

## Majority rule: what it means

SIR — South Africans who glibly accept the desirability of "majority rule" should realise exactly what the term means before they are once again stampeded into another referendum or election.

Majority rule is by definition black rule. Because the blacks are by far in the majority in this country, they are the majority. Cyrus Vance put it very clearly years ago when he said "America wants a black government in South Africa".

Not every foreign spokesman who interferes in our domestic affairs puts it as bluntly as that since some are more diplomatic than others, but it is obvious that when they call for "democracy", "majority rule" or "one-man, one-vote" these terms are all synonymous in their minds with a black government for this country.

And, of course, they are right by definition. If words have any meaning, the majority is black and hence majority rule is black rule.

To my liberal friends I say that if you are in favour of a mixed government, say a power-sharing between the NP-DP and the ANC, you cannot very well support majority rule or you do not understand English very well.

To Buthelezi, Mangope and Oupa Gqozo I say that you may very well get majority rule, but you may also very well rue the day when you put this as your first priority.

Is it possible that when the blacks and overseas governments which interfere in our affairs talk about majority rule for South Africa they mean something different from when we discuss it? If so, I am afraid they are grammatically correct and we are in the wrong.

If South Africa, therefore, comes up with anything but an all-black government will it be universally acceptable?

OH DESA

## The Mandelas

SIR — Your leader, Mandela Divorce (Mercury, April 15), reeks of sloppy sentimentality unworthy of you.

You give the impression that the Mandelas' marriage was "love's young dream" akin to the romance of *Romeo and Juliet* with your description of a "dashing young suitor" and the "young bride" without her beloved. From all accounts the dashing young suitor had deserted his first wife and their children.

You should face the fact that Mr Mandela and his current wife are really two very ordinary people who had "greatness" thrust upon them by the praise singers of the left-wing media and various left-wing governments. Thus it is not surprising they both have a bad case of hubris. Why else did Mr Mandela refuse to attend the recent degree ceremony at Natal University citing "reasons of state"?

In future, please let us have a better sense of proportion when discussing the activities of these two mortals.

PJW HENDERSON



Mercury Reporter

## IFP inquiry ultimatum

THE Inkatha Freedom Party Emathulini Constituency has given the Minister of Law and Order a 14-day ultimatum to respond to its demands for an immediate inquiry into the death of an IFP member in a police cell.

The ultimatum was contained in a memorandum handed over at the Hibber-

dene Police Station, near Port Shepstone, after a march by thousands of IFP supporters at the weekend.

This follows the death of Mr Sta Gumede, whom the IFP alleges was brutally murdered by members of the SAP stationed at Port Shepstone on March 29.

The memorandum demanded that "an independent commission of inquiry be instituted immediately to investigate the brutal murder of Mr Sta Gumede and other activities of the SAP to destabilise the Emathulini tribe".

"The SA Police must immediately cease their provoca-

tive raids on the innocent people of Emathulini tribe."

A spokesman for the SAP, Capt Henry Budhram said: "The primary duty of the police was to maintain law and order and under no circumstances at all can it be seen as provocative."

Capt Budhram said the death of Mr Gumede was being investigated and a report would be given to the Attorney-General



# AK-47 massacre of bus passengers

IN A horror killing late last night a group of men armed with AK-47s opened fire on a bus — after letting women and children off — killing seven men and wounding at least 11 more.

The large bus was ambushed while travelling from Winklespruit to the Mshywaza area.

According to SAP public relations officer Capt Bala Naidoo, a group of 15 men, all with AK-47s or shotguns, ambushed the bus in the Domisi area.

The attackers apparently let the women and children off the bus before opening fire on the men remaining.

The women and children looked on in horror as the men raked the bus with high-

**By Fiona McDonald**

velocity weapons at point-blank range.

Police said the bodies of two men were found inside the bus, while another three were found outside. All had multiple gunshot wounds.

After an extensive search, the bodies of two more men were found in the bush — more than 2 km away from the scene of the massacre.

Capt Naidoo said one black woman and 10 black men were injured, although he was not able to ascertain the extent of their injuries.

The attackers did not make use of disguises.

Police are baffled by the apparently motiveless slaying and are convinced that the shooting was not politically motivated.

## Codesa showdown looms with call to slow down

**By Chris Whitfield**  
**Political Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN—A showdown is looming at Codesa following a meeting of the Government, IFP, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana yesterday in which they signalled that brakes should be applied to the negotiating process.

The grouping — basically an anti-ANC faction — said they were concerned at the “headlong rush” towards interim arrangements. They stressed, however, that there was no suggestion of a call being made to delay progress at the negotiating forum.

“The criticism is against how Codesa operates,” President de Klerk said.

The push for a revision of the procedures followed at Codesa to give the participants more time to think, do research and consult their supporters follows a meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday between the four organisations.

The proposal comes at the very time when the ANC and its allies have called for the process to be accelerated and warned that the Codesa II plenary session could become a “damp squib”.



The Star 28/4/92

## Train talks to resume

Talks were to resume later today with community leaders staging a sit-in at the Spoorpet office in Johannesburg to demand tighter train security.

The leaders had talks late into last night with Witwatersrand Regional Commissioner Major-General Gerrit Erasmus.

Today Spoorpet spokesman Jacques Pienaar said "there were a number of positive pro-

posals from all parties involved".

These proposals would be considered and discussion would continue later today, he said.

The sit-in has been on for six days.

The protesters were visited yesterday by ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and a South African Communist Party delegation, led by deputy general secretary Charles Ngakula. — Staff Reporters.



An early warning system may stop, or at least reduce bloodshed, argues Peter Wellman

# Needed: 'Good men and true'

**I**f nuclear powers need early warning systems, so does the National Peace Accord.

The damage done by SA's endemic violence is not as dramatic as that of a warhead, but it is nonetheless tearing the country apart, and it simply cannot be true that all we can do is talk peace and clear away the bodies.

Several local dispute resolution committees (LDRCs) have been set up under the Peace Accord. Some peace efforts are working well, as in Kagiso, near Krugersdorp, where there are enough people on an interim LDRC with the will to make it work. A proper LDRC will be established there next month.

But LDRCs usually come only after the bloodshed, as in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg.

And they don't always work well. This is not to say the LDRCs are failures in themselves, because they usually inherit a climate of violence, and that's a tough way to start.

Alexandra is an example of how an early warning system (EWS) might have prevented more than a year of strife, because of the

long build-up before the first big clash, in March last year.

First, there was an influx of new people into the area, which had a proud history of peace between hostel dwellers and township residents.

Some moved into Madala hostel, others into shacks. Depending on who you talk to, the newcomers were either Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, or ANC, or both.

The blood-letting began at the hostel on March 8 last year, with 2 000 people in it. A few days later only about 600 remained: they were all Zulus, according to hostel records, although getting accurate data was difficult in those days of blood and disaster.

The Star has established that an illegal influx into the hostel followed the outbreak of violence — hundreds of young men from Natal with no English to speak of, few skills, less money, and no bed permits.

And, as Alex residents fled homes near the hostel, they were taken over by Inkatha supporters. Inkatha official Peterson Phoswa suggests quietly that, since homes of some long-time Zulu res-

idents of Alex were also taken when they fled, what happened was "a swap".

It is quite true that some in the hostel today are Zulus residents who fled to the hostel for protection after March 8, and who were not necessarily Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters. And that they are afraid of both armed men in the hostel, and armed residents outside it.

It is also true that today residents attack hostel dwellers: the most recent violence was sparked by the ambush of an IFP funeral procession.

But it is equally true that the hostel, a high-rise squatter camp feared by township dwellers, is as well defended, and as dirty, as a medieval fortress. And it is IFP all the way. Mr Phoswa says

everyone there is a member.

This is disputed by the IFP's Bruce Anderson, who modestly claimed "only 80 percent support" and that the hostel dwellers' committee was "non-aligned".

Whatever, the hostel and the residents of Alex are at war.

It never used to be that way, but then Alex will never be the same again, either.

When I drove up the hill on Roosevelt Road towards the hostel the other day an agitated resident shouted: "You can't go up there, those guys will blow you away!" Nothing happened ... but no one else was using that stretch of Roosevelt Road.

A source in the Alex peace structures says all sides felt an EWS was implied in the LDRC being established there, simply

because the committed was in the threatening situation with achieved in such a tense situation, frequent commitment.

That is no doubt true, but relying on **RULE FOUR:** The LDRC must on the basis of all LDRC members issue a statement to the media on bers, in all areas, is not enough, show the situation was resolved, when there is proof galore of pre- **RULE FIVE:** If there is violent violence all over the place, and any one side clearly place.

There are simply not enough, nothing! the National Peace Com- "good men and true" to go around, mitted must issue a statement of condemnation.

Neither is there enough commitment to peace from all sides. Ask any one side about this, and they blame the others.

That is why an EWS is needed, as part of Peace Accord structures. It would have to be a three-way thing, made up of the ANC, the IFP, and the security forces.

Few rules would be necessary, but they would have to be binding.

**RULE ONE:** All sides must report a tension build-up to the other two, on a 24-hour hot line basis.

**RULE TWO:** A small LDRC sub-committee must be convened immediately, and the report must be investigated.

**RULE THREE:** The sub-committee, representing all sides, must go together to the trouble spot, and must be seen to kneeling

It seems to me this is simple and workable. It is also a great pity that it should be necessary, but I believe it is.

Finally, and without this the whole EWS falls down, where leaders preach war they must be proscribed promptly.

There are enough tough laws against inflammatory speeches to constitute a real deterrent to the lunatics who actually want to see people killed.

● If press reports are correct, and prominent western Transvaal ANC member George Mathusa actually said that Bophuthatswana could be made ungovernable through necklace killings and bombs, he should be in the dock right now, as this article is being read. □





The Star 28/4/92

### 3 complain of Codesa restraints

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Leaders of three national states met President de Klerk and Cabinet Ministers for more than six hours in Tuynhuys yesterday and listed several complaints they had about the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei said Codesa did not allow enough time for leaders to consult their constituencies on important issues. They also did not want an interim government to be installed before a final constitution had been agreed upon.

Asked if he thought Codesa was moving too fast, Mr de Klerk said its cumbersome nature, which impaired swift movement, could be reviewed. "That does not mean we do not want to move swiftly to a solution," he added.

No joint proposal on the pace of Codesa was formulated yesterday, but the three national states are set to submit a proposal to Codesa 2 to allow participants to consult their constituents on decisions reached.



The Star 28/4/92

## Uncritical Mandelamania over, reports Peter Taylor of The European Aid and house that Winnie built

**T**HE ANC's use of foreign aid, especially by Winnie Mandela, poses the question: Has uncritical financial support from the West for the ANC been wise?

