

Saturday Star April 18 1992

SaturdayStar

Silence 1s
 â\200\230connivanc

INNIE MANDELA ap-

pears to be at last on her

way out as a political lead-

er. This leaves the top
 brass of the ANC still owing South
 Africa an explanation over their silence.
 on the events which led to her exit.

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

Azapo says that Dr Abu-baker Asvat
 was sent by the committee to Mrs Man-
 delaâ\200\231s house â\200\224 where the kidnap vic-
 tims were assaulted â\200\224 and that he re-

' ported back. Dr Asvat was later killed.

Azapo believes that during the course

â\200\230 of the committeeâ\200\231s investigations it

picked up clues to his murder. Yet the

" committee has kept quiet.

Y Aza

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

po.
 Disclosure of the full findings, how-

) ever, is in the national interest and the

ANC has the power to ensure that it is

â\200\234done.

The individual members of the com-

- mittee, who are in or close to the ANC,

include such notables as Beyers Naude,

Frank Chikane, Albertina Sisulu, Syd-

ney Mafumadi and Cyril Ramaphosa.
South Africa needs to hear from

- them and from the Mandela Crisis

Committee. e

If they are allowed to keep silent, it

.. will compound suspicions of complicity

in a cover-up. /\

AP1992 -6

Keep up the fight

HAT four Democrati

h_eld talks with the AIEIg ?)I\ .rtgr M:â\200\231ss

slble.membership should comg as

: llzic:vmllrprlse. Political realignments

like? ogg been predicted and there will

tweerâ\200\231; mf': l"ri¬\202lnbzny more such talks be-
it out.rs of rival parties before

f more concern, however, is that

- the upset it caused within the DP

should not lead to its demi i

; mise. It i

g:at !:here is always a party fightlii;lftgi

- e liberal ideals that the NP and ANC

ave shown themselves ready to tram

pl% on wlllfen it suits them, -

ven if the DP loses more MPs i

should never be forgotten that onctsa ::

took only one libe \

defend those freed;?rllsl.wp to effectively

N Urgas (8, K 95

Savimbi on
rough road

Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

LONDON. â\200\224 U
| nas Savimbi and his men are
finding it hard to make the
| transition to democracy in the
i run:g.â\200\230to Angolaâ\200\231s elections in
September, says the latest edi-

| tion of The Economist.
The former Angolan rebel
movement leader who led the

piti Teader Jo-

Â£ id

war against the Marxists of the -

'MPLA was facing dissent in his ' -
' ranks now that the war was !

_over.

la leaders, Savimbi mixes cha-

risma and an iron hand.

. â\200\234He foreigners while
ruling his organisation with
great toughness â\200\234brooking no

issent. . Â¥ o

up during the years of trouble
has bubbled into the open,â\200\235
says The Economist.
Last month, two of Unitaâ\200\231s
| leading members, Miguel Nâ\200\231zau
Puna and Tony da Costa Fer-
. nandes, deserted the move-
ment, accusing Savimbi of
atrocities incl the sum-
mary execution o two high-
- ranking leaders whose opinions
differed from his own.

Some of the resentment storedâ\200\231 -+

- more Cuban troo

â\200\234Like many effective guerril- \i, - for Unita to fight against, its
oCcracy

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

As soon as the MPLA government tried to make electoral profit from the stories, Savimbi

said it was plotting to

kill him, and threatened to resume the war if it tried to. - The Economist ventures that art of Savimbi's trouble stems from the collapse of communism. Now that there were no .in Angola

anti-communist ideology was less compelling, its tribal base

' more apparent.

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

His former friends were not doing much to help.

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

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

e

DAVID BREWER â\200\230 3 â\200\231
Weekend Argus Political Staff) â\200\230/ 72

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

The ANC has yet to decide whether to

~accept the membership of the four MPs as
long as they remain members of the trica-
meral parliament.

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

| the party of pro-ANC elements, especially

- as a large body of DP members want to
move the party into a centrist alliance
with the Nats. _

The suspended MPs are hoping the ANC
will accept their membership because of
| their â\200\234track record in identifying with the
- oppressedâ\200\235, without the ANC first insisting
tl?ey resign from parliament.

| should the ANC accept the membership of

. the four MPs without their resigning from
parliament, it could become a highly divi-
- sive issue in the movement as it would in-
- volve the ANC in â\200\234sys,temâ\200\235 politics.

