

OPINION

Phola Park raid

THE midweek raid on Phola Park has added another shabby chapter to the recent history of the SADF, and has revived the troubling questions about the control of the armed forces and fitness of its officers.

Precisely what happened at Phola Park remains to be established. The SADF initially put forward the risible story that the troops — apparently the Angolan mercenaries of 32 Battalion — were fired upon by “cowards”, and that civilians were injured when they returned the fire.

This story was plainly irreconcilable with the facts. Newspaper photographs and television footage showed that some of the victims had been thrashed, probably with a sjambok, and others had injuries consistent with blows from rifle butts or metal bars. If the accusations of rape were, in the nature of things, hard to prove, the cartridge cases collected by the handful did suggest an overreaction by the troops.

Whatever took the troops into Phola Park, it was not an appeal from the police. They knew nothing about the attack, though it is said to have lasted four hours. The very presence of the troops in the settlement may have been irregular.

In the face of evidence gathered by the ANC and the news media, the SADF finally abandoned its attempt to strike righteous poses, and offered a board of inquiry, possible criminal charges, and a tour of the area by the new — and, it should be said,

decent — Minister of Defence.

This was simply not good enough. The board of inquiry is a device to find low-ranking scapegoats; the real question which must be answered is whether, as in the case of the CCB, officers of the SADF have again failed to maintain proper control of the forces under their command. This is a serious charge, which has led in war crimes tribunals to the execution of a commanding officer, and it rests on what General Douglas MacArthur, in confirming a sentence of death on a Japanese foe, called “the soldiers’ code”.

“The soldier,” he said, “be he friend or foe, is charged with the protection of the weak and the unarmed.” Senior officers cannot escape culpability when their troops go on the rampage, and it is not sufficient for a board of military officers to seek out a couple of illiterate Angolan privates on whom to pin the blame for atrocities.

Certainly the officers who continue to shield the CCB cannot be trusted to conduct any inquiry into their own misdemeanours. Therefore, it is fortunate that, at the end of the week, Mr Roelf Meyer referred the matter to the Goldstone Commission. In the meantime, the troops should be withdrawn from police duties, for which they are neither properly trained nor adequately led, and the police should be strengthened at the expense of the SADF. It is time to abandon the methods of war in governing the country.



Like Topsy, it just grows and grows

CONSIDER a paradox: the immense labours of apartheid have been abandoned and most of the tasks laid on the public service by Verwoerdian theology have been abolished, but government grows and grows like Topsy.

The list of abandoned tasks is awesome: the pass laws have gone and with them the work of issuing passes, checking them, trucking people to the commissioners' courts, collecting fines, enforcing prison sentences and transporting people back to the rural areas.

But as the work shrinks the cost of government grows. It is now running at about R50-billion a year.

The group areas boards have gone, and nobody need buy up land for re-allocation to different races. Also gone are the inspectors who used to chase workers around building sites because they were doing work reserved for other people. Nobody need spy on lovers, nor enforce miscegenation laws. Workers move where they will and there is no need for labour bureaux.

The securocrats, as we called the stifling network of committees that blanketed the country, with an army officer on every committee, are superfluous. There is no need for sanctions-busters, for oil buyers, for strategic stockpiles of aspirin and eyewash or for the army of bureaucrats who defended our industrial secrets. The censors have nothing much to do, and nobody chases hawkers from the sidewalks.

Nevertheless, the cost of government goes up.

The whole mad business of centralised planning, and all that went with it, has fallen into disrepute. No bureaucrat is called upon these days to discover the best site, ideologically speaking, for a Taiwanese factory, nor to administer the rotten system of subsidies that went with it. The attempt to turn Bronkhorstspuit into an industrial hub has fizzled away.

Chris Heunis has gone, and his rickety structure of constitutional devices has collapsed into nothing more than Codesa, which costs not a fraction of the old Department of Constitutional Development and Planning. That alone

should have saved us billions, but it hasn't.

Iscor is a private company and so is Sasol. Armscor, SA Airways, the railway network and other enterprises which were once included, as government departments, among the burdens of the taxpayer are now supposed to pay their own way, and they put up their fees and charges ruthlessly. To go to hospital is to risk starving to death, and school fees drive mothers out to work.

The war in Angola has ended, and the administration of Namibia has been reduced to running a port. Nobody is building huge bases in Owamboland nor case-hardened highways for the army along the borders. Thousands of military flights across the sub-continent have been terminated.

Despite all this, however, the government does not shrink. It grows. As this newspaper pointed out last week, the abolition of the entire Department of Development Aid — the biggest apartheid bureaucracy of all — has saved not a single job. On the contrary, it has caused the public service to grow.

Not only has the government found make-work jobs — at the old salaries, of course — for 4 071 redundant public servants; it has also absorbed 5 224 people who used to work for the defunct SA Development Trust. Heaven knows what they all do, but they still draw their salaries, drive around in their Mercs, occupy their offices and spend our money on each other.

WHEN government departments do, on rare occasions, shrink, the results are hardly more comforting. In 1986 Chris Heunis's department employed 1 348 people to make constitutions that didn't work. Of these, 15 were in the top bracket, earning at least R55 100 a year (not to speak of their Mercedes-Benzes, their subsidised housing loans, their crooked pension scheme, their first-class air tickets and jaunts abroad, *ensovoorts*, *ensovoorts*).

Today that department has been cut down to a mere 189 people whose task includes such things as liaison with media, research and "stabilising" the

pension fund (whatever that may mean). That's progress, you might say — except that the number of officials in the top pay bracket has increased from 15 to 19, and that they now earn R101 500 or more.

To ask why it takes 19 highly paid mandarins to supervise 189 people when 15 used to supervise 1 348 people is naïve. Public servants protect each other by promoting each other — that is why our army is reputed to have more generals per soldier than any army since Napoleon III. Indeed, the military officers have more or less promoted each other out of fighting, a task which tends to be left to conscripts, or to Angolan refugees.

ANOTHER bureaucratic trick which we are seeing now is to ensure that budget cuts fall most heavily on the public — the hospital patients are dumped on to the floor and the roads are left to break up, but no senior fellow ever loses his job. The ensuing public outcry soon persuades the politicians to restore what they have cut from the Budget. The officials smile quietly.

To say that this is the worst government we have ever had is perhaps true, but petulant; to say that the ANC couldn't do worse than Mr Barend du Plessis in controlling government spending is also petulant, and perhaps untrue. What is true, however, is that the Nats will soon be handing over to the ANC a wondrous machine, an immense vacuum cleaner that sucks up money from people who work for a living, and dispenses it to those whose work is simply to dispense money.

Things can only get worse, people say gloomily as they survey the deprived masses clamouring for jobs, welfare, education, health and happiness from the nanny state that is about to be created. Perhaps so, but there will be one difference: the ANC proposes to confiscate from the rich and give to the poor; the Nationalists confiscate from the poor to give to the rich.

And that's a much more wicked way for a government to ruin a country.

