikane said he was sure his message of concern would have been delivered to Minister Vlok.

Thousands of policemen and soldiers will be on duty in the Soweto area today to ensure peace after the rally.

The Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok appealed to both participants in the rally and township residents to "keep a cool head" in order to avoid bloodshed.

He said the police had no information about possible conflict but would follow up any information they received.

"We are taking every precaution," he said.

Inkatha Freedom Party Pres-

ident Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he was distressed by rumours of threats that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini would be attacked if he addressed a rally at the FNB Stadium in Soweto on Sunday.

Chief Buthelezi told reporters at the peace summit in Pretoria that King Goodwill would address his followers on, inter alia, the position of Kwazulu at the time of calls for it to be dismantled.

He said Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and police commissioner Johan van der Merwe had given an assurance that those attending the rally would be protected.

He said it was "utter bull" that a call for Zulus to go to the rally "properly clad" with their traditional weapons constituted "war talk," because the meeting had been arranged long ago.

**John MacLennan
Brendan Seery and
David Breier**

THE National Party is poised to gain control of the entire tricameral Parliament as coloured and Indian MPs flock to President de Klerk's banner.

But a Nat spokesman said this week the development had caught them by surprise.

In an astonishing turnabout, the NP has become the new opposition in the House of Representatives and the rebels are predicting more defections will enable them to seize power from the beleaguered Rev Allan Hendrickse on Wednesday.

At the same time the NP now has the backing of the ruling Solidarity party in the House of Delegates on most legislation. The NP's Natal leader, Minister George Bartlett, has confirmed that Indian MPs are expected to defect to the NP.

Yet when the Nats became a nonracial party last year, they had no intention of really mixing it.

And while there has been little more than a mild show of interest from potential black members, the Nats have been taken aback at applications following the crumbling of coloured parties in the tricameral Parliament.

The turnabout means President de Klerk will be able to rule the country into the establishment of the new South Africa without any of the constitutional hindrances which can be posed by the House of Representatives and House of Delegates.

The Labour Party still has 51 members in the House of Representatives; 30 MPs have come out for the NP, and there are four Independents. The NP therefore needs 11 MPs to topple the LP, but rebel spokesman Gerald Morkel predicted up to 15 could join his group soon — including a member of the six-

Surprised Nats in tricameral shock

man Minister's Council in the House.

He said: "I am convinced that the avalanche is on the roll."

It is speculated that the ministerial defector is the Rev Andrew Julies, MP for Kalahari and Minister for Local Government and Agriculture. He could not be reached for comment yesterday.

The new Nats in the HoR will be in line for top jobs and perks if the NP does take power.

LP whip Tommy Abrahams

said: "I have reason to believe there is aggressive canvassing going on. People are being offered positions, status and help with their personal problems."

He noted that some of the defectors collectively owed the party many thousands in unpaid pledges, and said he believed they were leaving the party rather than pay their debts.

Mr Morkel conceded money was owed to the LP, but added: "I don't know how one can force them to pay."

He disclosed that he and other MPs had called on Mr Hendrickse and asked him to resign because his leadership caused division in the party. Mr Morkel said they were placed under tremendous pressure before they took the decision to break with the party.

Mr Barlett said of developments in the House of Delegates, that MPs who wanted to join the NP were mainly independents, but he did not deny that members of Solidarity

Surprised Nats in trica meral Shock.

si, who leads the opposition National People's Party.

Late last year the four provincial congresses of the NP adopted a new strategy to extend Nat political influence beyond the white electorate with a view to forming a winning combination in the first nonracial elections in a new South Africa.

The Nat strategy to remove whites-only qualification for NP membership was not so much to gain new members from other race groups as to make the NP more palatable to potential alliance partners.

The NP resolved to establish alliances with other parties which had black, coloured and Indian support instead of itself recruiting actively in those communities.

NP spokesman Piet Coetzer said developments were now happening faster with "brown people" than with other groups. "This is something that is happening on its own steam," he said.