Anti-ANC DP MPs are eager to â\200\234purgeâ\200\235

Political sources said this week that '

1

Democrat
dilemma

- Rebel four

Al

i th '
ANCâ\200\231s side
The ANC insists that the triÃ@ameral

parliament should merely legislate an in-

terim government and then be abolished.
But as Codesa talks appear to be bogged
down, the existing parliament could drag

on for some time. Four ANC MPs could
become a serious source of division in the

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer suspended Mr
Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Jannie
Mombberg (Simon's Town), Mr Pierre Cron-
je (Greytown) and Mr Rob Haswell (Mar-
itzburg South) after they held a secret

- meeting with ANC leaders with a view to
* their joining the ANC.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Asked whether he suspended them to

re-empt their resignation after Easter,

Dr De Beer said: "I thought I should not
delay for six or seven days." He said if he
had not suspended the MPs this week, var-
ious sections of the DP would have been
despondent. : :

ABBEY MAKOE
Weekend Argus Correspondent

, QWASH! â\200\224 thatâ\200\231s the new kind of

gun being manufactured in the
backyards of Killarney and Mead-
owlands Zone 1, Soweto, by teen-
age boys as young as 15.

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

Since February, when a township
woman was killed in a hand-grenade
attack, allgï-\201edly by hostel dwellers,
parts of Killarney and Meadowlands
near the hostel have become known

~as â\200\234No Manâ\200\231s Landâ\200\235.

The teenagers say three groups are

fighting for control of this area. The
- are the boys themselves, hostel dwell-
ers and the police.

The boys, some dressed in khaki
army jackets, say they have taken up

. arms {o protect their parents and liv-
ing space.

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

They call the Qwash after the
sound the wooden firearms make

. when the bullet goes off. Any kind of a
bullet can be used without difficulty,
they say.

The gun is made of wood and cov-
ered in black insulation tape.
~ Thick wire, about 15cm long, is
placed inside the wood. The wire, con-
nected to a small rubber string, is
used as a trigger.
.. There is also a-spring at the rear
-end. It is connected to a short nail.

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

According to the boys, the speed at

which adslhnogt is fired matches that of guns manufactured legally.

They would not disclose the source of their bullets. â\200\234We have connections,â\200\235 said 16-year-old Tsholofelo, who does not attend school.

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

â\200\234QOur problem is that we donâ\200\231t have enough weapons to launch a full-scale attack on the hostel,â\200\235 they said.

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

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

â\200\234My broer,â\200\235 said Kpile, who is aged 15 and in Standard 2. â\200\234I no longer walk around in Killarney durin the day. Old women hate me and {ear they may point me out to the police.â\200\235

. comrades in Bakwena S
_as a barrier line. It is about 100 me-

Teenagersâ\200\231
backyard

gun factory
1S no game

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

â\200\234We caught a hostel dweller. There were arguments about whether he should be killed or handed to the police. I got angry at the women wasting time, took out my knife and stabbed him to death.

â\200\234The women think I did something wrong. You see, we're trlyl'ing to protect the community with our lives. Hostel dwellers waste no time when theyâ\200\231ve captured one of us. I didnâ\200\231t have to waste time ...â\200\235

Itâ\200\231s 10pm. There is a sound of a gun-fire less than 3km from the headquarters. :

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

Lesley slaps Tshlofelo in the face. Half the room supports Lesley. Com-motion erupts.
~ â\200\234If you donâ\200\231t respect each other, how can you win any battle outside,â\200\235 asks the knitting woman. â\200\234Stop it,â\200\235 she says, and the hubbub subsides.

The boysâ\200\231 first target will be the â\200\230 hostel dwellers, then the police. -

The SAP patrol vehicles are known ' by their sound. In Meadowlands, the %qlice cars are dubbed â\200\234Iron Fistâ\200\235. In " Ki

llarney â\200\224 the â\200\234A-Teamâ\200\235.

At 11pm, sporadic gunfire continues from nearby. The boys plan to help t, known

tres from the hostel.

We move outside and the boys take }lxâ\200\230g positions in the narrow streets.

ey move towards the hostel, communicating by whistling.

Everyone is a leader. Itâ\200\231s yet another day of do or die. I'm urged to come along amid the shooting.

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

Elderly people on their way to work commend the â\200\234good jobâ\200\235 the boys are doing.

Not so the police. The{ do not tolerate anyone taking the law into their own hands, says Captain Josephph Ngo-beni, Soweto police liaison officer.

â\200\234We donâ\200\231t cause the violence; we quell it,â\200\235 he said.

Â¥ G ol

01oMO0S
JOo punog [ysemg

gâ\200\231 X *\â\200\224\k\ dwi-\201) Sw

(Â¥ o tl-=92.

DP CP may split at key caucus meetmgs

WHITE politics enters a

ecisive phase next week
hen the Democratic
arty and the Conserva-
tive Party gather for
strategic meetings which
could cause both to split.

- The DP and the CP cau-
cuses will â\200\230both meet on
Thursday for the first time
; Since the Easter parliamen-
â\200\230tary recess to discuss cru-
icial reports on their strate-
gles for transition.

_ The DP caucus will discuss a

strategy document compiled by
a special committee under na-
â\200\230tional chairman Ken Andrew.
. And the Conservative Party
caucua; will discuss the reports
of se'en special committees
"which have been deliberating
â\200\230on strategy and policy for sev-
â\200\230eral weeks.

