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Sun Star

5/4/92

Missing Falati damns Winnie

Jeremy Brooks

LONDON — Xoliswa Falati, Winnie Mandela's co-accused in her sensational kidnap trial, alleges today that the Mandelas' marriage is on the rocks.

The allegations are contained in a front-page report in the London Sunday Times based on an interview by the paper's South African correspondent, Richard Ellis.

The ANC has refused to comment on the report.

Falati was involved in a blazing row with Winnie last week. Mrs Mandela tried to kick her out of her Soweto home but after Nelson's intervention, she was allowed to stay on.

Then this week Falati disappeared from the Mandela home.

Falati, who said she was living in fear of her life, confirmed persistent rumours that the Mandelas have been living apart for some time.

Startling

Mr Mandela is said to have insisted, in a "showdown" with his wife, that she retire from politics. An announcement to this effect, including confirmation of the couple's separation, was due soon, the paper said, quoting "senior ANC members".

Falati also makes several other startling allegations against Mrs Mandela. These are said to have stunned the movement's leadership.

Falati telephoned a Soweto newspaper for protection this week, saying that a group of men she recognised as a hit squad came to the house on Wednesday. By the time reporters from the newspaper arrived, Falati had already been spirited away by cohorts loyal to Mr Mandela. She was now hiding in an ANC safehouse.

Despite the new allegations, Mr Mandela was unlikely to divorce his wife whom he regarded as a "wayward daughter".

Ellis writes in his report: "For years, senior officials have covered up Winnie's excesses. It has been seen as disloyal to reveal the truth because it would 'help the Boer enemy'."

"Some ANC officials now believe, however, that it is important for the truth to be dealt with, so the ANC can be 'cleaned up'."

Sun Star

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Children, women die in fire attack

Mark Stansfield

CHILDREN and old women were burnt alive while trapped in their shacks during a late-night attack which claimed the lives of 21 Inkatha-supporting East Rand squatters this weekend.

Scores more were injured when "Xhosa-speaking men" launched a surprise attack about midnight on Friday on the Crossroads Camp, which borders Katlehong on the East Rand.

Sleeping squatters were shot, burnt and hacked to death in what camp leader Douglas Madlala claimed was an attack to scare Inkatha supporters out of the area.

The attack has been described by police as the worst in months, but was one of several "unrest" incidents involving clashing groups in the PWV area since Friday.

Seven people were killed in Orlando West late on Friday when opposing groups fired on each other and then clashed with the police. Two of the dead were shot by police in the ensuing battle.

Police also reported finding the body of a man in Alexandra on Friday. The man had been stabbed. His death brings the total in the strife-torn township to 13 and the PWV total of politically related deaths to 41 this week.

Crossroads leader Madlala said the attack on his camp had been launched by ANC supporters.

"We have quarrelled before and managed to drive the Xhosas off in August 1990. This is another quarrel between Inkatha and the ANC. We are all Inkatha supporters here," he said.

Dazed survivors were knocking shelters together next to their razed homes yesterday afternoon. In one shack lay a blood-soaked pillow, evidence that the woman who had lived there — believed to be 87 — had been hacked or shot in her sleep.

Like cattle

Crossroads resident Rosie Mazimadi — known as "Mother Theresa" to the community for her social work in the Katlehong area — said she was asleep when the attack began.

"I woke up to hear women screaming and gunshots. I hid behind my fridge and heard the men come and kick my door down. Then I heard them say there was nobody in my home. Then I heard them go next door and start killing. Women and kids were burnt alive in the homes. Kids were speared like cattle and old women were shot."

The attacking group consisted of about 30 men who, witnesses said, came from the direction of the Holomisa Camp, predominantly Xhosa.

Kenneth Ngolbese stood at the ruins of his shack where his sister Jubu (25) had been shot to death.

"I have nothing left. I found my sister in the ashes but you could still see she had been shot through the head. I'm angry. All I have left is the clothes I'm standing in and now I have to go to work," he said.

ANC regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said in a statement: "The attack must be condemned as the work of the enemies of peace and democracy." He said the gunmen had apparently got off a train near the squatter camp at 10 pm and launched the attack on the settlement at 10.45 pm.

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Smuggling for ANC charges dropped

Robin Drew
Africa News Service

HARARE — A Zimbabwe Catholic bishop tried to smuggle foreign currency into South Africa for the ANC but was not prosecuted because the government was satisfied the money was for the "struggle to end white rule".

This allegation was made here at the trial of the acting police commissioner and a former top police officer on corruption charges involving the release of cars stolen in South Africa and sold in Zimbabwe for the PAC.

The case of the bishop was raised by a lawyer representing former Senior Assistant Commissioner James Ndoye.

Applying for his discharge, advocate Dermot Carter referred to a letter from the Attorney-General in which he declined to prosecute Bishop Patrick Mutume, Mr John Coleman and Mr Ronald Masarakufa because he was satisfied their smuggling was in pursuance of the ANC's political aims. He ordered that the foreign currency be returned to them.

Mr Carter said the Attorney-General had refused to prosecute only on the grounds that the ANC was involved. In the case of the motor vehicles, the PAC was involved and it was also a liberation movement, he said.

The hearing was adjourned to May 20.

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Women beware, says a Codesa delegate

IT would be appreciated if you could advise your female readers that on Tuesday March 31 1992, Subgroup 1 of Work Group 1 at Codesa was about to discuss the item "gender", that is, what are the problems peculiar to women and which must be addressed by the New South Africa?

A single (young and very attractive) lady was present. She is the secretary and is not permitted to participate in the discussions.

I suggested to the chairman that it was inappropriate for an all-male committee to discuss feminine problems. I had very limited intimate knowledge of women or their problems. I, for example, had (unfortunately) never been sexually harassed.

A medium dark-skinned man howled me down and ridiculed me. He believed that since he had had first-hand experience of



WHERE ARE THE WOMEN? . . . some of the mostly male delegates at a recent Codesa meeting.

racial discrimination, that he was also an expert on sexual discrimination. I am not sure that this necessarily follows.

The purpose of this letter is to warn ladies that your future in the New South Africa may be determined by males (light and

dark) who may be MCPs.

I do not wish to be accused of hypocrisy. My wife and daughters have frequently accused me of being "the last of the great MCPs". If you do not wish your future to be determined by men such as I, I suggest that you

make your representations known to the Management Committee of Codesa, or the Chairman of Workgroup 1 Subgroup, ASAP!

(Dr) Ed Benard
IFP Delegate, Codesa

Benmore

INSIGHT probe into the anarchy in Johannesburg's oldest location

Prophecy foretold the agony of Alex

Peta Thornycroft

ALEXANDRA's agony was set in stone more than a year ago.

While the world's cameras clicked and whirled over a familiar township scene — corpses slumped across dusty sidewalks, burning vehicles lighting up the night sky and the inevitable litter — Alexandra's best known resident, MK minister the Rev Sam Buthe, recalled his prophecy.

In an interview published in the Sunday Star in March 1991 he said he was "deeply worried" that the Inkatha Freedom Party-supporting mayor of Alex, Prince Mokoena, had been "allowing Inkatha into Alexandra to hinder his own position" and that of his council against the ANC-aligned Alexandra Civic Organisation.

A year later the focus of the violence in Alex echoes in the corridors of Madala Hostel — even as Sam Buthe was speaking, multilingual perspective residents were being kicked out by members of the Inkatha Freedom Party from rural KwaZulu.

The takeover of Madala Hostel is now complete. It is a huge high-rise squatter camp. And on its rooftop, the shacks, housing the acrobats, have taken a year to spread and grow deep into the heart of Johannesburg's oldest "location".

No mayor

Now Alex is without a mayor since Prince Mokoena's term of office expired five months ago.

Alex is a hostile-hardened township which stood its ground against takeover and served many confrontations with apartheid's Cops. But now it has succumbed. Black houses stand empty, every day another resident picks up and moves out. And slowly, Madala's extended family takes up

the slack.

Until 18 months ago Alex was making headlines of another sort: "The town that DIDN'T blow up".

Just before the take-over of Madala by squatters and the eviction of more than 2000 permanent residents, the hostel was part of the community.

Integrated

This week, Mr Buthe looked back at the Alex he knew.

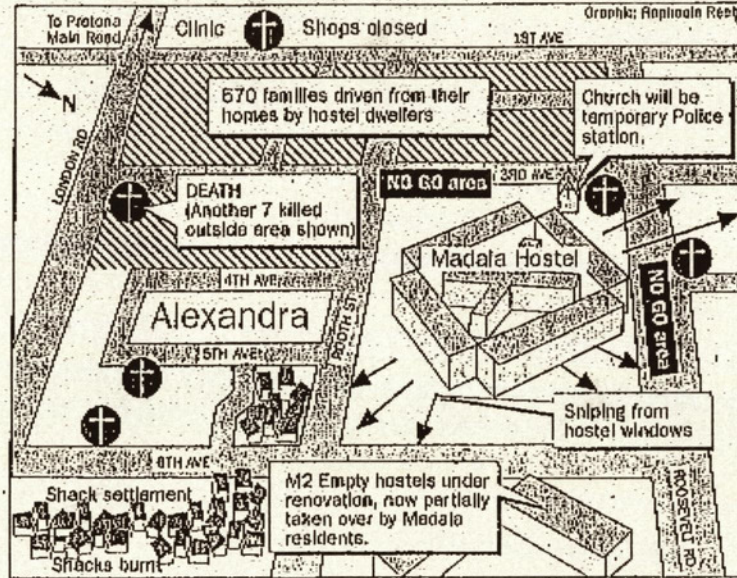
"Alex was never ethnically grouped; it was an integrated community. Now it has been divided. It's honest-breaking. Inkatha members lived peacefully among the residents now we have this thing, which I predicted would happen. People are being forced to join Inkatha; these unemployed men from KwaZulu come into Madala and some of them are just thugs taking advantage of the situation.

"There is only one solution. The people who used to live there, who are rightful permit-holders, must be given back their places — or Madala must be converted into family units. The original residents came from all over South Africa, including KwaZulu, and lived together peacefully."

Mr Buthe's analysis of why Alexandra began to burn — the "deliberate" take-over of the hostel as a power base for the IFP — is echoed in the township by churches, support groups, property owners, members of the Peace Forum, and other service organisations.

"The problem is starting us in the face, so is the solution, and you can't get any action," said Tony Rutsharf of the Peace Forum. "It's also about property rights. People should be able to seek protection for their property."

If, like many others concerned about the anarchy in Alex, we'll nullify colours to any political party's



As the rat-tat-tat echoed from the hostel, the replying crackles of gunfire came from deep inside the shacks

most. The Rev Ntshani Ngubane, a homeless churchman who daily picks his way through garbage and raw sewage among the layers of tin shacks, is almost in despair.

"The war is about a power base. The SADF should be brought in to investigate and recover stolen property. People should be arrested and charged. Last year when two empty houses in Marikano were taken over

the squatters were arrested and charged. Houses must be returned to their owners.

"We as churches are not taking political sides. Last year, after the takeover of Madala by Inkatha, they

were locked in for three days as the army tried to prevent confrontation and we took food there."

IFP youth leader Themba Khosa told a hastily convened peace committee this week that the violence in Alexandra was "about power".

The IFP does not have an office in Alex, but has long had a presence in the township. "Sometime, somewhere, we decided to increase its support and to make its base Madala," Mr Ngubane said.