While the NP had visualised natural alliances, "things are now happening a little differently," he said.

Mr Coetzer said there had been hundreds of applications for membership in the Transvaal alone and many more in the Cape. "We are an open party and we cannot refuse them," he said.

Mr Coetzer said there were no statistics on coloured NP membership because "we don't keep control on a racial basis".

But he said the new applications did not necessarily change the NP approach at this stage "that we as a white party are not going on a large-scale recruitment drive".

"What is happening in practice is that people who join us are launching branches in their areas and recruiting people strongly," he said.

He said the crisis in the Labour Party was more to do with its own problems than with the NP.

were involved.

He added, however, that there would be no mass defections from Solidarity, and emphasised: "It is not our policy to try to destabilise parties like Solidarity. The most important thing for us, in view of the past intrigue and instability within the HoD, is to ensure that the House is stable."

The bottom line, it is understood, is that nothing must be done which could bring about the return of Amichand Rajban-

Verwoerd sticks it out as apartheid crumbles

STAR 26/5/91

David Breier
Political Correspondent

PUBLIC servants eager to serve the new South Africa object to working in a building that still bears the name of Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid.

All Government ministries in Cape Town are housed in the Hendrik Verwoerd Building, a modern skyscraper in the parliamentary precincts, and there is a growing feeling that the building should be renamed.

The foyer of the main auditorium in the building features a white stone bust of the man of granite himself.

Approached for comment, Department of Foreign Affairs diplomat Rafique Gangat, at present based in the building, said: "Come to think of it, it seems rather ironic that our offices are housed in the Hendrik Verwoerd Building especially at a time when we are energetically building bridges to the rest of the world.

"Dr Verwoerd, through his policy of social engineering which manifested itself in apart-

heid structures was, to a large part, responsible for burning those bridges in the first place."

Mr Gangat was the diplomat who was sent to Saudi Arabia earlier this year to secure the return of Muslim pilgrims from South Africa trapped during the Gulf War.

However, the Government appears to be dead set against any name changes including any changes to exorcise the name of Verwoerd.

Authorities in the United Kingdom are ripping down the name of Winnie Mandela from public buildings that bear her name, following her conviction on charges of kidnapping and assault.

And the Pretoria City Council recently decided against naming a new square in the city after Dr Verwoerd.

But President FW de Klerk has repeatedly refused to apologise for the suffering caused by apartheid imposed by Dr Verwoerd's separate development doctrine, although he admits that apartheid failed.

Sources close to Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok

who is MP for Verwoerdburg said that there was no point in renaming the town again — it was previously called Lyttleton — as its name was part of South Africa's history as were all names from Van Riebeeck onwards.

Dr Verwoerd was the founder of the present Republic and was assassinated. He could not be compared to Mrs Mandela who was convicted for a crime, the sources added.

Nat spokesman Renier Schoeman said there was no party view on the matter. But his personal view was that if the name of the Hendrik Verwoerd Building was changed, then the names of countless towns, cities, airports, streets and buildings named after various political figures should also be changed.

"Shall we start by changing the name of Jan Smuts Airport or Maritzburg? Where should we start?"

"This is hardly the kind of burning issue we should be applying ourselves to. We should be applying ourselves to finding a new dispensation with a fair deal."

JFK's womanising in war was 'a high risk'

STAR 26/5/91

**Ramsay Milne
Foreign News Service**

NEW YORK — As a 24-year-old US Navy officer and later as president, John F Kennedy risked impeachment and upsetting the balance of US-Soviet power through his womanising, specifically through his sexual conquests of women thought by the FBI to be spies.

The allegations are made in a book in which the author asserts that the liaisons, if revealed at the time, could have kept Kennedy from becoming president or caused his impeachment.

Historian Michael Beschloss (36) says he found a letter in FBI files from the young Kennedy to Danish beauty Inga Arvad Fejos that showed his awareness of rumours that she was a spy for Nazi Germany while he was involved with her.

