

26-02-89

SUNDAY TIMES

# Perspectives

## R.I.P.

### Has Winnie Mandela sounded the death knell of protest politics?

The two approaches imply different strategies. Protest politics does not need concrete gains — indeed, if changes are won, this might weaken the force of protest.

#### **Ideal**

But organisation does; people only gain confidence to press for bigger changes if they win smaller ones. Concessions by the authorities — and negotiation to achieve them — therefore weaken protest, but strengthens organisation. Protest tactics are, therefore, more likely to be uncompromising, but far less likely to achieve change.

They also demand different types of leadership. High-profile

IS THE Winnie Mandela saga merely a passing drama or a possible watershed in black anti-apartheid politics? Time will tell; but the affair does have a bearing on a key strategic divide in extra-parliamentary politics.

For years, the dominant style of black resistance to apartheid has relied on protest and mass mobilisation. The aim was to show as dramatically as possible that white rulers did not enjoy the support of the black ruled: the emphasis was on high-profile action which often seemed an end in itself.

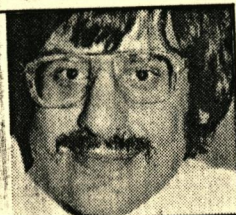
But, in the past 10 years, a different style has begun to emerge.

Its pioneers were the trade unions but, since the mid-1980s, it has won increasing support among community groups affiliated to the United Democratic Front. This approach relies on organised action by ordinary people to win change.



## Steve Friedman

*of the South African Institute of Race Relations discusses the implications of the recent upheavals in black politics*



leaders who are not responsible to anyone are ideal protest politicians. But organisation needs leaders who are responsible to those who chose them: People won't take action which requires sacrifice, unless they have played a part in deciding to act.

### Weakened

This divide influences many of the strategic debates in movements, such as the UDF, over taking part in government structures, negotiation, or forming alliances with business or the white opposition. At present the two approaches exist side by side, but the organisations' more patient and subtle strategy has been gaining ground.

The more it does, the leaders who aren't chosen by a constituency will be weakened. Winnie Mandela is one such figure — a point made both by the organisations who denounced her and by the UDF. But she is by no means the only one.

Before the Winnie affair,

there was an uneasy relationship between these figures and the UDF and its allies.

The movement's leaders were often irritated by the influence of people without a constituency but insisted this was necessary — they were symbols, here and abroad, and a political movement needs symbols.

This attitude was partly shared by the ANC which, for some time, had been privately distancing itself from Mrs Mandela, but would not do so in public because of her symbolic influence abroad.

Recent events have shown that symbols aren't always useful — and that they are far less reliable than democratic organisation: The ANC's response, which was seen to be reasonably sympathetic to Mrs Mandela, stressed that she should become a member of organised movements and should be subjected to their discipline.

A side issue is what the incident shows about ANC influence on internal black politics. Over

the past few years, the banned movement has acquired much greater influence — it now meets internal leadership reasonably regularly in Lusaka and can discuss strategies with it.

In contrast to claims by government spokesmen, its influence is sometimes exerted in favour of more "moderate" strategies. But there are limits to its ability to influence events from a distance: If its advice to incorporate Mrs Mandela is ignored, this will show how great these are.

### Setback

The affair is a setback for unaccountable leaders because it shows they can damage — and be called to account by — movements which have supported

them. But its significance will depend on whether the principle is applied to other figures who pronounce on anti-apartheid strategies without a mandate to do so.

It will probably take more than an incident of this sort to decide the debate: The politics of protest — with the latitude it gives to high-profile figures — is likely to continue to co-exist with the politics of grassroots organisation.

But the incident does hold an important lesson — that unaccountable leaders are more likely to be brought to account by organised groups within their own camp than by state security action. If black organisation were allowed to operate freely, the scope for this sort of leadership might be considerably reduced.

SUNDAY TIMES

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Winnie Mandela ... her  
symbolic influence  
abroad stopped ANC  
from breaking with her  
openly

SUNDAY TIMES

26-02-89





# Sunday Times

**THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE**

## PW: It is time we were told

26-02-89 J

**T**HE curious way in which news about President Botha's illness is being managed is causing undoubted — and needless — strain in political circles and well beyond. There is much sympathy for an elderly man who has taken ill after a lifetime of public service. Even his opponents share a wish that his recovery will permit him to return to office so that his retirement — now, surely, not too long off — can take place in a fittingly dignified manner.

Yet, 40 days after Mr Botha's stroke, bulletins about his health, while encouraging, are irregular, cryptic and disclose nothing about his plans. To obtain any hint of his intentions, the public has been obliged to read between the lines of spoon-fed reports appearing in certain newspapers. Contact with his senior associates seems rare and there has not even been a reassuring note to his caucus.

The result: uncertainty about many pressing issues. When is the election? Will the main Budget come before or after — a decision with serious implications for an economy in a speed-wobble?

A praiseworthy reformist spirit has lately surfaced in important fields ranging from group areas to security, but is this merely a temporary "Prague spring" initiated by those governing in his absence?

Black, coloured and Indian leaders, should they even be contemplating serious constitutional

negotiations, are left wondering whether they will shortly be dealing with a new man at the top, and when. Ditto for leaders in foreign capitals. The list of questions is endless, disquieting — and quite unnecessary.

A man who is well enough to flit back and forth to George and to make fairly frequent visits to his office must now surely be fit enough to display greater candour about his plans. Thus far, the only indications have surfaced in an apparently authorised newspaper report saying he *would* return to office, but probably only after Easter. Must government, and the public it is supposed to serve, remain virtually on hold until then? Is it fair on Mr Botha's successors to leave matters hanging for so long?

In any Western country it is doubtful whether the public would display as much forbearance in the face of such secretive behaviour. In a country facing as many critical problems as ours, it must not be allowed to continue.