Which is not to say that residents in the shack settlement along Eighth Avenue, and believed to be mostly ANC supporters, are not fighting back — and with some heavy-duty weapons, according to members of the Peace Forum. As the rat-tat-tat echoed from Madala's windows, somewhere deep among the shacks came the answering rumble of gunfire.

Wild-mannered Lucas Khosa, IFP chairman in Alex, blames the ANC. He says people from the shacks have run to the hostel for protection. It all started when the Alex Civic Organisation called for rent boycotts, and ANC supporters in 17th Avenue co-ordinated attacks on members of the IFP. A known IFP supporter was killed in 12th Avenue last year at the height of the fight for Madala hostel.

Guns

Mr Khosa agreed that illegal residents in Madala with IFP sympathies did have guns. He also agreed that Alex did not have an ethnic problem before — until the Alexandra Civic brought in "squatters" from Transkei.

But help is at hand for Alex, reports Maureen Khamisa. On Wednesday the African Crisis Committee (ACC) was appointed as an emergency mediator held under the auspices of the Walter Sisulu Vind Dispute Resolution Committee under the National Peace Accord.

The ICC was convened by the Rev Dr J. M. Chiribhach, who represents the church, and also represents the relief organisations and the community. Includes Mike Bese of the ACA/ANC, Bruce Anderson of the IFP and Melville Stewart of the DP.

Deputy Chiribhach said: "Our purpose is to liaise with all those concerned in the situation and to help the people of Alex informed about what is being done. We are preparing a pamphlet to be distributed through Alex. The new slogan of the Peace Accord is Peace Now — Not Another Death Later."

Tolerance

The pamphlet, which will be read out in churches today and broadcast through loudspeakers in the streets of Alex tomorrow, advocates political tolerance and calls on the people to help both the SADF and SACP in Alex. "They are here to help us", it says.

The SADF, says Dr Chiribhach, now has a company of control in Alex, including one around the clinic. They are looking for somewhere suitably placed within Alex to set up a "support police". This is to consist of a permanent presence and temporary accommodation — they are looking for parking and rest space in Alex.

"At the emergency meeting held on Wednesday it was decided that registration of those currently living in Madala Hostel was now to begin."

Even the dogs in Alex have joined in the fighting, reports David Hanning. "Three dogs, residents of the Madala hostel, spotted two others which had strayed into the hostel from Alexandra. The tough hostel dogs — two looked like bull terriers — pounced on the "intruders". Fortunately for the township dogs, the fight was over within minutes and they scuttled towards the houses tails between their legs.

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'We switch off lights and pray'

Jovial Rantao

It's 7 pm, a Tuesday and April Fools' Day. Supper time for most South Africans, but not for Florence Fox her husband Jimmy, their grandmother and five children.

As automatic gunfire raged outside her house in Roosevelt Avenue, Mrs Fox sat with her family at the dinner table. Eldest daughter Maki had just served supper, one hour later no one had touched their food.

There is a burst of gunfire just a few houses away. Lights and television had been switched off. Children as young as five years, sat on the floor and other under the table, eyes wide open with fright.

"When the shooting starts," says Mrs Fox. "We switch off our lights, sit in the dark and wait for the hostel dwellers to attack us. We don't have any weapons in the house so we just sit there with arms folded and say a little prayer."

Mrs Fox says she has tried on a few nights to tuck children into beds to stop them from seeing the "evil that occurs in Alexandra". However on all occasions, the children have come back running to the lounge, sobbing uncontrollably.

She said her family has been unable to sleep or eat properly for two weeks. Their family life had totally been disrupted.

The disruption, Mrs Fox said,

started a month ago when armed men knocked at her door and asked her and the family to sign up for the Inkatha Freedom Party. When the family refused, they were told to move out.

Her husband, whose parents built the house in 1922, was at loss for words.

"We had to flee the house when our neighbours were attacked and it was a matter of time before we were pounced on. We left and slept at the Joseph Gerrard Old Age Home.

Sanctuary

When we returned the following morning our house had been broken into and outside rooms set alight," Mr Fox said.

On Friday, under police escort, the family packed belongings that could fit into a small van Mr Fox had borrowed and left for sanctuary at the old age home.

Mrs Fox was not so worried about minor household goods that she left behind. She was instead worried about the beautiful flowers in her garden. "It took me 10 years to establish this garden and I hope these heartless men don't steal my flowers..." she said.

The family hopes to come back to their house, but vow that will only be after the Madala Hostel and shacks occupied by IFP members are destroyed.

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Police the 'patties' in the hamburger

Mark Stansfield

TRIP-WIRES attached to handgrenades in backyards; snipers with high-velocity rifles taking potshots at "political suspects"; booby-trapped dustbins waiting to blast the curious to mince-meat; "No Go" and "Safe" political areas; panga and axe-wielding madmen running amok; bone-crushing bricks falling like hail and assassins hidden in cupboards cradling AK 47s, waiting for someone to make the mistake of discovering them...

A walk through Alexandra while it was writhing in bloody agony this week was to catch a frightening glimpse of future suburban South Africa if political intolerance and politically inspired territorial conflicts are not checked.

The walk (scared and on tip-toe) through the shack mazes and debris-littered streets revealed the sophisticated methods both sides use to eliminate each other in an effort to gain control of certain sections.

"Don't touch any wires, don't scratch in dustbins and make sure my body is covering you from the line of fire at all times ... I don't want you dead," Piet — a member of the SAP internal stability unit's Charlie 21 patrol — whispered as we walked into the maze of shacks.

What on earth was he talking about?

In nine years of covering "unrest" I had never heard of booby-trapped dustbins, handgrenades attached to trip-wires or snipers perched in high-rise buildings. Those things belonged in Vietnamese villages and movies like "Platoon" and "Apocalypse Now". Times have changed ...

On Thursday this week five

young men stood between Alexandra's hordes of warring political factions. They were members of the SAP Internal Stability Unit's Charlie 21 outfit out on foot patrol — a diminutive five-man David standing between two colossal Goliaths.

"We are the pattie in this political hamburger," growls an SAP Colonel.

"We are eaten from all sides ... no matter what we do we are accused by both parties of partiality and blamed for the violence. We are being sliced from both sides," he says, his red-rimmed eyes a reminder that this man — and many of his colleagues — have not had a day's rest in weeks.

Nonsense

"But, I tell you, there were only 10 people killed here because we stayed and attempted to stop the violence. There would have been a massacre if we were not prepared to go out there and stand between them. We are accused of starting this violence for our own ends! Huh! Who in their right minds would start something like this so they could stay away from their families for weeks at a time? This talk of a third force is nonsense."

Out on patrol we have entered one of the most hotly-disputed areas of this week's fighting, a maze of shacks and houses bordered by Fourth and Fifth Avenues and London and Rooth Streets. In the background looms the uninspiring edifice of the Madala Hostel — the Inkatha-held "fortress" from where many say the attacks were first launched.

It is significant that in this week's fighting it was areas bordering the hostel which bore the

brunt of attacks.

The area we have entered is eerily quiet. Houses stand empty, doors and windows yawning; many still have furniture in them; clothing lies strewn on the pathways; here and there blood-spots mark the hard earth.

We round a corner and find two young men lounging on some furniture outside deserted, burnt-out shacks.

The sight is incongruous, as are the soft strains of kwela coming from a radio somewhere out there.

Who are they?

"We're Zulus," they grin.

What are they doing here? Where are all the other people?

"They ran away," says one, his hand motioning to somewhere out there.

"They were Xhosa and Shangaans. We live here now," he says and proceeds to explain that the Zulus have taken over the area "so there's no more trouble".

Brigadier Jaap Venter, head of the country's Internal Stability Unit, disclosed this week that one of the unit's biggest problems was gaining the trust of the ordinary citizens of the country.

"We have had mobile 'police stations' situated in strategic places in Alex for weeks yet few have come forward and used these facilities to report violence or even ordinary crime," he said.

"And to combat what happened here we need the support of the public ..."

He added: "But the sickness here is political intolerance ... It's up to the politicians to stop it with the help of ordinary citizens. I really think we need something like an Alexandra Peace Accord between the factions because nobody's hands are clean in this situation," he said.

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Children moved out, Rottweilers in

Philippe Millan

"BEIRUT" is on the doorstep of white suburbs that ring Alexandra township — "a stone's throw away" as one Kew housewife wisecracked.

Many householders to whom **INSIGHT** spoke refused to be named or photographed, but were not shy about venting their feelings.

"It's these Zulus. They're to blame. Just because they cannot have two seats at Codesa they think they have the right to force the rest of the country into capitulating," thundered one middle-aged Kew housewife.

"Kaffirs? Let them kill each other," said another man. "I live in Lombardy East and all night it's either disco music or gunfire. And they want to run the country? I told them to bloody-well vote No," he snorted.

"The police can clear out Alex in a week. Why don't they raid that hostel? Put the entire army in and keep them there — that will sort it out. We're tax payers. We have a right to our piece of mind," said a woman from Kew Gardens.

"The ills of a place like Alex will not disappear overnight. These are the seeds of hatred

planted by apartheid," said Godfrey Chester, of Highlands North.

Eight years ago Daryll and Alison Smith bought their property for less than R100 000. With improvements and additions the Smith's property's book value is close to R350 000.

"If I could move from here I would but the house is overcapitalised. I'd be lucky if I could swap it for a flat in Bez Valley," says Daryll (31).

The Smiths live in Birmingham Road, Lombardy West, the first row of houses shielding Lombardy from Alex.

What few houses are not encased in razor wire have huge spikes on walls. Triple security gates are common as are panic alarms, electrified fencing, sensor lights, Rottweilers and shatterproof glass.

The Smiths have been burgled six times in 24 months, average for the road. "At a house up the road some guys rammed down the gates with a bakkie, lashed the outside burglar bars with chains and pulled half the wall down. It's madness here. It's like the Wild West," says Daryll.

The Smiths have sent their children to stay elsewhere.

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Baptism of fire 'too hot'

Maureen Isaacson

AMONG the thousands of refugees from the flames of Alex are final-year medical students who can't take the heat.

For some the brush with war was so shattering that they have decided to return to the safety of Johannesburg.

Sitting in the staff canteen at the Alexandra Health Centre, the final-year students relive the horror of Tuesday night. They tell of gunshots so close that they feared for their lives at every turn, of patients leaping off tables in fear. Of doctors and patients alike hiding under tables.

"I feel terrified," says one of the students. "We were really scared" says another.

"I feel differently," says a student from Soweto. "I feel apprehensive but I feel that I should come, and that as long as there is a need for me I must help."

"Not I," says a softly-spoken young man, "two years ago I

used to share those feelings, but now I cannot see the point in becoming another statistic."

At the clinic on Thursday morning, the Angel of Death has temporarily fled. It has left behind the ghost of the six year-old boy who was shot in the chest and the ghosts of the two men who died of head wounds.

And the babies keep on being born. In the maternity ward, a newborn infant struggles for its life in an incubator. Another, less than an hour old, is being monitored. Six expectant mothers sit on chairs, waiting to bring fresh life into the chaos and frenzy that has turned Alex into a living hell.

The nursing staff are numb. Exhausted. They talk about stress. Their eyes are weighted with the blood and death, the pain and misery they have seen in the past days.

In the "Quiet Room", Dr Tim Wilson, Director of the clinic, takes a break from his hectic schedule and tells us that the

past three weeks have cost the clinic R100 000.