The caucus meeting is likely
t;o see a showdown between the
â\200\230hardliners who now control

party policy and â\200\234volkstatersâ\200\235

â\200\230who believe the party should go
into negotiations to bargain for
ia smaller Afrikaans homeland.
~ This group has gained ground
since the decisive defeat of the
no-vote in the referendum in
March and could wrest control
of the party at Thursdayâ\200\231s cau-
[cus meeting.

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

Three strands have emerged
in the DP: those favouring

closer ties with the ANC, those-
wanting a rnew centrist party

with the National Party, and
the centre, which wants to re-

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

PETER FABRICIUS,
ESTHER WAUGH
and FRANS ESTHERHUYSE

The four – Jan van Eck, Rob

– Haswell, Jannie Momberg and

Pierre Cronje – were sus-
pended after talks – earlier this
week.

Mooi River MP Wessel Nel .

has confirmed that he attend-
ed the meeting, while it is un-
derstood that Andre de Wet and
Kobus Jordaan were also pres-
ent.

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

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

But if the –volkstaters– pre-
vail, this could force out hard-

.line conservatives.

While the CP and DP are
agonising over their futures,
President de Klerk is also ex-
pected to make major an-
nouncements during the debate
in Parliament –on his budget
vote.

'@ The row between the four
suspended DP members and
the party leadership continued
with a new flare-up yesterday

arising from remarks by party

leader Dr Zach de Beer in a

~television interview on the

SABC's Agenda programme on Thursday night.

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

runch nears
- for white party politics

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

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

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

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

Momberg said the Agenda interview had been conducted in a way that created the impression that the four MPs were already out of the party. He took

- exception to remarks by De Beer to the effect that the four

had been a debilitating influence in the party and now that they were gone, an invigorating process had started.

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

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

Momberg said he had requested the chairman of his Simonâ\200\231s Town constituency council, Ed Coombe, to call a

- meeting of the council for

Tuesday night.

â\200\234There I will inform them -
(the council) fully about my intentions and the future of my political career.â\200\235

Winnie â\200\224 the long,
hard roa

The name on everyoneâ\200\231s lips this week â\200\224 as in many other
weeks â\200\224 has been Winnie Mandela. Once again this remark-<
able and controversial woman has hogged the headlines for
what wi!l definitely not be the last time. JOE LOUW traces some
of the influences that have shaped her life and times.

HE was born
Nomzamo Win-
nie Madikizela

S in 1934 at Bizana

in Transkei. Her father,

Columbus Madikizela,

was a local schoolteach-
er who laterbecame a
minister in the Transkei
government. Her moth-
er, of whom little is
known, died when Win-
nie was only nine.

Even as a young girl
Winnie knew exactly
what she wanted and
showed an early streak
" of independence. She
. chose a career as a med-
ical social worker and in
the early 1950s headed
to Baragwanath Hospi-
~ tal to pursue this goal.

\

T hree months

+later, she was in jail for
her role in defying the

pass laws and her hus- ~

band was already deeply
involved in the infamous
Treason Trial of 1956.
Her political baptism by
fire had begun and so
had the sordid tale of in-
ternequine jealousy with-
in the ranks of her fel-
low female activists.
Nelson and Winnieâ\200\231s
fairy-tale romance, the
ebullience of their youth,
their smiling happy
faces and their fame did
not always kindle happi-

ness in people. Winnie
had taken the most
e

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

By 1960 she was al-
ready striking a high po-
litical profile in the ANC

the branch chairman of -

the Orlando branch, a
member of the provin-
cial branch and an emi-

nent member of the Fed-

eration of South African
Women.

As 1961 dawned the
life of the Mandelas had
already become a patch-
work of small segments
of time snatched be-
tween court appear-
ances, trials, dozens of
meetings the couple
didn't even have a prop-
er home.

With the banning of

' the ANC and PAC, Nel-
son slipped out of the

country to carry the
pain of South Africa's
black masses to Africa

d Sowetary Sty ag !

again took on the quality
of an Alexander Dumas
novel.

and the world, and Winnie :

Winnie was alone.

In 1962 she was
banned under the Sup-
pression of Communism
Act and restricted to Or-
lando township, and had
to quit her job as a so-
cial worker with the Jo-
hannesburg Council.

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

of the Mandelas once

tent fuel to

beauty soon came to the
attention of Nelson Man-
dela, then a prominent
young lawyer who was,
" in Fifties parlance, â\200\234The
Talk of the Townâ\200\235. After
a whirlwind romance of
only a year â\200\224 during
which time Nelson di-
vorced his first wife â\200\224
~the handsome pair
where married in a cor-
rugated iron church in
- her hometown of Bizana.

It was there that her -

father made his prophet-
. ic announcement that
marrying Nelson was
not only marrying a
man, but marrying a
movement.

As Winnie was later to
write in her book, â\200\234Part'
of My Soulâ\200\235, she knew
that â\200\234a life with him will
be a life without himâ\200\235.