KEN OWEN

The reign of terror

WINNIE Mandela's return to the headlines this week opened old wounds for a number of Sowetans who were victims of the reign of terror conducted by Mrs Mandela's "football club".

For well-known Orlando West activist Dudu Chili, whose children were branded "sell-outs" by Mrs Mandela, the anguish included returning to a gutted house — to hear that her niece, Finki Msomi, had died and that her daughter, Barbara, had been badly burnt in an attack by thugs from the football club.

Before that, her son, Sibusiso, known

Brendan Seery

in the dusty streets of Soweto as "Sponge", had earlier been hunted down "like a dog" by a three-man "hit squad" from the club. His attackers, who included the now fugitive witness, Katiza Cebukhulu, had at least one gun and were determined to kill him. As he grappled with them, his twin brother, Mbuso, came to his aid. In the life-and-death struggle, Sibusiso grabbed a pick handle and bludgeoned Maxwell Mando to death, for which he served a

year in prison.

Sibusiso's close friend, Lerotodi, was also labelled a "sell-out". Jerry Richardson, the club's coach and the man who was convicted of the murder of teenage activist, Stompie Moeketsi Seipei, had his comrades pin the luckless Lerotodi to the ground while he sat on the boy's chest and hacked open his throat with a pair of garden shears.

Left for dead, Lerotodi managed to crawl to a nearby hostel before collapsing. He survived.

The formation of the football club in 1985 was the start of a journey into a heart of darkness for the Chili family.

From township sources and friends of the family, the Sunday Tribune has reconstructed the story.

Contacted this week, a clearly nervous Mrs Chili refused to confirm or deny any of the details: "Please," she said, "I cannot say anything. I still have my sons and my daughters to think about."

Ironically, Mrs Chili may have been the inspiration behind the formation of the football club.

As a youth organiser in Orlando West, she often mobilised township teenagers to sort out domestic problems, settle arguments or recover stolen property. Mrs Chili was approached on one occasion by Mrs Mandela, who was trying to recover a BMW car which had been stolen from one of her relatives.

Nothing the ANC leader's wife had done had got her any closer to getting the car back, so Mrs Chili called in the youngsters who respected and obeyed her.

Within two days, the car had been recovered from a gang of township "tsotsis" who had stolen it.

As Mrs Mandela arrived to pick up the car, the youth were again "called out" to deal with an argument between a shebeen "king" and "queen", which threatened to deteriorate into a gun-

fight. After disarming two men who were flashing guns, the Orlando teenagers also found money which had been the source of the argument.

Mrs Mandela was apparently so impressed with the work of the youths she decided to form her own team of acolytes.

Her method was the formation of the football team. Many were tempted by her personality, plus the offer of good food, status and brand-new football kit and equipment. Many began "hanging out" at the Mandela home. Some didn't return home and Mrs Mandela reportedly put the word around that she was looking after the boys because their parents did not feed them.

Mrs Chili was one of a group of mothers who warned their offspring against going to the Mandela house or joining the football club. That led to the children being labelled "sell-outs". On one occasion, when Mrs Chili confronted Mrs Mandela about the allegations, the ANC leader's wife allegedly repeated them.

The label led to Sibusiso and others like him being hunted down by the club. That was the time of many unexplained murders and disappearances in the area.

Ironically, when the boys at the Mandela house started fleeing from Mrs Mandela's hospitality, they sought refuge with Mrs Albertina Sisulu — wife of ANC deputy leader, Walter — who passed them on to Mrs Chili. In a kombi in the dead of night, she would ferry the boys to safe houses around the townships. They could not go home for fear of the pursuing football club.

After her house was burnt down, Mrs Chili herself had to drop out of sight, being sheltered by ANC members in different houses around Soweto.

Eventually, though, fear got the better of her and she fled to a high-rise flat in central Johannesburg.

MIDNIGHT MAYHEM

THE battle-hardened soldiers of 32 Battalion say all they did was try to keep the peace in the East Rand's Phola Park squatter camp.

But more than 100 residents, most of them women, have a different story. They say they were shot, sexually assaulted, clubbed with rifle-butts, burnt, whipped or beaten by troops as they cowered in their homes.

Police have opened a murder docket in connection with one of the residents' deaths and are investigating the violence.

The soldiers were patrolling the area late on Wednesday when they heard gunfire. They entered Phola Park to investigate, said the officer commanding the Witwatersrand Command, Major-General WG Kritzinger.

"The troops were attacked without provocation and one of them was shot. The SADF then returned fire," he said.

"We are here to protect residents — we are not the aggressors."

He gave few other details, but residents' accounts filled in some of the gaps.

Nosakhele Komanisi, a 22-year-old pregnant mother, said she was woken by screams and gunfire at about 9pm. Praying the tumult would die down, she tried to hush her year-old baby at her side.

But minutes before midnight, the door of her shack burst open and two men in military uniform rushed in, shouting, "Where is your man?"

Before she could answer a rifle butt slammed hard into her head.

The horror did not end for Mrs Komanisi until the men had finished humiliating her.

"While the one soldier cradled my baby in his arms, the other grabbed my private parts," she said.

Bleeding

Momatus Gqunza, 32, died early on Thursday after being raped and shot in the legs, according to an affidavit from her husband, John Msimango, 52.

He said they had been woken by screams and hurried footsteps outside their shack, and suspected a police raid.

They took the precautionary measure of moving to the floor for safety but "as we were preparing to sleep on the floor, shots were fired into our shack and I was hit in both legs".

Hearing his wife's screams, he looked down and saw "both her legs completely fractured and held together by flesh".

Mr Msimango said he

**Sunday Times
Investigation**
By PETA KROST

was ordered to open his door for one white soldier and a number of black soldiers.

"Without saying anything, a black soldier hit me under the right eye with the butt of his gun while others were kicking me. I was dragged outside, leaving my wife with some of them."

Mr Msimango said he tried in vain to find help and returned to find "my wife lying on the floor, bleeding profusely with her panties off. She had been raped."

With what little energy he had left, he tried to help his wife.

"At dawn, she begged me to hold her and she passed away in my arms."

Kicked

In another part of the settlement, a young woman who shares a tiny shack with her mother and four-year-old son, says she, too, was raped.

The young woman said in her affidavit that her mother was forced out of the shack at gunpoint, and she was left alone with one soldier.

"He pushed me down and I begged him not to molest me, but he climbed on top of me, pushed my thighs apart and tore my panties. He held a gun to me and threatened to kill me if I made a sound. Then he raped me."

Cynthia Mnisi, 29, said she was dragged out of her home by four men and, when she tried to run away, was kicked repeatedly in the stomach, and her back burnt.

Phola Park looked like an open-air casualty ward on Friday morning, with frightened residents milling around with bandages on their heads and plaster casts on their limbs.

A number of residents said the soldiers had continued assaulting people until about 8am on Thursday and had threatened to return that night.

Police said in a statement they had received no official reports of violence in Phola Park on Wednesday

'While the one soldier cradled my baby in his arms, the other grabbed my private parts'

Sun. Times

12/4/92

day night. Soldiers are supposed to contact police "at the soonest possible moment" when trouble erupts in townships, a police spokesman said.