The question is asked by Peter Taylor of The European, in a commentary revealing the ANC's top brass as having been less than discreet about the use of funds received over the years.

The Mandelas' separation has been seen largely in terms of personal tragedy, but it also raises questions about how the West views its Third World heroes and heroines.

"Unlike the US, which has a powerful black Congressional caucus to placate, European attitudes to Africa derive from sentiments

of philanthropy tinged with a vague sense of guilt about the colonial past. It is somehow unfair for the privileged to nitpick about the behaviour of the less fortunate," writes Taylor.

Homing in on Winnie, Taylor points out that despite her township unpopularity at the height of her reign in the 1980s, the "blank cheques continued to arrive in the coffers of the ANC, and Winnie continued with the construction of a vast mansion in Soweto".

Although Nelson Mandela, on his release, opted instead for the modest house he left behind, "few other leading members of the ANC have been so restrained".

SACP leader and Umkhonto We Sizwe head Chris Hani had "cheer-

fully" enrolled his daughter at an exclusive private school. ANC sporting head Steve Tshwete had done the same for his children.

"Hani and Tshwete have no doubt been saving for a rainy day, and one does not begrudge the apparatchiks of the ANC the occasional penthouse suite. But it would reassure some of us if the ANC published proper accounts of the money it has received over the years," says Taylor.

Taylor ventures further that the largesse does not extend to the ANC's lower ranks, as was demonstrated by Winnie's co-accused Xoliswa Falati, who triggered the Mandela split after an argument over the funding of her appeal. "Miss Falati's defence, like that of

Mrs Mandela, was largely paid for by the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund. This was, in any case, a matter of controversy, as the trial was plainly a criminal affair and nothing to do with human rights.

"But IDAF closed shortly afterwards through shortage of funds, and although Mrs Mandela has money for her own appeal (mostly courtesy of Colonel Gaddafi, who has also paid for some of Nelson Mandela's foreign trips, Miss Falati was left to fend for herself ..."

Taylor concludes: "Europeans have every reason to be baffled by the ANC ... The era of uncritical Mandelamania is over." — Star Bureau. □



The Star 28/4/92

# Residents vow to arm themselves

By Montshiwa  
Moroke and  
Stan Hlophe

Residents of Orlando West (Killarney) in Soweto yesterday vowed to arm themselves for protection against attacks, allegedly by hostel dwellers.

The pledge comes in the wake of fierce clashes in the townships at the weekend in which at least 18 people were killed and many others injured.

A Killarney resident who wished to remain anonymous said yesterday the residents had lost confidence in the Government and its security forces, whom he accused of doing nothing to stop the violence.

The resident emphasised that the defence units would be politically non-aligned but would be formed by the residents for their own protection against attacks.

He said: "We are going to arm ourselves. We are sick and tired of the South African Government. Why are the police not protecting us? What do we pay taxes for if the Government is unable to protect our lives and property?"

"We believe the Government is involved in all this wave of violence because we have been subjected to harassment, especially from the white policemen. There is no communication between us and the white policemen," he said.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn yesterday said everyone had a right to

defend himself if attacked at home, but he warned that the police would not tolerate any private army in the area.

"If there is anything irregular about what the police are doing, the people must come forward and make written affidavits. The police are doing their best to protect everyone by being there 24 hours a day," Colonel Halgryn said.

One of Sunday's victims in Killarney was Elliot Siphos Tshabalala (22), who was allegedly shot in the head by police on Sunday. Mr Tshabalala died at the Baragwanath Hospital hours later.

## Murdered

His death follows that of a young couple, Doctor "Doc" Moloi and Nono Ntoagae, who were murdered on Thursday.

In Killarney and neighbouring Mzimhlophe, the situation was tense yesterday, with streets deserted.

Some people stayed at home from work. Others are believed to have left their homes in fear of attacks.

In Orlando East, elderly Ntombazanyana Ndlovu told yesterday how her family and sub-tenants were attacked by a large group of heavily armed men at about 10 pm on Saturday. Five people were killed.

The dead were Mazangalaza Ndlovu, Mkhuliseni Ndlovu, Jabulani Ndlovu, a relative known only as Jele and an unidentified man.

"When the police arrived on the scene, the group had already left. This was the nightmare of my life," Mrs Ndlovu said.



# The Star 28/4/92

## OAU to review stance on SA

By Robin Drew  
Star Africa Service

HARARE — Vital policy decisions on the attitude of African countries towards South Africa will be taken at a meeting of the OAU ad hoc committee on South Africa this week.

The meeting, to take place in Arusha, Tanzania, today, will hear a report from President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria on his talks with President de Klerk which have paved the way for a new approach.

President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe will also present a report to the meeting.

Up to now, apart from an emergency meeting on transport because of the food crisis, Zimbabwe has refused to meet SA ministers, and has confined government-to-government contact to official levels only.

Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira said in a television interview that the Arusha meeting would result in a new OAU policy document.

He refused to say if the meeting between the Zimbabwean and SA transport ministers this month meant Zimbabwe had changed its stance.

● Highway into Africa  
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# Members of Police Board announced

## Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Human rights lawyers prominent in the struggle against apartheid as well as several academics have been appointed to the Police Board, set up in terms of the National Peace Accord signed on September 14 last year.

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel announced the members of the board yesterday. Its task is to review the training and working of the police in a bid to bring communities and the police closer together.

Advocate Don Brunette was appointed chairman. Members include:

- Durban advocate Pius Langa, who has acted for accused in political and unrest trials. A background strategist in the ANC, he helped form the National Association of Democratic Lawyers.
- Peter Gastrow, Democratic Party spokesman on law and order and MP for Durban Central.
- Human rights lawyer Professor Nic Haysom. Professor Haysom, a long time anti-

apartheid activist, left his mark in the 1988/89 period by insisting that if there had been conclusive police investigations into political murders and acts of political violence from the outset, the incidence of unrest would have dropped.

● Matthew Phosa, a member of the ANC's legal team. He has been involved in talks between the Government and the ANC on the implications of the termination of the ANC's armed struggle.

Also appointed to the board are: Dr Clifford Shearing, a sociologist who studied in Toronto and focused on public grievances and complaints against the Royal Canadian Mounted Police; Janine Rauch of the University of the Witwatersrand psychology department, who has specialised in criminology and is part of the Wits police research project; sociologist Elrena van der Spuy of the University of Stellenbosch, who specialises in criminology; Professor Thomas Coetzee, a law professor at Potchefstroom University; and attorney Izak Steyn, who is based in Johannesburg.

Members of the SAP appointed to the board include

Lieutenant-generals H P M de Villiers, detective chief A B Conradie, Basie Smit, Louwtjie Malan and J Swart.

Members of the homelands' police appointed to the board are brigadiers E S Zwane (KaNgwane), M J Thubane (KwaNdebele), M A Maletse (Lebowa); colonels M H Koe-hela (QwaQwa) and P M Mathe (Gazankulu) and Lieutenant-Colonel D J Muller (KwaZulu).

The members of the public were nominated by unanimous decision of the Peace Committee.

The Police Board will look at and make recommendations to the Minister of Law and Order on policy relating to training and efficient functioning of police, with a view to reconciling community and police interests.

In terms of the National Peace Accord, the board will research and take representations from the public on these issues.

The board will not have a role in regard to the day-to-day workings of the police.

The recommendations of the board will be made public if this helps to reconcile the interests of the community with those of the police.



The Star 28/4/92

# Judge opposes expert's view of Trust Feed killer

MARITZBURG — A criminologist's perception of Captain Brian Mitchell as a dedicated policeman who felt remorse for the Trust Feed massacre was rejected by a Maritzburg Supreme Court judge yesterday.

Mitchell and four special policemen were last week found guilty of murdering 11 people and attempting to murder two others at a funeral wake in Trust Feed, near Maritzburg, in December 1988.

Yesterday, University of South Africa criminologist Irma Labuschagne gave evidence that Mitchell was a "normal, caring, respectable" person and a dedicated policeman who regarded himself as a soldier in a war situation when he carried out the attack.

Mrs Labuschagne's 35-page report emphasised Mitchell's situation during the time of the attack when he regarded himself as a soldier fighting against the threat of communism.

Mitchell had told the criminologist he regarded the United Democratic Front as a communist front and an enemy of the State. He had wanted to attack a house of UDF supporters in an attempt to bolster the Inkatha Freedom Party in the area.

She said Mitchell was under the influence of alcohol on the night of the massacre and had acted on the spur of the moment. His heavy drinking that night, coupled with his frustration at the UDF and his experience of the violence that organisation

had perpetrated, were the main reasons for his actions.

During and after cross-examination by State prosecutor Anthony Irons, Mr Justice Andrew Wilson said evidence during the trial had shown that Mitchell had not acted on the spur of the moment — he had planned the attack beforehand.

The judge also rejected Mrs Labuschagne's assertion that Mitchell had been known as a "negotiator" during his lifetime, saying he had not tried to negotiate with his opponents in Trust Feed but had rather tried to "eradicate" them.

Mrs Labuschagne's report frequently said Mitchell had accepted full responsibility for his actions.

Mr Justice Wilson said, however, that for the first six months of the trial, Mitchell had tried to escape blame.

The judge said the criminologist's report that Mitchell was a caring and respectable person was not borne out by the events on the night of the massacre.

Evidence in mitigation of sentence for the four special constables convicted of murder is expected to begin today.

● Mitchell's wife, Karen, had attempted suicide three times since the beginning of the year due to the stress of the trial, Mrs Labuschagne told the court.

Her most recent suicide attempt was last week on the day when judgment began.

Mrs Mitchell is now in a medical institution having psychological counselling. — Sapa.



The Star 28/4/92

# Accord on temporary 'super-Cabinet' plan

## Political Staff

Agreement on a structure to oversee the first phase of South Africa's transition edged closer at Codesa yesterday, with a multiparty proposal for a "Transitional Executive Council" or temporary "super Cabinet".

The transition phase cannot get under way properly until this vital first hurdle is surmounted.

The TEC's primary task would be to "level the political playing field" in preparation for all-in elections.

It would be backed up by several "sub-councils" dealing with key areas such as defence, law and order, second and third-tier government and finance.

The proposal — contained in a discussion document of the specially-appointed technical committee charged with breaking the impasse in the working group on transitional arrangements — appears to have the blessing of Codesa's major participants.

Although crucial details remain to be resolved — notably, the TEC's authority vis a vis existing Government structures — Codesa sources, including management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan, said the new proposal took discussion on the question of transitional arrangements a step further.