The letter was written seven months after Pearl Harbour, when Kennedy was a naval in-

telligence officer. The affair almost caused him to be cashiered, Mr Beschloss writes in "The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-63" to be published next month.

The assassinated president's father, Joseph Kennedy, used his influence to have his son transferred to a torpedo-boat squadron, the book says.

FBI director J Edgar Hoover later said he regretted having told Kennedy's father of the affair because if Kennedy had not commanded PT-109, in which he demonstrated great bravery when it was sunk, he would never have become president.

Miss Fejos, a tall, blonde former Miss Denmark, had once denounced the "damned dirty Jews", and had been photographed at the Olympics with Adolph Hitler, who called her "the perfect example of Nordic beauty," the book says.

The FBI files include this

entry: "On February 6, 1942, she visited Kennedy in Charleston, South Carolina, the two spending three nights together in the same hotel room and engaging in sexual relations on numerous occasions."

In another liaison that emerged from sifting through FBI files, the author says he discovered solid evidence that while in the White House, President Kennedy had an affair with Ellen Fimmel Rometsch, the young wife of a German soldier based in Washington.

Later, the woman, whose acquaintanceships included at least one member of the Soviet Embassy and, according to the FBI, the president, began boasting openly of her dalliances.

The author told reporters this week that all of JFK's affairs, and his refusal to make background checks on the women he dallied with, could have seriously damaged Soviet-US relations

Peace summit wants conduct code for SAP

Sunday Star 26 May '91

David Breier

THE Pretoria peace summit has proposed that a code of conduct for the police is essential for peace in South Africa.

The summit also sketched guidelines for a political code of conduct to end strife between warring political groups.

The work of the summit which ended yesterday will be carried on by a continuation committee consisting of members of the Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party, and business and church leaders who attended the peace conference.

President F W de Klerk said he was totally against co-opting groups who had boycotted the summit on to the continuation committee.

But he said the committee's

task would be to negotiate a completely new, fully representative forum with those who were not at the summit, to take over the peace task.

The committee will set up a facilitation mechanism including religious leader Louw Alberts to bring groups who boycotted the summit into the peace initiative.

A working committee at the summit suggested that all weapons be prohibited at political rallies and marches. It also recommended that the SAP be reorganised and restructured.

In order to ensure police impartiality, it proposed an ombudsman or police board be set up.

It also opposed the establishment of private armies and defence units.

Another working committee proposed that the continuation committee set up a code of conduct for political organisations in order to remove intimidation and fear from the political arena.

Mr de Klerk insisted that the conference had not been a "ganging up of those present against those not present."

"On the contrary, it has laid a foundation for fully representative co-operation, not through co-option but through dialogue and negotiation," he said.

He appealed to all those not represented at the summit to make themselves available for dialogue and negotiation.

"We all need each other if peace is to be attained and if violence is to be curbed and finally stopped," he said.

Rattling of the assegais at peace indaba

Running Star 26 May '91

David Breier

Political Correspondent

FOR a peace summit, there was so much assegai-rattling that some delegates may have wondered if they were at the right conference.

Not that anybody actually brandished a cultural weapon at this week's conference on violence and intimidation convened in Pretoria by State President F.W. de Klerk.

But there was enough tough talk, especially by Inkatha, to give some of the 250 delegates the impression they were at a party rally rather than a peace summit.

In the absence of the African National Congress, both Inkatha and Government speakers were at pains to stress how they were not out to score points off the ANC. But delegates were taken back at the orgy of ANC-bashing that followed.

"We come from warrior stock and the whole world must believe us that the Zulu leadership today issued the command to go the Zulu nation at war with any organisation, that organisation would not last for long," said King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus.

"Zulus have used their warrior might to strengthen their action through peaceful means," he added ominously.

King Goodwill said if attacks against KwaZulu did not stop, "the killings will not stop".

And he demanded a "national apology" from those who called KwaZulu a product of apartheid.

