

## SaturdayStar

# Silence is connivance

**W**INNIE MANDELA appears to be at last on her way out as a political leader. This leaves the top brass of the ANC still owing South Africa an explanation over their silence on the events which led to her exit.

In early 1989 the Mandela Crisis Committee investigated the kidnapping of Stompie Seipei and three young men from the Methodist manse, and the death later of Stompie.

Azapo says that Dr Abu-baker Asvat was sent by the committee to Mrs Mandela's house — where the kidnap victims were assaulted — and that he reported back. Dr Asvat was later killed.

Azapo believes that during the course of the committee's investigations it picked up clues to his murder. Yet the committee has kept quiet.

The only knowledge the public has of its conclusions is a preliminary report to the ANC, revealed this week by Azapo.

Disclosure of the full findings, however, is in the national interest and the ANC has the power to ensure that it is done.

The individual members of the committee, who are in or close to the ANC, include such notables as Beyers Naude, Frank Chikane, Albertina Sisulu, Sydney Mafumadi and Cyril Ramaphosa.

South Africa needs to hear from them and from the Mandela Crisis Committee.

If they are allowed to keep silent, it will compound suspicions of complicity in a cover-up.

## Keep up the fight

**T**HAT four Democratic Party MPs held talks with the ANC over possible membership should come as no surprise. Political realignments have long been predicted and there will likely be many more such talks between members of rival parties before the year is out.

Of more concern, however, is that the upset it caused within the DP should not lead to its demise. It is vital that there is always a party fighting for the liberal ideals that the NP and ANC have shown themselves ready to trample on when it suits them.

Even if the DP loses more MPs it should never be forgotten that once it took only one liberal MP to effectively defend those freedoms.



Weekend Argus 18.4.92

# Savimbi on rough road to democracy

Weekend Argus  
Foreign Service

LONDON. — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and his men are finding it hard to make the transition to democracy in the run-up to Angola's elections in September, says the latest edition of *The Economist*.

The former Angolan rebel movement leader who led the war against the Marxists of the MPLA was facing dissent in his ranks now that the war was over.

"Like many effective guerrilla leaders, Savimbi mixes charisma and an iron hand.

"He charms foreigners while ruling his organisation with great toughness, brooking no dissent.

"Now that the war is over, Unita's need to show outsiders a united face has diminished. Some of the resentment stored up during the years of trouble has bubbled into the open," says *The Economist*.

Last month, two of Unita's leading members, Miguel N'zau Puna and Tony da Costa Fernandes, deserted the movement, accusing Savimbi of atrocities including the summary execution of two high-ranking leaders whose opinions differed from his own.

Although such stories were not new, Savimbi was particularly sensitive about the latest criticism in the election run-up.

"As soon as the MPLA government tried to make electoral profit from the stories, Savimbi said it was plotting to kill him, and threatened to resume the war if it tried to.

*The Economist* ventures that part of Savimbi's trouble stems from the collapse of communism. Now that there were no more Cuban troops in Angola for Unita to fight against, its anti-communist ideology was less compelling, its tribal base more apparent.

"The movement is beginning to look to some as though its main purpose is to promote the interests of the Ovimbundu, Savimbi's tribe."

His former friends were not doing much to help.

Savimbi won the support of both South Africa and the United States when he turned into an anti-communist champion in the mid-1970s.

Meanwhile, Angolan military authorities have claimed in Luanda that Unita is keeping a "clandestine army" ready to seize power before or after elections scheduled for September.



# Democratic dilemma

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

18.4.92

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Rebel four a thorn in ANC's side

The ANC insists that the tricameral parliament should merely legislate an interim government and then be abolished.

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

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer suspended Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town), Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Mr Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) after they held a secret meeting with ANC leaders with a view to their joining the ANC.

They could now suffer the embarrassment of sitting as unwanted independents if they are thrown out of the DP while the ANC decides whether to accept their membership if they don't resign from parliament.

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

The ANC has not yet indicated whether it would accept the membership of the four MPs. It merely expressed its surprise at the suspension of the MPs who had expressed "their personal desire to strengthen their links with the ANC".

However, ANC sources said the issue was complex and potentially divisive.

Dr De Beer said he had been told Mr Nelson Mandela was careful to inform the MPs who visited him that the matter of their possible ANC membership would be decided by the ANC's National Executive Committee.

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

Asked whether he suspended them to pre-empt their resignation after Easter, Dr De Beer said: "I thought I should not delay for six or seven days." He said if he had not suspended the MPs this week, various sections of the DP would have been despondent.