As he contemplates his future, Mr Botha can take comfort from the manner in which public affairs have generally been conducted during his absence. But he risks forfeiting sympathy within his own party and outside if he persists in clothing a matter of the highest public interest in unjustifiable and seemingly calculated mystery.



# Words that will startle the world

HOW fragile are reputations built on hype. After being hailed as Queen of Africa, Mrs Winnie Mandela is revealed as an idol with feet of clay.

As her husband languished in jail she was built up in Europe and America as the proud symbol of resistance to apartheid.

But she never commanded quite the same allegiance among her own people and today what reputation she had with them is in tatters.

Before Christmas, black activist leaders urged her to disband her bodyguard of thugs who call themselves the Nelson Mandela Football Team. She refused, believing that the magic of Mandela's name gave her licence to do what she wanted.

Now three of her bodyguards face charges of abduction, assault and murder—and the odium has rubbed off on her. Reality has caught up with Winnie Mandela.

But in South Africa today reality is catching up with everyone. I have just spent two weeks there, and her rude awakening is symptomatic of what is happening from coast to coast in southern Africa.

President Gorbachev recognised reality when he saw there was no future in waging a stalemate war in neighbouring Angola with Cuban troops and Russian advisers.

President Botha recognised reality when he acknowledged that the cost of fighting in Angola and holding Namibia was more than the South African economy could bear.

## CEASEFIRE

So a deal was struck for a ceasefire, withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops, and freedom for Namibia. Elections under the UN will be held there later this year.

Yet these changes are as nothing compared with the fresh breeze that is now sweeping through the ruling National Party.

President Botha's resignation as party leader three weeks ago after suffering a



by **26 FEB 89**  
**GEORGE GARDINER MP**

stroke has lifted the lid from a seething cauldron of pressure for far more sweeping reforms than those he began four years ago, before sanctions pressure from the West led to a white backlash.

The futility of five million whites trying to rule 20 million blacks who have no constitutional rights yet do have growing economic power, has caught up with the National Party.

## DETAINED

I had a long discussion last week with Mr F W de Klerk who has stepped into Mr Botha's shoes as party leader and is certain to succeed as President—and there is no doubt he means business.

"We must create a new South Africa, free of domination by anyone," he told me. "White domination must go."

"There must be a genuine sharing of power by all races. We will soon take the initiative and put forward proposals for discussion."

Even the Group Areas Act, the final bastion of white social supremacy, will be for negotiation.

Meanwhile the Law and Order Minister is steadily releasing blacks detained without trial. Even their lawyers have been amazed by the understanding he has shown.

I have no doubt that after an

early election Nelson Mandela will be freed too—and then the door will really be open for negotiation with black leaders like Chief Buthelezi.

I met Buthelezi. He could never stomach Botha, but will certainly negotiate with de Klerk once Mandela is released.

Reality has also caught up with black activists in most of the townships. Gone is the dream of three years ago that a wave of riots and strikes could topple the whites from power.

Nor is there any illusion that economic sanctions will do the trick either. All they can achieve is black unemployment. Those in the West who still argue for sanctions are two years behind the times.

Even as the Government's reform programme stalled, a quiet revolution was under way in the workplace.

## INFORMAL

In the coal industry I watched black apprentices training alongside whites for skilled jobs reserved, only a year or so ago, for whites, and on identical rates of pay.

Yet the greatest advance for blacks lies in the economic clout they have won for themselves. In modern South Africa they command increasing purchasing power.

Their informal economy grows by leaps and bounds. Their mini buses are the

**‘We must create a new South Africa. White domination has to go’**

—NATIONAL PARTY LEADER F W DE KLERK

fastest growing industry, followed by street trading. Small provisions shops are run from side rooms; building materials are sold from back yards.

All increase employment. And black economic power is paving the way for political power too. The entrepreneurs are achieving where the rioters failed.

Yet there is so much still to do. There are ever more black mouths to feed, ever more minds reaching out for education. Half the black population is under 17. Only an expanding economy can meet their needs.

## MOTIVES

There is so much enterprise, but a dearth of capital to get it going.

I looked at small projects our embassy has funded in the squatter camps around Cape Town—gifts of sewing machines to start a dress-making business, or of tools to start joinery shops. But this is just skimming the surface.

What blacks need above all for their advancement is investment, in big industries and small. Yet the whole point of sanctions and American disinvestment is to deny it to them.

The policy may spring from the best of motives—but could it be more cruel in its effect? Perhaps it is time that we in the West let the reality in South Africa catch up with us too.

That old wind of change is blowing again. This time let us help it on its way.



# Afrikaners in search of their own Taiwan

SUNDAY TIMES 26-02-89

TO ridicule or reject out of hand Carel Boshoff's proposal for an Afrikaner homeland is to miss out on a potentially serious contribution to a future settlement in South Africa.

Because the idea is not absurd, although the practical implications are forbidding.

One need not make a judgment on it but one needs to understand that a central theme of Afrikaner thinking is the desire to go on being an Afrikaner, to survive as an entity.

It was this which was, and still is, the underlying theme in all policies of Afrikaner-dominated governments and political parties.

It is not primarily race-based, although race does enter into it.

There are those among the Afrikaners who feel they can survive in a multi-racial, or a non-racial, South Africa — some feel they need special group

## Harald Pakendorf

sees the brighter side of an Afrikaner homeland



protection for this, others do not even want that.

But survive as Afrikaners they want to do.

There are also those, however, who feel the only safety for the Afrikaner lies in his right to rule a piece of land which he can call his own. There are various strands in this line of thinking — from those who want to go back to separate development, those who want to make the Transvaal, Free State and northern Natal all-white or better all-Afrikaner, and then there are the more realistic ones who look elsewhere.

It is among these that

Carel Boshoff is seen as a leader.