He is at pains to scotch rumours of shootings within the clinic and attempted murders. "Yes it has been horrific, but actually this place is very peaceful — even within the violence."

"The reality is that the staff are very tired, particularly the people who live in Alex. You don't sleep very well in a war situation. A guy came in with half of his face blown away — it's depressing."

"One is seeing death and appalling violence, mindless violence, it appears as if people are deliberately maiming and aiming to cause damage."

"But if you're going to be effective you have to understand that it is hurting your patients and therefore hurts you too."

Outside, harsh sunlight and the bright primary colours of the houses at the Alexandra Health Centre dispel any idea of the anarchy that took place.

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Scrap those hostels now

CHURCHILL once described the erstwhile Soviet Union as "a riddle wrapped inside an enigma in a mystery". For all the contradictions and paradoxes inherent in our society, the description might equally befit South Africa.

Where else are tragedy and joy bedfellows, and so easily interchangeable? One moment we are all ecstatic about the triumphs overseas of our sporting heroes, the next we are counting bodies as the spiral of unceasing township conflict claims more victims.

We are a study in tragic contrasts.

Yet the violence can be broken, and must be broken. But how?

The Government must recognise that anarchy is threatening to descend on the townships until something drastic is done. In the case of Alexandra, as indeed in that of many trouble-spots elsewhere in the black community, the issue of "single-sex" hostels must be addressed urgently. Nearly all the violence of the past two years — Soweto, Thokoza, Katlehong, Vosloorus, Sebokeng, Kagiso, Westonaria — had hostels as a common denominator.

Since the hostels have formed a power-base for one of the warring groups — and Madala hostel in Alexandra is a clear example of an Inkatha stronghold — clearly the beginning of the solution is to abolish hostels and replace them with family units for their many married "single" men.

Finally, and most important, unless the parties which committed themselves to the Peace Accord police their members, unless their leaders refrain from inflammatory, deliberately provocative rhetoric, the accord will simply not work. The reason why Alexandra and now Katlehong have been on the boil for much of this week is precisely because neither the African National Congress nor the Inkatha Freedom Party seems much bothered, publicly at least, about the letter and spirit of the accord.

Otherwise we are heading to a new South Africa which, at best, will always be in a state of semi-civil war — the Lebanon alternative.

San Times 5/4/92

Integrate armies to foster trust

THE first plenary session of Codesa last December was marred by a fiery showdown between President FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela over ANC arms caches and the status of its army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These issues continue to plague negotiations. The government insists transitional structures will not be established until the ANC agrees to end its armed struggle and disband MK.

The ANC refuses to demobilise MK "until a democratic government is in place". It argues further that "there is no difference between MK and the SADF, which is the National Party's army".

The way out of this impasse would be to focus briefly on a longer term issue: the political parties represented at Codesa could agree in principle that the future defence force will be an amalgamation of the SADF, MK and the homeland armies.

The actual integration of these forces will undoubtedly be difficult. But agreement in principle at this stage would clarify their future status and thereby make it easier to identify the steps required to control them in the interim.

In one form or another, integration is inevitable. Neither the government nor the ANC has the strength to ensure its army is installed exclusively as the new defence force.

Both parties are commit-

LAURIE NATHAN argues that agreement to integrate all military forces will lead to the ANC finally abandoning the armed struggle

ted to a negotiated settlement precisely because they recognise this reality. They accept, too, that negotiations necessarily entail compromising hard-line positions. It would be absurd to imagine military affairs as exempt from such a compromise.

Integration is also politically and strategically desirable. By virtue of their historic roles and characters, neither the SADF nor MK on its own would be regarded as a genuinely national defence force after apartheid.

Both armies have played a partisan role in the South African conflict.

The SADF's credibility is weakened by its aggressive defence of minority rule, while MK is regarded by many whites as a "terrorist organisation".

The exclusion of the SADF or MK from the new defence force would fatally undermine its legitimacy, embitter one or another political constituency and create the danger of banditry and armed resistance to the state.

Conversely, the merging of government and guerrilla forces would signal a real commitment by the major players to overcoming the

divisions of the past.

The logic of the above arguments was accepted at independence in Namibia and Zimbabwe. It has been accepted more recently in Mozambique and Angola — and it provided the basis for the formation of the Union Defence Force in South Africa in 1912.

The UDF was forged out of British colonial forces and Boer commando armies which had fought a bloody war only 10 years earlier.

If the parties at Codesa agreed to a similar integration of the SADF, MK and the homeland armies, the way would be clear to resolving controversial military issues and devising means of regulating these forces during the transition.

The government could agree to subject the SADF to a code of conduct and multi-party control. The ANC could formally end its armed struggle, surrender its arms caches and recognise the SADF as South Africa's legal defence force in the interim period.

A number of structures could be set up to implement and monitor these agreements. At political level, the

interim government could exercise civilian control over all the armies through a multi-party commission of security.

The commission could monitor SADF compliance with the code of conduct and MK compliance with the Pretoria, DF Malan and Groote Schuur minutes. It could also begin formulating new defence policy and planning the reconstitution of the security forces.

At a military level, a Joint Monitoring Committee comprised of senior officers from each of the armies could be created along the lines of the JMC's established by South Africa with Mozambique in 1984 and with Angola in 1984 and 1988.

An outstanding issue would be the status of the armed wings of the AWB, Azapo and the PAC, which have all rejected participation in Codesa.

These armies should be outlawed if they reject the option of multi-party control and eventual incorporation into the new defence force.

The essential point, though, is that every effort should be made to accommodate the various armies that exist in South Africa.

● Laurie Nathan is a senior researcher at the Centre for Intergroup Studies, an independent mediation group attached to UCT.

Sun Star 5/4/92

ANC is planning to grab absolute power, says Govt

David Breier

CODESA was plunged into a worsening crisis this weekend when the Government accused the ANC of proposing a plan that would enable the ANC to grab absolute power in an interim government.

The accusation came after the Government and the ANC had neared deadlock on interim rule and a constitution-making body.

The Government refuses to relinquish power in the first phase of interim rule. It also opposes any "majoritarian" proposals in the second phase, which is due to follow one-person-one-vote elections.

But at the weekend the Government went further and said the ANC's proposed elected constituent assembly (CA), which would also have power to make laws, could in practice turn itself into an authoritarian government.

"The Government cannot but conclude that the ANC proposals lay the foundation for an absolute, authoritarian government. The Government sees red lights flashing," said Tertius Delpont, the Government spokesman on Codesa.

Dr Delpont's accusation follows a careful study this week by Government experts of the ANC's proposals for a constitution-making body.



DR TERTIUS DELPORT
... absolutism feared.

Government analysts believe they have discovered a major trap in the ANC's proposal for an elected CA which would need a two-thirds majority to pass a new constitution.

The ANC wants the CA to have the power both to write a new constitution and to pass laws in the interim period — without being shackled by a transitional constitution.

The Government on the other hand, also wants an elected transitional government to decide on a new constitution and pass laws. But it insists that the powers of a transitional parliament be severely restrained by a transitional constitution to avoid the danger of authoritarian rule.

The Government is due to table its plans for a transitional constitution at Codesa at the end of this month.

Dr Delpont said the ANC plan implied that the present Parliament

be dissolved and a CA acquire interim legislative authority, taking over from the present Parliament.

"Although the ANC stated that the CA would have to reach consensus on a new constitution within four months, no provision is made for constitutional restraints as far as the decisions of the CA are concerned," he said.

As the CA would also have the power to make laws, "nothing in fact would stop the Assembly from passing a law perpetuating its own lifespan. The body would, in other words, have the power to consolidate its own position in an authoritarian manner," Dr Delpont said.

He said that by contrast, the Government wanted an elected transitional government to be restrained by a transitional constitution which would leave no room for authoritarian powers.

This week ANC, in its proposals for a CA, scoffed at the Government plan for a bicameral transitional parliament featuring a house of minorities, which the ANC calls a "House of Losers".

The ANC called the Government plan "chicanery" and so "monstrous" and confused that it would fail a first-year law or political science student.

Sun Star 5/4/92

'Sandton paying rent for Inkatha'

Peta Thornycroft

SANDTON Town Council is paying accommodation fees for about 570 Inkatha supporters who have displaced the legitimate tenants — council employees — in Alexandra's controversial Madala Hostel.

The Sandton Town Council pays out about R100 000 a year for accommodation for almost 800 of its workers in the hostel, but the council employees were forced out more than a year ago.

Sandton continues to pay for their beds in Madala, the pivot of

bloody fighting in the township this week.

Sandton's employees fled when members of the Inkatha Freedom Party, most of them newly arrived from Natal, drove out about 2 000 legal residents in March last year.

The displaced Sandton workers are living outside the hostel, some in shacks in Alexandra, some squatting at Zandfontein and some at Sandton's vehicle-testing depot.

Rick Ehlers, councillor for Ward 17, told INSIGHT he had tabled a question to the Management Com-

mittee nearly two weeks ago asking for an explanation, but was still waiting for a reply.

The Alex Council has not sought the eviction of the Inkatha squatters in Madala, because it says it does not know how it would provide alternative accommodation for them.

However, most of those who fled Madala last March have been forced to become squatters themselves.

There are hundreds of empty beds in both Madala and M2 men's

hostels.

John Griffiths, temporary administrator of Alexandra, says Sandton's workers may be housed in M2 in future, and the council hopes that other former legal residents of Madala will return.

He also said the present squatters in Madala might be registered and given permits to allow them to stay permanently.

But he said no one in the council was prepared to undertake the registration exercise except Simon Xhumalo, a senior member of the

IFP.

Uneasy calm returned to Alexandra on Friday after three days of vicious street battles which claimed 13 lives and scores of wounded, and pushed the number of refugees to more than 2 500.

As residents fled, squatters, many of them IFP members, took over a swathe of territory between First and Third Avenue, which borders the IFP-dominated hostel.

● Prophecy foretold the agony of Alex — Page 15

Sun Star

5/4/92

Out with the old NP, in with a new party

John MacLennan

A STRONG lobby in the highest echelons of government is pushing for the demise of the NP and all its apartheid baggage so a new centrist party can be established.

Their aim is to reach out to all races and go for power in the country's first democratic elections.

It has been disclosed that the NP is now locked in a divisive strategic review on how best to take on the ANC. Scrapping the party is one of the options being considered, despite strong — but not heated — resistance.

Hindrance

This follows talks with Saatchi and Saatchi, the high-powered international political consultants who assisted the NP during the referendum. They regard the NP as a hindrance to President de Klerk's ambitions. And they have advised him to shed the party and mobilise the moderate masses through his popular image.

He takes the initial step in this campaign by holding his first mass township rally in Mitchell's Plain near Cape Town on Saturday.

A new centrist party which subscribes to liberal ideals is likely to lead to the disappearance of the DP, with MPs joining the ANC or the 'new' NP.

Senior government insiders told the Sunday Star a new centrist party would appeal across race and party lines and promote Mr de

Klerk as a leader — not only of whites.

They hold that the party is seen to represent mainly white interests, that the majority of blacks would be insulted by an invitation to fall in behind the NP's banner and that the party would gain more than it loses by changing its name and logo as the party of apartheid will not survive reform.

The sources believe it is only a matter of time before Mr de Klerk announces the old party's over.