## ABBEY MAKOE

Weekend Argus Correspondent

**QWASH!** — that's the new kind of gun being manufactured in the backyards of Killarney and Meadowlands Zone 1, Soweto, by teenage boys as young as 15.

In a two-hour interview, the boys, commanders of the local defence unit, described how they used the guns against police and hostel dwellers in the strife-torn area.

Since February, when a township woman was killed in a hand-grenade attack, allegedly by hostel dwellers, parts of Killarney and Meadowlands near the hostel have become known as "No Man's Land".

The teenagers say three groups are fighting for control of this area. They are the boys themselves, hostel dwellers and the police.

The boys, some dressed in khaki army jackets, say they have taken up arms to protect their parents and living space.

None of the boys would say who had invented the guns, but all seemed to know how to make them.

They call the guns Qwash after the sound the wooden firearms make when the bullet goes off. Any kind of a bullet can be used without difficulty, they say.

The gun is made of wood and covered in black insulation tape.

Thick wire, about 15cm long, is placed inside the wood. The wire, connected to a small rubber string, is used as a trigger.

There is also a spring at the rear end. It is connected to a short nail.

To shoot, one hand is used to pull the rubber backwards. The rubber is let loose in the air and with the help of the spring, the wire forcefully propels a bullet out of the barrel.

According to the boys, the speed at which a shot is fired matches that of guns manufactured legally.

They would not disclose the source of their bullets. "We have connections," said 16-year-old Tsholofelo, who does not attend school.

Other weapons the boys use in their overnight patrols are knives, iron bars and pangas.

"Our problem is that we don't have enough weapons to launch a full-scale attack on the hostel," they said.

It is 8pm on Wednesday. A defence unit session entailing military-style planning begins in a large, electrified shack.

A woman in her 50s knits quietly in the far corner. A litre of cooldrink is placed on the table in my honour.

"My broer," said Kepile, who is aged 15 and in Standard 2. "I no longer walk around in Killarney during the day. Old women hate me and I fear they may point me out to the police."

# Teenagers' backyard gun factory is no game

The boy looked younger than his claimed 15 years. Asked why anyone would put the police on to him, he said:

"We caught a hostel dweller. There were arguments about whether he should be killed or handed to the police. I got angry at the women wasting time, took out my knife and stabbed him to death.

"The women think I did something wrong. You see, we're trying to protect the community with our lives. Hostel dwellers waste no time when they've captured one of us. I didn't have to waste time..."

It's 10pm. There is a sound of a gunfire less than 3km from the headquarters.

Lesley takes out his Qwash. Tsholofelo becomes wild and wants to go outside where another group is patrolling.

Lesley slaps Tsholofelo in the face. Half the room supports Lesley. Commotion erupts.

"If you don't respect each other, how can you win any battle outside," asks the knitting woman. "Stop it," she says, and the hubbub subsides.

The boys' first target will be the hostel dwellers, then the police.

The SAP patrol vehicles are known by their sound. In Meadowlands, the police cars are dubbed "Iron Fist". In Killarney — the "A-Team".

At 11pm, sporadic gunfire continues from nearby. The boys plan to help comrades in Bakwena Street, known as a barrier line. It is about 100 metres from the hostel.

We move outside and the boys take up positions in the narrow streets. They move towards the hostel, communicating by whistling.

Everyone is a leader. It's yet another day of do or die. I'm urged to come along amid the shooting.

Gunfire can be heard all through the night. At 5am the group is relieved by a new shift.

Elderly people on their way to work commend the "good job" the boys are doing.

Not so the police. They do not tolerate anyone taking the law into their own hands, says Captain Joseph Ngobeni, Soweto police liaison officer.

"We don't cause the violence; we quell it," he said.

# Soweto

*of the weekend Argus 1 Feb. 92*  

# Qwash! Sound of



DP, CP may split at key caucus meetings

# Crunch nears for white party politics

WHITE politics enters a decisive phase next week when the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party gather for strategic meetings which could cause both to split.

The DP and the CP caucuses will both meet on Thursday for the first time since the Easter parliamentary recess to discuss crucial reports on their strategies for transition.

The DP caucus will discuss a strategy document compiled by a special committee under national chairman Ken Andrew.

And the Conservative Party caucus will discuss the reports of seven special committees which have been deliberating on strategy and policy for several weeks.

The caucus meeting is likely to see a showdown between the hardliners who now control party policy and "volkstaters" who believe the party should go into negotiations to bargain for a smaller Afrikaans homeland.