Son-in-law of the late Hendrik Verwoerd, former professor of theology, strong Afrikaner nationalist, head of the Volkswag — which is sometimes seen as the cultural front for the Conservative Party.

## Reason

His proposal is that Afrikaners look to a homeland in the northern Cape and southern Namibia. It's a barren, under-developed and under-populated area. And that is why Boshoff has chosen it.

It's not as yet Afrikaner-

dominated although Afrikaners is the dominant and almost only language in the region. There are people of colour, but Boshoff recognises that they cannot simply be thrown out. He will negotiate with them.

And that is what is important about Boshoff. He is reasonable in his approach — and his reason is driving him willy-nilly towards that which he and his could otherwise not have accepted.

He is not saying that all Afrikaners will up and trek to his barren "Dorsland" and live happily for ever. No, he expects some Afrikaners, let us say 250 000, to gradually settle there. The rest will stay on in South Africa.

A South Africa which he clearly accepts will be non-racial, with a government which is predominantly black — it's the very reason why he wants to trek!

More than that, though, he has a vested interest in

seeing to it that the non-racial South Africa is prosperous and peaceful. If not, too many people may want to come to his homeland — which is what he does not want.

He now says that although Dr Andries Treurnicht has rejected his idea he will go on aiding the CP to oust the National Party and then negotiate with it about his "Dorsland".

Deep down he knows, though, that after a CP takeover from the National Party, its policies will lead to violent revolution and massive foreign intervention. He has already written that is what will happen.

Clearly, it makes sense for him not to put his hopes in the CP but rather on the future wielders of power in non-racial, South Africa — which will undoubtedly include the ANC, the UDF, maybe Inkatha, the PAC, also the Labour Party and the National Party.

And Swapo in Namibia.

## Wise

It would be wise if Dr Boshoff were to negotiate with all of these right now. It would put him in the best possible position to get his homeland.

He will explain, or possibly could explain, his position along the following lines: For a Jew to live in New York is fine because he knows there is an Israel. It does not mean he wants to move there, but psychologically it is tremendously important that there is an Israel.

Thus also, it's not necessary for all Afrikaners to move to the homeland. But it's important for all of them that there is such a homeland, a place which is their own.

They will still go on living in non-racial South Africa, making up part of a non-racial government perhaps, making their valued contribution.

And anyway, the settlement and growth of the homeland need not and will not happen overnight. It will take time, it will be a gradual process but it will mean that a potentially dissident element in a future non-racial South Africa will have a psychological back door.

## Problem

That could be seen as a major contribution to the future well-being of all in southern Africa.

But it won't work, most will say.

To which Dr Boshoff could reply: Let that be our problem. Let us begin to gradually develop the area along the Olifants and Orange rivers, slowly begin to move branches of companies there, also of educational institutions — let us begin to build the kind of infra-structure which will attract enough Afrikaners to make this a new kind of high-tech Taiwan, living on its wits, its exports and its contribution to southern Africa as a region.

Put in this manner, it almost sounds exciting, and could be exciting for some.

The idea should not just be pushed aside as ridiculous. It's an attempt to make a contribution to the solution of all our problems and deserves to be taken seriously.



Brezhnev who had similar tastes?) In a car, says Mrs De Klerk, "he's like a purring cat".

Actually, she did quite a bit of such prompting. I wouldn't say it was exactly a double act, but Marike de Klerk seemed to know exactly when to add an explanatory note to one of her husband's statements, even when to answer a question for him.

It was she, he said, who had got him to loosen up on TV: Having watched his performances closely and critically, she told him to stop trying to be "so earnest", just to relax and be himself. Certainly, he now handles the medium with an urbanity that some of his more thunderous colleagues lack.

## Romeo

Marike de Klerk, who said her husband, while at Potchefstroom University, was "one of the campus Romeos", is formidably astute. A BComm graduate, she decided early on in their married life that the one-family-two-careers scenario was "too gruelling", and has since devoted her considerable energies to ad-

# FW: Passion for fast cars and desserts

vancing her husband's fortunes.

She obviously no longer needs to work at a funeral firm to support him, as she did while he was an articulated clerk; she was, instead, playing an in-house role — "looking at things as a member of the public would" and then questioning him from that vantage point.

I suspect she had played a major part in persuading her husband that a rather more personal, intimate interview than he had been used to giving to political journalists might be no bad thing for his career. (Look, folks, the man is human!)

She grasped immediately what the photographer was getting at with his rather peremptory demand for

some tea — and cake — to add interest to the foreground of his picture, and though the family was in the throes of packing up to move to Pretoria, rustled up a highly photogenic spread.

Later, to satisfy our need for a more informal portrait, she obligingly unpacked some frozen chops, wors, a glass of red wine and the ministerial braaifork which FW patiently brandished in what we hoped was convincing fashion.

He had equally obligingly complied with my request to take off his suit and slip into something more comfortable — casual slacks and a golfing shirt (his handicap was then 19). Modern politicians, and particularly one who stresses

his horror of being thought pompous ("which I'm not"), recognise and use their photo opportunities.

Strangely, none of our pictures, nor any other I have seen, really capture the slightly battered nose which adds a rakish nuance to FW de Klerk's otherwise smooth, even bland, features.

This harks back to a university hockey accident serious enough to call for three corrective operations.

## Reaction

The hairs on his head have always attracted more attention. For years jokers have been prophesying that his baldness is a sign that he is to be the next Prime Minister — all of them since Verwoerd have been short on hair.

His roar-of-laughter reaction when I related this theory was indeed non-pompous, as was his cheerful admission that he began to go bald at 30.

Which, it may be appropriate to note, was much sooner than Mr Barend du Plessis, who in turn appears to be thinning on top more rapidly than Messrs Heunis and Pik Botha.