His uncle, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, was slightly more restrained in his verbal attack on the ANC.

"I have not come here to score points off the ANC or off any political party," said Chief Buthelezi.

But he proceeded to accuse the ANC and its deputy president Nelson Mandela of "killing talks".

"Of course the IFP was drawn into violence. No organisation of human beings could suffer that kind of attack without anger, without retaliation, without pre-emptive violence and without blood-foul violence and without revenge violence taking place," Chief Buthelezi said.

But he did suggest that a "Peace Secretariat" be set up to include "additional partners who are not present here today".

Mr de Klerk, the convenor of the conference, also managed to get in his dig at absent groups.

"Those who should be here, but who chose to play a political game



REPRESENTING THE RIGHT ... AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche and Piet "Skiet" Rudolph. Picture: Ken Oosterbrook

concerning this conference, are inhibiting ... hope," he said, adding that "this is not the time to be small-minded or to play politics".

After the Government and IFP heavyweights had fired their broadsides at absentees, lesser delegates were left wondering about the purpose of the conference.

John Hall of the SA Chamber of Business appeared mystified by "the sabre-rattling I heard."

And Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said he much regretted "the extent to which the platform was being used to bash certain organisations".

Brian Currin, director of Law

yers for Human Rights, said debate had been counterproductive and had alienated people and caused rifts.

He suggested the summit shift its theme from bashing those who did not come here.

And when Mr Currin presented alternative views on the causes and solutions on violence, he was subjected to mocking laughter from many of the previously well-behaved delegates.

His account of attacks on Swartville squatters was mocked, as was his suggestion for a United Nations peacekeeping presence — and a completely new South African peacekeeping force representing

all political groups.

"People can laugh. I could laugh at you, but I did not, when you had a chance to speak," an angry Mr Currin retorted.

But Mr Currin was not alone in his call for an impartial new peacekeeping force following allegations of "State violence".

The DP suggested that returning ANC and PAC combatants be offered jobs in the SA Defence Force and SA Police.

And Mervyn Frost, a Natal University political scientist, proposed an interim security council representing all major political groupings, to determine internal security policy — especially with regard to policing.

He also backed the DP suggestions for all-party monitoring groups.

But suggestions such as his were lost in the welter of attacks on ANC forces which boycotted the peace summit on the grounds that it had been unilaterally convened by the Government.

John Mavuso, the Transvaal MEC and leader of the National Forum, thanked King Goodwill for his forthright talk, saying: "We have been brought up in the culture of talking openly and honestly."

Asked about the sabre-rattling statements at the peace conference, Minister of Constitutional Development, Gerrit Viljoen said: "It shows what kind of problem we have to deal with."

Dr Viljoen said that academic and church ministers had encountered "tough politicians with deep-seated interests".

But with a church-sponsored peace conference including the Government, the IFP and the ANC becoming a distinct possibility, a repeat performance of this week's rhetoric might have the opposite effect, several of the more cynical delegates suggested.

Compared to some of the war talk at the conference, Afrikaner weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche sounded moderate, freed from his latest exploits against Ventersdorp squatters.

Mr TerreBlanche said the Zulus and the Boers should have their own ground if there was ever to be peace.

And he blamed communists for stirring up the trouble.

As Government delegates tried to grapple with the complex causes of violence, they might have longed for the old days when they too thought things were so simple.

PATIENCE, patience. The peace process, as it is laughingly known, won't make much progress until the ANC has elected a new set of leaders in July, and sorted out the disarray in its own ranks. That's not altogether a bad thing.

This beloved land is going through an immense adjustment with, by and large, commendable goodwill and good humour. Reform comes faster at times than the ANC and its supporting network of interlocking, faceless committees can shift the goalposts. (I was inundated this week by propaganda pamphlets seeking to generate "mass action" over the land Bills which the government had already abandoned.)