This group has gained ground since the decisive defeat of the no-vote in the referendum in March and could wrest control of the party at Thursday's caucus meeting.

The DP caucus is also certain to be the occasion for a battle for the soul of the party.

Three strands have emerged in the DP: those favouring closer ties with the ANC, those wanting a new centrist party with the National Party, and the centre, which wants to retain the party's independence.

To some degree the decision about where the party goes has already been pre-empted by the suspension this week of four MPs sympathetic to the ANC.

**PETER FABRICIUS,  
ESTHER WAUGH  
and FRANS ESTHERHUYSE**

The four — Jan van Eck, Rob Haswell, Jannie Momberg and Pierre Cronje — were suspended after talks earlier this week.

Mooi River MP Wessel Nel has confirmed that he attended the meeting, while it is understood that Andre de Wet and Kobus Jordaan were also present.

Sandton MP Dave Dalling, who is in hospital, has been associated with the group in the past and would probably have attended the meeting if he had been able.

Political observers said a split could occur in the CP if the party retreated into its well-known position that it would not negotiate with blacks other than leaders of recognised ethnic groups.

But if the "volkstaters" prevail, this could force out hard-line conservatives.

While the CP and DP are agonising over their futures, President de Klerk is also expected to make major announcements during the debate in Parliament on his budget vote.

● The row between the four suspended DP members and the party leadership continued with a new flare-up yesterday arising from remarks by party leader Dr Zach de Beer in a television interview on the SABC's Agenda programme on Thursday night.

De Beer yesterday confirmed he had made an offer to the four: that he would apologise to them and rescind their suspension if they gave their colleagues "a satisfactory assur-

ance they have no intention of joining any other party and would serve the DP in full loyalty".

He also confirmed certain remarks he had made in the SABC programme to which some of the suspended members had taken exception.

Reacting to De Beer's offer and remarks, Momberg said he and others had been suspended without the party leader contacting them. The decision had been taken on the basis of "third-party evidence".

"I regard this as a hatchet job on us. Clearly the DP wants to get rid of us."

Momberg said the Agenda interview had been conducted in a way that created the impression that the four MPs were already out of the party. He took exception to remarks by De Beer to the effect that the four had been a "debilitating" influence in the party and now that they were gone, an "invigorating" process had started.

De Beer confirmed he had made remarks on such lines and had used the words "debilitating" and "invigorating". However, he had talked on the basis of "if they go..."

Momberg, he said, had worked hard for the DP, but his constant "courting" with the ANC had had a demoralising influence on many party members. This was reflected in letters received from members.

Momberg said he had requested the chairman of his Simon's Town constituency council, Ed Coombe, to call a meeting of the council for Tuesday night.

"There I will inform them (the council) fully about my intentions and the future of my political career."



Saturday  
Star  
18-4-92



**TENSE MOMENT:** Deputy Regional Commissioner of Police Brigadier Sakkie Minnaar engaged in heated discussion with Winnie Mandela (left) over the Power Park, Soweto, shootings yesterday.  
Photograph: **GEORGE MASHININI**



# Winnie — the long, hard road

Saturday Star 18-4-92 P. 1

The name on everyone's lips this week — as in many other weeks — has been Winnie Mandela. Once again this remarkable and controversial woman has hogged the headlines for what will definitely not be the last time. JOE LOUW traces some of the influences that have shaped her life and times.

**S**HE was born Nomzamo Winnie Madikizela in 1934 at Bizana in Transkei. Her father, Columbus Madikizela, was a local schoolteacher who later became a minister in the Transkei government. Her mother, of whom little is known, died when Winnie was only nine.

Even as a young girl Winnie knew exactly what she wanted and showed an early streak of independence. She chose a career as a medical social worker and in the early 1950s headed to Baragwanath Hospital to pursue this goal.

**H**er extreme beauty soon came to the attention of Nelson Mandela, then a prominent young lawyer who was, in Fifties parlance, "The Talk of the Town". After a whirlwind romance of only a year — during which time Nelson divorced his first wife — the handsome pair were married in a corrugated iron church in her hometown of Bizana.

It was there that her father made his prophetic announcement that marrying Nelson was not only marrying a man, but marrying a movement.

As Winnie was later to write in her book, "Part of My Soul", she knew that "a life with him will be a life without him".

**T**hree months later, she was in jail for her role in defying the pass laws and her husband was already deeply involved in the infamous Treason Trial of 1956. Her political baptism by fire had begun and so had the sordid tale of internecine jealousy within the ranks of her fellow female activists.