The TEC proposal is restricted to the period preceding elections for a

fully-fledged interim government.

It has no bearing on President de Klerk's recent proposal for an elected executive council and rotating presidency. That suggestion refers to "phase two" of the transition.

The document, which would be referred to the leaders of the 19 participating parties, proposed that:

- The TEC would be constituted by legislation agreed to by Codesa.
- It would be a multiparty body with executive powers.
- It would have Cabinet status, and its decisions would be binding on and implemented by the Government, whose view was that this would be the case only if decisions were taken by consensus.

## Defence

- The TEC would be appointed by the State President on the recommendation of the Codesa management committee.
- It would have several sub-councils, an election commission and media commission.
- Sub-councils have been proposed for defence and law and order, regional and local government, finance and foreign affairs.
- Decisions by the sub-councils would be subject to confirmation by the TEC.

The chairman of the working group dealing with transitional arrangements, Dr Patrick Maduna of KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement, said several areas of difference still re-

mained.

The powers of the TEC and sub-councils had not yet been finalised, he said.

Mr Gordhan announced yesterday that the CP, HNP, AWB, Azapo and PAC would be invited to Codesa 2.

Also, the Government yesterday supported a submission by the Inkatha Freedom Party that workable proposals which accommodated the widest possible convergence of views be placed before the working group dealing with the future of the homelands.

● In Cape Town, yesterday, leaders of three "national states" met President de Klerk and Cabinet Ministers for more than six hours at Tuynhuys.

The main complaint from the group was that Codesa was moving "too fast".

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei said Codesa did not allow enough time for leaders to consult their constituencies on important issues.

They also did not want an interim government to be installed before a final constitution had been agreed.

No joint proposal on the pace of Codesa was formulated yesterday, but the three national states are set to submit a proposal to Codesa 2 to allow participants to consult their constituents.



The Star 28/4/92

# 'They feared I'd hijack CP - Koos

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Conservative Party hardliners moved swiftly yesterday to expel maverick MP Koos van der Merwe to prevent his hijacking the party.

This was Mr van der Merwe's interpretation last night of his expulsion from the CP caucus and the party.

He said that at a special CP indaba on Saturday, he had pushed the party too far towards his own belief in negotiations for a smaller Afrikaner volkstaat.

At the meeting, Mr van der Merwe told deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg — acknowledged leader of the hardline camp — that his policies were an "intellectual embarrassment" and that he could no longer sell them to thousands of CP supporters.

Mr van der Merwe believed the reasons for his expulsion were his clashes with Dr Hartzenberg, the general sympathy for his (Mr van der Merwe's)

ideas at the meeting, and his articulation of those views in a Sunday newspaper article.

However, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the expulsion had to do only with his flouting of party discipline.

CP chief whip Frank le Roux confirmed that Mr van der Merwe's remarks in the Sunday newspaper article were the final straw in a series of breaches of discipline.

## Tears

Mr van der Merwe criticised the leadership for kicking him out without warning.

He said he had heard about it from an SABC reporter when he arrived at Jan Smuts Airport from Cape Town yesterday.

His wife, Annette, was so shocked she had broken into tears, he said.

Mr van der Merwe said he had seen members of the CP caucus executive who expelled him before leaving Cape Town but they "did not have the guts" to tell him.

Other volkstaters in the CP

were in two minds yesterday about how to react.

Some felt the time had come for a decisive break with the party, while others felt they should carry on working within the CP.

Free State leader Cehill Plenaar, a prominent sympathiser of Mr van der Merwe, said he would remain in the CP as he felt it was still a suitable vehicle for the volkstaat ideal.

He said Dr Treurnicht's statement yesterday had given him great encouragement. Dr Treurnicht said the party was now busy with intensive discussions about the ideal of an Afrikaner volkstaat, and the party's inquiry was progressing well.

A positive announcement could be expected shortly and this would be followed by a general congress.

It is clear that the aim of this congress will be to endorse any policy changes the caucus recommends.

At Saturday's special caucus meeting, the reports of seven special party commit-

tees on policy and strategy were discussed.

It is understood that no final decisions were made but these are expected soon.

Mr van der Merwe said last night he had not decided on his future plans but now felt free to express his views about the urgency of taking part in negotiations for a nonracist volkstaat.

Political observers said Mr van der Merwe had been conducting a strategy of brinkmanship to try to push the party in his direction without being expelled.

## Identity

Finally, he had gone too far and the hardline leadership clique had moved against him.

He was the second CP MP to be expelled within weeks as the party battles to find a new identity in the wake of its referendum defeat.

A few weeks ago, another prominent volkstaters, Wonderboom MP Koos Botha, was thrown out and now sits on the cross benches of Parliament.



# The Star 28/4/92

## Phola Park

### probe postponed

By McKeed Kotlolo  
Pretoria Bureau

The Goldstone Committee investigating the alleged brutality of members of SADF's 32 Battalion on Phola Park residents earlier this month is to conduct an inspection in loco on Thursday afternoon.

Committee chairman Solly Sithole announced this during yesterday's sitting in Pretoria. The hearing was postponed until tomorrow morning.

Mr Sithole said the inspection in loco would be conducted at 2 pm.

Mr Sithole granted the postponement after Advocate Barry Roux, acting on behalf of some members of 32 Battalion, told the committee he needed time to consult his clients on the question of why they entered Phola Park on the night of April 8.

Advocate Roux said he would be ready to continue with the hearing after the consultation.



The Star 28/4/92

## Kriel reacts to criticism

Minister of Law and Order Fergus Kriel last night reacted to criticism against the police force levelled by Mr Justice Andrew Wilson last week when he found five policemen guilty of the murder of 11 people at Trust Feed, Natal, in 1988.

Mr Justice Wilson had called for a public inquiry into an alleged cover-up of the case by senior policemen.

Mr Kriel said reports that CID investigating officer Major Frank Dutton had been removed from his post were "devoid of all truth". He said Major Dutton was still head of the riot investigation unit.

Major Dutton had led the investigation into the massacre which led to the conviction of New Hanover station commander Brian Mitchell and four special constables last week.

Mr Kriel said he had "al-

ready" requested a full report from the Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe on the appointment of legal council for Major Joseph van Zyl, who testified in the trial.

When he received the report a decision would be taken whether further steps were necessary, he said.

Mr Kriel also said it had already earlier been mentioned that a police investigation team had been appointed to conduct a thorough investigation into any unlawful conduct or other irregularities by police force members in connection with Trust Feed.

He said the team would look at all aspects with a view to criminal and/or departmental steps — irrespective of who might have been involved.



The Star

28/4/92

## Six killed, eight hurt in bus attack

DURBAN — A crack team of detectives has been instructed to leave no stone unturned in solving yesterday's bus massacre in which six men were shot dead and eight others seriously wounded.

The ambush took place just after 4 pm, when about eight heavily armed men fired on the bus near the Domisi reserve on the Natal South Coast.

Police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said that the head of the Criminal Investigation Services, Brigadier Bertus Steyn, had hand-picked a special team of detectives to work on the case.

"The detectives have been instructed to leave no stone unturned in bringing to book those responsible for this barbaric deed."

It is believed that when the gunmen opened fire, a number of the passengers made a desperate bid to flee. The bodies of two men were found about two kilometres from the scene of the shooting.

Witnesses said the gunmen ordered women and children out of the bus and then fired on the men.

Four of the dead have been identified. They are S Shanga (40), I Cele (35), S Glaba (40) and B Gumede (50).

The wounded are all in a satisfactory condition in hospital.



The Star

28/4/92

# Sebokeng shooting: ANC members held

By Monica Gosterbrook  
Crime Staff

Police have arrested two senior ANC members following a shooting incident and death in Sebokeng near Vereeniging this weekend.

Another registered ANC member Moses Ndaplo, was fatally wounded in the township on Sunday after he opened fire on police with an AK-47 rifle.

At a Johannesburg press conference yesterday, Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Frans Mulherbe, said two ANC members, Satorabiso Radebe and Mandla Petrus Mazebuko, were arrested on Saturday after a shooting incident in Sebokeng on Friday night.

Three men allegedly fired on a yellow Mazda 323, killing passenger Zacharia Makhefuna and wounding the driver.

Police later arrested Mr Radebe, an ANC member and regional organiser of the Ciskei Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) and Mr Mazebuko, vice-chairman of the ANC's Evaton Branch in connection with the murder. Both men were found hiding in a house near the scene of the shooting.

Mr Radebe, wearing a blue police field jacket, was found in possession of a 9mm Stechkin pistol and 20 live rounds of ammunition. Mr Mazebuko, wearing a green municipal police jacket, had an F1 hand-grenade of Russian origin.

"These jackets are of great concern to the SAP in the light of accusations that SAP members are involved in attacks on people," Colonel Mulherbe said.

Colonel Mulherbe said it proved that members of the public in possession of police equipment could abuse it in certain circles.

While in the act of arresting these two men police saw another man running down the road with an AK-47 rifle.

● Residents vow to arm themselves — Page 16.

Two days later, police were called out to the same area after a report of a person shooting at bystanders. When police arrived on the scene, the man fired at police. When police took cover he ran into an alley and continued firing. Police returned fire, fatally wounding the man, later identified as Moses Mziwake Ndaplo. Mr Ndaplo, who was found in pos-

session of an AK-47 rifle and 12 rounds of ammunition, was a registered ANC member who left the country in 1980 for military training. He returned in December last year.

During the shooting, it is believed that Mr Ndaplo fatally wounded a four-year-old girl in a nearby house. Zeneng Mokobo was shot in the head with an AK-47 while standing in the bathroom. An AK-47 cartridge was found nearby.

Police are investigating the possibility that Mr Ndaplo was the man seen running from the scene on Friday.

Mr Radebe and Mr Mazebuko appeared in the Sebokeng Regional Court yesterday and are being held in custody.

Colonel Mulherbe issued a stern warning to any political groups targeting policemen and said all means would be used to counter attacks.

● Sapa reports that rubber bullets were fired at a stone-throwing group and a bread delivery truck was knocked and set alight by an estimated 200 people in separate incidents in Sebokeng yesterday afternoon, according to police.

Vaal triangle liaison officer Captain Piet van Doventer said bread and R1 500 cash were sto-



Weapons haul . . . Warrant Officer Thys Nollo (left) and Sergeant Richard Styger show reporters an AK-47 allegedly seized from an ANC man.

len from the truck.

No arrests were made because the group had dispersed when police arrived.

Captain van Doventer also

said police had fired rubber bullets to disperse a crowd which had stoned policemen removing the wreckage of a bakke allegedly used in a bank robbery.