Those who oppose the demise of the NP say the party should explore other options in engineering a breakout into the broad electorate because it would lose support among whites. They also hold that the NP has already changed its image with the help of the CP and cannot afford to lose its name.

But critics say the party will make no progress unless it does, that its supporters will not turn en masse to the CP and any losses will be more than made up among all races.

Overtures

The DP already accepts that the Mr de Klerk will announce a new party following carefully orchestrated NP overtures to its MPs in Parliament. The prospect of a new alignment was the focus of an extended DP caucus meeting this week.

At the meeting Mr Tony Leon, the MP for Houghton, tabled a document which called for a probe of the consequences if a new party was to be formed in which the DP could play a pivotal and decisive role.

Sun Times 5/4/92

Nelson, Winnie 'to split'

Sunday Times Reporter

THE marriage of ANC president Nelson Mandela and his controversial wife, Winnie, is over, the London Sunday Times reports today.

The newspaper's South African representative, Richard Ellis, also reports that Mr Mandela has asked his wife to quit politics and resign from the ANC.

The report follows an incident last Saturday night at the Soweto home of Kholiswa Falati, 38, convicted with Mrs Mandela last year on charges of kidnapping and assault related to the death of teenage activist Stompie Seipei four years ago.

The London Sunday Times gives a vivid account of the clash between Mrs Falati and Mrs Mandela last weekend.

Pistol

Mrs Falati, who has been sleeping in a backyard room at the former Mandela home in Vilakazi Street, Orlando West, claims Mrs Mandela arrived in the early hours of Sunday morning.

She was "drunk, in a foul mood and brandishing a Makarov pistol", says the report. Mrs Falati fled the house "in fear of my life" while Mrs Mandela threw her clothes on to the pavement.

"She came at me like a madwoman. She was screaming at me that I was going to prison," Mrs Falati said.

She appealed to Mr Mandela to intervene.

Mr Mandela asked Mrs Falati to tell the ANC "everything she knew". This she did in a four-hour meeting.

One of her claims was that Mrs Mandela had drawn up a hit list four months ago, targeting her "enemies", including senior ANC officials.

Mrs Falati is quoted by the London Sunday Times as saying she was "not prepared to go to jail for that ungrateful woman", and apparently told ANC intelligence officers "this is just the tip of the iceberg — it would take me two weeks to reveal all that I know".

Last weekend's incident was apparently sparked by Mrs Mandela discovering

that Mrs Falati was "spreading a different version of events concerning the night Stompie was killed".

It took place less than 12 hours before Mr and Mrs Mandela hosted an engagement party for their daughter, Zinzi, on Sunday afternoon.

A guest at the party said yesterday: "Winnie looked terrible, but they put a brave face on it. I didn't see Nelson and Winnie talk to one another all afternoon, and it was clear that they

were at pains to avoid each other."

Mrs Falati, who has been working as a maid in the Mandela mansion in Orlando West, was in hiding this weekend.

In response to the London newspaper report, ANC spokesman Mr Palle Jordan said last night: "I don't think it would be proper for the ANC to comment on these matters. Mr and Mrs Mandela are entitled to a private life."

Neither Mr nor Mrs Mandela was available for comment last night.

DP caucus divided over plan to merge with Nats

THE Democratic Party caucus this week discussed a proposal to disband and form a new centrist party with the Nationalists under President FW de Klerk.

The plan was contained in a confidential document drawn up by Houghton MP Tony Leon.

Mr Leon's proposal comes at a time when Finance Minister Barend du Plessis is urging the DP to find a proper vehicle to propagate the values "which many of us share enthusiastically with them".

Caucus

Other top Nationalists have confirmed they, too, are discussing the idea of a new centre party.

The secret document, drawn up by Mr Leon, whose Houghton seat was held for almost four decades by veteran liberal MP Helen Suzman, was placed in the pigeon holes of all DP MPs before the caucus meeting.

His proposal was later discussed by an extended

By EDYTH BULBRING:
Political Reporter

party caucus meeting on Thursday which brainstormed ideas on strategy and a future road for the DP.

In the document, Mr Leon said the DP faced a bleak future. Support for the party had shrunk glaringly in the white community and there was no growth of support in the "non-white" community. Its fundraising ability was limited.

The caucus meeting ended inconclusively, leaving

the Democrats more divided than ever before.

The party hierarchy — including leader Zach de Beer, chairman Ken Andrew and former leader Colin Eglin — want the DP to remain independent. But Mr Leon has prominent backers in the form of senior MPs like Roger Hulle (Constantia), Mike Tarr (Maritzburg North) and Robin Carlisle (Wynberg).

Mr Andrew said he believed Mr Leon's view was shared by a minority in the caucus. He said the DP's strategy review committee, of which Mr Leon was a member, would compile a document on the dominant view within the caucus before the end of April.

After discussions on the DP's future, Dr De Beer said the party always ended up playing an independent hand. He was sure the DP would continue to do this.

He said Mr Leon's proposal for a new party was slightly better than a proposal to go into an alliance

with the NP. "If I am going to be forced into any party with the NP, I would sooner it was a new party than their own party," he said.

Mr Leon's document stated that the differences and attitudes within the DP made it impossible to enter into an alliance with another political party.

"The one section of the party regards practically any initiative or policy proposal of the National Party as 'contaminated at source'. Another grouping within the caucus views the ANC with deep suspicion and considerable discomfort."

He said it was now impossible, in practical terms, for the DP to consider engaging in any alliance at a national level without tearing the party apart.

Option

"Our inability or unwillingness to create an alliance-merger with other actors means we look to a bleak and uncertain future," he said.

Instead, the DP should consider the option of creating a new party, he said.

"Absent the past discredited symbolism of the NP, but with powerful leadership (Mr De Klerk) and a political commitment to fundamental liberal democracy, a new entity becomes an attractive and practical alternative," he stated in the document.

□ To Page 2

DP in merger bombshell

From Page 1

He said the DP's driving force in the creation of a new party, would give the NP a powerful incentive to disband.

Confirming that his party to was reassessing its future, a top NP member said our possibilities were under discussion:

They were:

● To form a new party to replace the NP with President De Klerk as the leader;

● Begin a new black-orientated party which would form an alliance with the NP;

● Form alliances with existing parties;

● Retain the NP.

"That is certainly true is there are a number of black people who would like to support what the State President is doing. But whether the NP as such would be the best vehicle to mobilise this support is the question," he said.

A think-tank of middle

level NP leaders met last week to take stock of the situation and to explore the various directions the party could take, the official said. This was one of many meetings that had taken place in past months.

He said the NP's reassessment came in the light of possible non-racial elections in a year's time.

"It's going to be an entirely different ball game. We will be holding elections among 20-million voters, not just 3,2-million."

One cabinet member told the Sunday Times the NP had no choice but to form a new centre party its inability to gain substantial black support and the stigma of the NP's past made this the only option for survival.

But Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers said he felt that a co-operative alliance seemed to him more viable than the formation of a new entity.

However, he could not categorically exclude the option.

Sun. Times 5/4/92

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Sun Times 5/4/92

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

THERE is a steely determination about Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo — even when he is behaving like a pussycat.

Last weekend his union movement unveiled its economic proposals which included calls for a highly interventionist state; restrictions on luxury imports; and a new tariff policy; the introduction of land and wealth taxes; the re-nationalisation of sugar.

It's rough sounding stuff and Mr Naidoo is unrepentant about it.

Cosatu, he says, is a socialist organisation and it should therefore surprise no one that it looks to socialist devices to rectify what it sees as the real problems confronting the country. These problems are "poverty, homelessness and a lack of jobs".

"We are not going to sweep them under the counter in an act of political expediency."

However, he accepts that business, the government and other political parties have different ideas on how to tackle the economic ills of the country.

That's why Cosatu insists on an

COSATU 'PUSSYCAT' ROARS APPROVAL FOR SOCIALISM

economic forum where parties can develop a consensus on key issues to be addressed and the manner in which this should be done. The economic forum is Cosatu's bottom line, he says.

□ □ □

In essence the union movement is demanding that the government relinquish the sole right to make decisions on economic policy. To enforce its demand, it has so far called one national strike and threatens another.

Economic Co-ordination Minister Derek Keye has argued that the time is not yet right for an economic forum. The government, he said, was not representative of the entire community. Cosatu and Nactu, while powerful, represented only a small

section of South Africa's potential workforce and business organisations like Sacoob had mandate problems.

Mr Keye has said business and the labour movements should meet now to discover areas of agreement and points of conflict. When a transitional government was in place the forum could be set up.

Mr Naidoo would be prepared to go along with Mr Keye's argument, but for the fact that the government was at present "engaged in unilaterally restructuring the economy".

That restructuring, he argues, is aimed at restricting a future democratic government's ability to address economic backlogs and, worse still, benefiting the National Party's public service support base.

Mr Naidoo has his argument on:

● The government's shifting of an increasing share of the tax burden to individuals;

● The negotiating of tariff agreements with GATT which would bind a future government;

● The privatisation of state forests which he believes will result in an increase in building costs;

□ □ □

● The government's arranging of foreign loans at high interest rates and then ploughing R2-billion of surplus borrowing into the public service pension fund.

Mr Naidoo says Cosatu's objection to the manner in which VAT was introduced should be seen in this light.

He rejects the government argument that a uniform VAT rate makes for a better tax system as an excuse

for laziness on the part of the Finance Department. Quoting Germany — a favourite point of comparison — as an example, he points out that in this European economic superpower, the government felt it necessary to have a low VAT rate for foodstuffs and a higher rate for everything else.

Mr Naidoo saw an economic forum setting broad guidelines for future taxation, fiscal, monetary and industrial policies.

He accepts that, should such a forum be set up, Cosatu would also have to deliver. He says Cosatu is quite prepared to have issues like productivity and labour stability feature high on the agenda of the envisaged forum.

"Negotiations bring rights as well as responsibilities," he says.

"Productivity is important in the context of us becoming internationally competitive, but what we need to do is invest in human resources."

Mr Naidoo says the plan to call a general strike this month has been postponed while the union movement assesses progress at Codesta 2 and whether Mr Keye has any success in getting his cabinet colleagues to agree to an economic forum.

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Cosatu, he says, won't rush into mass action but retains the right to use it if the government refuses to negotiate.

The same would apply to any future government even if it were dominated by its alliance partner, the ANC.

"Obviously we have tried to seek consensus around common objectives. One of them is building a non-racial South Africa, in that context the alliance with the ANC is very strong. But once the ANC becomes the government, that is another story."

"Cosatu enters into alliances because they materially and politically advance our members' interests. When they don't, then we won't be in an alliance."

Sun Times 5/4/92

ANC claims on MK don't add up

ON A recent Agenda programme on TV1, Dr Pallo Jordan of the ANC argued that it was necessary for the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to remain in existence because it was formed to protect the victims of apartheid from being murdered and terrorised by the state's security forces.

He then used the Sharpeville massacre and the recent Sebokeng incident in which the Goldstone Commission found the security forces to have used excessive and/or unnecessary force as examples showing that the state is still waging war on its opponents.

This raises the following questions:

- If the ANC believes the government to be waging war against its opponents, then surely the government is at present negotiating in bad faith with its adversaries and, that being so, why is the ANC involved in any negotiations with the government?

- If MK's role is to protect the victims of state aggression and the state is still perpetrating such violence today, why did the ANC suspend MK's armed activities since this would obviously leave the victims of such state violence without protection?