Nelson and Winnie's fairy-tale romance, the ebullience of their youth, their smiling happy faces and their fame did not always kindle happiness in people. Winnie had taken the most

sought after prize among the women, and already there were ugly murmurings about her "arrogance" and her snobbishness".

By 1960 she was already striking a high political profile in the ANC — branch chairman of the Orlando branch, a member of the provincial branch and an eminent member of the Federation of South African Women.

As 1961 dawned the life of the Mandelas had already become a patchwork of small segments of time snatched between court appearances, trials, dozens of meetings — the couple didn't even have a proper home.

With the banning of the ANC and PAC, Nelson slipped out of the

country to carry the pain of South Africa's black masses to Africa and the world, and Winnie was alone.

In 1962 she was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act and restricted to Orlando township, and had to quit her job as a social worker with the Johannesburg Council.

By the end of 1962, Nelson was back in the country but operating underground and the life of the Mandelas once

again took on the quality of an Alexander Dumas novel.

**I**t was then that the now famous Winnie temperament and her prodigious physical and mental resources showed themselves.

Her rows with the police became legendary — she became known as a woman who, when pushed, pushed back. She yelled and screamed back at the police without fear and her fearless actions served to inspire a generation.

After Nelson was sentenced to life imprisonment, the image of a young, beautiful and militant mother of two young children (her daughter Zeni and Zinzi were born by then) restricted to the confines of a small township, hounded by security police while her husband was

tent fuel to the cause the world over.

But there was little room for self pity in the woman. Despite extreme harassment Winnie Mandela confronted and defied the system at every turn.

Despite having two young children to raise and unable to work, she undertook a decade of often lonely defiance that included three jail terms and 17 months of solitary confinement.

In May 1977 she was

banished to Brandfort, a small town in the Free State where she remained, out of sight perhaps, but not out of everyone's mind — least of all the authorities.

**F**inally she determined that it was time once and for all to defy the authorities and return home to her place in Soweto. In mysterious circumstances her house in Brandfort had been petrol bombed and she vowed to go home.

Her highly publicised return to Soweto fired the imaginations of people around the world — she was epitomised as a heroine and she played the role to the hilt.

The young militants of

the '70s Black Consciousness movement idolised her and she gained a large admiring constituency of young urban blacks ready to follow wherever she led them.

Since that time the Winnie star has burnt ever more brightly, seemingly nourished by the very truculence and defiance that allowed her to survive her early tribulations.

Perhaps it was impossible for the star to continue glowing forever.

Yet no one who heard the pledge of deep love, respect and regret, expressed by Nelson Mandela as — under duress — he separated from his wife this week, could fail to be moved.

And Winnie's presumed obscurity may still prove to be illusory.



Sa. Star 18/4/92

# 'Big three' court Zion's faithful

FW, Buthelezi,  
Mandela speak  
at Moria service

STAFF REPORTERS, SAPA and AFP

IN A major bid to woo future voters, South Africa's three main political leaders will tomorrow address a gathering of about three million black Christians.

State President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to attend the Easter service of the conservative Zion Christian Church (ZCC) at its headquarters in Zion City, Moria, in the far northern Transvaal.

Buthelezi, who will deliver the first address, Mandela and De Klerk will each speak for about 20 minutes.

The gathering takes place in the Pietersburg area, which is notorious for road accidents, particularly over the Easter holiday.

Despite a serious collision between a bus and a lorry yesterday on the Pietersburg-Tzaneen road in which three people were killed and thirty-four injured, nine seriously, national accident statistics showed a sharp reduction.

## Five million members

The ZCC, which marries Christian dogma with traditional African beliefs, has five million members and is noted for its puritanical rules preventing members from smoking, drinking or eating pork.

Political analyst Alf Stadler said all three leaders would be "flirting" for votes with the ZCC, whose membership is larger than that of any political party.

Stadler believes De Klerk may find fertile ground for his campaign to expand the National Party's popularity beyond its white power base.

Mandela's ANC has also been trying to widen its influence in traditional African society, while Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party is a strong advocate of giving a role to traditional leaders.

"They are all pitching for the traditional leaders," Stadler said, adding that the ZCC was "important in the new South Africa".

The conservative nature of the ZCC was highlighted in 1985 when former president P W Botha addressed the church's Easter Sunday service.

Botha's address came at a time of intense violence in South Africa and followed the March 21, 1990, shooting of more than 35 blacks by police at Langa, near Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape.

Botha praised the Zionists for being law-abiding and told them: "Do what is good and you will receive the approval of the ruler. He is God's servant for your good."