The vehicle had crashed during a chase with police following a robbery at Sebokeng branch of United Bank yesterday.

One suspected robber was fatally shot in the chase, but three others escaped. Captain van Doventer said money had been found in the bakke.

Picture: George Mashini



The Star

28/4/92

## Declare Alexandra a disaster area, leaders urge Kriel

By McLeod Kotloko  
Pretoria Bureau

Alexandra community leaders yesterday met Law and Order Minister Hornus Kriel in Pretoria and asked him to declare their violence-racked township a disaster area.

The 12-person delegation comprised members of the local branches of the ANC, ANC

Youth League, Congress of South African Students, South African Democratic Teachers Union and the SACP.

Delegation spokesman Paul Mashatile said the main purpose of the meeting with Mr Kriel was to discuss the ongoing violence in Alexandra and to have "Beirut" — the area between First and Sixth avenues which has been worst hit by

protracted violence — declared a disaster area.

He said 60 people had died since March 7, with 585 injured and about 10 000 displaced.

Mr Mashatile said certain measures would be taken once Alexandra had been declared a disaster area.

These steps included financial assistance to families to rebuild their houses.



The Star 28/4/92

## Storm brews over Alex refugees

By Anna Cox

Confrontation is looming between about 140 Sandton council workers and the town council about the workers' refusal to vacate council premises in Sandton which they have been occupying since last year to escape violence in neighbouring Alexandra.

The council, which threatened to evict the workers last year but held off pending negotiations with the workers, said yesterday that the employees would have to be housed elsewhere "as a matter of urgency".

But the workers, interviewed by The Star yesterday, maintained they would not move.

The matter was due to be discussed at a town council meeting last night.

Sandton management com-

mittee chairman William Hefer said yesterday about 570 employees had occupied the Zandfontein and other council depots in March last year after an outbreak of violence in Alexandra.

The council later gave the workers permission to stay there temporarily.

After numerous requests for them to find alternative accommodation, 430 employees had vacated the council premises — several with the assistance from the council's housing scheme, Mr Hefer said.

The other employees remained in the depot, although the council had explained to them that they could not continue to live there.

"Since that date the council has been actively seeking ways of assisting these employees to find alternative accommoda-

tion," Mr Hefer said.

However, some difficulties had arisen such as the scarcity of land and affordable housing in the PWV area and the reluctance of financial institutions to invest in black townships.

The occupants yesterday said they had been sleeping in the depot's toilets, changeroom area and unwallied eating area.

Nyaniswani Mramba said it was too dangerous to return to the township.

"I have tried to find other accommodation but have been unable to," he said.

Hilmot Msani added: "Although we are sleeping in the toilet area here at the depot, it is better than getting killed in the township."

Joseph Dweku said he too had tried in vain to find alternative housing.



The Star 28/4/92

## Goldstone Committee to inspect Phola Park

By McKeed Kotlolo  
Pretoria Bureau

The Goldstone Committee investigating the alleged brutality of members of SADF's 32 Battalion on Phola Park residents earlier this month, is to conduct an inspection in loco in the area on Thursday afternoon.

Committee chairman Solly Sithole announced this during yesterday's seating in Pretoria. The hearing was postponed until tomorrow morning.

Mr Sithole said the inspection in loco would be conducted at 2 pm.

Mr Sithole granted the postponement after Advocate Barry Roux, act-

ing on behalf of some members of the 32 Battalion, told the committee he needed time to consult his clients on the question of why they entered Phola Park on the night of March 8, 1992.

Advocate Roux said he would be ready to continue with the hearing after the consultation.



The Star 28/4/92

## Talks over Cebekhulu continue

Crime Staff

Top-level discussions between the SAP and Zambian authorities over Winnie Mandela's co-accused, Katiza Cebekhulu, are continuing, but an extradition bid is not likely in the short term, police said yesterday.

"At this stage we merely want to talk to him.

"We want to see what Mr Cebekhulu can tell us," said police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel

Reg Crewe.

If the negotiations are successful, Soweto Murder and Robbery detectives are likely to interview Mr Cebekhulu in Zambia, where he has been jailed "for his own safety".

Colonel Crewe said he understood that Mr Cebekhulu was still in protective custody.

Reports last week that the negotiations were centred on an attempt by the SAP to secure Mr Cebekhulu's extradition were denied by Zambian

Home Affairs Deputy Minister Lieutenant-Colonel Chanda Sosala.

Mr Cebekhulu, a co-accused with Mrs Mandela in their kidnap and assault trial, skipped bail and fled South Africa in February 1991.

Earlier this month the Azanian People's Organisation claimed to have a witness who could corroborate allegations made by Mr Cebekhulu that Mrs Mandela was involved in the death of Soweto "People's Doctor" Abu-Baker Asvat.



B. Day 28/4/92

## Two men 'in police coats' held after attack

AN ANC official and a regional organiser for the ANC-aligned Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) — both armed and wearing police uniform — were arrested in Sebokeng after a man died and another was injured in what police described as a gun attack on a car.

Police said yesterday the car resembled an official SAP vehicle.

A third ANC member, Moses Nhlapo, was shot dead by police in the township on Sunday after police claimed he had opened fire on them with an AK-47 assault rifle and killed a four-year-old girl.

Mandla Mazobuko, vice-chairman of the ANC's Evaton branch, was in possession of

STEPHANE BOTHMA

a Russian-made handgrenade and regional Cast organiser and ANC member Sitembiso Radebe had a 9mm pistol when they were arrested on Friday, police said.

Both men appeared in the Sebokeng Regional Court yesterday and were remanded in custody. No charges were put.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe said yesterday police had suspected for some time that people were posing as policemen and becoming involved in township violence. The arrest of the two men dressed in police jackets could confirm these suspicions, he said.

Malherbe said police were called to the scene of the shooting on Friday night. Investigating the scene, police found Mazobuko, dressed in a green municipal police jacket, and Radebe, in a blue police jacket, hiding in a nearby house. A third man, carrying an AK-47, escaped.

Malherbe said: "The question to be asked is why two men, arrested at the scene of a shooting of civilians, were wearing police clothing."

ANC regional chairman Ronnie Mamoepa said the ANC had received no report of the incidents and would investigate before commenting.



B. Day

28/4/92

WILSON ZWANE

## ANC to discipline leader over threat

THE ANC said yesterday it would discipline western Transvaal leader George Mathusa, who reportedly told a funeral in Bophuthatswana on Sunday that the ANC would make the homeland ungovernable through necklace killings and bombs.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the organisation found Mathusa's threat unacceptable and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had asked him to come to the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters to account for his statements.

Marcus said while the ANC was "extremely concerned about the continued repression in Bophuthatswana and the intensified harassment", it could not condone threats to resort to necklace killings. "It is

a barbaric and unacceptable method of execution, which the ANC has never condoned," she said, adding that disciplinary action would be taken.

The national peace committee said in a statement yesterday it would check the accuracy of Mathusa's statements.

"The national peace committee has taken note of the fact that the ANC has dissociated itself from Mathusa's statements and has called upon him to account for them. This action would be in line with the peace accord and the situation will be carefully monitored," the committee said.



B. Day 28/4/92

**COMMENT****Transition**

**T**HE public can be forgiven for feeling overwhelmed by the stream of proposals, counter-proposals and reports on the subject of transitional government. It is difficult enough to keep up with the confusing and often contradictory detail that each new round carries some kind of hidden agenda exacerbates the problem. But it appears significant progress has been made these past few days.

President de Klerk's proposal for a directly elected three- to five-person executive council with a rotating chairman to act as the presidency has met with hostility from the ANC and Inkatha. Nonetheless it appears to be an honest attempt to bring agreement on the issue closer — provided De Klerk makes it clear it is a temporary measure and not one he would like to see entrenched. A presidential poll could expedite the introduction of relatively democratic, interim power-sharing by identifying at an early stage those leaders who can demonstrate real popular support and separating them from pretenders whose only constituency is a bloated bureaucracy born of apartheid.

Yesterday's multiparty Codesa report proposing an initial super cabinet with executive powers would, if accepted by party principals, fill in some of the gaps left unexplained by De Klerk. His proposal would be unreasonable if he expected non-NP members of an executive council to have to deal with a purely NP cabinet alone — this could be a recipe for the co-

option that the extra-parliamentary and some tricameral parties fear.

The report also potentially resolves the crucial "chicken and egg" debate between government and the ANC, over whether power-sharing should flow only from an electoral process, or whether there should be limited power-sharing in the run-up to that electoral test.

If the NP were to retain sole power in the run-up to a first election this would give it an unfair advantage. Control of the SABC provides an example. The referendum campaign showed that, when it comes to the crunch, the SABC will back the NP's position. Under its present board, it cannot be trusted to act in the even-handed manner required of a public facility. The report now proposes an independent media commission to deal with this problem. It also wants an independent commission to plan for elections.

The proposed sub-councils dealing with security and other aspects of government would also have a crucial role, from the ANC's perspective. But though the present government seems unable to prevent security force excesses, it is difficult to see how the ANC, itself no model of justice in its own security operations, could do any better.

From government's point of view, agreement depends on settling issues like the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe. But De Klerk suggested last week that progress was being made on this matter, and its resolution could be closer than people think.



B-Day 28/4/92

Joint body to prepare for elections

# Codesa plan<sup>X</sup> for interim super cabinet

GOVERNMENT, the ANC, Inkatha and other Codesa participants unveiled a plan yesterday for the first phase of interim government which will prepare SA for elections.

A multiparty technical committee — consisting of all major players — recommended the creation of a super cabinet to be called the Interim Joint Council. The council, to be appointed by Codesa, would have a multiparty character and would have the primary purpose of levelling the political playing field.

The council would be backed up by several six-member sub-councils dealing with defence and law and order, regional and local government and finance. In addition, it would have an independent election commission and a media commission.

But the critical issue of the council's relation to the existing executive was not defined by the technical committee. The committee was also unable to recommend firmly whether the council should take decisions by total consensus, as proposed by government, or "sufficient consensus".

The committee said the resolution to this problem would be facilitated by clearly defining the powers of the transitional executive council and its sub-councils. This suggests that government would be prepared to agree to decisions being made by sufficient consensus if the tasks of the council and its sub-councils were definitely circumscribed.

At a news briefing yesterday, current working group 3 chairman Patrick Maduna said the committee had not dis-

TIM COHEN

cussed when the structure would come into operation, but said all participants regarded the matter as urgent.