"

er extreme t was then that the

| tal resources showed
lice became legendary

pushed, pushed back. She

now famous Winnie tem.
perament and her progil-
glous physical and mep-

themselves,
. Her rows with the po-

â\200\224 she became known as
a Woman who, when

yelled and screamegd
pack at the police with-
out fear and her fear:
less actions served to in

spire a generation. .,
After Nelson was sen-
tenced to life imprison-
ment, the image of a
* young, beautiful and mil-
itant mother of two
young children (her
â\200\230daughter Zeni and Zinzi
were born by then) res-
' tricted to the confines of
' a small township, hound-
ed by security police

while her husband was

world over.

the cause the

But there was little

room for self pity in the
woman. Despite extreme
harassment Winnie Man-
dela confronted and de-
fied the system at every
turn. .

Despite having two

young children to raise
and unable to work, she
undertook a decade of

often lonely defiance
! at included three jail

s and 17 months of

solitary confinement.
In May 1977 she was

banished to Brandfort, a
small town in. the Free
State where she re-
mained, out of sight per-
haps, but not out of
everyone's mind at least
of all the authorities.

[inally she deter-

mined that it was time
once and for all to defy
the authorities and re-
turn home to her place
in Soweto. In mysterious -
circumstances her house
in Brandfort had been
petrol bombed and she
vowed to go home.

Her highly publicised
return to Soweto fired
the imaginations of peo-
ple around the world at
she was epitomised as 2
heroine and she played
the role to the hilt.

The young militants of.

the '70s Black Conscious-
ness movement idolised

her and she gained a

large admiring constitu-
ency of young urban
blacks ready to follow
wherever she led them.
Since that time the

Winnie star has burnt
ever more brightly,

seemingly nourished by
the very truculence and
defiance that allowed
her to survive her early
tribulations. :
Perhaps it was impos-
sible for the star to con-
tinue glowing forever. .
" Yet no one who heard
the pledge of deep love,
respect and regret, ex-
pressed by Nelson Man-
dela as â\200\224 under duress
â\200\224 he separated from his
wife this week, could fail
to be moved. i
And Winnieâ\200\231s pre-
sumed obscurity may
still prove to be illusory.

ty

_____.â\200\224-â\200\224-â\200\224â\200\230â\200\224â\200\231
STAFF REPORTERS, SAPA gudAFP

IN A major bid to woo more
voters, South Africaâ\200\231s three main .
political leaders willâ\200\231 {omOoITow
address a gathering of about
three million black Christians.
State President FW de Klerk, ANC

| president Nelson Mandela - 2nd IFP
| leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to at-
| tend the Easter service of the Conser-
\ vative Zion Christian Church (ZCC) at
" its headquarters in Zion City, Morija, in

the far northern Transvaal
5 Buthelezi, who will deliver the first ad-
dresses. Mandela and De Klerk will each
speak for about 20 minutes
lasting [EE8S places in the Pieters-

burg and read, which is notoriety for such accl-
dations, particularly over the Easter holiday-

Despite a farious relation between = plus and 3

is lost yesterday 00 the Pictersburg-Tzaneen road is
| which three people WE'E killed and thirty-four I~
jured, nine seriously. official accident statistics

PURE MEONIELL Ch oo i T e g

threw a sharp reduction-
Five million members

The ZCC, which maintains Cheizian CORL3 with o2~

sitioal African believes the five million members

. posed for its stagical roles areventing
o or as a pig pork

Political analyst Alf Sradler said all three leaders
would be â\200\234fTC = for well with the ZCC, whose
membership is far greater than that of any political
party. +

Sradler believes De Klerk may find fertile ground
for his campaign to expand the National Partyâ\200\231s o
nality because of the white power base.

Mandela's ANC has also been trying to widen its
{influence in the African South, while Buthe-
jeri's Inkatha Freedom Party is a strong advocate of
giving 2 of the traditional leaders

â\200\234They are all pitching for the traditional lead-
ers. Sradler said. adding that the ZCC was the
important in the new South Africaâ\204-

The conservative wing of the ZCC was highlight-
ed in 1985 when former president P W Botha ad-

. church's Easter Sunday service
at a time of intense vio-
lence the March 21,
35 deaths by police at

\
k
I

YOS I F P

144 3108

â\200\224â\200\224

b

ON FIRST inspec-
tion Harry Gwala, a
senior member of
the ANCâ\200\231s national
executive comrmit-
tee, is a most onsa-
voury character: ke
is a self-confessed
killer, a man whom
people in his own
organisation fear fo
cross, and a2 hard-
line Marxist
applanded the So-
viet coup attempt
last year.

But if he Is unsa-
voury, so are the han-
dreds of thousands â\200\224

who

- JOHN CARLIN
of The Independent

if not millions â\200\224 of

blacks whose lan-

- guage he speaks, to

whose thoughis he
gives expression.