Sa. Star 18/4/92

# Harry Gwala, ANC 'warlord'

ON FIRST inspection Harry Gwala, a senior member of the ANC's national executive committee, is a most unsavoury character: he is a self-confessed killer, a man whom people in his own organisation fear to cross, and a hard-line Marxist who applauded the Soviet coup attempt last year.

But if he is unsavoury, so are the hundreds of thousands —

**JOHN CARLIN**  
of The Independent

if not millions — of blacks whose language he speaks, to whose thoughts he gives expression.

If Gwala were younger than his 72 years and if he were healthier — he suffers from a progressive motor neurone disease which has deprived him of the use of both arms — he would stand alongside Nelson Mandela as one of the most powerful leaders in black politics.

He could even come to rival Mandela. For when Mandela speaks, the ANC faithful flinch. When Gwala speaks, he sets them on fire.

Mandela talks of peace and give-and-take, instructing his audiences in the realpolitik of De Klerk times. Gwala preaches an older message, simpler, more familiar and more stirring. He preaches war, no compromise and seizure of power.

Contained here is the ANC's biggest dilemma. For the closer the ANC and the Government come to agreement on interim government and a new constitution, the wider the gap between ANC leadership and a rank-and-file whose vision has remained fundamentally unchanged since the P W Botha era.

But Gwala, viewed as

an aged *enfant terrible* by the ANC mainstream in Johannesburg, elicits as much awe and reverence in Maritzburg as the Zulu warrior chiefs of old.

From his fortress home in Edendale township — set in the "Valley of the Widows", as the locals call it — he presides as chairman of the ANC's Natal Midlands region: Zulu country and the scene of relentless bloodshed since 1986.

He has little time for the "peace accords" and "peace forums" which have sprouted up, largely at the behest of the ANC leadership, in the last year.

"Chamberlain tried it, but it was only when people like Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt came together that peace was imposed."

## Intelligence

A tiny man with shining eyes, Gwala's hands rest lifeless on his desk as he speaks. His conversation — peppered with references to Dickens, Shakespeare, the Bible, Zulu and world history — reveals how abundantly he read during his 20 years in prison for terrorism and furthering the aims of the ANC.

It is his intelligence that sets him apart from the Inkatha "warlords" with whom he has engaged in battle since his release in 1988, but otherwise, according to peace monitors in Natal, he and they are two sides of the same coin.

It is on record that Gwala has dispatched his well-armed "boys" — an ANC official in Johannesburg likened them to Winnie Mandela's notorious "football club" — to attack Inkatha warriors in neighbouring towns.

Gwala himself quite cheerfully admits his role in a conflict which, according to Inkatha, as seen more than 200 of their supporters assassinated in the last four years.

"Make no mistake," says Gwala, "we kill Inkatha warlords."

So, do all the peace efforts with which the ANC leadership has been so obsessed serve any useful purpose?

"They simply suit people's consciences. Remember all the fuss throughout 1990 about getting Mandela and Buthelezi to meet?"

"Since they shook hands on January 29 last year we've had more than a thousand dead in Natal alone," says Gwala.

"As the violence spreads, more and more ANC regions around the country are approaching us, eager to learn from our experience. Particularly now that they see how hard it is to believe the struggle will be won through negotiations and peace accords alone."

"We must also defend the people. And yes, very apologetically the big boys in Johannesburg are coming around to our point of view."



Sa. Star 18/4/92

## SaturdayStar

# Silence is connivance

**W**INNIE MANDELA appears to be at last on her way out as a political leader. This leaves the top brass of the ANC still owing South Africa an explanation over their silence on the events which led to her exit.

In early 1989 the Mandela Crisis Committee investigated the kidnapping of Stompie Seipei and three young men from the Methodist manse, and the death later of Stompie.

Azapo says that Dr Abu-baker Asvat was sent by the committee to Mrs Mandela's house — where the kidnap victims were assaulted — and that he reported back. Dr Asvat was later killed.

Azapo believes that during the course of the committee's investigations it picked up clues to his murder. Yet the committee has kept quiet.

The only knowledge the public has of its conclusions is a preliminary report to the ANC, revealed this week by Azapo.

Disclosure of the full findings, however, is in the national interest and the ANC has the power to ensure that it is done.

The individual members of the committee, who are in or close to the ANC, include such notables as Beyers Naude, Frank Chikane, Albertina Sisulu, Sydney Mafumadi and Cyril Ramaphosa.

South Africa needs to hear from them and from the Mandela Crisis Committee.

If they are allowed to keep silent, it will compound suspicions of complicity in a cover-up.



