

BLACK POLITICS — 1993

APRIL .

~~ADMINISTRATIVE — DISCUSSION~~

~~REVISIONS~~



Toyi-toyi . . . Hani dances at a political meeting.

Close friend hoped it was not true

IIA
SAM
12/4/93

Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA speaks to a heartbroken Sam Shilowa, an SA Communist Party official and deputy secretary-general of Cosatu, who was also one of Chris Hani's closest friends.



Sam Shilowa

SAM SHILOWA cuts a lonely figure in the full boardroom on the 10th floor of the ANC head office in Johannesburg.

A press conference is in progress, but he is not at the main table where his colleagues Nelson Mandela, Cyril Ramaphosa, Jay Naidoo, Joe Slovo, Gill Marcus and Oliver Tambo sit.

There are people all around him, but he seems far away. The sad look on his face tells it all: his heart is with his late friend and comrade Chris Hani.

Also in the same room and cutting an equally lonely figure is the ANC Youth League's Peter Mokaba, another friend of Hani's.

When the press conference ends, Shilowa stands up to leave. There are tears in his eyes when I speak to him outside the boardroom. "What can I say?" he asks rhetorically. "What can I say?" And, after a moment's silence, he continues: "I don't know what to say. One is shattered by this. When I heard the news, I was hoping against all odds that it was not true." Then he falls silent.

Just before he is whisked away, Shilowa adds: "It is important that the perpetrators of this dastardly deed are arrested and brought to book. It is also important we move as speedily as possible to create a climate conducive to peace." □

Paper argues for broader SACP role in transition

THE SA Communist Party (SACP) must avoid adopting an "autonomous character", but should attempt to promote a socialist vision within the ANC — until and unless it is "successfully hijacked by some liberal project or undermined by general chaos".

This is the broad thrust of a paper — The Role of the SACP in the Transition to Democracy and Socialism — to be used as the basis of discussion at a central committee strategy planning session, to be held within the next two months.

The paper argues the construction of socialism in SA is impossible until "the regrouping and resurgence of left forces worldwide" occurs.

Party chairman Joe Slovo said yesterday it was an important paper, aimed at launching debate on crucial questions not yet addressed.

The party "needs to avoid trying to do everything the ANC does, only with a slightly more left inflection. Instead, we need to concentrate on well planned, quality interventions," the paper argues.

It effectively proposes the downgrading of the SACP's role as the

single vanguard socialist party. It argues for a "pluralistic notion of socialism" which draws on groups such as trade unions, civics, churches, youth and students.

"Many of these formations have deep roots in the SA working class. There is much we can learn (perhaps even about socialism) from their diverse strengths.

"The fate of socialism in our country does not depend only on the fate of the SACP. Indeed the evolution and developing character of the ANC and MDM are also critical to this outcome," it says.

The SACP paper acknowledges a "real and ongoing" strategic struggle within the ANC over its future direction and character. Possibly the most important task for the SACP in the years to come will be to participate in this struggle "in a transparent and constructive way" against the tendencies towards what it calls opportunism and "demagogic populism".

To do this, the SACP has to develop "tens of thousands of working class activists capable of elaborating and

sustaining the socialist perspective in a non-dogmatic manner". This would require "open and dynamic debate to be encouraged by the party itself. It is important that we overcome the stifling effects of pseudo-Marxist dogmatism."

The paper deals in some detail with the actual and potential divisions between employed, unionised workers and the growing numbers of marginalised and unemployed.

However, it proposes that the SACP continue to focus its attentions on organised, industrial workers while encouraging the ANC and the "mass democratic movement" as a whole to concentrate resources on the "marginalised working class".

The paper also proposes that the SACP adopt the idea of a reconstruction pact already under discussion by Cosatu, but a more all-embracing one which involves a wider range of groups and issues other than primarily a macroeconomic programme.

Slovo said the debate recognised that a more complex choice of paths confronted parties when they were in power.

B/DAY 1/4/93

11A
ALAN FINE

Cosatu

questions

Star 11/4/93

Transkei

blockade

By Patrick Laurence

The "siege" of Transkei by South African security forces looked like an attempted repeat of the January 1986 blockade which led to the overthrow of Lesotho Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan, Cosatu vice-president Sam Shilowa said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference, Shilowa conceded that President F W de Klerk was justifiably concerned about ongoing violence and evidence that some of it might emanate from Transkei.

Shilowa said it was contradictory for De Klerk to place violence on the agenda of the multiparty negotiations — which start today and at which Transkei will be represented — but to take strong action before the negotiations began.