I WONDER if the FW de Klerk household is still guarded, in fairly intimidating style, by a dog named Patrysie?

It was she who stopped a photographer and me in our tracks, with a barrage of shrill barks, at the ministerial front door some years ago when we arrived to interview the rising star of the National Party.

Following the sound and fury downwards — to around ankle level — we saw that though our adversary was a teapot-sized creature with legs like pipe cleaners, she was not to be trifled with. This was no lightweight Chihuahua or similar yapdog, as her master was quick to point out. This was a dwarf Doberman. I wonder, too, if the

## Erica Platter

reminisces about a past interview with the new leader of the National Party



ministerial waistline is still under threat from a weakness he described as "always succumbing to the temptation of a good castata or tartuffa".

As befits a politician known for his pragmatism, he had arrived at a compromise: Take dessert, leave starter. We had not heard, then, of State President P W Botha's penchant for custard, but the comparison is now rather tempting.

Another De Klerkian admission — "I do like speed. Before the speed limits I got around quite fast" — could provide further food for political thought. This, disarmingly, was when as Minister of Energy he was actually responsible for those fuel curbs.

Cars, he revealed, prompted by his wife, Marike, are one of his great passions. (Was it not Mr



THE Secretary-General of Inkatha and chairman of Indaba, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, is at the centre of a heated dispute over land in Umlazi that he bought from the KwaZulu government last year.

This week the Appeal Board at Ulundi granted Dr Dhlomo a trading licence to operate the R1-million shopping complex he built on the disputed land last year.

However, Adolphus Mkhwanazi, owner of several businesses in Umlazi, a former KwaZulu MP and senior member of Inkatha, says the land Dr Dhlomo built on belongs to him.

Mr Mkhwanazi brought an urgent application in the Durban Supreme Court last year seeking an order to declare invalid the transfer of "his" land to Dr Dhlomo by the KwaZulu government.

Mr Mkhwanazi also claimed that a deed of grant in favour of Dr Dhlomo and his wife Venetia, trading as Khanya Stores CC, was invalid and illegal.

He said in papers that the inevitable inference was that officials in the

office of the Minister of Interior, the Town Council of Umlazi, the Township Manager and the Township Superintendent of V section, Umlazi (where site V.836 is situated), who all knew of his claim to the property, acted in contravention of statutory enactments in issuing the deed of grant to Dr Dhlomo.

Dr Dhlomo's shopping complex was completed last year. In November, some tenants took occupation of shops and moved in, but found they were not able to trade when Mr Mkhwanazi instituted his action against Dr Dhlomo.

Since the trading li-

cence was granted to Dr Dhlomo this week, they may now start trading while awaiting the Supreme Court decision.

In papers filed in court, Mr Mkhwanazi said he bought the vacant plot, V.836, which is adjacent to his wholesale business, on August 19, 1980, through the Umlazi Town Council, for R1 660. He intended to develop it as a parking lot to serve his nearby business, Umlazi Wholesalers.

He said he complied with all statutory formalities in applying for a deed of grant after paying the purchase price and that his application was duly recommended by the Minister of Interior at Ulundi.

Mr Mkhwanazi said when he lodged his application for the deed of grant in 1981, the land was held by the South African Development Trust, which was also responsible for issuing the deed of grant.

For some inexplicable reason, the land transfer to his name re-



■ Dr Dhlomo ... who owns the land?

mained pending. He waited patiently for the deed of grant knowing it was common for this to take years.

In 1986 he learnt that the Development Trust had transferred the land to the KwaZulu government.

Mr Mkhwanazi said Dr Dhlomo approached him in 1986 and offered to exchange another, unidentified property, apparently owned by him, for Site V. 863. Mr Mkhwanazi declined the

offer.

A few months later he was approached again by Dr Dhlomo who offered this time to buy his wholesale business. He refused.

In May 1988, Mr Mkhwanazi said Dr Dhlomo visited his business and told him that, as a result of inquiries to the township manager, he had established that Site V.863 did not belong to Mr Mkhwanazi and that he had bought the property for

R1 880 and was now waiting for his deed of grant.

Dr Dhlomo said he was prepared to join forces with him on condition that Mr Mkhwanazi granted Dr Dhlomo the liquor and butchery licences at his wholesale business. Dr Dhlomo said he would either pay for them or allocate Mr Mkhwanazi a 20 percent shareholding in the shopping complex he planned to build on site V.863.

Mr Mkhwanazi said he refused Dr Dhlomo's offer, and told him he was a lawful owner of the site, and showed him his receipt.

He said when he investigated Dr Dhlomo's claims he learnt that the town council had taken a decision in February last year to sell "his" land to Dr Dhlomo, and that Dr Dhlomo applied for and was granted the deed of grant in April 1988, and subsequently a trading licence.

Dr Dhlomo, a former school headmaster turned politician and businessman, is defending the action.

By MDU LEMBEDE

# Top Inkatha man in row over land

SUNDAY TRIBUNE

26-02-89





**THE BIG QUESTIONS NOW ARE:  
Will President Botha call an election?  
Will he stand down for FW de Klerk?  
Or does he favour Barend du Plessis?**

**By John MacLennan  
Political  
Correspondent**

PRESIDENT Botha continues to make a speedy recovery and there is now no doubt that he will return full-time to his office at Tuynhuys in just over a month.

The big question, however, is whether he will make way for National Party leader FW de Klerk or cling to power for another term.

It all depends on whether he feels capable of coping with the country's most demanding job.

Up to now only sketchy medical reports have been released, but a source close to President Botha dispelled rumours that his left arm was permanently affected by his stroke on January 18 and that it had to be strapped into position for pictures taken when he recently flew to his holiday home at Wilderness.

The source claimed President Botha had full use of the arm. He also explained away his obvious weight loss by saying President Botha, who was previously overweight, is now heeding medical advice to lose weight and is being helped in the process by not having to attend official lunches and dinners during his convalescence.