The whites, until recently deemed too corrupted by privilege to adapt, accept each new "unthinkable" change with equanimity, and work stolidly to hold the show on the road. Most black people, despite the hardships and terrors of their daily lives, turn up for work as reliably as London commuters. Life goes on.

Yet we could all do with a breather. President De Klerk (and, be fair, President Botha before him) set in motion a social revolution that is transforming every aspect of our lives. There is no need to force the

pace of political change — the more social change we can achieve now, the less traumatic political change will be when it comes.

This is not to ignore the violence, or the power struggles among black political parties, or the hardships inflicted on the country by the cynical and destructive methods of the ANC. The violence can be directly traced to the campaign to make the country ungovernable, and the suffering to the assault on the economy.

The desperate army of unemployed is a living monument to the endeavours of the sanctioners — Archbishop Tutu, behold what you have wrought! — and the warfare between Zulu and Xhosa is the plain result of the ANC's attempt to "eliminate" blacks who challenged its political hegemony.

Liberals, who opposed the methods of both the sanctioners and the revolutionaries and who correctly predicted the consequences of their strategies, are entitled to point out that those who sowed the wind are reaping the whirlwind. But it is indecent to gloat and hard to be unsympathetic towards the ANC membership.

The ANC has proved to be so much, much less than it seemed. For one thing, it is poor, and growing poorer. Its financial support from Eastern

KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY

Europe has dried up entirely; its support from the West is falling away rapidly. At home, according to one foreign estimate, about 150 000 members have been signed up but many have since fallen away.

THERE are stirrings of disaffection. Cosatu, forewarned by the Soviet Communist Party's subjugation of the trade unions, has begun to stake out an independent, and indeed rather moderate, position. Some interesting political interplay between union leaders and businessmen is occurring behind the scenes.

At the same time, the "internal" leaders — the young men and women who led the UDF and the MDM, and bore the brunt of the battle against apartheid — are restive under the

patronising, not to say arrogant, leadership of the exiles and the Robben Island graduates.

It is, after all, odd that those who failed in the struggle — who went to jail or into exile — should presume to command those who managed to evade capture and to lead the fight from underground.

The politics of the townships are too dense for outsiders to discern what may be happening; we must wait for the outcome of the ANC leadership conference in July. But there are straws in the wind.

Nelson Mandela has taken on hawkish airs, though he contrives always to stop short of aborting the process of negotiation. Thabo Mbeki, the leading moderate and the most sophisticated of the exiles, has all but vanished from

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THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

Stretch a point, call it success

BY BOYCOTTING President De Klerk's two-day conference on violence, and by dissuading a variety of other organisations and individuals from attending, the African National Congress has managed to turn the very search for peace into a new arena of battle.

The conference was intended to bring together all the contending forces of South African politics, and to substitute reasoned debate for the clash of cadres and impis; the ANC contrived to turn it into a divisive loyalty test, and its craven satellites fell obediently into orbit. The conference, as a result, was less than it might have been.

To say that it encompassed the political spectrum all the way from A to B would be unfair; it did not, perhaps, get far beyond C or D but the attendance was respectable. The leaders of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer and Dennis Worrall, turned up, as did Helen Suzman, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, and John Kane-Berman of the Institute of Race Relations. To get them into a conference with AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche and Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, under the chairmanship of people like Oscar Dhlomo, Barlow Rand's Warren Clewlow, and Dr Louw Alberts, was an achievement of some proportion.

But the conference was heavily weighted towards Cabinet Ministers, directors-general of the civil service, Inkatha and the homelands, and the familiar, tiresomely rhetorical creatures of the tricameral system. If a defiant tone was quickly set, amid murmured "Bayetes", by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelethini of the Zulus, it was nevertheless an occasion for other, less im-

passioned people to open an essential debate. The business contingent was small but distinguished, and the conference could boast at least one of the more widely respected graduates of long imprisonment on Robben Island.