I Gwala were
younger than his 72
vears and if he were
heslthier â\200\224 he suffers

_ from .a progressive

motor nearone disease
which has deprived
him of the use of both
arms â\200\224 he would
stand alongside Nel-
son Mandela as one of
the most .powerful
{leaders in black poli-
tics.

He could even come to
rival Mandela For when
Mandela spezks, the
ANC fafthful fdget
When Gwala speaks, he

sats them on fire.

Mandelz talks of
pezce and give-and-take,
instroeting his audiences
in the realpolitik of De
Rlerk Hmes Gwala
preackes zo older mes-
sage simpler, more fa-

- miliar and rmore stir-

ring. He preaches war,
no compromise and sei-
zure of power.
Contained here is the
ANC's biggest dilemma.
Far the closer the ANC
and the Government
come to agreement 00
interim government and
2 new conatitudon, the
wider the gap between
ANC leadership znd &
rank-and-file whose vi-
sien has remained fun-
damentally uachanged
since the P W Bothz era
But Gwala, viewed as

Y05 -1 -E<P >

SR1

zn aged enfant terrible
by the ANC mainsireamn
in Johanneshurg, elicits
s mech awe ang rever-
ence in Marifzburg as
the Zulu warrior chiefs
of old

From his foriress
home in Edendale town-
ship - set in the â\200\234Valley

of the Widowsâ\200\235, as the -

locals c211 it â\200\224 he pre-
sides as chairman of the
ANCâ\200\231s Natal Midlands
region: Zulu couniry and
the scepne of relentless
bloodshed since 1936,

He has litile Gime for
the â\200\234peace zccordsâ\200\235 and
â\200\234peace forumsâ\200\235 which
have sprouted up, large-
ly-at the behest of the
ANC leadership, in the
last year.]

â\200\234Chamberlain tried it,
but it was only When
people lke Churchill,
Stalin and Roosevelt
czme togetner that
peace was imposed.â\200\235

Intelligence

A tiny man with shining eyes, Gwala's hands rest lifeless on his desk as he speaks, His conversation â\200\224 peppered with references to Dickens, Shakespezre, the Bible, Zulu and world history. â\200\224 reveals how abundantly he read during his 20 years in prison for terrorism and furthering the aims of the ANC.

It is his intelligence that sets him apart from the Inkatha â\200\234werlordsâ\200\235 with whom he has engaged In battle since his release in 1988, but otherwise, according to peace monitors in Natal, he and they are two sides of the same coin

_seen more than 200 of ;3
â\200\230their supporters as 85-

CM

array Gwala,
(C â\200\230warlordâ\200\231

It is on record that Gwala has dispatched his well-armed â\200\234boysâ\200\235 â\200\224 is an ANC official in Johannesburg likened them to Winnie Mandela & laâ\200\231s potations clobâ\200\235 â\200\224 to attack Inkatha warriors in neighbouring towns.

Gwala himself quite cheerfully admits his role in the conflict which, according to Inkabiz 2s

-

minated in the last four years.
â\200\234Make no mistakeâ\200\235

â\200\234football 2t

says Gwala, â\200\234we have Inkatha warlords"

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

useful purpose?

*They simply smother people's consciences. Remember all the fuss throughout 1980 about getting Mandela and Buthe to meet?

Since they shook hands on January 28 last year we've had more than a thousand dead in Natal alone, as Gwala.

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

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

93/1/1c;im

o

22/04

92

197.:38

Ti114 3198 yYus. 1 F-F

=% e

- SaturdayStar

~ Silence 1S
connivance

INNIE MANDELA ap-
pears to be at last on her
way out as a political lead-
: er. This leaves the top
brass of the ANC still owing South
" on the-events which led to her exif.
In eariy 1989 the Mandela. Crisis
Committee investigated the kidnapping
~of Storpie Seipei and three young men
. from the Methodist manse, and the
. Geath later of Stompie.
was sent by the committee 10 Mrs Man-
** delaâ\200\231s house â\200\224 where the kidnap vic-
~ tims were assaulted â\200\224 and that he re-
- ported back Dr Asvat was later killed.
- Azapo believes that during the course
_of -the committeeâ\200\231s investigations it
â\200\234 picked up clues to his murder. Yet the

Â© comumittee has kept quiet.

. The only knowledge the public has of
; its conclusions is a preliminary report
â\200\23015 the ANC, revealed this week by
Azapo.

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

The individaal members of the com-
mitfee, who are in or close to the ANC,
include such notables as Beyers Naude,
Frark Chikane Albertina Sisulu, â\200\230Syd-
ney Mafumadi and Cyril Ramaphosa

Qouth Africa needs to hear from
thern and from the Mandela Crisis
Commiitee. .

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

Africa an explanation over their silence.