There is no doubt, however, that Mr Botha's hair has grayed suddenly. The source conceded: "He is finally looking his age."

In spite of this a spokesman for his office is on record as saying it is not a question of whether Mr Botha will return full-time to Tuynhuys, but when. He was at his office this week, conferring with officials and dealing with correspondence.

He is also said to be in frequent contact with Cabinet colleagues.

In the meantime his absence has made for great speculation in parliamentary circles about the date of an election.

The matter was not raised at the caucus this

# PW is looking his age, but he will return to Tuynhuys

week, but it is understood a number of Cabinet members will ask him to call an election in May.

If he agrees to the suggestion then he may step down at the same time. This would open the way for Mr De Klerk to put his stamp on the party during the campaign and also preclude the embarrassing possibility that the heir apparent to the presidency could lose his marginal seat of Vereeniging.

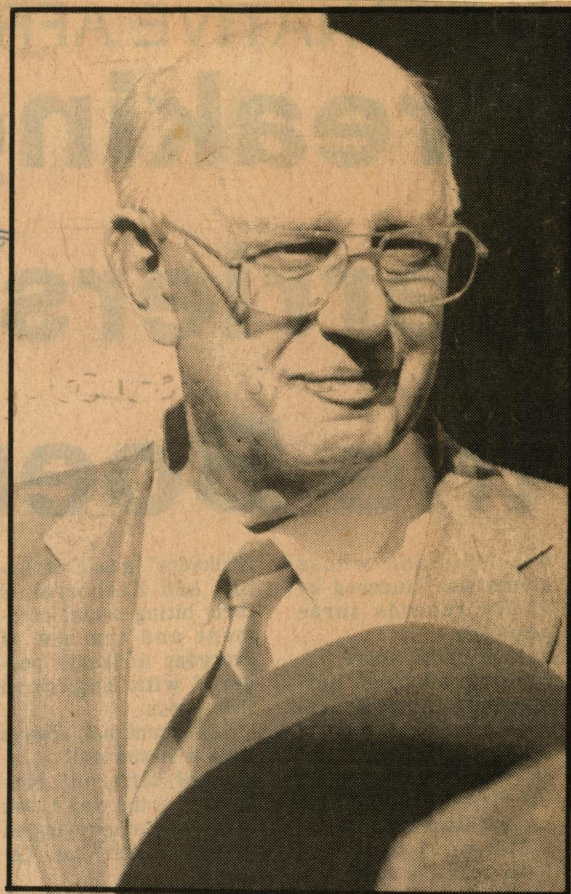
If, however, he does call an election and does not stand down in Mr De Klerk's favour it will be a clear indication that the presidency is still up for grabs.

It has been claimed, following Mr De Klerk's narrow win over Finance Minister Barend du Plessis for leadership of the party, that President Botha favours Mr Du Plessis to replace him.

The party would have to choose a new leader if Mr De Klerk was defeat

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**President Botha clutches his hat to his chest as he leaves for the Wilderness for his convalescence — starting rumours that his left arm had been permanently affected by his stroke and had to be strapped to his side**

public plans for whites as proposed recently by the Afrikaner Volkswag. The CP stands for partition but has never disclosed how it plans to carve up the country.

The party would also like time to allow voters to forget its links with the AWB and the comic opera revelations which have recently surrounded its leadership.

ed.

NP caucus sources say many MP's favour an early election because of the worsening economy which will cost the party votes.

It will also be able to capitalise on the disarray which still exists among the moderate opposition and the setbacks suffered by the Conservative Party through application of its policies in places such as Boksburg.

The CP is also embarrassed by the desert re-



# Ndebele dispute land proclamation

SUNDAY TRIBUNE

By SAM SOLE

26-02-89

THE clash between Shaka and Mzilikazi which gave bloody birth to the Ndebele nation could be replayed in the Durban Supreme Court soon.

Ndebele tribal leader Chief Zulubhekifa Ndebele this week served notice of a motion to declare null and void a proclamation by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi excising a portion of Ndebele land.

In his founding affidavit Chief Ndebele claims Chief Buthelezi usurped powers accorded only to the State President by issuing a proclamation removing a portion of land once allocated to the Ndebele tribe and awarding it to a man who claimed to represent "the Buthelezi people".

The power to define the boundaries and make-up of tribes granted the State President by the Black Administration Act was not transferred to the Chief Minister when KwaZulu became a self-governing territory, said Chief Ndebele in his submission.

The dispute stems from a meeting

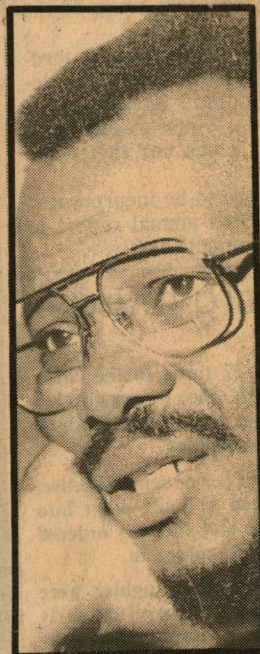
of the Ndebele Tribal Authority in February 1987 at which Thembitshe Buthelezi gave notice he would petition the Chief Minister that land in the Mahlabathini district be allocated to a tribe he intended forming.

Mr Thembitshe is alleged to have said this land had originally belonged to the Buthelezi people and should be returned.

Despite the protest of the Tribal Authority, the affidavit states that in April 1988 a man who claimed to be an emissary of "Ulundi" informed them the KwaZulu Cabinet had decided to accede to Mr Thembitshe's request.

Chief Ndebele said people living on the excised land — who owe him allegiance — would have to move home, causing difficulties and overcrowding on the land not affected. Many others would lose grazing rights for their cattle, the chief said.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister has until April to oppose the application.



■ Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi



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vancing her husband's fortunes.

She obviously no longer needs to work at a funeral firm to support him, as she did while he was an articulated clerk; she was, instead, playing an in-house role — "looking at things as a member of the public would" and then questioning him from that vantage point.

I suspect she had played a major part in persuading her husband that a rather more personal, intimate interview than he had been used to giving to political journalists might be no bad thing for his career. (Look, folks, the man is human!)

She grasped immediately what the photographer was getting at with his rather peremptory demand for

some tea — and cake — to add interest to the foreground of his picture, and though the family was in the throes of packing up to move to Pretoria, rustled up a highly photogenic spread.

Later, to satisfy our need for a more informal portrait, she obligingly unpacked some frozen chops, wors, a glass of red wine and the ministerial braaifork which FW patiently brandished in what we hoped was convincing fashion.

He had equally obligingly complied with my request to take off his suit and slip into something more comfortable — casual slacks and a golfing shirt (his handicap was then 19). Modern politicians, and particularly one who stresses

# FW: Passion for fast cars and desserts

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his horror of being thought pompous ("which I'm not"), recognise and use their photo opportunities.

Strangely, none of our pictures, nor any other I have seen, really capture the slightly battered nose which adds a rakish nuance to FW de Klerk's otherwise smooth, even bland, features.

This harks back to a university hockey accident serious enough to call for three corrective operations.

## Reaction

The hairs on his head have always attracted more attention. For years jokers have been prophesying that his baldness is a sign that he is to be the next Prime Minister — all of them since Verwoerd have been short on hair.

His roar-of-laughter reaction when I related this theory was indeed non-pompous, as was his cheerful admission that he began to go bald at 30.

Which, it may be appropriate to note, was much sooner than Mr Barend du Plessis, who in turn appears to be thinning on top more rapidly than Messrs Heunis and Pik Botha.



# Does the Soweto maverick SUNDAY TIMES deserve such a severe line

THE dust has hardly settled after the political cyclone over Mrs Winnie Mandela, and it looks like lessons have been learnt already.

The African National Congress has moved in swiftly to prevent further acrimony. Given the esteem the banned organisation is held in some quarters inside the country, one would think that their don't-shun-Winnie call is the last statement on the political front.

But, after decades of "untouchability", we have just had an open season on the "Mother of the Nation". Caustic graffiti has sprung up and Winnie-bashing is in vogue.

Even Mrs Mandela's Football Club, until recently operating with impunity, is now reeling from a two-pronged attack — police action and public opinion.

## Upheaval

It must be said though that despite their obvious lack of soccer prowess — they couldn't score a goal if there was no goalkeeper — Minister Vlok and others in government have come to know more about the club than they probably do about the country's premier football team, Kaizer Chiefs.

But as the resistance movement tries to find its feet in the wake of the most intense kitchen upheaval in a long time, the question to ask is where do the aggrieved people of Soweto stand.

Will Winnie ever survive? Wasn't there another way of bringing her back in line, short of disowning her.

No doubt tongues are wagging. There is lively debate at street corners, taxi ranks, shebeens and a great many sophisticated meeting places.

Winnie Mandela, the maverick who caused so much embar-

from  
former  
allies?

gagged on instructions from the ANC.

Winnie herself has been rattled, if not humbled. She may have given the broad democratic movement headaches with her wayward tendencies, but she probably never imagined them calling on the community to treat her like a leper.

She will not divulge what her husband told her on the family's last visit to Victor Verster Prison, except to say he was "seething with rage" over the whole affair and had asked her to refrain from making further utterances.

Now there are reservations about the response to the Mandela crisis.

## Errors

The Tumahole Civic Association, hometown of the 14-year-old activist allegedly murdered by the football club, charged this week that the police were exploiting the investigations into Stompie's murder to create divisions in the black community.

Some commentators are also asking whether Winnie, who formed the notorious football club, is not perhaps, largely by her own making, herself a political football.

The ANC has also noted that Mrs Mandela drove herself to a position of vulnerability and committed grave errors of judgment which "the enemy" has exploited.

There is general consensus in progressive circles that something had to be done to rein Winnie in and to protect the Mandela name.

But questions linger whether the resistance movement did not perhaps come down too heavily on her — hard enough to give credence to the theory that she may be the victim of third-party manoeuvres.



by Mandla Tyala

rassment to the movement, has finally got her come-uppance and many people are saying it serves her right.

There is another school of thought, however, that concedes she has fouled things up royally but, after 20-odd years of contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle, did her allies really have to throw her to the wolves?

## Doubts

How many other souls would not have come asunder after nearly three decades of relentless physical and emotional pressure? Aren't we, the black community, the very same people who put her beyond reproach in the first place, they ask.

The divisiveness of the issue is beyond doubt — and Winnie herself is well aware of that. But the speed with which the domestic groups distanced themselves from Winnie is raising doubts — after all she has been effectively



# WINNIE MANDELA

SUNDAY TRIBUNE

22-02-89

## The other side of the story

The woman who is said to be in Lusaka and can provide certain vital information explaining her role in the controversy surrounding Winnie Mandela and the "football club" this week challenged allegations made against Mrs Mandela.

Xoliwe Falati explained her role in the sequence of events which she says began last year. During a lengthy interview with the **Sunday Tribune** she said she did not go to Lusaka but was in hiding because she feared for her life.

### Report by QURAIISH PATEL

to the poor and helping families of detainees. As a result of her work among the people, she had become popular and was able to organise effectively. She was detained on three occasions and her house was petrol-bombed and then attacked by groups she believed were linked to the authorities.

Homeless, she sought refuge at the homes of friends and relatives and finally arrived at the Soweto Methodist church-organised home for destitute people.