- If the security forces are a "killing machine" (as claimed by the ANC), why does the ANC criticise the PAC's armed wing for targeting police as elements that need to be eliminated?

Ironically, Dr Jordan uses the findings of the Goldstone Commission, which was appointed by the government to investigate incidents of violence, to identify their causes and to facilitate the identification and possible prosecution of the perpetrators, as evidence that the government is waging war against its opponents.

First, why would the government be so foolhardy as to appoint an impartial commission of inquiry (the ANC has not expressed any doubts

about Mr Justice Goldstone's impartiality or credentials) if the end product would be the commission's exposure of an insidious, covert drive by the government to eliminate its opponents?

Second, is it not a deliberate skewing of facts to allege that if the Goldstone Commission should in any of its investigations find instances of abuse of force or improper conduct by the security forces, this automatically indicates a violent campaign by the state to eliminate its opponents?

It is one thing to say that

the security forces abuse force or powers in their operations, but it is quite another to allege a hideous scheme by the government to wipe out its opponents (as it previously did through the CCB).

In any event, if the ANC has any evidence proving the government is still involved in CCB-like campaigns, surely it has a moral obligation to present such evidence before any appropriate body which could make a proper examination of all the facts. — S. NKABINDE, Johannesburg.

At the abyss

San Times

5/4/92

THE horror of the continuing slaughter in Alexandra and elsewhere is compounded by the nauseating parade of television personalities who appear soon afterwards, each peddling a theory that blames the police, the government, the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, or all of the above. The aftermath of the killing is simply war by other means, and it generates cynicism and disgust.

A good place to begin fresh consideration of the subject is Mr Nelson Mandela's unperturbed comment, when it still seemed that the referendum might be won by the Conservative Party: "We'll do to them what we did to the Nats."

What has been done to the Nats is to destroy their capacity to govern very large areas of the country, and of South African life. Mr Mandela berates the government for failing to check the violence by upholding the law. What law? The law that forbids one person to put up a shack on another's land? The law that forbids an ANC-SACP gang in Alexandra to prevent the burial of a murdered man reputed to have been a member of Inkatha? The law that forbids ANC members, or "comrades", to keep, hide, and use sophisticated, modern weapons of war, or merely the law that forbids Inkatha members to carry and use crude, old-fashioned weapons of war?

Damaged

The law has so lost its power to bind the people that lynch mobs are beginning to gather outside the courts, as has happened in both the Transvaal and Natal, to demand delivery of men who have not yet been convicted of any crime. There is no law; there is mere caprice.

The sad truth is that the law has been grievously damaged, first by apartheid and then by the struggle to overthrow apartheid, and that it is treated with general contempt by the people — in particular, the black people — of South Africa. It is invoked as a partisan convenience: defy "apartheid law", such as the laws that protect people's property, or the laws that impose charges for services rendered, or the laws of contract, but invoke the law that forbids one depraved, fire-hardened, blood-soaked township

youngster to kill another. Law? What law?

Mr Frank Chikane of the South African Council of Churches, recognising the impotence of the government to govern, has called for an international force to monitor the peace-keeping forces. That is not a bad idea, but it will take time, and the political obstacles are so daunting as to raise the suspicion that Mr Chikane is being disingenuous. Meanwhile, the house is on fire, and where are the churchmen? Mr Chikane would command more respect, and achieve a great deal more, if he spent more time in Alexandra separating the warring factions, and less time on television. The church hides behind the *konsta-bel*.

Sorrows

There was a time, in this country, when journalists accompanied the police into difficult situations and observed their actions, and when they could be relied upon to report excessive use of force; that tradition has decayed.

These days, Alexandra is swarming with journalists who report no police misdemeanours from the field, but go back to their offices to mine tendentious statements, twisted statistics and partisan accusations for "evidence" to show that the police — or, in more general terms, the whites — are responsible for the killing of black people by black people. Truth? What truth?

The violence itself is horrifying, and the plight of the people caught between warring factions is pitiful, but greater sorrows lie in wait. Given a choice between anarchy and tyranny, most people choose tyranny. And for good reason: tyranny at least imposes a harsh form of law, which may over time be improved. Anarchy is the condition we see across our borders, which sends desperate refugees swarming across our borders from Mozambique and Zimbabwe and Zaire, and ever farther afield.

The answer to the violence in Alexandra is the law, always imperfect, never entirely just. The first step towards ending the violence is to uphold the law as it stands, imperfect though it be, while the parties at Codesa try to lay the basis of a more just society. The law is deeply flawed, but it stands between us and the anarchy that is the mother of tyranny.

The corpse that started a war

THOKOZANI XABA's body has been lying in the Alexandra township morgue for six weeks.

Gynaics say the man was never destined to be buried in Dark City — the home of notorious gangsters that is now in the grip of intercommunal violence.

War-weary residents wish that Mr Xaba's allies in the Inkatha Freedom Party would not insist on bearing arms at his funeral so that he can be sent off to his ancestors as a warrior.

But Inkatha supporters see bullet holes in his coffin as a symbol that he must still be protected in this world.

And they are determined that their kleries and stekes be there to protect the spirit of a fighter when he is buried.

The recent resurgence of the violence centres on Mr Xaba's funeral — a man with no family whom nobody seems to have known.

On Saturday, March 7, thousands of Inkatha members gathered at the Madala hostel to pay their last respects to the man they say was shot down a week earlier by the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe.

First they were brought the wrong body. Next the undertakers delivered an empty coffin and later they brought the body of a gorilla who had died of old age.

The right body finally arrived that hot Saturday morning and the coffin, escorted by a hundreds-strong impi, was taken in a procession through the township towards the cemetery.

Weapons

Before the mourners reached the end of Vasco da Gama Avenue which leads to the cemetery, salpeters, holed up in impenetrable clusters of shacks and houses, opened fire on them.

At least two people were killed and 10 injured. Mr Xaba's funeral was postponed.

Residents, claiming the cemetery as "ANC territory", were adamant that the body would not be buried there.

The ANC said the impi, armed with traditional Zulu weapons, was "provocation" and renewed its call for the banning of cultural weapons and the closure of the Madala hostel.

By the end of the week, at least 10 people had been killed in skirmishes and scores injured. On Friday March 13, the township was declared an unrest area — the third time in a year.

Inkatha members, un-

It began with an abortive attempt to bury one man. Since then, scores of others have died and Alexandra has been plunged into chaos. SHARON CHETTY reports

deterred by a spin-to-spin curfew and a strong security force presence, gathered early the next day at the Madala hostel for Mr Xaba's funeral.

Their ranks were swelled by residents of other hostels brought in by a fleet of minibuses.

Police, backed up by the SADF, wanted the impi — armed with sharpened stekes, metal rods, knobkerries and meat cleavers — to disarm.

A suggestion that only priests and the IFP's West Rand secretary, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, be escorted to the cemetery to bury the body was rejected.

For several hours, the impi taunted the security forces, ANC supporters and the media. The Inkatha men saw the move to disarm them as a conspiracy — a Codomo-inspired plot to denigrate their Zulu traditions.

Fired by corn brew and a determination to show their strength, hundreds of mourners broke away from the hostel grounds and marched through the township while hostel-dwellers and security forces engaged in a fierce gun battle.

That day another three people died and 11 were injured.

Word spreads quickly in Alex — where an estimated 200 000 people are concentrated in five square kilometres of shacks and houses.

That afternoon, residents of Vasco da Gama Avenue believed the funeral procession was being escorted by security forces.

The road to the cemetery



YOUNG VICTIM A boy shot several times is carried into the Alexandra Clinic by a traffic policeman. He was one of almost 100 people treated for injuries on Wednesday. Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

was strewn with barricades. Three burning tyres represented a roadside pyre on to which residents wanted to toss Mr Xaba's coffin.

The conflict sparked by the confrontations at his funeral has plunged the township into a cycle of violence that nobody can make sense of any longer.

Inkatha secretary Mr Ndlovu has blamed the ANC for not tolerating another political movement in the township and says Inkatha members are under threat merely for being Zulu.

The ANC's Mr Obad Bapota says the hostel, an Inkatha stronghold, is the nerve-centre of the violence.

Since the first weekend of bloodshed, more than 2 000 residents of houses around the hostel have fled their homes, fearing "revenge" attacks by hostel-dwellers.

Claims abound of being forced to sign up as card-carrying IFP members and of rape, murder and robbery perpetrated by hostel inmates.

The refugees live now in churches and community centres.

Alex — dubbed the Dark City in the 60s because of the high crime rate — now has deep divisions.

Residents and local leaders talk about last March as the turning point, when the face of violence changed from hot-blooded domestic squabbles and ordinary crime to calculated attacks with political overtones.

Previously, ethnicity did not matter in Alex. In a hostel room sleeping six men, chances were that a Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Pedi, Tswana and Venda would share their space without a problem.

Xhosas in the hostel — who had greater access to education — were the first to move out, take wives and be integrated into the township.

The ANC's call for the hostels to be turned into family units was seen as a threat. Zulus feared Xhosas would be given preference.

The hostels became fertile ground for the IFP to move into. Dr Mpanza says he has documented cases where Zulu men in Natal, promised jobs by warlords there, are based in the Transvaal.

"When these men arrive on the Reef, they find there are no jobs for them. Instead, they are supported by the Natal warlords who earn their money in Natal's dagga trade.

"Their role is merely to form the impi at Inkatha rallies and funerals and to work as vigilantes," he said.

He also says the conflict is related to the mid-80s call by the ANC to make townships ungovernable.

Township councillors were ousted and treated as outcasts. Many joined Inkatha.

In the turbulent 80s, the ANC-linked Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) was seen as the most powerful force in the township.

Blamed

But ACO organiser Mzwanele Mayekiso says the organisation is no longer the only body with an effective power base in Alex. He claims that agents provocateurs have been imported to sow dissension.

With running battles claiming the lives of more Alex residents this week, the police were blamed by both the ANC and Inkatha for instigating violence.

Police spokesman Colonel Prana Matherbe rejects these claims out of hand.

He describes the conflict as "battles between political groups for territory and power bases" and says his men are doing their best to keep the peace.

An interim crisis committee, comprising all interested parties, has been set up as a forerunner to the launch of a local dispute-resolution committee under the National Peace Accord prior this month.

Police and the SADF deployed more men in the area and by Thursday afternoon, Mr Justice Goldstone, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation, launched an urgent investigation into the violence.

Mr Xaba has still not been buried.

Sun Times 5/4/92

Groundswell for centrist party as the DP reassesses its image

LESS than an hour before President FW de Klerk announced a whites-only referendum asking for an endorsement of negotiations at CODESA, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis rushed up to a senior DP MP.

"Where's Zach, you've got to tell me where Zach is," he said feverishly. When the MP expressed his ignorance at DP leader Zach de Beer's whereabouts, the abrasive Mr Du Plessis exclaimed: "The president is going to announce a referendum and you people have to support us — where's Zach?"

Despite some DP MPs' gut desire to tell the NP to cut awaj, the DP swung its support behind the "yes" vote. But it hasn't been without cost. Tensions in the party have resurfaced in a sharp and clear form.

DP whip Dave Dallingham summed up the view of many in the caucus when he said: "Clearly the DP has to reassess its position and role, given its close relationship to the NP during the referen-

Houghton MP Tony Leon's proposal this week for the formation of a new centrist political movement has sharpened tensions in the DP. EDYTH BULBRING reports

dum, a new situation has developed."