Yet it fell far short of an exercise in national reconciliation. That would not be possible without the participation of the ANC and other extra-parliamentary political groups, all the major churches, prominent figures from the English universities, youth leaders, women, and other figures from across the entire range of civil society. As it turned out, the conference exposed to a somewhat startled audience the depth of Zulu alienation and defiance, and offered a glimpse of the dangers inherent in an aroused Zulu nationalism; in launching a war of extermination against Inkatha, and in attempting to destroy Chief Buthelezi, the ANC has roused an opponent — perhaps even an enemy — that is capable of frustrating every attempt to reach a universal peace. If the conference did nothing else, it showed how much care and wisdom will be required to heal the wounds inflicted on a nascent South Africa by the ANC's murderous intolerance of rivals.

As a venture in peace-making, it was a start, not much more. If it has laid the basis for a second conference on violence, to which a greater range of participants may be attracted, it must be judged a success. President De Klerk can rest content that he has inched the peace process forward; the ANC must take what pride it can in the fact that it used the search for peace to label and to anathematise its fellow South Africans.

Sunday Times, May 26 1991

Violence empties two Natal towns

TWO Natal townships have been turned into ghost towns after up to 40 000 people fled fighting between Inkatha and the ANC.

Thousands of people from Ndalandi and Magoda have fled to Richmond in Natal or to other areas in the Midlands during the last few months. Hundreds of houses have been left empty.

When a Sunday Times team visited the area this week it found just a few scattered residents in the centre of Ndalandi near a Methodist mission and a police station. A number of elderly women with bundles on their heads were still walking out of the area.

By RYAN CRESSWELL

Wounded

Meanwhile, the violence continued in Ndalandi this week.

Police spokesman, Lt Henry Budhram, said on Monday eight gunmen opened fire on a foot patrol. The fire was returned but the gunmen escaped in a minibus. Later police arrested three men, one with a gunshot wound in his side.

Lt Budhram said the home of local Inkatha induna Khlehlo Mtolo was attacked by a large group of men on Wednesday. Shots were fired at his house but he dispersed the crowd with an automatic rifle.

Scared

One of the people who has stayed in Ndalandi is Begayaka Dhlamini, 90, who said: "Everybody has left here. I don't sleep properly because I am scared. I hear the guns but I don't know who is shooting."

Grandmother's Theresa Zaka, 65, and Alice Zaka, 67, fled Ndalandi this week after their home was attacked and burnt down by gunmen.

Theresa Zaka said: "I woke up because I smelt petrol, so I broke a window and got out."

Houses belonging to KwaZulu chief Patrick Majozi have been attacked and the home of Richmond's ANC branch chairman Sifiso Nkabinde, has been burnt down.

Inkatha Institute spokesman, Peter Auf der Heyde, of Durban said the fighting started when ANC supporters from Magoda attacked Ndalandi late last year.

The ANC stronghold of Magoda appeared deserted except for a few starving dogs left behind by fleeing refugees.

Soldiers and policemen patrolled the townships in armoured vehicles.

About 11 schools have been closed in the area and buses no longer run to the townships. Taxi drivers visit the centre of Ndalandi but not Magoda.

The few residents left in

the area say there is not a light on in the townships at night, and the only noise is the crack of gunshots. Local police said the fighters hide in nearby plantations and then launch attacks at night.

Richmond town clerk Tony Brown estimated that 40 000 people, about 80 percent of the population, had fled the area.

"Thousands of people have come through Richmond. We have still got a few hundred people in the town.

"Farmers and residents have taken in some of the people," he said.

Deaths

Mr Brown said a refugee committee had been formed in Richmond to try to sort out the situation.

There has been faction fighting in the area for several years, but violence increased dramatically last Christmas when ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters clashed.

Residents claim scores of people have died since then. Last month police confirmed that 31 people died in a 10-day period at Ndalandi.

The violence also seemed to spill out into white areas during the last year. Several people on smallholdings near Richmond have been murdered.

Businessmen said the townships' depopulation was affecting the town's economy.