.. Azapo says that Dr Abu-baker Asvat

5= G

(8) (.,} \c:r;â\200\230?_

do11

e

= A

\E }.@-1

Winnie attacks police over squatter camp deaths

WINNIE Mandela, making her
first public appearance since
she was freed from her solitary
ANC job, accused a group of
so-called forces of shooting dead
two people at a squatter camp
on Friday,

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

I trying to defend ourselves
against & terror government
that has unleashed its forces to
attack defenceless men and
women in their sleep,

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

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

Police confirmed that two

inults, had been killed soon:

ten killed at the camp in
the Orlando district, near Man-
dela's home. A third person, a
police officer, was shot dead in
the street.

A Visnews camera crew re-
ported that Mandela waved to
Mantle's hag [full of spent shells
which residents said were from
shots fired by the police,

She said: "All of these have to
kill you in your sleep. The po-
lice led to defile your spirit
and fighting.

â\200\234They want it to appear as if
we are fighting among our-
selves, This is the way we are
supposed to live with.â\200\235

When Mandela arrived at the

, - squatter camp police were still

searching for someone who

shack,
she told them the people

were angry and that they ought

to do it, they did.

Palle's spokesman Joseph
Mngobeni said unidentified gun-
men had ambushed a police pa-
trol at 115 am. One policeman
was killed and another wound-
ed,

Patle's friend enteredâ\200\235 the camp
to look for the attackers,

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

she was linked to the: killing of
activists in Soweto during 198
had created a difficult situation
for the ANC.

She is on appeal against her
conviction of six-year jail sentence for kid-
napping four youths and being
an accessory (to assassinate on
them,

On Monday Nelson Mandela,

allegedly unimpaired after
announced that they were so-

porating after 33 years of mar-

riage, ~ Sapp-Reuler,
© See Fugos 6 and 10 .

OF:

R61Â¢ TTTQ

d al â\202~0A

Washington's

"JUREK MARTIN reports on the :
ridiculous spectacle inspired by the 8
growing public anger in the United States
over the privileges enjoyed by government

officials: a self-righteous orgy of purging --
the perks.

WASHINGTON â\200\224 In
1977, when Jody
Powell first came to

Washington as Presi-
dent Jimmy Carterâ\200\231s press sec-
retary, he was asked if he in-
tended to have a phone in-
stalled in his car, a decrepit
VW beetle. â\200\234Nah,â\200\235 he drawled,

â\200\234 â\200\234it couldnâ\200\231t stand the extra
weight.â\200\235 Everybody laughed.

Today, nobody is laughing at
the weight that is dragging
Washingtonâ\200\231s name through the

" mud. \

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

This kind of puritanism is not
new. :

Sherman Adams, President
Eisenhowerâ\200\231s right-hand man,
had to resign for accepting a
free fur coat.

- Mr G-man himself, J Edgar
â\200\230Hoover, got into trouble for
* having free window pelmets in-
stalled.

The fall of John Sununu,
President Bushâ\200\231s chief-of-staff,

~was pretty much sealed when it
became known last year that he
had used government aircraft
like lesser mortals used taxis.

. Some administrations have

. tried to set an honourable ex-
ample. Others have not even

bothered. !

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

' gowns. :

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

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

Congress is the most defensive because it appears to be the main offender. All the little

. things that make congressional life easier are under scrutiny.

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

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

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

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

George Bush's perks are not insubstantial. They run to a \$7,26-million annual operating budget for the White House, covering nearly 100 domestic employees including five full-time staff spending \$200 000 a year

on displays, and five calligraphers, presumably deciphering the presidential scrawl. 2541

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

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

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

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

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

The system is not working; Real issues are being ducked: "H it were, and they were not, one would be wailing over the potted plants and floral displays. Financial Times. 748

P

LA

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

In a hard-hitting conclusion to one of the worst weeks in her tical career, the estranged

e of ANC president Nelson Mandela visited Soweto's Power Park camp yesterday and told a cheering crowd of 300 squatters: "Today is a day of worship, but we are spending

SUASHY FEWS
Winnie attacks police over squatter

it trying to defend ourselves against a terrorist government that has unleashed its forces to attack defenceless men and

women in their sleep.

"I heard the shooting at one

' + o'clock from my house.

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

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

police officer, was shot dead in

the clash.

gmm@200\230@jir\202@wg IC Y% -9L

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

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

â\200\234They want it to appear as if
we are fighting among our-
selves. This is the lie we are
supposed to live with.â\200\235

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

[Â\$= Yâ\200\224T .

shacks.

She told them the people

. were angry and that they ought

to leave. They did.

Police spokesman Joseph

Ngobeni said unidentified gun-
a police pa- "

men had attack

trol at 1.15 am. One policeman
was killed and another wound-
ed.

Police then entered the camp
to look for the attackers.