Sa. Star 18/4/92

## Winnie attacks police over squatter camp deaths

WINNIE Mandela, making her first public appearance since she resigned from her senior ANC job, accused "terrorist" security forces of shooting dead two people at a squatter camp on Friday.

In a hard-hitting conclusion to one of the worst weeks in her political career, the estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela visited Soweto's Power Park camp yesterday and told a cheering crowd of 300 squatters: "Today is a day of worship, but we are spending

it trying to defend ourselves against a terrorist government that has unleashed its forces to attack defenceless men and women in their sleep.

"I heard the shooting at one o'clock from my house.

"We will do everything in our power to defend ourselves."

Police confirmed that two squatters had been killed soon after 1.15 am at the camp in the Orlando district, near Mandela's home. A third person, a police officer, was shot dead in the clash.

A Visnews camera crew reported that Mandela waved a plastic bag full of spent shells which residents said were from shots fired by the police.

She said: "All of these are to kill you in your sleep. The police tried to deflate your spirit of fighting.

"They want it to appear as if we are fighting among ourselves. This is the lie we are supposed to live with."

When Mandela arrived at the squatter camp police were still searching for arms among the

shacks.

She told them the people were angry and that they ought to leave. They did.

Police spokesman Joseph Ngobeni said unidentified gunmen had attacked a police patrol at 1.15 am. One policeman was killed and another wounded.

Police then entered the camp to look for the attackers.

Mandela resigned from her post as head of the ANC's social welfare department on Wednesday, saying allegations that

she was linked to the killing of activists in Soweto during 1980 had created a difficult situation for the ANC.

She is on bail pending an appeal against her conviction and six-year jail sentence for kidnapping four youths and being an accessory to assaults on them.

On Monday Nelson Mandela, citing unspecified differences, announced that they were separating after 33 years of marriage. — Sapa-Reuter.

• See Pages 6 and 10



**JUREK MARTIN** reports on the ridiculous spectacle inspired by the growing public anger in the United States over the privileges enjoyed by government officials: a self-righteous orgy of purging the perks.

**W**ASHINGTON — In 1977, when Jody Powell first came to Washington as President Jimmy Carter's press secretary, he was asked if he intended to have a phone installed in his car, a decrepit VW beetle. "Nah," he drawled, "it couldn't stand the extra weight." Everybody laughed.

Today, nobody is laughing at the weight that is dragging Washington's name through the mud.

Washington is accused of being so stuffed with the perquisites of office that it has lost all touch with reality in the lives of average Americans.

This kind of puritanism is not new.

Sherman Adams, President Eisenhower's right-hand man, had to resign for accepting a free fur coat.

Mr G-man himself, J Edgar Hoover, got into trouble for having free window pelmets installed.

The fall of John Sununu, President Bush's chief-of-staff, was pretty much sealed when it became known last year that he had used government aircraft like lesser mortals used taxis.

Some administrations have tried to set an honourable example. Others have not even bothered.

The sleaze factor was notorious in the Reagan years, even to the point of First Lady Nancy soliciting contributions for the upkeep of her ballgowns.

But this year Washington's unpopularity knows no bounds. Now there has emerged the extraordinary spectacle of a self-righteous orgy of "purging the perk".

It should be funny, and sometimes is, if it were not taken quite so seriously.

Congress is the most defensive because it appears to be the main offender. All the little things that make congressional life easier are under scrutiny.

They include subsidised restaurants, haircuts and health clubs, free potted plants and subscription drugs, gratis parking at the Capitol and local airports, the fixing of any traffic tickets and wholesale price gifts and knick-knacks.

In the aggregate, they do not appear to amount to anything that is not commonly provided for executives in the corporate sector.

But abuses were inevitable. Last year, for example, it emerged there were \$300 000 in unpaid bills at House restaurants — a little steep for facilities that are in reality little more than canteens.

Tom Foley, Speaker of the House, finally decided he had had enough of these assaults on an institution he loves. He has ordered an investigation into the perks enjoyed by the executive branch, and it looks as though it will not spare even the President.

George Bush's perks are not insubstantial. They run to a \$7.26-million annual operating budget for the White House, covering nearly 100 domestic employees — including five florists spending \$200 000 a year on displays, and five calligraphers, presumably deciphering the presidential scrawl.

There are also in the official residence a bowling alley, cinema, swimming pool, putting green, tennis courts, a basketball court and horseshoe pit — and a free box at the Kennedy Centre for Performing Arts.