But it is not just the DP that is reconsidering its position. The NP is also doing some serious thinking.

"While the DP is pondering the future, my understanding is that the NP is in a state of considerable ferment over its own future," DP MP for Houghton Tony Leon told a caucus meeting this week.

Like other DP brainstorming caucus meetings in the past two years, this one ended inconclusively. However, Mr Leon proposed a radical alteration of strategy

for survival.

The NP appeared to be considering two strategies to maximise its future appeal — forming an alliance with other parties or creating a new party, Mr Leon added.

While the DP had last year agreed to the strategy of developing a broad-based centrist alliance embracing the DP and elements of the NP and ANC, this had not happened and was unlikely to materialise.

Meanwhile, support for the DP in the white community had shrunk alarmingly. There was no growth of support for the party in the "non-white" community.

Certain reasons for the decline in levels of support and activity in the DP were self-evident.

"A broad band of erstwhile DP supporters regard the differences between the NP and the DP as insurmountable ... and our primary platform, Parliament, has receded in importance," said Mr Leon.

He added that without a radical alteration of strategy,

he was convinced the DP would either fail to reach the threshold required for participation in a constituent assembly or would have minuscule impact in a constituent assembly.

While it had been suggested that the DP's fortunes would best be served in an alliance, differences in attitude existing in the party made this impossible.

"It is now almost impossible, in practical terms, for the party to consider engaging in alliance formations at a national level without tearing the DP apart." There was one alternative.

He proposed a new party, led by President FW de Klerk, comprising other

powerful leaders in SA committed to a centrist party with the following objectives: freedom under the rule of law; the creation of a new SA founded on the principles of individual liberty and social responsibility and the establishment of an enterprise-driven economy.

Constantia MP Roger Moolloy put it in a nutshell.

"The socialists have got themselves well organised. It seems to me a matter of national importance to establish a non-socialist centrist party without delay."

Mr Moolloy identified the NP as one of the natural choices for a centrist partner.

"The NP has moved from being a party of apartheid

and, for a time, one of race federation towards liberal democracy."

The time was right, he said, to plan a strong new force which would compete for the support of 20 million voters, rather than 3.2 million whites.

Mr Moolloy foresees a response to a new centre party similar to the response received during the referendum.

"For a short while we were not the DP and the NP. We were the 'yes' vote party."

But there are a few DP MPs who are in no hurry to form part of a power bloc. DP chairman Ken Andrew is one of them.

"I think it is far too early to

be anything but independent at this stage. It is too early to judge whether the NP or the ANC should be trusted with liberal democratic values and interests.

"Simply because the NP has moved away from apartheid does not mean that in other areas of policy, it is efficient and clear-headed."

He believes the DP should fight a constituent assembly election independently. During this election, the ANC and NP's rhetoric could be assessed.

For Mr Andrew, the key areas for judging whether a party was a desirable mate were political tolerance, human rights, non-racism and economic sense.

"I want the DP to be able to influence the course of events and would like it to become part of a power structure. But not at the expense of jeopardising the values and principles we stand for."

A third group of DP MPs, while not finding fault with Mr Leon's analysis of the problems confronting the party, believes that — rather than forming a new centrist party with the NP — the answer lies in linking with the ANC.

While the DP grapples with its identity and strategies for survival, a senior cabinet minister had no doubts where the NP's best chances lie.

He said: "A centrist party is the only way to go. But what do we call it? Christian Democrat? That rules out Muslim and Jewish support. National Democrat? Sounds too much like a merger between the NP and the DP. And can you suggest a credible moderate black leader?"

Sun Times 5/4/92

'Xhosa' gang murders 21 in night raid on Inkatha

TWENTY-ONE people were hacked and stabbed to death when a gang of Xhosa-speaking men attacked sleeping residents at an Inkatha stronghold in Katilehong on the East Rand on Friday night, police and witnesses said.

Among those killed in one of the worst attacks in any township this year were a woman and two children. Seventeen people were injured.

"We were caught un-

Sunday Times Reporter

awares by our attackers in the dead of night," said Mr Douglas Madlala, secretary of the Inkatha Freedom Party branch in Katilehong's Crossroads area, where the attack took place at about 11pm.

"Our shacks were set on fire, shots were fired at random, and we were hacked with pangas and stabbed with spears in the

dark," he said.

The chairwoman of the Inkatha Women's League in Crossroads, Rose Ndzi-mande, said she had leapt under her bed when the shacks were set ablaze.

One of the injured, Margaret Selepe, interviewed in the Natalspruit Hospital, said the attackers had said in Xhosa that they wanted to recapture the area, once an ANC stronghold.

Inkatha supporters had taken Crossroads by force

in 1990, Mr Madlala said, claiming that about 800 residents were now card-carrying IFP supporters.

"I suspect the motive for the attack was to recapture Crossroads from us," he said. "Crossroads became an Inkatha area after we wiped out ANC supporters."

A group of "Xhosa-speaking men... carrying firearms, petrol bombs and sharpened objects" attacked the residents, apparently without provocation, said police spokesman Lieutenant Wilks Weber.

Mr Madlala alleged that a number of residents had been abducted, but police could not confirm this.

The township was calm yesterday, while police kept a low profile and residents searched charred rubble for belongings.

The ANC last night condemned the attack as the work of "enemies of peace and democracy".

● In unrelated violence in Orlando West on Friday, seven people died when opposing groups fired on each other and then clashed with police, according to a police unrest report.

Five were killed in the group clashes and two were shot by police when a patrol came under fire.

DP caucus divided over plan to merge with Nats

By EDYTH BULBRING:
Political Reporter

THE Democratic Party caucus this week discussed a proposal to disband and form a new centrist party with the Nationalists under President FW de Klerk.

The plan was contained in a confidential document drawn up by Houghton MP Tony Leon.

Mr Leon's proposal comes at a time when Finance Minister Barend du Plessis is urging the DP to find a proper vehicle to propagate the values "which many of us share enthusiastically with them".

Caucus

Other top Nationalists have confirmed they, too, are discussing the idea of a new centre party.

The secret document, drawn up by Mr Leon, whose Houghton seat was held for almost four decades by veteran liberal MP Helen Suzman, was placed in the pigeon holes of all DP MPs before the caucus meeting.

His proposal was later discussed by an extended

party caucus meeting on Thursday which brainstormed ideas on strategy and a future road for the DP.

In the document, Mr Leon said the DP faced a bleak future. Support for the party had shrunk glaringly in the white community and there was no growth of support in the "non-white" community. Its fundraising ability was limited.

The caucus meeting ended inconclusively, leaving

the Democrats more divided than ever before.

The party hierarchy — including leader Zach de Beer, chairman Ken Andrew and former leader Colin Eglin — want the DP to remain independent. But Mr Leon has prominent backers in the form of senior MPs like Roger Hulle (Constantia), M'ke Tarr (Maritzburg North) and Robin Carlisle (Wynberg).

Mr Andrew said he believed Mr Leon's view was shared by a minority in the caucus. He said the DP's strategy review committee, of which Mr Leon was a member, would compile a document on the dominant view within the caucus before the end of April.

After discussions on the DP's future, Dr De Beer said the party always ended up playing an independent hand. He was sure the DP would continue to do this.

He said Mr Leon's proposal for a new party was slightly better than a proposal to go into an alliance

with the NP. "If I am going to be forced into any party with the NP, I would sooner it was a new party than their own party," he said.

Mr Leon's document stated that the differences and attitudes within the DP made it impossible to enter into an alliance with another political party.

"The one section of the party regards practically any initiative or policy proposal of the National Party as 'contaminated' at source". Another grouping within the caucus views the ANC with deep suspicion and considerable discomfort.

He said it was now impossible, in practical terms, for the DP to consider engaging in any alliance at a national level without tearing the party apart.

Option

"Our inability or unwillingness to create an alliance-merger with other actors means we look to a bleak and uncertain future," he said.

Instead, the DP should consider the option of creating a new party, he said.

"Absent the past discredited symbolism of the NP, but with powerful leadership (Mr De Klerk) and a political commitment to fundamental liberal democracy, a new entity becomes an attractive and practical alternative," he stated in the document.

□ To Page 2

DP in merger bombshell

From Page 1

He said the DP's driving force in the creation of a new party, would give the NP a powerful incentive to disband.

Confirming that his party to was reassessing its future, a top NP member said our possibilities were under discussion.

They were:

• To form a new party to replace the NP with President De Klerk as the leader;

• Begin a new black-orientated party which would form an alliance with the NP;

• Form alliances with existing parties;

• Retain the NP.

"What is certainly true is there are a number of black people who would like to support what the State President is doing. But whether the NP as such would be the best vehicle to mobilise this support is the question," he said.

A think-tank of middle

level NP leaders met last week to take stock of the situation and to explore the various directions the party could take, the official said. This was one of many meetings that had taken place in past months.

He said the NP's reassessment came in the light of possible non-racial elections in a year's time.

"It's going to be an entirely different ball game. We will be holding elections among 20-million voters, not just 3.2 million."

One cabinet member told the Sunday Times NP had no choice but to form a new centre party. Its inability to gain substantial black support the stigma of the NP's made this the only option for survival.

But Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers said that a co-operative alliance seemed to more viable than the notion of a new party.

However, he could categorically exclude option.

"Winnie's Rampage Threatens Mandela"
The Sunday Times
25/4/92 - London
(1)

by Richard Ellis
Johannesburg

IT WAS after midnight, and Winnie Mandela was drunk, in a foul mood, and thirsting for revenge. Brandishing her small Russian-made Makarov pistol, she walked unsteadily down the path of her old home in Soweto. Asleep in a room at the back of the garage was a woman who had once been Winnie's close friend and confidante. The woman had stood by her even in the darkest days, giving evidence in her defence last May when she went on trial accused of kidnapping and beating township youths, one of whom, Stompie Moeketsi Seipei, had later been murdered.

Even when the evidence failed, and they were both sentenced to six years in prison for their part in the attacks on four youths, Xoliswa Falati and Winnie had glowered defiance arm in arm, confident they would be cleared on appeal.

But last Saturday night, as she staggered down the path, Winnie was not intent on hugging her pal. Old demons were tormenting her: four years after Stompie, 14, was tortured at Winnie's home, murdered and his bloody body dumped on wasteland in Soweto, his ghost was back to haunt her.

Just weeks before their appeal was due to be heard, Winnie, 55, had discovered some disturbing news that could blow her chances of keeping out of prison: Falati had been spreading a different version of events about the night Stompie was killed. Instead of Winnie being hundreds of miles away as she had claimed, Falati was telling friends that Winnie had been in the house and had ordered the boy to be beaten by her bodyguards, members of the infamous Mandela United Football Club.

Her position for controversy have often outweighed her good side. Her genuine concern for her people and her social work.

Ever since she has been on bail awaiting her appeal, officials have cautioned her to adopt a low profile and not to cause any trouble. But most thought it was only a matter of time before she "exploded". Some close to her believe she is suffering from schizophrenia and needs medical therapy. "She desperately needs help," said the ANC official, who remains sympathetic to Winnie, believing her illness to be brought on by the terrible life she has been separated from her husband and dismissed by the apartheid regime.

This diagnosis is confirmed by Falati, who for years lived and worked with Winnie. When she drank, Winnie would change completely and "become a monster". Falati confided to friends. It was then that she would order her young followers to carry out her orders.