President F W de Klerk's proposed elected interim executive was not discussed by the technical committee or by working group 3 yesterday, he said. NP delegation leader Dawie de Villiers said De Klerk's proposal referred only to the second stage of transitional government.

Labour Party delegate Peter Hendrickse stopped short of calling the development a breakthrough, but said it indicated significant progress.

The technical committee lists as one of its basic points of departure the requirement that the council be able to intervene in any issue which could adversely affect the levelling of the political playing field or the creation of a favourable climate for elections. "The terms of reference of the overarching bodies should be the levelling of the playing field and ensuring a climate for free political participation... while the individual councils should have the same terms of reference, but in specific fields."

The committee identified several areas of responsibility for the sub-councils, although there was a difference of opinion as to whether a foreign affairs subcommittee was justified. Sub-councils on urbanisation, housing and economic affairs were specifically ruled out. The precise function of the finance sub-council was left over for subsequent discussion.

● See Pages 3 and 4  
● Comment: Page 6



B-Day 28/4/92

## FW to hear Alexandra aid plea

WILSON ZWANE

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel agreed at yesterday's meeting with Alexandra community representatives to refer a request for part of the township to be declared a disaster area to President FW de Klerk.

The Alexandra Civic Organisation and local branches of the SA Communist Party, the ANC and the Congress of SA Students asked Kriel to declare a section of the Alexandra township, known as "Beirut", a disaster area.

At least 60 people have been killed and 585 injured since fighting broke out between residents and Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers.

Delegation spokesman Paul Mashatile said thousands of residents had been displaced by violence and their houses looted.

He said Kriel, who indicated he would visit Alexandra soon, promised to refer the request to De Klerk.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze would not comment on the meeting.

Meanwhile Sapa reports police, railways authorities and activists were locked in talks last night in a bid to end a six-day sit-in protest over the Witwatersrand train killings.

More than four hours after the talks began, there was no clear indication of the progress but ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the negotiators had thrashed out "substantive issues. We are expecting tan-

gible results."

Yesterday the Law and Order Ministry sent Witwatersrand police commissioner Gen Gerrit Erasmus to meet the nine protesting activists holed up in the railway company Spoornet's offices in Johannesburg.

They agreed he could represent Kriel in the talks.

Mamoepa said Law and Order had told them Erasmus would have the authority to make decisions on measures taken to curb train violence.

Our Durban correspondent reports that seven men died last night in the Dornisi area on the Natal south coast when about 15 men armed with AK-47s and shotguns opened fire on a bus — after letting women and children off. At least eight people were wounded, police said.



B. Day 28/4/92

### 'Interim govt will open doors'

SA's trade and political relations with sub-Saharan Africa and in particular with southern African states should normalise once an interim administration is in place, says former Organisation for African Unity (OAU) president Gen Olusegun Obasanjo.

Obasanjo, in SA at the invitation of the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safit), said yesterday that economic relations would be the main force linking the once alienated South Africa with the rest of Africa.

With regard to membership of the OAU and the African Development Bank, Obasanjo predicted this would take place once there was an interim administration "that all South Africans can feel comfortable with while the rest of Africa can feel comfortable with you".

This membership could come about simultaneously and as early as June or July, widely regarded as the date by which an interim government will be in place.

Membership of regional organisations such as the Preferential Trade Area and the Southern African Development Conference Committee, Obasanjo said, would have to be examined closely and in the light of SA's "clout" in the region.

The former Nigerian president is to deliver the keynote address at Safit's African investment conference in Johannesburg today and tomorrow. — Sapa.



B. Day

28/4/92

# Expelled Van der Merwe hits back at CP

CAPE TOWN — The CP expelled maverick MP Koos van der Merwe yesterday, sounding a warning that no deviation from party policy would be tolerated.

A shocked Van der Merwe — who learnt of his expulsion from reporters on his arrival at Jan Smuts from Cape Town — told Sapa: "They can expel me and destroy my membership of the party, but the ideas that I stand for no one can take away from me. I will continue fighting for what I have always believed in. Racism is finished. We must negotiate and forget violence."

CP chief whip Frank le Roux had told

BILLY PADDOCK

the media he had been "relieved of his party membership" because he "continued to ignore party discipline".

It is believed the CP caucus executive — made up of hardliners Andries Treurnicht, Ferdie Hartzenberg, Casper Uys, Tom Langley and Frank le Roux — made the decision at a meeting yesterday.

Van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, joins Koos Botha (Wonderboom) — expelled last month — in a temporary wilderness for advocating a negotiated settlement for a

smaller Afrikaner homeland.

Van der Merwe was reportedly in high spirits after Sunday's caucus hosierraad at which the CP decided to hold talks with the NP on the issue of negotiating a smaller homeland. His expulsion follows the publication in a Sunday newspaper of his view that the CP should join the NP and others in an alliance against the ANC.

Treurnicht said Van der Merwe's expulsion had nothing to do with his views on a volkstaat, adding that intensive CP discussions on the issue were progressing well.

□ To Page 2

## Van der Merwe

□ From Page 1

Last night Van der Merwe launched a blistering attack on the CP leadership in an Agenda TV interview.

"People phone us all the time asking us where the CP is going. The fact is that the CP has no leadership, it has no strategy, it has no plan," Van der Merwe said.

He singled out Hartzenberg for attack, saying: "Hy is so verkrampt, jy kan met hom ploeg."

Van der Merwe said ensuring Afrikaners "a place in the sun" could not be achieved by refusing to negotiate. "We Afrikaners want to be part of the solution; we want Zola Budd to go and win in Barcelona. Dr Hartzenberg doesn't want that. I want our

businessmen to make money. Dr Hartzenberg doesn't care. I don't think Dr Hartzenberg or any of the CPs in Parliament care about the image of the Afrikaners."

He said the manner in which he had been told to "voetsek" after being one of the first NP MPs to cross the floor 10 years ago had left his wife in tears for hours yesterday.

□ PATRICK BULGER reports that CP sources said relations between Van der Merwe and Treurnicht had deteriorated and that party hardliners wanted him out of the way before a battle for the CP leadership which could arise if Treurnicht retired from politics later in the year.



# Winnie Mandela charms viewers

WINNIE Mandela was back in the South African headlines yesterday after a bravura performance on television in which she showed a demure, sympathetic, almost schoolgirlish charm. The interview marked another stage in her fight to re-establish herself as a political force.

She denied, or declined to talk about, the web of brutality and corruption that led to her prison sentence for kidnapping and assault, her separation from Nelson Mandela, her husband and president of the African National Congress, and her resignation from her job as head of the social welfare department within the ANC. But she left viewers in no doubt that she intends to continue her career as spokesman for the angry and dispossessed on the militant fringes of the main black movement.

It is also clear that if she can claw back towards her former status as "mother of the nation" she will be a severe embarrassment to the mainstream leaders of the ANC, and inevitably

ANC militants still have a champion in their leader's estranged wife, writes Michael Hamlyn in Johannesburg

will provoke hostility from the white community towards the process of reconciliation and political renewal now painfully under way in the country.

Her battle to show that she has a political personality quite separate from that of her husband has taken her on a whirlwind tour of trouble spots since her resignation just over a week ago. Since she was written off then as a political nonentity she has appeared at the scenes of township violence, berating the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, and fulminating against the negotiations between the political leaders in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

She popped up after brutality and a series of shootings in East Rand squatter camps; she comforted the bereaved after incidents in Soweto, out-

side Johannesburg. She sheltered one of the victims of a vicious raid in Sharpeville. Last week she told the South African Press Association: "We are certainly not going to keep on talking to a government that is killing our people," and at the weekend she was in Sharpeville again for the funeral of nine victims of violence.

Mrs Mandela is one of the most potent crowd-pleasing platform speakers among black leaders. Her fiery rhetoric helps her to express the views of the squatters, the former members of the Umkhonto we Sizwe — the military wing of the ANC — and those who feel unrepresented by the political institutions.

These amount to a powerful constituency and, according to Tom Lodge, associate professor of politics at Witwatersrand University, could hinder the

mobilisation of support for the ANC or at least make it conditional on her reintegration into its leadership.

But there are people within the black political community who might like to take advantage of her ability to move crowds and of her undoubted charisma and bravery. Peter Mokaba, leader of the party youth wing, has been her staunch supporter ever since she backed him against allegations that he was a police spy.

The youth wing is important in the townships thanks to its large and growing membership and to the generally higher level of education among its members than among party members as a whole. Harry Gwala, hardline leader of the Natal Midlands and a considerable politician in his own right, is said to need all the help he can get outside his own barony, and when she shared a platform with him in Richmond in Natal she was cheered to the echo for an attack on President de Klerk and Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader.

*The Times*  
28/4/92 London



The Independent  
28/4/92 - London

## Bittersweet Winnie looks back to her future

WINNIE MANDELA, asked by a television interviewer whether she was a dangerous woman, laughed and said: "If I woke up one morning and found I had no enemies I would think there was something wrong."

Mrs Mandela was speaking on M-Net, a pay-channel, whose well-off, overwhelmingly white subscribers were treated on Sunday night to the first full interview she has given the South African media for years. All her different faces were on display. One moment she was sad, close to tears; the next she smiled shyly; then she was solemn and stony-faced, the "mother of the nation" grieving for her suffering children.

It was a bittersweet Mrs Mandela who explained why "enemies" had become a condition of her life. When she arrived in Johannesburg in the mid-1950s she "was a little countryside girl" who "didn't know anything about town life". Then suddenly she was thrust into the hurly-burly of politics and married Nelson Mandela, after whose arrest the persecution began.

"I was terribly harassed. My house became nothing more than a police station. I always knew I would be on my own but the

Mrs Mandela gave her first full interview on television for many years last weekend. John Carlin, in Johannesburg, was watching

degree of harassment I did not anticipate — the volume of hostility... It taught me to understand what it is to hate." She continued: "It was a very traumatic kind of life. It bruises you. You bleed a lot. That state of mind is enough to damage you emotionally and psychologically so that it becomes difficult for [people] to be retrieved."

A condition of the interview was that no questions would be asked of her marital

separation, on the numerous allegations that she has been involved in murder and the reasons why she resigned 12 days ago as head of the Department of Social Welfare of the African National Congress (ANC).