Shilowa's remarks were made at the start of a conference called to brief journalists on Cosatu's recently adopted programme of action.

Shilowa, who is also a member of the South African Communist Party's central committee, made it clear that Cosatu would support the ANC but at the same time seek to make reconstruction — fighting poverty, unemployment and retrenchment — part of the ANC's election manifesto.

There was no question of Cosatu presenting the ANC with an accord to sign on a take-it-or-leave basis; the accord would be negotiated with the ANC with input from both sides.

Anticipating criticism from the PAC that Cosatu's pro-ANC stance would alienate those of its 1.3 million members who are not ANC supporters, Shilowa said: "There is a difference between encouraging members to vote for the ANC and compelling them to do so."

In any case, Shilowa added, it was an open secret that Cosatu was a member of the ANC-led tripartite alliance.

Cosatu's programme of action, as outlined by Shilowa, identifies it as a strong opponent of federalism.

Talks: Azapo asked to join

CT 114193
JOHANNESBURG. — Church leaders have encouraged Azapo to be present at negotiations, and singled out the PAC and its armed wing in condemning violence.

Representatives of 22 churches met an Azapo delegation here yesterday to discuss the state of the church and the nation.

In a statement the church leaders said they had "encouraged an Azapo presence in the negotiation process".

They went on to condemn violence.

"This word at this moment is spoken particularly, though not exclusively, to Aplá and the PAC." They requested a meeting with these bodies to discuss the matter. — Sapa

with Mafia ● Crash diplomacy course

India takes ANC under its diplomatic wing

■ Students include ambassadors who learn protocol and etiquette at five-star New Delhi hotel:

NEW DELHI — India has trained African National Congress diplomats in international relations for the first time, following a request made by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Foreign ministry sources said the 90-day training course, which ended on Tuesday, included 15 participants from the ANC — of whom two were ambassadors — as well as officials from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Romania, Zambia, Hungary and Viet-

nam.

Course director Ravi Soni of the foreign ministry said the comprehensive syllabus included diplomatic practice, international diplomacy, implementation of foreign policy and management and negotiating techniques.

Lessons on protocol and etiquette were given at a five-star hotel here. India has been a longtime supporter of the ANC and a vocal critic of South Africa's apartheid regime. — Sapa-AFP.

Handwritten notes: "11A" in a circle and "Soweto 1 14/93" written vertically.

Apla denies killings

IFA
~~IFA~~
~~IFA~~

Sowetan 11/4/93

■ Women, children and
aged 'not our targets':

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE AZANIAN People's Liberation Army was not responsible for the killing of white civilians, including children, in the Eikenhof area two weeks ago, Apla's second-in-command Mr Romero Daniels said yesterday.

He dismissed the SADF's sealing off of the Transkei as "silly".

"They are trying to pretend Apla's incursion is orchestrated from beyond the country's borders, whereas they know it is right inside Azania."

Turning to the Eikenhof attack Daniels said: "We did not hit the white woman and two children there. It is not our policy to hit women, children and the aged," he said.

The struggle Star 11/4/93 continues —

for women

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Inside the World Trade Centre, negotiations will be formally resumed today — but outside, the women will be making their own statement.

The ANC Women's League and its allies are planning to protest against the exclusion of women representatives in the negotiations.

The battle for women's representation began in earnest after a meeting of the negotiating council decided two weeks ago to convene a meeting which would include a woman representative from each group.

The majority view was that women should be given full negotiation status since more than half the voters were women. This battle was finally won this week.

However, the ANC Women's League believes it was only through protesting that this right was won, and they believe the protest should continue today to draw attention to the important role of women.

Star 11/4/93

A fresh beginning for talks

Star 11/4/93
IIA

“A NEW start, but not on new stuff.” This is Cyril Ramaphosa’s colloquial characterisation of the resumption of formal negotiations at the World Trade Centre, and it says a great deal about where South Africa stands on its transitional road.

The multiparty talks getting under way today will lack the gravitas of the two Codesas (for one thing, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela will not be there), but they represent yet another milestone on the path to the new South Africa.

It is important for South Africans to know what they should and should not expect from the two-day multiparty negotiating forum, so that neither unjustified euphoria nor ill-considered gloom set in at the weekend.

The best way of viewing today’s and tomorrow’s proceedings is as a fresh start in a three-year-old process. Since South Africa set out on its reform road at the beginning of this decade, the destination — if not the route itself — has been clear. That destination is a non-racial democracy, and in the

final analysis all negotiations have been towards that end.