But when her orders had been carried out, Winnie changed. "After the hit squads had killed the person she wanted, she would always be full of remorse, asking me why she did it," Falati said. "She then would often be the first to commiserate with relatives, and perhaps even attend their funerals."

Even those who were once said to be Winnie's greatest supporters, radicals and members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, have become disillusioned. "She's gone too far, she has got to be stopped," Chris Ham, a communist and the head of Umkhonto, reportedly said last week.



Schism in the Mandela household: as his hour of destiny nears in the new South Africa, Nelson Mandela finds his political position seriously undermined by disclosures of his wife's reign of terror



Falati hits back: 'tip of iceberg'

When Winnie first heard what Falati was saying she went berserk. She wanted her bodyguards, members of the security wing of the African National Congress, to teach Falati to keep her mouth shut. They should kick her out of the house, the Mandelas' old home, she said. The bodyguards refused. So, after a few stiff drinks the night before her daughter's engagement party, Winnie went on the warpath herself.

She had hoped to clear things up; instead she took the lid off a scandal that is threatening to expose her involvement not just in the death of Stompie, but in an alleged string of other murders and assaults in Soweto and in bizarre plots to assassinate some of the ANC's most senior leaders. In 15 minutes of mad-

ness, Winnie triggered events that are threatening not just to destroy her but her husband, and tarnish the ANC itself.

Falati was awoken by the sound of a key in her door. Terrified, she sprang out of bed as Winnie burst into the room. "She came at me like a mad woman," she told friends. "I saw her pistol and just pushed her and ran." Falati ran to the gate to escape, but was stopped by Winnie's driver. "For a moment I thought I was going to be shot. Winnie was drunk and screaming at me that I was going to go to prison while she was throwing my clothes out into the street."

When Winnie left, Falati, 38, called local newspapers and Nelson Mandela. As she was telling the journalists that she had "protected" Winnie and that she was "dumping me now that I have served my purpose", Nelson arrived. Clearly embarrassed, he refused to comment.

Falati's friends say he begged her not to cause trouble. "He said he would sort it out, but that 'please, my daughter, do not talk to the press any more'." He arranged for the locks to be changed and told Falati he would send ANC guards to protect her.

It was a difficult, but not unusual, situation for the man who is almost certain to be the next leader of South Africa. It was one he has become increasingly resigned to since he was released from jail two years ago: once more, his impetuous wife was giving him trouble. Sometimes it was rumours of affairs, sometimes allegations of crimes. Recently, a video camera in the

basement car park of the ANC's headquarters caught Winnie punching and slapping Dali Mpofu, her deputy and the man (29 years her junior) with whom she has had a long standing affair.

Early on, Nelson had refused to believe the rumours about his wife's promiscuity and violence. He learned the truth the hard way. Last December, according to an ANC official, he flew abroad on official business. The next day, when he rang Winnie at home, he was told she was in America; finally he got the number of her hotel. Furious she had not told him she was going abroad, he rang her hotel room, Mpofu answered.

"From that moment," the official said, "the marriage was over." When he returned to South Africa, Nelson moved out of their Soweto mansion. For six weeks he stayed at friends' houses, the

ANC claimed it was for "security reasons". "In fact," the official said, "it was for security reasons that he actually moved back home in Soweto. Now he and Winnie have separate bedrooms."

Last week's incident only served to confirm Nelson's

who was investigating her and a doctor who had seen Stompie before his death; and how she held "people's courts" in the yard of her home in Soweto, with her as judge, jury and executioner.

Her most explosive evidence, however, was that

homosexual relationships with some of the boys she assaulted.

Falati said Winnie wanted Ramaphosa dead because she herself wanted to "become the next leader after Nelson". Morobe had been targeted because, back in 1989, he had made a statement condemning Winnie's activities. Verryn she simply hated.

What she was telling them, Falati told the intelligence men, was just the "tip of the iceberg". She went on: "It would take me two weeks to reveal everything I know. The truth would divide the ANC and explode the whole country. I can blow Codesa [the multi-party talks on South Africa's future] apart in one minute, in one statement."

She said she was not prepared to go to jail for an "ungrateful woman". "I don't have blood on my hands," she said. "I have not assaulted or

Winnie was drunk, screaming at me that I was going to prison while she was throwing my clothes into the street

suspicious that his wife was becoming a liability for him and the ANC. After talking to Falati, he asked her to spell out everything she knew to ANC intelligence officers.

According to one officer, Falati told how Winnie had been involved in Stompie's torture; how she had ordered the murders of several people, including a black journalist

Winnie had, just four months ago, drawn up a list of people she wanted assassinated. Among them were senior ANC officials, including Cyril Ramaphosa, the movement's secretary-general and heir apparent, Murphy Morobe, a negotiator in talks with the government, and the Rev Paul Verryn, whom she accused during her trial of having

Final straw in a dying marriage

CONTINUED FROM P.1

killed, following an incident last weekend in which Winnie, brandishing a pistol, stormed into Falati's room at the Mandelas' old house. Despite later assurances from Nelson that she would be protected, Falati said a "hit squad" she recognised as having worked for Winnie came to her house on Wednesday and she fled to a friend's house for the night.

On Thursday, after Falati discovered the locks to her room had been changed, she

made a desperate telephone call to a Soweto newspaper saying she was in danger. By the time a reporter arrived at her house, Falati had been taken away in a car by four men loyal to Nelson, said to be ANC security men.

Friends said yesterday that Falati had later telephoned them and said she was being kept in an ANC "safe house", but others expressed fears for her life.

Falati's revelations are likely to prompt a new police investigation into Winnie's

activities and possibly a new trial. They are also certain to damage the ANC and Mandela's position as its leader. "What I have to say will split the ANC and wreck Codesa [the multi-party talks on South Africa's future]," Falati told friends.

Winnie Mandela, Falati and John Morgan, Winnie's former driver, are on bail awaiting an appeal against their kidnapping and assault convictions, which is due to be held soon. Falati and Morgan have told the ANC they are no

longer prepared to go to jail to "protect" Winnie.

ANC officials said privately that the fresh allegations had proved to be the final straw in the Mandelas' faltering marriage. One said it was unlikely, however, that Mandela would divorce Winnie. "He feels responsible for her," the official said. "He regards her as a sort of wayward daughter."

When asked about the impending statement, Gill Marcus, the ANC's spokeswoman, refused to comment.

B. Day 30/4/92

Coetsee introduces drastic measures to combat violence, intimidation

CAPE TOWN — Drastic measures are to be introduced to combat violence and intimidation.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said last night the penalty for intimidation would be increased to imprisonment of up to 25 years and unlimited fines.

Speaking in the justice vote, he outlined government's strategy to tackle political intolerance, violence, intimidation and the formation of private armies.

He referred to no group during his address on private armies, but the terms of the legislation made it clear that Umk-

onto we Sizwe would fall within its ambit. Any person involved in the control, training or administration of private armies — unless in the pursuit of support for the SAP and the SADF — would be dealt with severely. Where the organisers were politically motivated, they automatically exposed themselves to prosecution.

Security firms and neighbourhood watch groups would have to apply for exemption from these measures.

Coetsee said where previously the act of intimidation had to have been committed before security forces could act, the new

BILLY PADDOCK

legislation proposed "that a crime had already been committed once force was inculcated". Other acts which could reasonably be interpreted as instilling fear would be considered to be crimes of intimidation.

The legislation specifically targeted automatic weapons, giving security forces powers to arrest people suspected of knowing the whereabouts of arms caches or hidden weapons. A magistrate could issue a warrant of arrest for any person who might know where weapons were hidden.

Such a person could be held for 60 hours before appearing before a magistrate; in custody thereafter he would have to appear before a magistrate every 14 days.

Coetsee said the procedure in matters involving violence and intimidation would be amended to speed up the process.

An attorney-general would be given the power to identify certain crimes, by issuing a certificate, where a special criminal procedure had to be followed. This meant that the State and the accused were obliged to begin presenting their case within a reasonable time. An accused could not

be released on bail unless the attorney-general authorised this in writing.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said the measures were welcome, necessary and overdue. "However, we must be wary about not jettisoning the principle of due process in the implementation of these measures. They go a long way to preserving fair justice, except in respect of the attorney-general's right to refuse bail."

This would not be decided by the courts, which in turn could be guided by stringent, legislated conditions and amounts for bail for specified offences, he said.

The Star 5 Lesotho to join new SA?

The people of South Africa have seen three political changes since the beginning of this century. They witnessed the formation of the Union of South Africa, watched the establishment of the Republic of South Africa and, in this last quarter of the century, are seeing the present South Africa.

Around today the Mountain Kingdom is the only country on paper surrounded by a foreign land. The large-scale violence that is striking South Africa right now is affecting the inhabitants of this "roof of Africa" state directly: 95 percent of them have relatives in the explosive South Africa and scores more are South African passport holders.

South Africa has proven to be the industrial harbour in these latitudes and the citizens of this country had manned its economy for ages. Though, throughout the two political hurricanes in South Africa, the Mountain Kingdom nationals had rejected the incorporated issue.

Now that South Africa is to deliver this long-awaited baby, Mountain Kingdom people are likely to think about the incorporation agenda. This although they are some steps ahead of the RSA in their own political phase.

The blood being shed in South Africa is their brothers' blood, not "brother" in an African-American sense of the word.

Clem Mohau Sehloho
Maseru,
Lesotho

Star 5/5/92

The Star 29/4/92

OAU urges intervention to end the violence in SA

Star Africa Service

ARUSHA — African leaders were told by the Nigerian president yesterday to regard the mandate given by whites of South Africa in last month's referendum as a warning to keep their eyes and ears open "so as not to be overtaken by history".

President Ibrahim Babangida, also chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, was speaking at the OAU meeting on South Africa, which ended with a proposal to call for international intervention to help stop violence in the Republic.

The Nigerian leader clashed with Tanzanian president Ali Hassan Mwinyi over the issue of maintaining sanctions.

Mr Babangida urged that sanctions be lifted gradually to encourage reform; Mr Mwinyi argued that sanctions should be maintained until apartheid had been fully dismantled.

The OAU's Committee on South Africa proposed that the OAU ask the UN Security Council to take action to secure international intervention to help stop violence in South Africa.

It also proposed that the OAU send a monitoring team of its own to report on violence and try to help in negotiations.

Earlier, ANC president Nelson Mandela had requested that the OAU support an international force to end the violence.

● South Africa was poised to be fully integrated into the world as a country with democracy, harmony, growth and development surpassing all projections, former OAU chairman General Olusegun Obasanjo said yesterday.

He was giving the opening address at the SA Foreign Trade Organisation's two-day international conference on the new scenario for trade and investment in southern Africa.

A post-apartheid South Africa, he said, could compete favourably for capital and trade with the leading economies of the world, reports Thabo Leshilo of The Star's Political Staff.

General Obasanjo said the referendum had removed the last doubts about the sincerity of President de Klerk and lack of good faith of his Government to eradicate apartheid.

He identified the next important task facing South African leaders as the elimination of violence. This had to be followed by the establishment of an interim arrangement for bringing about full democracy.

kidnapped anyone. I did it to protect her and *Mama* [the big father, Nelson]. She has not gratitude; there has not been a word of thanks. If I have to go to prison then at least they must ensure my children go to school. If they would assure me that I would be secure... but I am just being taken advantage of by that woman."