But she was pressed into saying that she herself had not actually done anybody any harm. "I have not a single victim in my hands I have necklaced. I have not a single victim I had shot at myself." And she added

CAPE TOWN (Reuter) — South Africa's right-wing Conservative Party (CP) expelled the leader of a pro-negotiation faction yesterday and said he would be expected to resign his parliamentary seat. Frank le Roux, a CP executive member, said Koos van der Merwe, who advocates joining President F W de Klerk and black leaders in democracy talks, had defied party discipline. "He has been warned very

often. The dissatisfaction with Mr van der Merwe's behaviour covers a very long period," Mr le Roux said. Mr van der Merwe was the CP's second pro-talks MP to be dismissed after the party's defeat in a white referendum last month on political reform. Koos Botha was expelled this month. At least 12 CP members are believed to support Mr van der Merwe's position but Mr le Roux did not expect further expulsions.

that she looked forward to the day when she would be able to put her side of the story.

Her political career, however, would not be affected. "My life has always been saddled with these types of hurdles," she said.

And, since her resignation from the ANC position, she has set about resurrecting her political career. Within 48 hours she was at a squatter camp in Soweto where police had opened fire, arguing with a senior policeman and denouncing the "de Klerk regime". Next day she was in Sharpeville, where eight ANC members were killed in a raid on their home, and then in Richmond, Natal, scene of some of the worst bloodshed in the country in the past 15 months.

There she resorted to the revolutionary rhetoric of old, the war-talk which strikes such a resonant chord among people in the townships where Inkatha has gone to war, but which is so at odds with official ANC policy. Calling on President F W de Klerk to resign, she said: "The government's insincerity and dishonesty in dealing with the issue of violence is going to have to force us to go back to original positions and question the whole concept of negotiations."



The Citizen

28/4/92

# Koos is shocked

FROM PAGE 1

gotiate and forget violence."

It is believed that the move to axe Mr Van der Merwe, considered to be one of the best political organisers in the country, came in a caucus committee headed by Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, the CP's deputy leader.

The two were said to have clashed earlier this year when Dr Hartzenberg came out against participating in the referendum, while Mr Van der Merwe — who won the day — was in favour of participating.

Mr Van der Merwe's persistent disregard for party discipline was given as the reason for his expulsion.

Mr Van der Merwe was considered the leader of a group within the CP which favoured the party taking its case to Codesa.

Another member, Mr Koos Botha, MP for Wouderboom, was recently expelled from the party because he advocated that the proponents of partition should settle for a smaller homeland than that being sought in terms of CP policy.

Dr Andries Treurnicht,

the CP leader, said Mr Van der Merwe's dismissal had nothing to do with the fact that he was an advocate of an Afrikaner volkstaat.

"The CP is at present urgently discussing the ideal of a freedom state for the Afrikanervolk, and the party's investigation of the matter is progressing on the subject of an Afrikaner state would be made soon, and this would be followed by a special general congress of the party.

In National Party circles, there was open speculation yesterday that the expulsion of the two volkstaters, Mr Botha before Easter and Mr Van der Merwe yesterday, would lead to further dissension within the CP.

Nine other possible advocates of the volkstaat ideal within the CP are said to favour negotiations, if necessary at Codesa, to achieve a volkstaat. The concept is strongly opposed by the anti-Codesa group.

A third CP group, comprising 10 to 15 members, is said to recognise that a volkstaat may be impracticable. Therefore, they would support the concept of a strong federal system in a new South Africa, with the powers of federal states entrenched in the constitution.

Parties to the Codesa negotiations have indicated that if there is a further breakaway from the "Old Guard" CP members, there would be strong pressure from among Black political leaders for both the volkstaat and the pro-federal

groups to be accepted to Codesa membership.

Codesa sources said a move towards federalism, or at least strong regional autonomy, was gathering strength among the leaders of most of the Black independent and self-governing leaders.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, NP secretary-general, said the expulsion of Mr Van der Merwe underlined the fact that CP claims to be unified were nothing but a bluff. It could be expected that this would not be the end of the problem.

"It is clear that the general sympathy of CP supporters lies in the direction adopted by the so-called volkstaters, and that this support will grow in the coming days.

"This will place further pressure on the CP caucus.

"The political scene has changed irrevocably since the referendum. Only political ideas aimed at the future will survive. Every individual CP caucus member will now have to decide."

Dr Van der Merwe reiterated the NP's invitation to the volkstaters, as well as other members of the CP caucus, to meet the NP for discussions.

• The Conservative Party's Wouderboom constituency council has requested expelled Mr Koos Botha either to abide by CP policy or resign.

He did not abide by CP discipline, he should act in accordance with his utterances that the CP and House of Assembly were irrelevant and resign.



① The Citizen 28/4/92

# Koos shocked by expulsion

By Tony Stirling,  
Hugo Hagen and  
Brian Stuart

MR KOOS van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, yesterday reacted with shock to the Conservative Party's decision to expel him from the party.

He would now carefully consider his future, he said.

He had received no prior indication of the

move against him. He had been in Cape Town yesterday morning before coming to Johannesburg to attend the funeral today of Mrs Herminia van Vuuren, wife of the Conservative Party MP for Carletonville, Mr Fanie van Vuuren. She was murdered at the weekend on their smallholding at Goudvlakte, 10 km from Carletonville.

"The first word I got of the matter was on arriving at the airport, where an SABC team asked for my comment on my expulsion," Mr Van der Merwe said.

"It came as a shock to me. There had been no hint of the move against me this morning. Nobody had the guts to tell me.

"But it was a worse shock for my wife, Annette. Even now she is still in tears about it," he said.

"It was not so much that it was done, but the manner in which it was done."

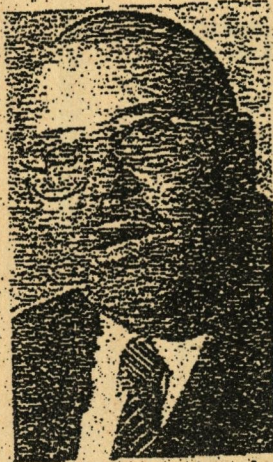
The 10 years he had spent in the CP "was the best decade of my life in

politics.

"I will now have to carefully decide what to do."

Mr Van der Merwe added: "They can expel me and destroy my membership of the party, but the ideas that I stand for no one can take away from me. I will continue fighting for what I have always believe in. Racism is finished. We must ne-

TO PAGE 2



Mr KOOS van der MERWE... expelled from CP.



The Citizen

28/4/92

# Armed senior ANC men held

FROM PAGE 1

Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal and an ANC member — "according to his card" — and Mr Mandla Petrus Masi-buko, vice-chairman of the ANC's Evaton branch, were arrested wearing a blue police field jacket and a green Lekos municipal police jacket respectively.

Mr Radebe was found in possession of a 9mm Stechkin pistol with 20 rounds of ammunition, and Mr Masi-buko was arrested lying "very close" to an F1 handgrenade of Russian origin, Col Malherbe said.

Both appeared in the Sebokeng Regional Court yesterday morning and would remain in custody pending further police investigations.

Though not accusing the ANC as an organisation, Col Malherbe questioned the involvement of the ANC members.

He said the SA Police regarded the facts of the incidents in a serious light after repeated allegations that SAP members were involved in township violence.

"What is very clear to us at this stage is that members of the public are in possession of police equipment and a possibility is that they may abuse the circumstances, trying to create a perception that cannot be proved afterwards."

However, he said police jackets were easily obtainable, either through theft, loss, or

through policemen who were allowed to give jackets, but not police insignia, away.

Although police had assumed all along they were being set up by people posing as policemen in township violence, Col Malherbe said: "I don't say for any moment that policemen are all angels."

"But the fact remains that I can't believe that a policeman going to commit any offence of any kind would be so stupid as to dress himself up in his uniform to commit that offence."

He said 20 policemen had been murdered on the Reef since January of a total of 55 murdered countrywide.

"The reality is that police are seen as targets and attacks on them are being intensified."

Repeating a warning last week by Witwatersrand Regional Police Commissioner Major-General Gerrit Erasmus, Col Malherbe stressed that police would "not leave any stone untouched to trace and apprehend" those responsible for attacks on policemen, especially on the Reef.

Describing the circumstances which led to the arrest of the ANC members, Col Malherbe said the SAP's Internal Stability Unit at Vereeniging at 11.30 pm on Friday received a report that a privately owned yellow Mazda 323 — registration number V3406 T — had been involved in a shooting after having been forced to a standstill at an obstacle in Zone Seven, Sebokeng. Similar cars are widely used by the

SAP. When police arrived on the scene, the vehicle had

disappeared.

It was later established that a passenger in the car, Mr Zacharia Makhefana, was fatally wounded during the shooting. Another occupant, Mr Joseph Maragamedeha, was wounded in his left hand, and Mr Johannes Vhegani escaped unharmed, police said.

Meanwhile, the policemen held Mr Radebe and Mr Masi-buko at nearby House 12232, where they were arrested while in possession of the police jackets and arms.

Another man had escaped down the street with an AK-47 rifle.

On Sunday, at 10am, police received a report of a gunman shooting at random at a group of about 200 bystanders in Zone Seven, Sebokeng.

When several police units arrived on the scene, an AK-47 wielding man within the group opened fire on police without warning, the colonel claimed.

While police took cover, the man had run into an alley, but had returned to fire more shots, hitting a police car. Police then pursued the attacker, returning fire with 9mm pistols and 12-bore shotguns, fatally wounding the gunman who they subsequently identified as Mr Moses Ndlapo.

Col Malherbe said police afterwards discovered that a four-year-old girl, who they named as Zeneng Mokoba, died after she was hit in the forehead by a bullet which passed through her bathroom window during the shootout.

On Monday, police found that she had been hit by a 7.63 calibre bul-

let, which was the same as an AK-47 calibre.

Police claimed the girl was killed behind the police's firing line and had been directly in line with the point from where Mr Ndlapo was allegedly shooting.

Col Malherbe said the child had probably been hit while watching the shootout from the bathroom window. — Sapa.



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Warrant-Officer THYS NOLTE (left) and Sergeant RICHARD STYGER with the police jackets, weapons and ammunition that were recovered in Sebokeng at the weekend.

• Picture: Wesel Oosthuizen

## 2 armed senior ANC men held

POLICE have arrested two senior regional ANC members who were found armed and wearing items of police uniforms after a gun attack on a car resembling a police vehicle in Sebokeng, near Ver-eeniging, on Friday.

Another registered ANC member, Mr Moses Ndlapo, was fatally wounded in the township on Sunday after he opened fire on police with an AK-47 assault rifle. Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Frans Mal-

herbe told a Johannesburg news conference yesterday.

Police found an AK-47 rifle and 10 rounds of ammunition on him.

Mr Ndlapo of House 12518, Zone Seven, Sebokeng left South Africa in 1990 for Swaziland, where he had received military training from the ANC before returning on December 17, 1991, reporters were told.

Mr Setembiso Radebe, a regional organiser of the

TO PAGE 2



## Winnie quits

• From page 1

cause and policies I will support until the end of my life.