Mandela resigned from her

post as head of the ANCâ\200\231s social

- welfare departm lient on Wed-

nulhy ndylng a egations that

Âçamp deaths

. she â\200\230was linked to the klillmg of

activists in Soweto during 1989
had created a difficult situation
for WQZN "

She is on bail pending an ap-
peal agdinst her conviction and
six-year jail sentence for kid-
ng four yï-\202md being
g nnults qon

thel__ï-\202-"* o 4 .G

Oh LV â\200\231 mandï-\202a,
citing dr ifferences,
announced tï-\201 al th > were 18e-
pam after 33 years of mar-

â\200\231f, ~â\200\224 Sapa;ReutÃ©r. -
6?530:6 m 10 .

C@\\g thisso? ~ @t Pilions TR,

EW Buth61621 .
Mandela speak
at Moria servlce

STAFF REPORTERS, SAPA andAFP

IN A major bld to woo future
voters, South Afrlca s three _main

address. a _â\200\230l,gathermgw of - abut_
: three mllhon black Chrstlans. 5

State Presldent F W de Klerk, 'ANC
president Nelson Mandela and IFP
leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to at-
tend the Easter service of the conser-
vative Zion Christian Church (ZCC) at
its headquarters in Zion Clty, Morla â\200\230in
the far northern Transvaal :

Buthelezi, who will deliver the frst ad-
dress, Mandela and De Klerk will each
.speak for about 20 minutes.

â\200\230The gathering . takes place in_ the, Pieters-
burg area, which is notorious for road accx-
dents, partlcularly over the Easter holiday.::

Despite a serious collison between a bus and a

lorry yesterday on the Pietersburg-Tzaneen road in
which three people were killed and thirty-four in-

jured, nine seriously,.national â\200\230accident statlstlcs;

showed a shal neductlon : L
e o ,...rP:â\200\230-r T Â»}Qâ\200\231%â\200\230%Â«Wâ\200\231,ruâ\200\230i-\2011 :

Five million members

The ZCC, which marries Christian dogma with tra-;v
dltxonal African beliefs, has five million membersâ\200\231
and .is noted for. its puritanical rules. preventing
members from smoking, drinking or eating pork. .

- Political analyst Alf Stadler said all three leaders

would be â\200\234flirtingâ\200\235. for.votes with the. ZCC, whose
membership â\200\230is;:larger-thafi-'that of . 3â\200\2301 i-\201ohtml_
party-â\200\234

.__â\200\2241'4

o T

â\200\230 Stadler beheves De Klerk may tfmd fertile groundf
For his campaign to expand the National Party S pop-
ulanty beyond its white power base.

:Mandelaâ\200\231s ANC has also been trymg to wldn lts
mï¬\202uence in traditional African society, while Buthe-
leziâ\200\231s Inkatha Freedom Party is a strong advocate of
giving a role to traditional leaders.

â\200\234â\200\234 They are all pitching for the â\200\230traditional lead !

ers,â\200\235, Stadler said, adding that the ZCC was â\200\234im-
portant in the new 'South Africaâ\200\235.

-The conservative nature of the ZCC was hlghhghlâ\200\230-
ed in 1985 when former president P W Botha ad-
dressed the churchâ\200\231s Easter Sunday service.

â\200\234Bothaâ\200\231s address came at a time of intense vio-
lence in South Africa and followed the March 21,
1985, shooting of more than 35 blacks by police at
Langa, near Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape. ;

Botha praised the Zionists for being law-abxdmg
and told them: â\200\234Do what is good and you will receive
the approval of the ruler. He is Godâ\200\231s servant.for
your good.â\200\235)

St

6\9&&

Y. .9

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

THE taxi ranks that bor-
r Joubert Park were a\200\224

a\200\234you could imagine it a\200\224
given more frantic than at

the start of a normal

weekend. 508

I a\200\234By midday on Thursday
the lines of commuters were
already winding into the dis-
ance a\200\224 people clutching
bags and parcels, one mo-
ent lookingl~like they did
g t believe they would ever
t a ride, the next quick-
epping forward to the bark

of taxi rank managers.

" The longest line of all, snak-
halfway up King George
reet towards Hillbrow, was
the run up to Pietersburg.
t of the people in the line,
one way or another a\200\224 a
ver badge glinting in the sun,
t cap with a star, a khaki
t a\200\224 indicated that they were

g9t commuters but pilgrims.

very Easter, close on one
lion people converge on the
on Christian Church (ZCC)
dquarters at Zion City,
oria, for four days of song,
ayer and worship. The lines
the taxi ranks represent a
ere trickle in comparison
th the other streams flowing

E}Nards.Moria. \
oThe ZCC, which is very
rong in the northern Trans-
1, has organised about 1200
ses to transport worshippers.
a\200\230Special trains have also been
laid on. Many of the pilgrims
-will come in their own cars or

"It is the largest single gath-

ering of Iany kind in South Afri-
a\200\230ca, yet it is usually noted in the

media largely in terms of traf-
fic and accidents, partly be-

- cause the ZCC has always been |
. intensely private and has by
. and large barred the press,
- from Moria â\200\224 except in 1986,

when former president PW
Botha was guest speaker.