She was welcomed by the Reverend Paul Verryn, whom she admired for his unstinting and committed work with black youth.

"He is a kind and gen-

tle human being who has the amazing ability to lift the spirit of people in despair."

She stayed at the home from November last year until the end of December, during which time she assisted in running the place.

Ms Falati said Stompie Mokhetshi, described in newspaper reports as the "child general" and "child activist" and whose body was found last month, was brought to the home as he was on the run from Tumahole residents, who, according to reports, had threatened to kill the youngster because he had allegedly given information to the police which had apparently led to the death of four "comrades".

She said the youths had questioned Stompie and when he became evasive, they assaulted him. She told the youths she objected to the assault.

She pleaded with Mr Verryn to find other ac-

commodation for Stompie. However, Mr Verryn told her as the "big sister" she should restrain the youths and ensure Stompie's safety and that he would be moved after a few days. "But Stompie stayed here until the end of December."

She said she advised the youths to "win Stompie over to their side" by being kind towards him.

"I thought at the time that he was only a boy and had been misguided. After all, he told the youths he had given certain information to the police because he could no longer 'take the pressure'."

Her stay at the crowded house adjoining the church became a happy one as the youths began to accept their circumstances. But then she began noticing that something was amiss.

"I am a very light sleeper and was sometimes awakened by sounds of the youths. One night I heard a scream

and thought that the boys had been fighting. "At breakfast I noticed that one of the boys was unusually quiet. When I questioned him he burst out saying that one of the boys had played with his thighs and he said he would kill anyone who touched him again in that way."

"I reprimanded the boys and said they should behave like men. I told them that this type of behaviour was not part of our culture. I thought nothing about the incident until Mr Verryn arrived one day in December with Cebekhulu Katiza."

She said Mr Verryn told her to take good care of Katiza, who told her he was overwhelmed by the priest's assistance and concern for him.

Early one morning she found Katiza sitting on the verandah looking depressed. He refused to talk to her or anyone else and would not eat anything. She reported the

**A**CCORDING to a secret document published in the **Sunday Tribune** last week an urgent appeal was made by the Mandela Crisis Committee to African National Congress president Oliver Tambo to find two people who had left the country and were said to be in Lusaka.

The memorandum said one of the two, Xoliswe Falati, could help the committee to understand her role in the affair concerning Winnie Mandela and the "football club".

Last Saturday SACC general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane disclosed that he had arranged for the care of Cebekhulu Katiza, named in that document.

The **Sunday Tribune** can disclose that the other person, Xoliswe Falati, a central figure in the controversy, has never left and was interviewed in the country this week.

Her amazing disclosures add fresh insight into the Winnie Mandela story and is a version that has not been published before in detail. This is the gist of Xoliswe Falati's story.

"It is untrue that I am outside the country. The position is that I possess information crucial to the protection of the Mandela family. For this reason I am being interviewed in hiding.

"I should also say I have had the opportunity to write affidavits and make tape recordings of all I know so that if I never get the chance to defend the name of Mandela this evidence may be used.

"I also hope the affidavits have reached Nelson Mandela. I am the next target because I know Mrs Mandela's side of the story; the other was Dr Abu-Baker Asvat who was shot dead in January."

These were the opening remarks of Xoliswe Falati, a former church field-worker in Kwa-Thema, Springs, who, during a lengthy interview gave an amazing account of the controversy surrounding Winnie Mandela.

Ms Falati lived with the "destitute youths" at the Soweto Methodist home where she said she was told by certain youths about their homosexual experiences.

Ms Falati, 35, worked in the KwaThema, Springs, area giving soup





■ At the centre of the row, Xoliswe Falati... in hiding because she fears for her life

matter to Mr Verryn.

On December 22, Mr Verryn told her he would be leaving the house for several days and that she should look after Katiza. After Mr Verryn left, Katiza confided in her. He was angry and upset and told her about three attempts to rape him at the mission.

"I was shocked by his story but I was also concerned because he seemed so furious."

He told her that he was unhappy at the house and the only way he could vent his anger was by violence.

"I explained to him he would not solve his prob-

lem by resorting to violence. I was worried and decided to intervene. I then questioned the other youths to establish whether they had any information which could help us to solve the problem.

"Katiza said others were remaining silent about what was happening at the centre. He said he would not allow anyone to deprive him of his manhood."

She said the youths told her that gay people were everywhere and they did not have any problem with that.

"When I realised the extent of this disturbing

problem I decided to do something about it. Katiza's threat, especially, worried me."

After confronting other youths she said she then realised some were being used sexually.

"I took Katiza to Winnie Mandela's home because I knew that as a social worker and leader she would be able to advise and guide us. Katiza and I related our story to Mrs Mandela who told us that she had been aware of a problem concerning a youth earlier that year."

She told Ms Falati she had brought the matter to the attention of the

general secretary of the SACC in October and was under the impression the problem had been resolved.

Mrs Mandela said in the light of Katiza's state of mind it was necessary that he be examined by a doctor. She suggested we take him to Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, who examined him.

"Dr Asvat told us Katiza was physically fine but it was quite possible that he might have to be referred for psychiatric observation.

"When we returned to Mrs Mandela's home, I went to Jerry Richardson (former coach of the the 'football club') and discussed the problem at the mission home.

"I then asked the boys to come with us to Mrs Mandela's home."

They were accompanied by five boys who, she said, were questioned about incidents relating to youths involved in sex at the mission.

"It was getting late and I had to leave. Before going I told Jerry to keep the youths until I returned and after Verryn came back to the mission. 'When Verryn comes back we will solve this among ourselves,' I told Jerry.

"In the meantime, I tried to contact Mr Verryn to tell him what was happening. I heard that Mr Verryn was in Durban and would only return to Johannesburg during the first week of January. I returned to Mrs Mandela's home on December 31 and saw the youngsters washing their clothes.