There are Camp David and, of course, Air Force One — actually two of them, specially modified Boeing 747s — and a constant supply of helicopters.

This obsession with scrutinising perks, however, completely misses the point. There is something wrong with the governance of America, but it is not simply because those who govern have grown fat and greedy.

The root causes are complex, but must include the unrealistic personal standards asked of public figures and the decline in the controlling influence of the two main parties.

The two causes have led to the absence of leaders of quality and a fragmentation of the body politic.

The system is not working. Real issues are being ducked. If it were, and they were not, no one would be wailing over free potted plants and floral displays. — Financial Times.

# Washington's purge on perks going too far



Saturday News 18-4-92

SUNDAY NEWS 18-4-92.

# Winnie attacks police over squatter camp deaths

WINNIE Mandela, making her first public appearance since she resigned from her senior ANC job, accused "terrorist" security forces of shooting dead two people at a squatter camp on Friday.

In a hard-hitting conclusion to one of the worst weeks in her political career, the estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela visited Soweto's Power Park camp yesterday and told a cheering crowd of 300 squatters: "Today is a day of worship, but we are spending

it trying to defend ourselves against a terrorist government that has unleashed its forces to attack defenceless men and women in their sleep.

"I heard the shooting at one o'clock from my house.

"We will do everything in our power to defend ourselves."

Police confirmed that two squatters had been killed soon after 1.15 am at the camp in the Orlando district, near Mandela's home. A third person, a police officer, was shot dead in the clash.

A Visnews camera crew reported that Mandela waved a plastic bag full of spent shells which residents said were from shots fired by the police.

She said: "All of these are to kill you in your sleep. The police tried to deflate your spirit of fighting.

"They want it to appear as if we are fighting among ourselves. This is the lie we are supposed to live with."

When Mandela arrived at the squatter camp police were still searching for arms among the

shacks.

She told them the people were angry and that they ought to leave. They did.

Police spokesman Joseph Ngobeni said unidentified gunmen had attacked a police patrol at 1.15 am. One policeman was killed and another wounded.

Police then entered the camp to look for the attackers.

Mandela resigned from her post as head of the ANC's social welfare department on Wednesday, saying allegations that

she was linked to the killing of activists in Soweto during 1989 had created a difficult situation for the ANC.

She is on bail pending an appeal against her conviction and six-year jail sentence for kidnapping four youths and being an accessory to assaults on them.

On Monday Nelson Mandela, citing unspecified differences, announced that they were separating after 33 years of marriage. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See Pages 6 and 10



'Big three' court Zion's faithful

## FW, Buthelezi, Mandela speak at Moria service

STAFF REPORTERS, SAPA and AFP

**IN A major bid to woo future voters, South Africa's three main political leaders will tomorrow address a gathering of about three million black Christians.**

State President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to attend the Easter service of the conservative Zion Christian Church (ZCC) at its headquarters in Zion City, Moria, in the far northern Transvaal.

Buthelezi, who will deliver the first address, Mandela and De Klerk will each speak for about 20 minutes.

The gathering takes place in the Pietersburg area, which is notorious for road accidents, particularly over the Easter holiday.

Despite a serious collision between a bus and a lorry yesterday on the Pietersburg-Tzaneen road in which three people were killed and thirty-four injured, nine seriously, national accident statistics showed a sharp reduction.

### Five million members

The ZCC, which marries Christian dogma with traditional African beliefs, has five million members and is noted for its puritanical rules preventing members from smoking, drinking or eating pork.

Political analyst Alf Stadler said all three leaders would be "flirting" for votes with the ZCC, whose membership is larger than that of any political party.

Stadler believes De Klerk may find fertile ground for his campaign to expand the National Party's popularity beyond its white power base.

Mandela's ANC has also been trying to widen its influence in traditional African society, while Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party is a strong advocate of giving a role to traditional leaders.

"They are all pitching for the traditional leaders," Stadler said, adding that the ZCC was "important in the new South Africa".

The conservative nature of the ZCC was highlighted in 1985 when former president P W Botha addressed the church's Easter Sunday service.

Botha's address came at a time of intense violence in South Africa and followed the March 21, 1985, shooting of more than 35 blacks by police at Langa, near Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape.

Botha praised the Zionists for being law-abiding and told them: "Do what is good and you will receive the approval of the ruler. He is God's servant for your good."



# **...RY Easter, close on one million people converge on Zion City, Moria for four days of song, prayer and worship in the largest single gathering of any kind in South Africa. JOHN PERLMAN reports.**

THE taxi ranks that border Joubert Park were — if you could imagine it — even more frantic than at the start of a normal weekend.