Major-General Kritzinger said police were not "immediately" notified because reaction time was crucial and 32 Battalion was "best equipped" to handle serious unrest.

Suspects

SADF spokesman Major Andreas Jordaan dismissed all the allegations against 32 Battalion as false. Nevertheless, Major-General Kritzinger said the SADF had launched an internal investigation into the alleged murders, rapes and assaults.

The SADF has also undertaken to hold an identification parade of 32 Battalion soldiers, allowing the alleged victims of the Phola Park to point out suspects, and is considering replacing the battalion in the area.

Sun Times 12/4/92

Exclusive: Stompie case driver's shock allegations

HOW I LIED TO SAVE WINNIE

A SECOND co-accused of Winnie Mandela in the Stompie kidnap trial has admitted he lied to protect her. Mrs Mandela's former driver, John Morgan, 64, told the Sunday Times in an exclusive interview this week that:

• Mrs Mandela ordered him to remove the body of murdered teenage activist Stompie Seipei from her house and "dump the dog".

• She was not in Brandfort on December 21 1988, when Stompie and three other youths were assaulted in a back room of her house in Diepkloof, Soweto, but was present and led the assault on them.

Mr Morgan has instructed a lawyer to seek indemnity and protection from the state in return for "telling the truth".

Adding to his statements, the lawyer has contacted Mr Dan Swaneep, the Witwatersrand deputy attorney-general, who was also the prosecutor in Mrs Mandela's trial.

In terms of the Criminal Procedure Act, Mr Morgan could file an application for the reopening of his trial on charges of assault and kidnapping to present the evidence he has withheld until now.

His claims cast an entirely new light on the case, in which Mrs Mandela was sentenced, 10 years after being found guilty of kidnapping and being an accessory to assault.

She claimed she was in Brandfort on the night in question and Mr Justice Steynmann found that this was reasonably possible.

Mr Morgan, who is in hiding in fear of his life, claims that he has never before disclosed the information about Stompie's body "because I was ashamed that I did not report it to the police at the time".

His claims follow those of another co-accused in the trial, Mrs Xoliswa Falati, who told a British newspaper last week that she had lied at the trial — though she later denied making the statement.

Her evidence came after an angry clash with Mrs Mandela, with whom she was lodging, over the timing of Mrs Falati's appeal.

Blood

Mr Morgan, who was convicted of kidnapping in the case, claims:

"One morning I got in the house early and I was told by Winnie to pick up the dog and dump him. I looked through the window of the back room and saw him (Stompie) lying there. I told Winnie I would never do something like this and went inside the house."

"I knew he was dead because he had already been stabbed and had blood on his neck."

He also alleges that:

• He drove the bus in which four youths were transported from the Orlando West Methodist Church to the house on the night of the assault because Mandela thought her car was too noisy.

• The youths were badly frightened when they arrived at Mrs Falati's daughter Nompumele's and three members of the Mandela United Football Club marched them up to the bus.

"They got on to the bus boys."

By DAWA GANKHOZEN

ing and saying with the others, but I could see their faces. The four boys, they were scared," says Mr Morgan.

On their return to Mrs Mandela's house they went into a back room, where a bitter argument erupted between Mr Morgan — who had taken a seat on the only chair in the room — and Richardson, who said the chair was reserved for "himself".

The contents of a statement made to the police after his arrest in February 1990 implicating Mrs Mandela in the assault were for the most part true, and not fabricated by the police, as Mr Morgan's defence claimed in court.

In the statement, Mr Morgan said Mrs Mandela struck the first blow by slapping 16-year-old Stompie. He entered the room and then verified the attack which followed.

Punched

This week, Mr Morgan gave a full account of events that night and of the days that followed, claiming:

"Mrs Mandela came into the room and started making the boys. Why do you sleep with a European, a Reverend ... do you let him ... you, you dogs?"

He says that in addition to slapping Stompie, she punched Stompie and Kenny Kpone. Then everybody started to hit them — Xoliswa, Nompumele, Jerry and the girls from the soccer club joined in.

They were in a circle around the boys. Winnie hit them with a spoon, not throwing one, but hitting them over the head of her. They started doing "break-downs" (lifting the boys above their heads and dropping them on to the ground) before they hit the ground there were already many kicks in their faces.

The beating continued for about 20 minutes, and Mrs Mandela left the room shortly before the assault ended. Mrs Falati said her husband told the boys to wipe the walls, while he went to the bathroom.

He says (allegedly) about the assault given by kidnapping victim Kenny Kpone and Thabisa Mase during Mrs Mandela's trial — which conflicts with that given by Mrs Mandela and Mrs Falati — was essentially correct.

Mr Morgan says that when he returned to the house the morning after the assault in his bus, he

Driver: I lied to save Winnie

From Page 1

any errands, the youths were in the back yard and Mrs Mandela was preparing to go to her office.

"The boys were sitting outside. Stompie's face was like a pumpkin, and his hands so swollen that he could not lift a cup of coffee," he says.

Mr Morgan says that after he was arrested and charged with the murder of Stompie, Mrs Mandela visited him in prison, brought him "a couple of rand" and told him not tell anyone what had happened.

"She said she would see me right later," Mr Morgan claims.

Nine months after his arrest, Mrs Mandela paid his bail, and on the day

of his release, hosted "a big party at her house and killed a sheep".

"Throughout the day, she kept telling me to say she was in Brandfort on December 29. She never threatened me, but I knew what happened to the other boys. I was afraid if I didn't lie," Mr Morgan says.

Ten days ago, Mr Morgan went into hiding, fearing reprisals once it became known that he was going to tell his story.

He decided to do so after Mrs Mandela and lawyer Dali Mpofu — a member of her defence team — turned down his request for funding of legal costs for his pending appeal against the kidnapping conviction.

"I approached Mrs Mandela for funds two weeks ago, but she refused

and directed me to the ANC offices to see Dali Mpofu. He said my case was not important and refused to give me money," Mr Morgan says.

Shortly afterwards, he received a letter from his lawyer, Katherine Satchwell, saying she had been unable to raise money to fund his appeal and could no longer act as his legal representative.

"I want to clear my name. People call me a child-beater. I am handling to feed my daughters and two grandchildren. Winnie used me and damped me," he says.

Mr Morgan was never called to testify during the trial in a "trial within a trial" on the admissibility of his statement, his defence claimed it had been made under duress.

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Sun Times 12/4/92

Secret bid to clear impasse

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators met secretly in Cape Town this week in an attempt to resolve the impasse over proposals for an interim government.

The participants explored possible areas of compromise between their conflicting proposals for interim rule which has caused a deadlock in Codesa negotiations over the past three weeks.

The meeting, held on Thursday morning, was attended by ANC negotiators Jacob Zuma and Mohammed Valli Moosa, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tuthis Delpert.

Spokesmen on either side were loath to discuss details of the meeting except to say that they had used the opportunity to flesh out their respective positions in an attempt to reach some sort of understanding.