This year is different. To-

morrow afternoon at 3pm,
KwaZulu Chief Minister Man-
gosuthu Buthelezi, ANC leader
Nelson Mandela and President
F W de Klerk â\200\224 in that order
â\200\224 will address the assembly on
the subject of peace.

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

_ The circumstances at Moria
will make some taxing person-

al demands on them. The ZCC:

expressly forbids smoking,
which means De Klerk â\200\224 a
chain smoker â\200\224 will have to
thrust his pack of John Rolfe
deep into the pockets of the:
dark suit he will doubtless wear

for the occasion, and keep it
there.

But all three men also face a
significant political test. Gra-
ham Mdluli (60), shuffling

. forward in the taxi queue to

make his tenth pilgrimage to
Moria, said Buthelezi, Mandela
and De Klerk would realise on
arrival that â\200\234this whole thing is
not a play. They must tell the
truth, we will know if they are

not being honest. They must not
* defile themselvesâ\200\235.

â\200\234We want to see if they stand
for reason,â\200\235 Mdluli said. â\200\234And
when they return we want to
see that all this nonsense has
stopped. In Moria they will see
that all different people are
united â\200\224 Zulus, Pedis, Xhosas,

even people from outside South

Africa. ;

â\200\234And if our bishop can do it,
why canâ\200\231t they?â\200\235

i E:lp (t)f thte leaders will have
inutes to make his point.

A!l three will speak in Enl:1)ish
without translation, which will
certainly limit their impact.

It will also leave them heavi- =

ly_ dependent on .ZCC leader Most.of the,preahiiii5 doug
Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane by the 14 diocesan ministers of
to set the final tone. the ZCC and the evangelists,
Lekganyane will speak im- deagong.; a8d . ays pepagbers
mediately after them for 50 mi- under Âfhisg. Theeg sare | also
:wtesl gâ\200\230 Pedi, thus allowing hundreds of choirs present.
ranslation i i says: â\200\234

languages, ix?g?udfrfg enlieoâ\200\230rtÃ@lx%r wenzâ\200\230liel:::: ::}I':i'e Vggendwg slg
ep,

and Damara for the Namibians. only for 10 ming tel;n i o

While the ZCC leadership has donâ\200\231t want to mi:s oxil_so. â\200\235w S
been perceived in some circles, s;myt i

as conservative â\200\224 largely be- One regular pilgrim says
cause of the invitation extended Lekganyane, ho makis anout.

to Botha' â\200\224 the sheer scale of SIRE- poarNiices: SN0, Is
its membership makes the Seen ously briefly -6t Micrgeth.

church as a whole politically pring exceptfor when he makes

inscrutable. â\200\234We are â\200\230against all Ale Saniiayispend:

politics,â\200\235 says Mdluli; â\200\234We say the less we see our .

An official docutnent from bishop talk, the more we listen

the church says: â\200\234Current poli- When he talks.â\200\235 |

ey in the ZCC is that each and)] B

ezery member has the right to gi;,I;h ?li~\201â\200\231e ltfh;â\200\230eâ\200\230;t1:;â\200
\230â\200\234"gl teedls:x mligi~\201t

exercise his individual choice some food for thought. peakers

of political activity, and to en-
gage in it. There is, however,
only one way of ensuring that
the contributions its members
make will evolve into a more
democratic society.â\200\235 .

On relations with church

bodies like the South African

Council of Churches, the docu-

ment says: â\200\234The ZCC has no ob-

jection to working with other

churches on religious objec-

tives of mutual interest; but it

reserves the right not to lean

over and or espouse the policies

of any one political party.

Thereby it safeguards the right

of self-determination of its

members and their political af-

filiations.â\200\235

It is a mark of the ZCCâ\200\231s po-

tential clout that it could, at

less than two weeksâ\200\231 notice, se-

ure the presence of the coun-

(t:ryâ\200\231s three pre-eminent politi-
cal figures. 3

A ZCC representative saic:

Â«After the extreme violence re;

cently, our bishop asked wtgah

he could do and came up wit!

this idea.â\200\235

But for all that, the presence
of Buthelezi, Mandela and De
Klerk will, by all accounts,
probably be overshadowed by
that of the bishop, Who will her-
ald the start of the Sunday 33;er-t
vice tomorrow by arriving da
the head of a large brass band.

he
Lekganyane took over the
church?, founded in 1910 by his
grandfather Engenas Lekgan-
yane, in 1967. He was 15.

According to ZCC documents
the church has never â\200\234demand-
ed of its members that they jet-
tison African culture in favour
of Western culture as a precon-
dition of acceptance into the
church. .. - This has had the ef-
fect of giving them a strong
sense of direction and purpose
in their lives, because there is
no dichotomy in their lives as
church members and members

of society.â\200\235