By midday on Thursday the lines of commuters were already winding into the distance — people clutching bags and parcels, one moment looking like they did not believe they would ever get a ride, the next quick-stepping forward to the bark of taxi rank managers.

The longest line of all, snaking halfway up King George Street towards Hillbrow, was for the run up to Pietersburg. Most of the people in the line, in one way or another — a silver badge glinting in the sun, a flat cap with a star, a khaki suit — indicated that they were not commuters but pilgrims.

Every Easter, close on one million people converge on the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) headquarters at Zion City, Moria, for four days of song, prayer and worship. The lines at the taxi ranks represent a mere trickle in comparison with the other streams flowing towards Moria.

The ZCC, which is very strong in the northern Transvaal, has organised about 1 200 buses to transport worshippers. Special trains have also been laid on. Many of the pilgrims will come in their own cars or simply walk.

It is the largest single gathering of any kind in South Africa, yet it is usually noted in the media largely in terms of traffic and accidents, partly because the ZCC has always been intensely private and has by and large barred the press from Moria — except in 1986, when former president P W Botha was guest speaker.

This year is different. Tomorrow afternoon at 3pm, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk — in that order — will address the assembly on the subject of peace.

It is without doubt the largest audience that each of them will have faced. It will also be the first time since the signing of the Peace Accord that the three men have appeared on the same platform.

The circumstances at Moria will make some taxing personal demands on them. The ZCC expressly forbids smoking, which means De Klerk — a chain smoker — will have to thrust his pack of John Rolfe deep into the pockets of the dark suit he will doubtless wear for the occasion, and keep it there.

But all three men also face a significant political test. Graham Mdluli (60), shuffling forward in the taxi queue to make his tenth pilgrimage to Moria, said Buthelezi, Mandela and De Klerk would realise on arrival that "this whole thing is not a play. They must tell the truth, we will know if they are not being honest. They must not defile themselves".

"We want to see if they stand for reason," Mdluli said. "And when they return we want to see that all this nonsense has stopped. In Moria they will see that all different people are united — Zulus, Pedis, Xhosas, even people from outside South Africa.

"And if our bishop can do it, why can't they?"

Each of the leaders will have 20 minutes to make his point. All three will speak in English, without translation, which will certainly limit their impact.

It will also leave them heavily dependent on ZCC leader Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane to set the final tone.

Lekganyane will speak immediately after them for 50 minutes in Pedi, thus allowing translation into seven other languages, including Herero and Damara for the Namibians.

While the ZCC leadership has been perceived in some circles as conservative — largely because of the invitation extended to Botha — the sheer scale of its membership makes the church as a whole politically inscrutable. "We are against all politics," says Mdluli.

An official document from the church says: "Current policy in the ZCC is that each and every member has the right to exercise his individual choice of political activity, and to engage in it. There is, however, only one way of ensuring that the contributions its members make will evolve into a more democratic society."

On relations with church bodies like the South African Council of Churches, the document says: "The ZCC has no objection to working with other churches on religious objectives of mutual interest; but it reserves the right not to lean over and or espouse the policies of any one political party. Thereby it safeguards the right of self-determination of its members and their political affiliations."

It is a mark of the ZCC's potential clout that it could, at less than two weeks' notice, secure the presence of the country's three pre-eminent political figures.

A ZCC representative said: "After the extreme violence recently, our bishop asked what he could do and came up with this idea."

But for all that, the presence of Buthelezi, Mandela and De Klerk will, by all accounts, probably be overshadowed by that of the bishop, who will herald the start of the Sunday service tomorrow by arriving at the head of a large brass band.

Lekganyane took over the church, founded in 1910 by his grandfather Engenas Lekganyane, in 1967. He was 15.

According to ZCC documents the church has never "demanded of its members that they jettison African culture in favour of Western culture as a precondition of acceptance into the church... This has had the effect of giving them a strong sense of direction and purpose in their lives, because there is no dichotomy in their lives as church members and members of society."

Most of the preaching is done by the 14 diocesan ministers of the ZCC and the evangelists, deacons and lay preachers under them. There are also hundreds of choirs present.

Mdluli says: "When we sleep, we sleep on the ground, but it is only for 10 minutes or so. We don't want to miss anything."

One regular pilgrim says Lekganyane, who makes about three appearances a year, is seen only briefly at the gathering except for when he makes his Sunday speech.

"We say the less we see our bishop talk, the more we listen when he talks."

That, if nothing else, might give the three invited speakers some food for thought.