"The step that I am taking is not because of the false allegations being made against me but because of the devotion I have for the ANC and my family," she said.

She had considered resigning before but was dissuaded by both the leadership and some members of the organisation.

Like her estranged husband early this week, Mrs Mandela was not willing to take questions from the Press. She maintained her innocence and pointed out that there was an appeal pending on her convictions for kidnapping and assault.

In an apparent attack on the media, she said she had requested the media to desist from reporting on fresh allegations made by her co-accused.

"My request that the matter should be left in the hands of the courts has not only been ignored but appears to fuel the desire of those who wish to destroy me and discredit the ANC," she said.

"Their campaign of vilification has created a difficult situation for the ANC, my husband as its president and myself."

# Asvat: 'ANC shares blame'

By JOE MDHLELA

THE ANC could not be exonerated following disclosures that Mrs Winnie Mandela could have had a hand in the assassination of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, Azapo said yesterday.

Azapo spokesman Dr Gomolemo Mokae told a Press conference in Johannesburg attended mostly by members of the foreign media:

"Winnie Mandela is the embodiment of what is happening within the African National Congress. We do not accept that she should suffer as an individual."

Azapo had called the conference "to cast light" on the death of Asvat, who was the organisation's health secretary when he was gunned down in his surgery in Soweto on January 27 1989.

Mokae also disclosed that a health worker at Hillbrow Hospital in Johannesburg was prepared to help Azapo investigate the

murder after speaking to Katiza Cebekhulu three years ago.

He said this was when Cebekhulu was treated at the hospital following his assault by members of the Mandela United Football Club.

He said the worker was prepared to back claims by Cebekhulu from a prison in Lusaka that he knew those responsible for Asvat's death.

The fugitive Cebekhulu had been held in custody for "his own safety".

Mokae also told the Press conference that Azapo also wanted Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, to provide whatever information she had on the murder.

Mrs Sisulu worked in Asvat's surgery at the time of his death.

# QwaQwa 'must be dissolved'

By IKE MOTSAPI

THE QwaQwa legislative assembly could be forced to disband after the resignation of a senior Cabinet Minister this week.

Chief Motebang Mota, who was Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, is believed to have fled the homeland after resigning.

According to Mr Jake Mokone, media officer of the QwaQwa Joint Working Committee, the homeland's constitution makes provision for the disband-

ing of the administration if the Bakwena and Batlokoa tribes are not represented in the Cabinet.

Mokone said Mota represented Batlokoa tribe in the Cabinet. He said he fled the territory to "frustrate" Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli, who is believed to be battling to persuade him to change his mind.

The homeland's media officer, Mr Pieter van Zyl, confirmed that Mota has resigned but denied that the administration would have to disband.

But in a statement to the

Sowetan, Mokone said: "The QwaQwa homeland has been lurching into a serious political crises following the resignation of Chief LC Mota.

"Reasons for his resignation have not been disclosed nor has his resignation been officially announced.

"In terms of the QwaQwa constitution proclamation there must at all times be two chiefs in the Cabinet, one from Bakwena and the other from Batlokoa tribes."



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# Winnie

# quits

Still  
loyal  
to ANC

MRS Winnie Mandela yesterday resigned as head of the African National Congress' welfare department.

Mandela, known for her fiery speeches and militancy, was subdued and distraught when she finally came out in person to face the media at the organisation's headquarters in Johannesburg.

Dressed in a black leather suit and a green blouse and flanked by ANC stalwarts — Mr Steve Tshwete and Mr Ronnie Kasrils among others — she reaffirmed her commitment and loyalty to the ANC.

She said she had asked the ANC to relieve her of her duties as appointed head of the department of social welfare as soon as a successor was found.

However, Mandela has retained her positions

By RUTH BHENGU  
and SONTI MASEKO

as a national executive member and in the ANC Women's League.

Her resignation comes three days after her husband, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, announced their formal separation after 34 years of marriage "owing to differences between ourselves on a number of issues in recent months".

Mrs Mandela, whose eyes were red and her voice quivering, said her devotion to her family and the ANC, and not what she called false allegations against her, had motivated her decision.

"I have taken this step because I consider it to be in the best interests of the ANC whose

*We wish our  
readers a safe  
and peaceful  
Easter  
weekend.*

WINNIE MANDELA . . . allegations false.

● To page 2



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# Who will succeed Barend?

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

Barend du Plessis's shock resignation from politics at the weekend has left the race wide open for his successors as Minister of Finance and Transvaal leader of the National Party.

Mr du Plessis announced on Saturday that he was resigning all his political posts — including his Florida seat in Parliament — from the end of the month because of exhaustion.

National Party and other political sources said there was nothing sinister about the move, and there was no suggestion that Mr du Plessis has been forced out.

Mr du Plessis was admitted to hospital two weeks ago, citing physical exhaustion as a result of his immense workload.

A wide range of candidates for Mr du Plessis's key Cabinet portfolio has been tipped, with Minister of Trade and Industry and Eco-

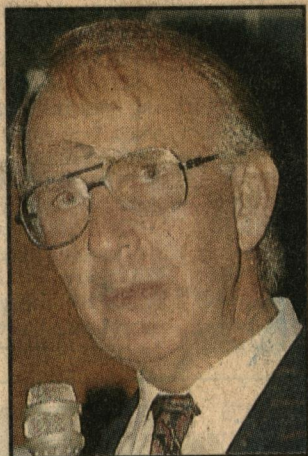
Nothing  
sinister  
in move  
— sources

nomic Co-ordination, Derek Keys as strongest contender.

However the names of Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers, Standard Bank chairman Conrad Strauss, Reserve Bank Governor Dr Chris Stals and Harry Schwarz, former DP finance spokesman and now SA Ambassador in Washington, have also been mentioned.

Mr Keys is in Japan and unavailable for comment.

Mr de Klerk is expected to



announce the new Finance Minister after Wednesday's routine Cabinet meeting.

Mr Strauss is also being mentioned in political circles — he has worked closely with the Government abroad and is widely respected.

Dr de Villiers, who has been Acting Finance Minister since Mr du Plessis took ill, probably has the strongest political claim to the job. As Cape NP leader he leads the largest provincial caucus in the party.

But party insiders believe he is not strong enough on finances.

Speculation on a likely successor has been thrown especially wide open because of the transitional period the country is in.

Traditional claims such as position in the party may well take second place to wider political and technical considerations.

Ideally the choice should be someone who is politically neutral, to win the widest possible political support.

Some sources believe that Dr Stals would be ideal because he would be seen as a technocrat standing outside the party-political arena.

In some quarters it is being speculated that Mr de Klerk might choose a black person, although his difficulty would be to choose one of standing who would not reject the job as "co-option". The name of Dr Elty Links, the Finance Department's head of mission in Europe, has been mentioned as a possible way around this dilemma.

A former SA representative at the IMF, he is regarded as a brilliant economist, whose appointment could help to attract blacks and especially coloureds to the NP.

Within the Transvaal NP, the choice is also wide open. Transvaal senior deputy leader and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has been appointed acting leader until a permanent appointment, expected on Saturday when the

head council meets.

But there is some doubt whether Dr Viljoen would want to add the burden of provincial organisation to his heavy workload in negotiations.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, another deputy leader of the Transvaal party, is also considered unlikely to accept the position for similar reasons.

● Early promise turns to dashed hopes — Page 13



# Washington Letter

# The issue that could bring

Simon Barber

## Bush down

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**A**BORTION, a painful issue long settled in most of Western Europe — Ireland being the obvious exception — continues to bedevil American politics and society. It could prove a powerful determinant of whether President George Bush, an abortion rights supporter expediently turned foe, is re-elected in November.

Ironically, the question was well on its way to resolution 20 years ago. A growing number of state governments were passing statutes which gave substantial protection to women's interests without entirely denying protection to foetal life.

Then, in 1973, the Supreme Court declared access to abortion in the first two trimesters of pregnancy a "fundamental right", not to be interfered with by any law or regulation that had not first been subjected to "strict scrutiny" by the court.

Justice Harry Blackmun's ruling in *Roe v Wade* brought the legislative reform process to a screeching halt and ushered in what has been called, a little hyperbolically, perhaps, America's second civil war — just as the notorious *Dred Scot* decision of the previous century unleashed the first one.

More than any other ruling of the period, *Roe* turned the court into a field of political combat. Republican presidential candidates, asserting that it had become an unelected legislature

occupied by the Left to pursue its own agenda, vowed to use the presidency to appoint justices who would roll back *Roe* and other "activist" decisions offensive to conservatives.

Democrats, in turn, warned that unless they were elected to stop this, American would become a police state.

The Republicans, victorious in all but one election since 1973, have kept their word, leading to increasingly vicious confirmation battles in the Democrat-controlled Senate and culminating in last year's spectacular show trial of nominee Clarence Thomas over trumped up charges that he had sexually harassed Anita Hill. Only Blackmun and one other firm *Roe* supporter remain on the nine-member bench.

Even so, it is far from clear how the transformed court will proceed. It had a chance in a 1989 case, *Weber v Reproductive Services*, to strike down *Roe*, but balked, leaving its key provision — the right to privacy which Blackmun said he had located in the "penumbra" of the constitution — intact. The *Weber* ruling merely modified *Roe*'s third trimester exception to permit a state to require testing of whether a foetus was viable before it was aborted.

Now, however, we may be headed for a more decisive moment.

Last week, the court heard

oral argument on the constitutionality of a statute adopted by strongly Catholic Pennsylvania in 1989.

Under this law, a woman seeking an abortion must be informed by her doctor of what the procedure entails and her alternatives.

She must then wait 24 hours before actually having the abortion.

If she is under 18, she must have the consent of at least one parent or a judge. If married, she must make a "diligent effort" to notify her husband if he is the father.

From their questioning of counsel for and against the law, it appeared that a majority of the justices was looking for some way of upholding all or part of the statute without doing serious harm to *Roe*. If this seems strange, it should be remembered that the jurists named to the court by Presidents Reagan and Bush were selected in large part in the belief that they would not legislate from the bench, unlike the "liberals" they succeeded.

In other words, whatever the political rhetoric surrounding their appointments, these would be men, and one woman, temperamentally inclined to letting precedent stand.

It would also be naive to assume the their honours are entirely immune to political realities. Up to 1 million pro-

choicers marched in Washington one Sunday last month, rivalling Vietnam era turnouts. Passions on the issue have also resulted in violence. There were a number of unpleasant incidents last year in Wichita where a right-to-life group, Operation Rescue, mounted a six-week siege of local abortion clinics. The group has now shifted its pickets to Buffalo, chosen because it is within an hour's drive for fully half of North America's population, and where there were close to 200 arrests last week.