This was the first bilateral meeting between the two parties since government negotiators unveiled their plans for an

Codesa group reach broad agreement on interim government

By EDYTH DULBRING, Political Reporter

appointed interim government three weeks ago.

The proposals were angrily rejected by the majority of participants in Codesa's Working Group Three, which is investigating transitional arrangements.

Progress

The working group this week appointed an 11-member technical committee, under the chairmanship of the Democratic Party's Ken Andrew, to try to break the impasse.

A committee member said yesterday that progress was made towards

reaching agreement on the two phases of interim government.

There was broad agreement that the first phase should be preparatory and should concentrate on levelling the playing field, while the second phase should be real transitional rule.

Progress was also made towards reaching a consensus that the various committees to be appointed in the first phase to oversee matters such as elections and control of security forces should not serve as an alternative executive to the Cabinet.

The committee member said the technical committee still needed to outline the functions of the preparatory councils and develop more clarity on how they would link with the executive.

Complex

Mr Andrew said yesterday that, while progress had been made in a number of important areas, it was a complex task and there was still a long way to go.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said: "I think we have all developed a clearer picture of the process and now we will have to find

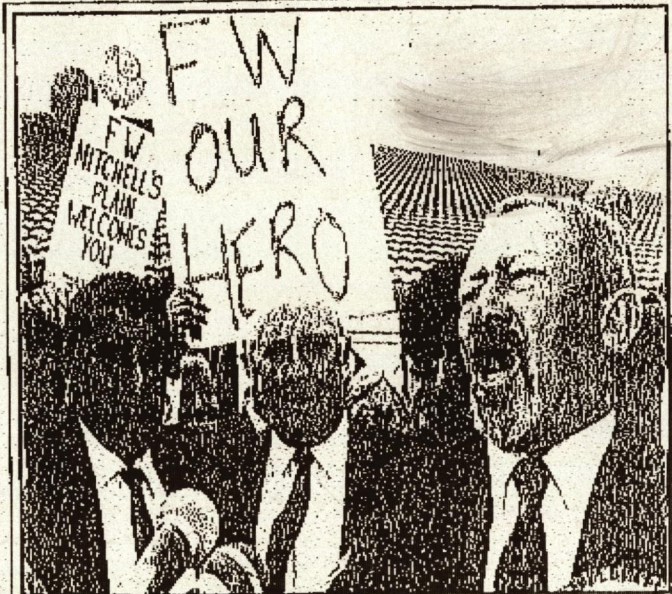
ways to make it work." The impasse developed over the extent of power to be exercised by the appointed interim authority, which will oversee the process towards elections for a constitution-making body.

The government has proposed the appointment of five preparatory councils to oversee elections, pin new provincial boundaries, draw up new municipal boundaries, make proposals on future government finances, and deal with housing and urbanisation issues.

The government wants these councils to have essentially advisory powers.

The ANC proposes an all-party interim government council to oversee the operation of the tri-cameral parliament, the Cabinet, the TBVC states and homeland governments.

The ANC's multi-party committees would have complete control over their areas of jurisdiction.



HOME IS THE HERO... President De Klerk struggles through the crowd to address NP supporters at a rally at Mitchell's Plain yesterday

Sun-Times 12/4/92

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This story was plainly irreconcilable with the facts. Newspaper photographs and television footage showed that some of the victims had been thrashed, probably with a sjambok, and others had injuries consistent with blows from rifle butts or metal bars. If the accusations of rape were, in the nature of things, hard to prove, the cartridge cases collected by the handful did suggest an overreaction by the troops.

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decent — Minister of Defence.

This was simply not good enough. The board of inquiry is a device to find low-ranking scapegoats; the real question which must be answered is whether, as in the case of the CCB, officers of the SADF have again failed to maintain proper control of the forces under their command. This is a serious charge, which has led in war crimes tribunals to the execution of a commanding officer, and it rests on what General Douglas MacArthur, in confirming a sentence of death on a Japanese foe, called "the soldiers' code".

"The soldier," he said, "be he friend or foe, is charged with the protection of the weak and the unarmed." Senior officers cannot escape culpability when their troops go on the rampage, and it is not sufficient for a board of military officers to seek out a couple of illiterate Angolan privates on whom to pin the blame for atrocities.

Certainly the officers who continue to shield the CCB cannot be trusted to conduct any inquiry into their own misdemeanours. Therefore, it is fortunate that, at the end of the week, Mr Roelf Meyer referred the matter to the Goldstone Commission. In the meantime, the troops should be withdrawn from police duties, for which they are neither properly trained nor adequately led, and the police should be strengthened at the expense of the SADF. It is time to abandon the methods of war in governing the country.

Sun Times 12/4/92

By DE WET POTGIETER
and CHRIS CHITANDA

AMID renewed calls for the extradition of Mrs Winnie Mandela's co-accused, Katiza Cebekhulu, from Zambia this week, his whereabouts were unclear.

Mr Cebekhulu disappeared on the eve of Mrs Mandela's trial last year and was subsequently reported to be in a Lusaka prison.

This week attempts to see him there failed when a prison warder said he was "a special case" and was not allowed visitors.

Zambia's Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, Lieutenant-Colonel Chanda Sosala, refused to comment on Mr Cebekhulu's whereabouts, referring inquirers to the immigration department, which was "aware of Cebekhulu's latest position".

However, chief immigration officer Clement Mbangweta said: "This is not our case. The ministry knows in whose hands he is."

Examined

An affidavit by Mr Cebekhulu, never tested in court, is being examined after the reopening this week of a police investigation into the murder of Soweto activist Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, shot dead in his Moroka surgery in 1989.

Mr Cebekhulu claims that Dr Asvat examined slain teenage activist Stompie Seipei at Mrs Mandela's house after he had been assaulted by members of the Mandela United Football Club.

Mr Cebekhulu says Dr Asvat "shook his head" while examining the youth and "spoke to Winnie in English" but, apart from the word "hospital", he could not hear what they said.

Then, he claims, "Winnie, Jerry, Themba and Sonwabo put paper in Stompie's mouth, put a rag around his mouth and tied it behind his head. They tied his

Mystery shrouds Winnie trial man

hands and feet with a rag as well.

"Jerry and Sonwabo put Stompie in the boot of a red car. Stompie was still alive. They drove away ..."

About five hours later, Mr Cebekhulu claims, Jerry, Themba and Sonwabo came back to Mrs Mandela's house and told her: "It is finished with Stompie."

One of the men convicted of Dr "Asvat's murder, Thulani Dhlamini, has told police in an affidavit that he and his accomplice were to have been paid R20 000 by Mrs Mandela for murdering the Azapo health secretary.

Both the Asvat family and Azapo have called for Mr Cebekhulu to be extradited.

In other developments this week:

● Mrs Mandela's co-accused, Xoliswa Falati, refused to comment on last week-end's reports in which she was quoted as saying that she and Mr Cebekhulu would give damaging evidence about Mrs Mandela and Dr Asvat's death.