"After the first week of January, I again went to Mrs Mandela's house and Jerry told me two of the boys had left."

On Friday, January 13, lawyer Ismail Ayob came to Mrs Mandela's house and Mrs Mandela asked Ms Falati to relate her story to him. The names of the youths were given to Mr Ayob.

"I told him that I was waiting for Verryn so that we could solve the problem."

Mr Ayob said he would return the next day but he did not arrive. On Sunday, January 15, she received a message saying Mr Ayob wanted to see her. She went to Mrs Mandela's house. Mr Ayob told her he was taking the children back to the mission.

"I told Mr Ayob we needed to discuss the issue at the mission house but he was now intent on taking the youths back to the mission before that problem was solved. I asked him whether he had come here to do justice to us. I told him that this matter should be solved among ourselves.

"I told him that if this had happened to big names consideration would have been given to it."

## Underdogs

She said she then told Mr Ayob: "Just because it is happening to the underdogs, the no names, this thing is not taken into consideration by you.

"Mr Ayob became aggressive. I told him: 'You claim to represent the victims of apartheid to the face of the world and when we come with this grievance being the no names and the underdogs — the victims of apartheid — you don't take this into consideration because we have touched the sacred cow. We are appealing to you to be fair and practise justice'.

"He walked out to Zinzi (Mrs Mandela's daughter) and told her I was abusing him. He accused me of preventing him from taking the kids away."

She said she then left with the youths and when they returned she was told that Mr Ayob wanted them to meet him at his Braamfontein flat. After a discussion with Mr Ayob she left with the three youths.



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## Weapons

Mrs Falati said she learnt later a group of people, who had apparently come from Potchefstroom, brandished weapons and threatened Katiza. "They wanted him to reverse the statement about what had happened at the mission."

She said similar information was later given by another priest — whom she named — who told them what had taken place at the meeting.

A few days later certain members of the crisis committee arrived at the place where she was staying. She said the three told her they wanted to hear her story.

"I said it was too late to get my version after we had been damaged in the Press. I said we thought this problem was going to be solved among ourselves.

"I told them: 'We did not know you would use the Press and do the damage by not allowing me to explain at the Dobsonville meeting.' I told them I was the one at the centre of the storm as I had brought the children to Mrs Mandela. So I should have been there to explain. 'But you denied there was a meeting'."

Ms Falati said this version would assist in clearing many of the unfounded allegations against Mrs Mandela. However, she said there had been a cover-up of the affairs at the mission house.

"On Monday, January 16, I went to Mrs Mandela's place to see if the kids were all right." She said the youths had left Mrs Mandela's house. However, she was told they had been taken to a lawyer, Krish Naidoo.

"When they had not returned by about 8pm that night I phoned Mr Naidoo's home. His wife told me he had gone to a meeting at Funda Centre. I presumed he had gone with the youngsters. I gave this information to Mrs Mandela. I told her that it was best that we go there as well."

She said she believed that a meeting was being held to discuss the problems at the mission house.

"I wanted to be at that meeting because I brought the children to the Mandela home, and I could explain everything. I was prepared to stand before the congregation to tell them what had happened at the mission."

She and Mrs Mandela were unable to determine where the meeting was being held.



# Winnie row — the other side

SUNDAY

TRIBUNE

26-01-89

## Mission worker makes shock disclosures

A WOMAN at the centre of the controversy surrounding Winnie Mandela claimed this week she had "information crucial to the protection of the Mandela family" and was in hiding because she feared for her life.

Former church field worker Xoliswe Falati, 35, who was thought to be in Lusaka by the Mandela Crisis Committee, gave her version of events which she says has not been published in detail before.

She made her disclosures in a lengthy interview with the **Sunday Tribune**.

Ms Falati, who lived at a Methodist mission house in Soweto, said she approached Mrs Mandela when she became aware of problems relating to homosexuality at the church centre where about 25 "destitute" people were sheltered.

Her main concern in talking to Mrs Mandela was to prevent one of the youths from carrying out a threat to kill the perpe-

By Quraish Patel

trator of three attempts to rape him.

"I am the next target because I am possibly the only person who knows Mrs Mandela's side of the story. The other was Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, who was shot dead last month," she said.

"I should also say I have had the opportunity to write affidavits and make tape recordings of all I know so that if I never get the chance to defend the Mandela name, this story may be told.

Ms Falati claims:

- Some youths at the mission house were involved in homosexuality;

- The "disturbing" state of mind of one of the youths led her to intervene because he had threatened violence;

- She was involved in taking certain youths from the centre to Mrs Mandela's home;

- One of the youths was taken for examination to

Soweto doctor Abu-Baker Asvat, who was killed at the end of January;

- She and Mrs Mandela tried but were unable to find the venue of an important meeting called to discuss the problems at the mission house;

- She was met by certain members of the Mandela Crisis Committee after decisions were taken at that meeting;

- Boy-general Stompie Mokhetisi, who was buried yesterday, stayed at the mission house while he was being sought by residents of Tumahole, his hometown.

- She also gave information surrounding the movements of certain mission centre youths to people at Mrs Mandela's house.

- She questioned Press reports that Stompie was examined or seen by Dr Asvat on January 25, a day before Dr Asvat was killed. She said those reports must have been incorrect and "mischievous" as the body police found early in January was Stompie's.

Details — Page 6

### Pick 6 carryover

TWO upset results at Clairwood yesterday, in the fourth and seventh races, ensured a Pick Six carryover of R321 216 for Wednesday's race meeting at Clairwood.

See Page 37

### PRESS CLAMP

SEVERE restrictions have been placed on newspapers. These make it increasingly difficult to report on unrest-related matters. This newspaper, however, will continue to provide the most balanced information that it can.

### QUOTE

Truth is violated by falsehood, or silence.

— Ammian