If the court, with one or two exceptions, is looking for compromise, the pro-choice lobby most decidedly is not. In her presentation, the lobby's chief counsel, Kathryn Kolbert, insisted that if any scintilla of the Pennsylvania statute were allowed to stand, *Roe* would be dead, the "fundamental right" rescinded, and the dark ages of back-street quackery and coat-hangers revived as states across the country rushed to impose total bans on abortion.

Many in the pro-choice movement seem sincerely to believe this. Contingency plans are already being laid to set up underground clinics and to distribute illegally imported abortion-inducing "morning after" pills — steps which raise the ghastly, if quite unwarranted, spectre of jackbooted anti-abortion squads.

However, there was also a good deal of strategy behind Kolbert's maximalism. The pro-choicers make no secret that they want to lose the Pennsylvania case and are pre-defining the terms of their defeat to make it look as devastating as possible. The idea is that this will galvanise passage by Congress of an abortion rights law affirming the *Roe* doctrine in statutory terms and inviting an automatic veto by President Bush in the run-up to November.

The result, it is hoped, is an election fought largely as a referendum on abortion. This would be a bitter business indeed, and might well result in Bush's defeat, especially since many moderate Republicans already disagree with his position and would likely desert him, either staying home or opting for Bill Clinton or the third party phenomenon, billionaire Ross Perot, a pro-choice puritan.

That, at any rate, is the scenario. Insofar as it holds, it is tempting to say Bush is getting what he deserves for having switched sides on the issue in his 1988 run for the White House.

The difficulty with this is that, for better or worse, right-to-lifers, while perhaps not in the majority nationally, are an essential element in the Republican coalition. Many are people — Southern evangelicals and



From Page 1

working and middle-class "ethnics" of European Catholic descent, for example — who would vote Democrat were it not for the abortion factor. And because they care deeply, they go to the polls.

The court could, and may well thwart the choicers by simply sitting on a decision until after the election, and then ruling jointly on the Pennsylvania law and a second case now working its way up the judicial hierarchy. The latter case involves a draconian measure adopted by the territory of Guam which criminalises all abortion except to save a woman's life. The justices could throw this out while upholding all or part of the law now before it.

Their purpose would be to protect abortion rights in principle while at the same time suggesting to advocates of choice that they would be better off working through elected state legislatures than through unelected judges. After all, the states were well on their way to resolving the controversy in a humane and practical manner before the court discovered a new "fundamental right".

The problem with trying to resolve vexed issues by assertion of unbridgeable rights is that when the issue involves rights that conflict as here — the right to privacy against right to life — compromise becomes all but impossible.



# Codesa crisis after call to slow down

CAPE TOWN—A show-down is looming at Codesa following a meeting of the Government, Inkatha Freedom Party, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana yesterday in which they signalled that brakes should be applied to the negotiating process.

Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo said he would raise the issue formally at Codesa II on May 15 and 16.

The grouping — basically an anti-ANC faction — said they were concerned at the "headlong rush" towards interim arrangements. They stressed, however, that there was no suggestion of a call being made to delay progress at the negotiating forum.

"The criticism is against

By Chris Whitfield

Political Correspondent

how Codesa operates," President de Klerk said, adding that the question of alliances had not been addressed.

The push for a revision of the procedures followed at Codesa to give the participants more time to think, do research and consult their supporters follows a meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday between the four organisations.

The proposal comes at the very time when the ANC and its allies have called for the process to be accelerated and have warned that the Codesa II plenary session is in danger of becoming a "damp squib".

Delegations led by Mr de Klerk, IFP leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope, and Brig Gqozo also reached con-

sensus on the following issues:

- South Africa should be composed of a system of regional or federal States which have meaningful powers entrenched in a constitution "which cannot be withdrawn by any central government".

- Any government, whether interim or permanent, which governed outside of constitutional restraints would have "truly disastrous" consequences

- The need for minorities to be effectively protected

The homeland leaders, who initiated the meeting, said in a joint statement they harboured "deep concerns ... about the headlong rush of Codesa into attempting to finalise transitional or interim arrangements before there were any final agreements on constitutional issues".

## Seven gunned down in ambush

Mercury Reporter

IN A horror killing late last night a group of men armed with AK-47s ruthlessly opened fire on a bus — after letting women and children off — killing seven men and wounding many more.

The large bus was ambushed while travelling from Winklespruit to the Mshywaza area.

Police said a group of about 15 men, all armed with AK-47s or shotguns, ambushed the bus in the Domisi area.

Police are baffled by the apparently motiveless slaying.



## Crucial choice

**T**he appointment of South Africa's next minister of finance presents a difficult decision for President de Klerk. He has to bear in mind that whoever he appoints will inevitably be working in harness with an ANC team — at least during the interim phase. For that reason the choice of person will say a lot about government's expectations both in the matter of timing and composition of the new order. If the government anticipates sharing power imminently, then the next finance minister cannot expect to subscribe to the deregulationist, privatising beliefs of some of the candidates who have been mentioned. What destroyed Barend du Plessis was the fatigue and exhaustion that came from a recognition that he was being denied a free hand in the implementation of VAT by the socialist Cosatu lobby. What must have also disheartened him immensely was the lack of back-up from De Klerk, who shrewdly refused to go to the mat with Cosatu's Jay Naidoo. At bottom, however, he must have known that his own economic beliefs would never square with the transitional team waiting in the wings, and that it would be best to quit politics now before being forced to do so later.

The chances are that De Klerk will therefore choose a pragmatist able to live with the interventionist mild socialism of the new authority. The markets will take their cue accordingly. But the new minister will have a broader brief than mere finance. Business is unsettled by the government's unexpected proposals at Codesa of an elected executive council. Already rejected out of hand by both Inkatha and the ANC, for once working in rare if unintended tandem, the proposals are seen by De Klerk as a way out of the growing impasse in the Codesa working committees on precisely what transitional mechanism will be acceptable to take the country forward to full democracy. Deadlock at Codesa II, in a fortnight's time, would send very negative signals to international investors who are perplexed as to why South Africa is not already a fully fledged democracy two years after Mandela was freed. Their political expectations are based on the experience of Eastern European countries which took mere months to change from communism to capitalist democracies.

It is the danger that foreign investors will lose patience with South Africa that must be brought home to Codesa by the new finance minister.

## Leadership

**A**s Oscar Dhlomo of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy reminded us at the weekend, almost all of South Africa's major political leaders last year signed the National Peace Accord. Those who do remember this probably do so cynically, because the only thing now possible to say about the accord is that it's not working. Dhlomo describes as "farcical" our current situation in which political leaders, trumpeting their love for peace and claiming to have control over their followers, do not stop those followers demonstrating constantly how much they prefer violence. Is "do not stop" adequate, or would "cannot stop" be more accurate? And are there some leaders who deliberately don't act to stop violence? In this connection, Dhlomo asks how it was that none of the senior ANC leadership present at the Richmond rally last week challenged ANC Youth leader Peter Mokaba's inflammatory anti-Inkatha rhetoric. Similarly, focus has returned to the still-unknown dark side of police and security force activity, with questions about the Webster murder and about the possible size of the iceberg of which the events at Trust Feed may be the merest tip.

Are political leaders, in other words, conniving at the violent actions of their followers and mouthing platitudes about peace and reconciliation for public consumption only, or is the reality that they're nothing but toothless old dogs being wagged by powerfully militant tails? A leader is, by definition, responsible — and answerable — for the actions of his followers. If not, he is not a leader and should resign. That's how it goes in genuine democracies — democracies of which all South African politicians purport to know so much, while yet acting in such hopelessly undemocratic ways.



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# Natal bus ambush

DURBAN. — Seven men were killed and many wounded last night when about 15 men ambushed a bus and opened fire — after letting women and children off — in the Domisi area on the Natal South Coast.

Four of the 13 people who died in unrest-related incidents on Sunday were killed by police who returned fire after being attacked.

A police foot patrol in Q-block, Khayelitsha, came under fire late on Friday. The policemen were not hit and they arrested a man with a bullet wound who was carrying a revolver.

Early on Sunday, a patrol in Zola Budd Drive, Khayelitsha, came under fire and police returned fire, killing an unidentified man.

In Soweto, two men were killed and another wounded when police returned fire after being shot at by gunmen at Dube hostel.

A man was burnt to death with a tyre around his neck in Orlando East.

Police found the body of a man with bullet wounds at the Meadowlands hostel. In the same area, police shot and wounded a woman and arrested a man after a group trying to lure hostel residents into the street stoned police who had warned them to disperse.

In Alexandra, police found the body of a man with bullet wounds. In Thokoza, police found the body of a man who had been shot in the head.

## Alexandra's disaster status

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel agreed at yesterday's meeting with Alexandra community representatives to refer a request for part of the township to be declared a disaster area to President FW de Klerk.

The Alexandra Civic Organisation and local branches of the SA Communist Party, the ANC and the Congress of SA Students asked Mr Kriel to declare a section of the Alexandra township, known as "Beirut", a disaster area.

At least 60 people have been killed and 585 injured since fighting broke out.

In Tembisa, gunmen killed a man inside a tavern and wounded another outside the tavern.

Police killed a man after he shot at them with an AK-47 in Sebokeng. The body of a child who had been shot was found in a private dwelling near the scene of the attack.

### Set alight

In Mpumalanga, Natal, Constable J C Luthaye was shot dead at his home on Sunday.

Two men were killed at Folweni near Umbumbulu on the Natal South Coast. Mr Fanana Ngcobo, 34, was attacked by a group of men and set alight, while 30-year-old Mr Mandla Shezi was shot dead at his home.

A man was wounded by police when they returned fire after being shot at in Umgababa in Natal early yesterday.

— Sapa, Own Correspondent



## Trust Feed

**T**HE MARATHON Trust Feed trial which resulted in the conviction of five policemen on 11 counts of murder and two of attempted murder has tended to confirm the worst suspicions of police involvement in the country's endemic political violence.

The perception has been exacerbated by the finding of the judge that the original police investigation of the 1988 massacre, as well as the subsequent behaviour of senior police officers in Pretoria, should itself be the subject of a public inquiry.

All but one of the policemen involved has been promoted since 1988, while a brigadier's statement favoured terminating the investigation and causing an inquest to be held at which the verdict would be that the murders were committed by persons unknown.

This is a sorry picture of lack of control of police both on the ground and at headquarters. No stone should be left unturned to uncover the truth. Wherever the police may have been culpable, this must be exposed for all to see.