● Police reopened their investigation into Mrs Mandela's alleged involvement in the disappearance of two Soweto youths from their homes in 1988.

Lolo Sono, 21, of Zone 10, Meadowlands, was last seen with members of the Mandela United Football Club on November 13.

Sun Times 12/4/92

Phola Park: Yes to probe

DEFENCE Minister Roelf Meyer will ask the Goldstone Commission to investigate the violence in the Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand.

Mr Meyer's announcement came after his meeting yesterday with the residents' committee and members of the ANC in Phola Park, three days after soldiers of 32 Battalion allegedly rampaged through the squatter camp, shooting, beating and raping residents.

He said he would ask the Goldstone Commission to probe all violence in the settlement, including the most recent events.

Residents had laid charges of rape and assault against members of 32 Battalion and police were investigating the allegations.

By PETA KROST

"The army will co-operate fully," he said.

He said that 32 Battalion would not be withdrawn from the area. However,

MIDNIGHT MADNESS Page 5

the soldiers allegedly implicated "would be withdrawn from the area until the investigation is over".

The SADF, he said, would also conduct an internal investigation into what happened on Wednesday night.

"The results of our inquiry

will be presented to the police," Mr Meyer said.

This was the first time since the troops were deployed in the area in April last year that their conduct had been questioned, he said.

"Since then the general situation in Thokoza township has calmed down a lot.

"We are proud of our soldiers and we want to make sure that the public is too," Mr Meyer said.

He appealed to all relevant institutions to help upgrade the conditions in Phola Park, which he said were "unacceptable".

"We will do whatever is necessary to rebuild a good relationship with the Phola Park community."

Sunday
Tribune
12-4-92

Chancellor warns against
radical forces at university



Mr Justice Ramon Leon, with his wife, Jacqueline, at his last graduation lunch as chancellor at Natal University yesterday.
Picture: Michelle Taylor

**DON'T
BOW
TO
ANARCHY**

Sunday Tribune
12-4-92

Janette Bennett

NATAL University chancellor, retired Supreme Court Judge Ramon Leon, yesterday challenged the university not to bow to anarchy or it would "whet the appetite for more blood".

Mr Justice Leon was speaking at the close of a week which saw him branded a "murderer" and a "hanging judge".

He was speaking at a lunch following a graduation ceremony at the Durban campus at which he was due to confer an honorary doctorate on ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela withdrew due to "reasons of state", but it is understood he was pressured not to attend to avoid an outcry over being capped by Mr Justice Leon, who, six years ago,

sentenced an ANC guerrilla, Amanzimtoti shopping centre bomber Andrew Zondo, to death.

It was learned that Mr Mandela was in Durban yesterday.

Mr Justice Leon held his silence while the controversy raged. But yesterday, after officiating for the last time after nine years as chancellor, he delivered a dignified and moving speech.

"I have been a liberal all my life," he said. "And now I find myself in the evening of my life being savagely attacked by radical forces on the left. I have been chancellor for six years since the case in question (the Zondo case) which is now suddenly resurrected in order to make an issue of something."

"One must bear such attacks with fortitude because it is the fate of liberals throughout the ages to be fair game for attacks from both sides."

However, "in the scheme of things", he was of "no importance whatsoever".

"What is of great and grave importance is the future of our university."

He was "painfully aware of the fragile nature of our society, of all its stresses and strains, of its inequalities and indeed of all its imperfections". Legitimate grievances and discrimination

should be dealt with through the correct channels.

Mr Justice Leon said it often became difficult to say what should be done.

"But I have far less difficulty in saying what should not be done. There are certain matters upon which there can be no compromise. Academic freedom is non-negotiable."

"I must warn against the dangers of any possible future policy of appeasement of radical forces bent on destruction."

"If you start pandering to the forces of anarchy, if you surrender a piece of academic freedom here, and a slice of university autonomy there, you will be on a slippery slope leading only to disaster at the end of which buildings will remain but the university as such will have ceased to exist."

"If you give in to anarchy you whet the appetite for more blood and more concessions. You do not solve the problem: you create further problems."

Mr Justice Leon said he had "been made into an issue today but the goalposts will be moved"

**I have been a liberal all my life.
Now I find myself being
savagely attacked by radical
forces on the left**

and next week it might be the turn of somebody else.

University principal and vice-chancellor Professor James Leatt said that in "this difficult week" Mr Justice Leon had "kept his cool and his calm". He had shown he would not be intimidated.

Mr Justice Leon had served the university "with distinction", and had made brave contributions while he was a lawyer, an advocate and a long-serving judge.

"He made judgments which changed the course in the way the law was understood and interpreted in this country," Prof Leatt said.

He had sought, with liberal colleagues, to "keep a semblance of the rule of law and justice" during times of detentions and disappearances of people.

It was "extraordinary" that Mr Justice Leon be called on now to justify himself.

Prof Leatt said the university was "never willing to yield to pressure" to ask Mr Justice Leon to step down from officiating at any graduation ceremonies.

TRIBUNE
A. Sunday ~~tribune~~ 12-4-92

Peta Thornycroft

The rule of fear

FEAR of Winnie Mandela, whether imaginary or justified, takes many forms, but with it, there is always silence.

Raw fear has sealed the mouths of churchmen, prominent political figures, lawyers and some journalists, all of them self-proclaimed democrats.

For different reasons, even the National Intelligence Service, which can leak like a sieve when it wants to, has kept its devious trap shut.

Or has it? The NIS and its phone-tapping associates in the South African Police probably know more than anyone about what has really been going on in the case of Mrs Mandela.

For some, as the *Sunday Tribune* discovered this week, fear is for their own safety or that of their children. People gripped by this kind of fear peer from behind net curtains to see who is at the door.

Journalists have to reassure them that whatever they reveal will not be sourced, that even if charged under section 205, reporters will go to prison rather than reveal their sources.

All this fear is fuelled by the memory of the Mandela Football Club, the bully boys Mrs Mandela gathered around her and who terrorised, raped and murdered.

Another thread of fear in the skein of allegations surrounding Mrs Mandela is the one connected with her husband, Nelson.

This fear is born out of respect for those 27 years he spent behind bars. It is the fear of adding to the pain of a life already so full of pain and the fear that a heart-broken Mr Mandela will not be able to function politically.

It is fairly safe to assume that not many friends, associates and members of the press have had an opportunity to ask Mr Mandela on a one-to-one basis: "Do you know? Have you heard? Is your marriage damaged by all of this? Is she suitable for her social welfare post? Isn't the ANC being damaged by allegations

about your wife?"

Then there is that old fear, jobsworth. How many in the hierarchy of the ANC, or those who used to form the leadership of the United Democratic Front and later the Mass Democratic Movement, have been heard to mutter mournfully about the disgrace that has befallen the organisation to which they committed their lives? Plenty of them have — but only off the record.

A step out of turn or a word out of place could end a political career. Maybe that's not so prevalent these days, but still no-one is speaking out on the record.