Falati was still terrified that, despite Nelson's assurances that she would be safe, Winnie would have her killed. On Wednesday night she fled to a neighbour's house after she spotted four men she recognised as being one of Winnie's hit squads. "She wants me dead," she said.

The report about Falati's evidence, even though it came from a self-confessed liar and someone desperate to avoid going to jail, confirmed what Nelson had already decided: he would have to separate from Winnie. According to ANC sources, he had already told her she would have to resign from the ANC and announce her "retirement from politics"; reluctantly, Winnie agreed. Later, Mandela called Mporu into his tenth-floor office: he too, would have to leave; a formula was worked out whereby he would announce he was resigning his position to study.

His decision has been greeted with relief at ANC headquarters. The imperious antics of Winnie have long infuriated many senior members. Albertina Sisulu, wife of Walter, the deputy president, once called her a "tiger", to which someone else added: "Yes, a man-eating one." Her arrogance, her hot temper and

the question now is how damaging the affair, the separation and the revelations of Winnie's alleged crimes will be for her husband and the ANC. For years, senior officials have covered up Winnie's excesses. It has been seen as disloyal to reveal the truth because it would help "the Boer enemy". Some ANC officials now believe, however, that it is important for the truth to be dealt with, so the ANC can be "cleaned up".

Others, though, worry that the revelations, coming perhaps weeks before an interim government, with possibly Nelson as joint president with F.W. de Klerk, will so discredit both Nelson and the ANC that it could ultimately be fatal. "Even if he dumps her, how can it not be seen as an indictment of his judgment and an indictment of the ANC?" one official said.

Events, however, are spiralling out of control; another of Winnie's co-accused in the Stompie trial, her former driver, is said to be prepared to "tell the truth" against her if the prosecution will give him indemnity. Some ANC officials believe the affair will ultimately lead to Nelson resigning, with Ramaphosa stepping into his shoes.

If so, it would be an inglorious end to what was once a fairytale story of a principled man fighting for justice, who, having endured 27 years in jail under apartheid, returns, Messiah-like, to lead his nation. What could stop him? A lone right-wing assassin, a coup led by crazed white supremacists? Unless they knew her, what scriptwriter would have said his wife?

Mandelas to split as Winnie faces new murder allegations

by Richard Ellis
Johannesburg

NELSON and Winnie Mandela are to separate following astonishing new allegations about her involvement in a string of murders, kidnappings and beatings, including plots to assassinate leading figures within the African National Congress.

Senior ANC members said an announcement of an official split would be made shortly. Winnie would also resign from the ANC and "retire from politics".

The dramatic moves follow accusations last week about Winnie's activities by her former personal assistant, who was last year convicted with her of kidnapping and assault-

ing four Soweto youths, including 14-year-old Stompie Seipei, who was later murdered.

The woman, Xoliswa Falati, told ANC officials that she had lied at the trial to try to save Winnie from being convicted; that Winnie had ordered the torture of Stompie; and that she had operated "hit squads" which carried out other murders in the township, including that of a local journalist who had been investigating her activities.

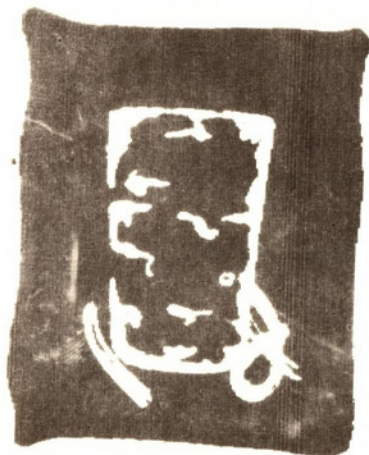
Falati also claimed that Winnie recently drew up a list of five people she wanted assassinated. Among them were Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary general, and Murphy Morobe, one of the ANC's negotiators in talks with the government.

Threats by Winnie against senior ANC officials were confirmed by a leading figure in the movement. "When I heard that she wanted to bump off people right at the top, I was stunned," the official said. The source claimed Winnie was mentally ill: "She is schizophrenic. People have begged her to go for therapy but she refuses."

According to ANC sources, it was Nelson himself who demanded, in a "showdown meeting" with his wife, that she retire. They also said the marriage had been over "for some time".

Falati told ANC intelligence officers she was terrified that Winnie was going to have her

Continued on page 20



Fond Memories of a power cut.



PURE GENIUS

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SUNDAY TIMES
5/4/91

20 Killed in a South African Township

KATLEHONG, South Africa, April 4 (AP) — A gang armed with guns and firebombs attacked a squatter's camp in this black township, killing at least 20 people in one of the worst incidents of factional fighting this year, the police said today.

A hospital official said 23 people were wounded in the attack on Friday night and that two of the injured later died. The police said they could not confirm the additional deaths.

A South African police spokesman, Lieut. Wikus Weber, said that dozens of men "carrying firearms, petrol bombs and other sharpened objects" had attacked the camp in Katlehong, east of Johannesburg. At least 20 residents were killed, he said. About 10 makeshift wood, plastic and sheet-metal dwellings were burned down.

Survivors sifting through the smoldering rubble today said the attackers had once lived in the area but were driven away in factional fighting in 1990.

A.N.C. Supporters Accused

Douglas Madlala, who identified himself as the squatter camp "secretary," said most of the residents were Zulus who belonged to the Inkatha Freedom Party, and that the attackers supported the rival African National Congress.

"They said they would get revenge," Mr. Madlala said as he examined a rusted piece of sheet metal, all that remained of his shack. He and other survivors said the attackers had shot people, thrown firebombs and hacked some of their victims to death.

Violence between supporters of the rival black organizations has increased in the last few weeks. On Wednesday, five people were killed and 38 were wounded in running gun battles in the nearby township of Alexandra.

The African National Congress condemned the attack on the squatter's camp today as "the work of the enemies of peace and democracy."

The police said today that nine more blacks had died in other incidents in South Africa, including seven killed in a shootout with the police in Soweto. A policeman was shot to death in an attack south of Johannesburg.

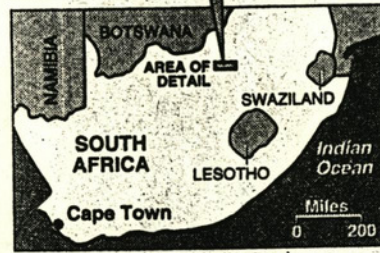
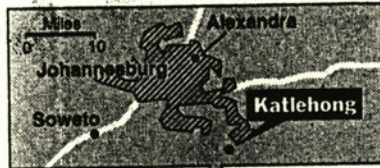
A Power Struggle

The violence among blacks has been attributed to a power struggle between the African National Congress and Inkatha. Thousands of blacks have been killed in the violence in recent years. The two groups oppose apartheid but have deep ideological differences.

The African National Congress blames the Government for much of the violence, saying it has instigated some of the attacks and deliberately failed to stop others.

The president of the congress, Nelson Mandela, called on Friday for an international monitoring force to be set up in the black townships. "Our problem is that white people in this country consider black lives as very cheap," he told reporters after touring the township of Alexandra.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel rejected the idea of an international force of observers, saying that it would not end the violence and that black leaders must assume responsi-



The New York Times

A gang attacked a settlement in the township of Katlehong.

bility for controlling their followers.

Tensions in black townships have also increased since President F. W. de Klerk first called a referendum among the ruling white minority on support for his efforts to dismantle the coun-

try's apartheid system of strict racial segregation and to negotiate a transition to a nonracial democracy.

The white electorate voted 2 to 1 last month in favor of Mr. de Klerk's efforts.

NEW YORK TIMES
INTERNATIONAL
5-4-92

As a Natalian, I am in the process of becoming a member of the IFP. I strongly urge others who voted Yes to do the same. Let us form a united body for a new and better future.

CC BURGER

This 'battle' is between the Zulu and the Xhosa...

tribalism, nothing else. It is nothing new in Africa.

The sooner all parties involved admit that the Zulu cannot and will not be controlled by the Xhosa the better. Maybe then some positive results will come from Codesa.

"battle" between the IFP and the ANC.

When will the parties be honest with themselves and the public and openly admit that this "battle" is not between two political parties but between the Zulu and the Xhosa? This is open, blatant

SIR — I watch with interest and dismay the ongoing and spiralling violence in the townships of Natal and in particular Johannesburg.

It amazes me that all concerned, including the Government, are blaming this carnage on the

MERCURY 21/4/92

Wits hotbed of sex and porn

By CAS St LEGER

PORNOGRAPHY and sex parties are rife on the Wits University campus, according to a shock report released this week.

According to the Wits Committee of Inquiry into Sexism and Sexual Harassment, students at the Men's Residence:

- Were asked to donate R5 to procure a prostitute as a birthday present for a house-committee member;

- Attended strip shows regularly. At one, off campus, the stripper engaged in sexual intercourse with two students in full view of all present;

- Hired prostitutes to provide live sex for students at the rugby, cricket, hockey, yacht and skydiving clubs.

The committee, chaired by Professor June Sinclair,

deputy vice-chancellor in charge of student affairs, sat during 1990 and 1991.

The inquiry discovered "a frightening account of events that have occurred in the residences over a number of years."

Violence

"These included live sex shows, pornographic publications, verbal abuse and victimisation, including the vandalising of property of people who opposed such behaviour, pressure on men students to be involved in the activities, rape and other violent acts".

One student told the committee that, as the intake of black students had increased, the sexual harassment of white women students by white men students had increased. Initi-

Panography
Campus rife with prostitution, strip shows and abuse, authorities find

ation rites had also become more excessive as white men felt that their traditions were being threatened.

Many incidents of sexual and physical violence against women students were not reported and disciplinary action was not initiated because of fear of repercussions.

Most of the activities were connected to Orientation Week. At Men's Residence, Jubilee Hall and Ernest Oppenheimer Hall, first-year students were initiated into a pornographic culture, the report said.

A student described how first-year students in Men's Residence were told the aim for the week was to sleep with as many women students from Sunnyside residence as possible.

A few metres away from the main Men's Residence is a small residence building known by students as The Stud. SRC chairman Kenneth Creamer said The Stud was the hotbed of sexist activities where like-minded senior students got together.

Students staying at The Stud deny the allegations hotly. "It's not like that, now. People harp on about things as they used to be," said civil engineering student Stacey Cohen and commerce student Chris Alderson. Their girlfriends were with them.

Men's Residence students, though, were more forthcoming.

"What do you expect, with 400 men alone together," asked Phillip "Spud" Ireland, 20, a BA student.

Andre "Dog Breath" Fouche, 17, a science student, said: "I tell you what, they'll never have fire drill here. They don't know what'll come out of the rooms."

Students said the authorities had clamped down on blatant sexual behaviour in the past years.

Serious

The report said three magazines of "a pornographic and depraved nature" listed the names of 25 women students and contained pornographic photographs. One woman named was so traumatised she was unable to eat or to face going to meals in the main dining room for several days. Then her friends shunned her.

"There is a high level of sexism culture on campus, across all racial barriers," said Mr Creamer. "It's very, very serious."

He said there had been four rapes at Wits over the past four years, but authorities agreed that many more cases could have gone unreported.

Professor Sinclair said the report was an important document that would heighten the awareness of the university community.

"I do not see it as the end of an inquiry but rather as the beginning of a programme of education about the problem and of steps to be implemented to deal with the problem."