It's not just loyalty to Mr Mandela that keeps them silent. There is the fear of being seen to be doing the enemy's work, or worse, of being the enemy.

This is because the ANC regularly, and sometimes unfairly, gets a thrashing in much of South Africa's media, which are accused of using the Winnie factor and the state of the Mandela marriage to discredit and weaken the ANC.

There is also the fear that people who are talking behind closed curtains about the doings of the Mandela Football Club are themselves being used to damage the ANC.

Would this kind of fear, which is now three years old and centred on one woman, be tolerated elsewhere?

Certainly not in any ordinary democracy, but South Africa is nowhere close to that state of grace.

Sun. Star 12/4/92

'Football club' victims recall thugs' reign of terror

Brendan Seery

WINNIE Mandela's return to the headlines this week opened up old wounds for a number of Sowetans who were victims of the reign of terror conducted by the thugs of Mrs Mandela's "football club".

For well-known Orlando West activist Duda Chili — whose children were once labelled "sell-outs" by Mrs Mandela — the anguish included returning to a gutted house to hear her niece, Finkie Msomi, had died and her daughter, Barbara, had been badly burnt in an attack by the football club's members.

Her son, Silusiso (known in the dusty streets of Soweto by his nickname "Sponge") had earlier been hunted down by a "hit squad" of three young men from the football club.

His attackers — who included the now fugitive witness Katiza Cebukhulu — carried at least one firearm and were determined to kill him. As he grappled with them, his twin brother Mbuso came to his aid.

In the life and death struggle, Silusiso grabbed a pick handle and bludgeoned Maxwell Madondo to death. He later served a year in prison.

Silusiso's close friend, Lerotodi, was identified also by Mrs Mandela's squad of bodyguards as being a sell-out. Jerry Richardson, the club's coach who was convicted of the murder of teenage activist Stompie Seipei, had his comrades pin the luckless Lerotodi to the ground while he sat on the boy's chest and calmly slashed

open his throat with a pair of garden shears.

Left for dead, Lerotodi managed to crawl to a nearby hostel before collapsing. He survived.

The formation of the football club in 1985 was the start of a journey into a heart of darkness for the Chili family.

From township sources and friends of the Chili family, the Sunday Star has managed to reconstruct their brutal story.

Contacted this week, a clearly nervous Mrs Chili refused to confirm or deny any of the details of her family's story.

As a youth organiser in Orlando West, she often mobilised township teenagers to sort out domestic problems, settle arguments or recover stolen property. Mrs Chili

was approached on one occasion by Mrs Mandela, who was trying to recover a BMW car which had been stolen from one of her relatives.

Nothing the ANC leader's wife had done had got her any closer to getting the car back, so Mrs Chili called in the youngsters who respected and obeyed her.

Within two days, the car had been recovered from the gang of township "isisis" who had stolen it.

As Mrs Mandela arrived to pick up the car, the youths were again "called out" to deal with an argument between a sixteen "king" and "queen" which threatened to deteriorate into a gunfight.

After disarming two men who were flashing guns, the Orlando

teenagers also found a missing packet of money which had been the source of the argument.

Mrs Mandela was apparently so impressed with the work of the youth she decided to form her own team of acolytes.

Her method was the formation of the football team. Many were tempted by her personality, plus the offers of good food, status and brand-new football kit and equipment.

Many began "hanging out" at the Mandela home. Some didn't return home and Mrs Mandela reportedly put the word around that she was looking after the boys.

Mrs Chili was one of a group of mothers who warned their offspring against going to the Mandela house or joining the football

club. That led to the children being labelled "sell-outs".

Ironically, when the boys at the Mandela house started fleeing from Mrs Mandela's hospitality, they sought refuge with Albertina Sisulu — wife of ANC Deputy leader Walter — who passed them on to Mrs Chili.

In a kombi in the dead of night, she would ferry the boys to "safe houses" around the townships, because they could not go home for fear of the pursuing football club.

After her house was burnt down, Mrs Chili herself had to drop out of sight, being sheltered by ANC members in different houses around Soweto.

Eventually, though, fear got the better of her and she fled to a high-rise flat in central Johannesburg.

Sun. Star 12/4/92

'Sword of Damocles' hangs over Codesa 2

David Brer
Political
Correspondent

NEGOTIATIONS at Codesa could be on the verge of collapse because of South Africa's continuing plague of political violence, Government sources have warned.

The Government this week gave notice at Codesa that it was placing an April 30 deadline over the future of Codesa 2 — the second plenary ses-

sion of the convention due to be held on May 15 and 16.

Unless sufficient progress is made in combating violence by the end of this month, it will be impossible to discuss interim government arrangements meaningfully in time for Codesa 2.

In addition, the Government meeting at a secret retreat in the Cape, discussed drastic action to be taken to counter the

violence.

President F W de Klerk could give further pointers when he addresses Parliament after Easter. Mr de Klerk announced in Nigeria this week that the Government would introduce new measures to curb violence.

Government sources said that the continued legality of "private armies" on both the Left and Right could not continue.

Minister of Justice Koble Coetsee this week announced that he would recommend that the Government take further drastic steps to counter violence.

Codesa sources fear that any drastic Government action such as a clampdown on "private armies" or the declaration of a state of emergency could have a devastating effect on the convention.

The ANC/SA Communist Party alliance insisted on the removal of the previous state of emergency before they would negotiate. And any move to curb ANC armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) could cause a major blow-up at Codesa.

This week the Government warned that there would be little point in

holding Codesa 2 unless sufficient progress was made by the end of this month in two key forums on political violence.

● The Government has reported that there had been disappointing progress on the Codesa working group dealing with the creation of a climate for free political participation.

● The Government also insists that there must be sufficient progress before the end of this month in its bilateral negotiations with the ANC on ending its armed struggle and disbanding MK. It says progress in this regard has also been disappointing.

The disclosure that MK had given its members maps of hidden arms caches in case Codesa fails, further heightened

tensions this week.

The Government's latest 'Sword of Damocles' warning looms over the newly formed 11-man technical committee set up to try to sort out the web of contradictions between the ANC and Government proposals for interim government.

The ANC wants an executive interim government council to dictate the terms in the first phase of transition. The Government, in turn, wants only "preparatory councils" with little executive power, to be set up in the first phase.

The technical committee met late this week, but even if it makes progress in finding a compromise, this will be of little avail unless the crisis looming over the security issue is solved.

Sun. Star 12/4/92

Nelson thinks she's innocent and won't abandon her

Allister Sparks

THE marriage may be finished but Nelson Mandela will not abandon Winnie. He did not announce his intention to seek a legal separation last week as expected because of new allegations against his wife.

Sources close to the family say he feels a deep sense of commitment to her because of the way she stood by him through his 27 years in prison and will not abandon her when she is facing a crisis.

I was told the marriage has not broken down because Mandela believes his wife is guilty — he is convinced she is innocent — but because of huge stresses on a relationship that has never been normal since their wedding 34 years ago.

Capping this are reports of an

affair between Mrs Mandela and a young lawyer, Daluxolo Mpofo, her deputy in the ANC's social welfare department.

While he is standing by her, it is clear Mandela disapproves of his wife's headstrong behaviour, which has landed her in so much trouble and embarrassed both him and the ANC. He has pleaded and remonstrated and finally given up over her failure to restrain herself.

The Mandelas have been living apart since November, initially for security reasons after he received an assassination warning. The separation became permanent when Mandela learnt of the relationship with Mpofo.

After he had waited for his daughter Zinzi's engagement party on March 20, friends expected him

to announce last Monday that he was taking steps to obtain a legal separation from Winnie. But the new allegations broke at the weekend and he backed off.

It is widely known that Mandela feels a deep sense of guilt at having abandoned Winnie and his two small daughters when he went to prison for his political cause. His letters from prison reveal this.

Writing to her in 1985 of the love he felt in response to her support he said: "I have wondered whether any kind of commitment can ever be sufficient excuse for abandoning a young and inexperienced woman in a pitiless desert, literally throwing her into the hands of highwaymen, a wonderful woman without her pillar and support at times of need."

In my first interview with Mandela after he was released in February 1990, he said that on his first day with Winnie he had assured her that "never again will you have to face any crisis on your own".

That, friends believe, is why he withheld the announcement of the separation as the fresh crisis broke around her. He remains convinced of her innocence. "Nelson is satisfied that Winnie will be acquitted when her appeal is heard next year," a friend said.

Meanwhile, Koliwa Falati, a one-time friend and co-accused whose statements to the British Sunday Times and other newspapers led to the new wave of allegations against Mrs Mandela, has now withdrawn them.

At her trial with Mrs Mandela

on kidnapping and assault charges last year, she denied that either of them was involved in beating up three black youngsters, one of whom, Stompie Sepel, was later killed by Mrs Mandela's bodyguard, Jerry Richardson, who has been sentenced to death for the murder.

In the press interviews, which followed a bitter row with Mrs Mandela, she claimed Winnie was involved in the murder of a Soweto doctor, Dr Abu-Bakar Asvat, who she said had seen the battered Sepel before he was taken away and killed. Now in another interview, Koliwa has denied knowledge of that and other allegations she made against Mrs Mandela. — The Observer.

● Winnie feared — Page 16

Sun Star 12/4/92

Still defiant, she calls for mass action

Brendan Seery

SHE may be backed into a corner, but Winnie Mandela came out fighting yesterday with stirring "people's power" talk at a march in Warmbaths, serving notice that she is a long way from being knocked out politically.

The "Mother of the Nation" seemed untouched by the allegations and bad publicity of the past 10 days, and tore into the Government, warning President de Klerk that the march was "only the beginning" of widespread "mass action" to bring about democracy.

After police in the farming town cut short the march before it reached the police station, and after demonstrators' tempers simmered, Mrs Mandela warned that those who tried to stand in the way of the people would be "sorry they were born".

Mrs Mandela told the policemen who had curtailed the march: "We will turn around this time. But this is the last time you will stop us."

About 2 000 people — many of them toyi-toying and singing the praises of "Ma-Mandela" — roared "Viva" and "Amandla" when Mrs Mandela shouted: "We have been pushed and pushed too far!"

The march, called to protest against the imposition of VAT on basic foodstuffs, turned into a propaganda success for Mrs Mandela.

Sun Star 12/4/92

ANC turmoil over Winnie

Brendan Seery

THE ANC has been plunged into turmoil over how to deal with the Winnie Mandela hot potato, precipitating one of the gravest crises the organisation has faced since Nelson Mandela's release in February 1990.

In a week in which alleged ANC human rights abuses abroad were resurrected by the conservative-leaning International Society for Human Rights (ISHR), senior members of the ANC urged Mr Mandela to distance himself from his

Mandela 'urged to distance himself from wife'

wife to limit damage to its image — a step which widened the rift between the pro and anti Winnie camps.

"It's appalling" said one senior National Executive Committee (NEC) of the saga, while another remarked: "This simply cannot go on".

NEC members are hoping Mr Mandela will issue a statement this coming week about his wife. It is understood he was to have made the statement last week, but closed ranks with Winnie in the face of

the barrage of adverse publicity.

Although a divorce is not on the cards, anti-Winnie NEC members say a separation would "be the best for all".

Senior members of the NEC are known to be fuming, particularly about a hard-hitting statement issued by the National Working Committee and signed by Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa, which hinted darkly that the publicity was all part of a sinister plot to destroy the ANC.

"You can't smash the mirror be-

cause you don't like what you see" snorted one senior NEC member.

"What conspiracy? I don't feel threatened. We have to come clean with this whole thing. We cannot be seen to be defending this woman," he added.

The Ramaphosa statement — which he is understood to have signed out of duty and not conviction — came at the same time as confirmation from the organisation that the resources of its sensitive "Special Projects Department" had been used to split at

least one of the witnesses in Mrs Mandela's trial out of the country.

Utilisation of the underground network was made without knowledge or authorisation of the head of Special Projects, Umkhonto we Sizwe senior commander Tokyo Sexwale.

Old-guard ANC members like Alfred Nzou, and some of those who returned from exile have been the backbone of defence for Winnie, more through loyalty to her husband than belief in her.

The "Mother of the Nation" is

also known to have support in the ranks of the youth, the "angry young men" of the townships that the ANC cannot afford to isolate.

But, there is a growing anti-Winnie lobby, led mainly by the former "internal" wing members and former Robben Island prisoners, which is becoming increasingly vocal.

One of the NEC members in the anti-Winnie faction said: "The ANC did not do any of these things. None of them were done in the name of the ANC. The organisation is not on trial. But people are going to start believing that if we don't distance ourselves from her."

Only one way to accommodate MK

PRESS speculation has been rife over the past few days concerning a solution to the thorny problem of the disbandment of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and a final end to the "armed struggle".

Several editorials and leading articles suggested that agreement has been reached, or at least substantial progress made, regarding the integration of MK into the SADF, although Minister Roelf Meyer has denied this assumption. The Minister stressed that the security forces stand as the bulwark between security and progress on the one

hand and disorder and chaos on the other. He added that the SADF is the instrument which now, during the transitional phase and after the implementation of a new constitution, must fulfil an anchor role in protecting stability.

Military writers have pointed out that there is a vast disparity between the prowess, professionalism, organisation and discipline of the SADF when compared to MK's irregular "rag-tag" force.

Taking all the differing views into account, it would seem that there is only one solution that

would accommodate MK but allow the SA Defence Force to remain as our bastion against anarchy. Those MK members who opt for a military career could be brought in at the induction phase, as soldiers or candidate officers according to their experience, be thoroughly retrained and then have the opportunity to compete on merit for promotion.

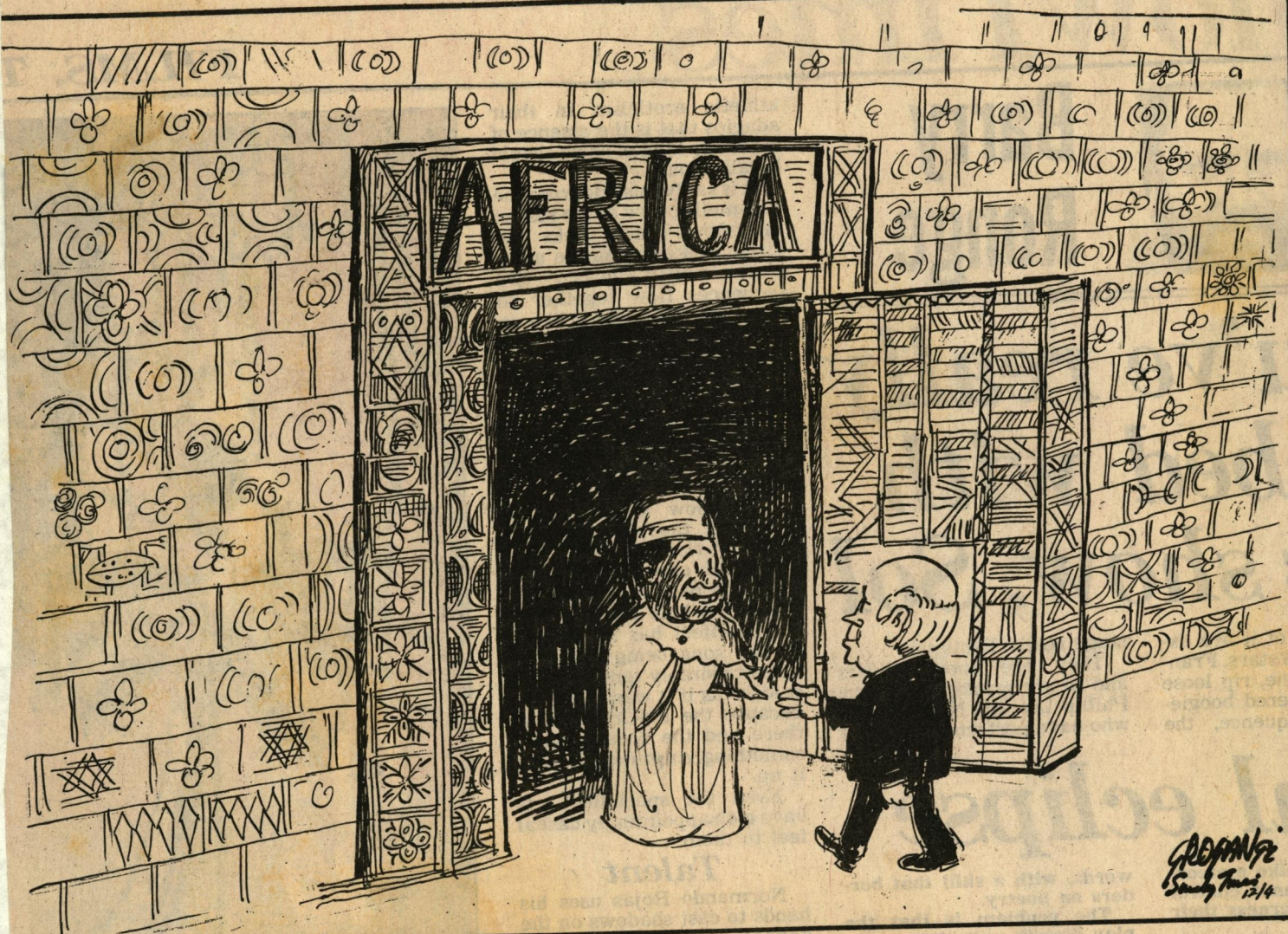
Any attempt to just slot them into the rank structure from top to bottom would not meet the Minister's well-defined criteria.

A Sutton

Pretoria

San Star 12/4/92

Sunday Times 12-4-97



Driver: I lied to save Winnie

□ From Page 1

ary errands, the youths were in the back yard and Mrs Mandela was preparing to go to her office.

"The boys were sitting outside. Stompie's face was like a pumpkin, and his hands so swollen that he could not lift a cup of coffee," he says.

Mr Morgan says that after he was arrested and charged with the murder of Stompie, Mrs Mandela visited him in prison, brought him "a couple of rand" and told him not tell anyone what had happened.

"She said she would see me right later," Mr Morgan claims.

Nine months after his arrest, Mrs Mandela paid his bail, and on the day

of his release, hosted "a big party at her house and killed a sheep".

"Throughout the day, she kept telling me to say she was in Brandfort on December 29. She never threatened me, but I knew what happened to the other boys. I was afraid if I didn't lie," Mr Morgan says.

Ten days ago, Mr Morgan went into hiding, fearing reprisals once it became known that he was going to tell his story.

He decided to do so after Mrs Mandela and lawyer Dali Mpofu — a member of her defence team — turned down his request for funding of legal costs for his pending appeal against the kidnapping conviction.

"I approached Mrs Mandela for funds two weeks ago, but she refused

and directed me to the ANC offices to see Dali Mpofu. He said my case was not important and refused to give me money," Mr Morgan says.

Shortly afterwards, he received a letter from his lawyer, Katherine Satchwell, saying she had been unable to raise money to fund his appeal and could no longer act as his legal representative.

"I want to clear my name. People call me a child-beater. I am battling to feed my daughters and two grandchildren. Winnie used me and dumped me," he says.

Mr Morgan was never called to testify during the trial. In a "trial within a trial" on the admissibility of his statement, his defence claimed it had been made under duress.

By DE WET POTGIETER
and CHRIS CHITANDA

AMID renewed calls for the extradition of Mrs Winnie Mandela's co-accused, Katiza Cebekhulu, from Zambia this week, his whereabouts were unclear.

Mr Cebekhulu disappeared on the eve of Mrs Mandela's trial last year and was subsequently reported to be in a Lusaka prison.

This week attempts to see him there failed when a prison warder said he was "a special case" and was not allowed visitors.

Zambia's Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, Lieutenant-Colonel Chanda So-sala, refused to comment on Mr Cebekhulu's whereabouts, referring inquirers to the immigration department, which was "aware of Cebekhulu's latest position".

However, chief immigration officer Clement Mbangweta said: "This is not our case. The ministry knows in whose hands he is."

Examined

An affidavit by Mr Cebekhulu, never tested in court, is being examined after the reopening this week of a police investigation into the murder of Soweto activist Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, shot dead in his Moroka surgery in 1989.

Mr Cebekhulu claims that Dr Asvat examined slain teenage activist Stompie Seipei at Mrs Mandela's house after he had been assaulted by members of the Mandela United Football Club.

Mr Cebekhulu says Dr Asvat "shook his head" while examining the youth and "spoke to Winnie in English" but, apart from the word "hospital", he could not hear what they said.

Then, he claims, "Winnie, Jerry, Themba and Sonwabo put paper in Stompie's mouth, put a rag around his mouth and tied it behind his head. They tied his

HOW I LIED TO SAVE WINNIE

P.T.O.