Three years on, the route is becoming clearer, although much argument and compromise is yet to come. We are at the point when the politicians have to agree on the practical steps to be taken between now and the “new South Africa”, and this decisive moment will define which political groups want to stay “in”, and which will rule themselves “out”. No one expects from this week’s meeting that an announcement of the installation of a Transition Executive Council will emerge, or that an election date will be set. But — and this is a crucial but — a scenario for change could emerge, if the gathering is a success. This would be the first indication that the transition is ready to begin in earnest.

If the two-day meeting achieves this, or something close to it — and achieves it in spite of the ongoing wrangles over armed formations, Transkei and other issues — there will be cause for quiet celebration among those who long for a peaceful settlement as soon as possible.

Today’s gathering differs from the multiparty planning confer-

ence held three weeks ago in that the earlier meeting was convened with the sole purpose of setting a date for the resumption of talks. No substantial issues were therefore discussed, and it could be argued that the meeting will be remembered above all for the arrival on the negotiating stage of groups like the PAC and the Conservative Party.

That planning conference appointed a facilitating committee comprising the leaders of the 26 delegations, now more broadly representative of organised political opinion in South Africa.

Over the last three weeks the facilitating committee agreed on a new structure for the process (but not a new name), and hammered out an agenda for this week’s forum. The agenda allows for crucial issues including violence and the status of earlier Codesa agreements to be discussed, and raises hopes for fruitful deliberations — although strong words are likely to be exchanged on, among other things, the federal issue and a date for elections.

From here on in plenary sessions, attended by the leaders of parties, will formally adopt agreements and will meet as pro-

gress is made. This week’s forum comprises four delegates and two advisers from each group, and it will be charged with receiving and confirming reports from the negotiating council.

The smaller negotiating council is the forum where the hard negotiations will take place. Beyond that, a planning committee of 10 individuals will “plan and submit recommendations on procedural and substantive issues” to the negotiating council.

So much for the still-labyrinthine structure of the restarted talks. What do the participants expect?

Ramaphosa hopes the meeting will begin to finalise procedural aspects and then start with the real negotiations. The ANC wants the meeting to confirm a clear scenario for the country’s political transformation — a scenario which envisages a “pre-Transitional Executive Council” phase, a TEC phase, an Interim Government of National Unity phase, and eventual full democracy.

In broad terms, the Government is in agreement with this, and the most likely source of opposition is the Inkatha Freedom Party. The IFP envisages the

forum agreeing on constitutional principles, after which experts would draft a new constitution, a referendum would be held, and the first general elections would follow.

Some negotiators say it is possible, albeit unlikely, that some parties might “jump ship” if too much progress is made on the Government/ANC scenario for change — which they oppose. This would herald a decisive moment, at which point the central players would have to choose to move forward without the others, or stall in order to find a further compromise.

The CP’s main interest in the current forum is to discuss “MK, Apla and violence in general”, which it was not able to do at the earlier planning conference. The Government also wants to place violence high on the agenda, and will probably wish to broaden the terms of the debate.

The ANC, for its part, is likely to argue that a discussion on violence should include the matter of a future defence force, and the equal treatment of all armed formations in the transition’s phases.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose expects the meet-

ing to address the issue of violence and the form of state of a post-apartheid South Africa. It was an “important preliminary” to discuss violence at the meeting, because: “How can you negotiate while the sword of Damocles is hanging over you?” He was cautiously optimistic about the meeting’s prospects, saying success or failure would depend on “the honesty of everybody... the trust and openness among us”.

A Government negotiator who asked not to be named stressed that the forum could put negotiations on a firm basis, but that the major challenge was to get the Concerned South Africans group and others to accept the transition scenario plotted at Codesa and contained in the agreements.

In summary, it seems clear the forum will not produce ringing declarations of comprehensive agreement. That is not its purpose. If it achieves broad consensus on some key issues — sufficient consensus to justify planning the next plenary session — it will have been a success. And if by Friday night none of the participants has pulled out, that will be a bonus. □

ANC's Harry Gwala says he's thinking of retiring

(11A) ARG 11/11/93
MARITZBURG. — Controversial African National Congress leader Mr Harry Gwala says he is thinking of retiring at the end of the year, but he may change his mind if the people so demand.

Mr Gwala, 72, said he wanted to step down as chairman of the Natal Midlands region towards the end of the year.

"I am very old now. I think I need some rest," he said.

Mr Gwala was arrested in

1952, detained during the State of Emergency in 1960-63 and in 1964 was sentenced to eight years imprisonment on Robben Island for treason.

In 1975, soon after his release, he was rearrested and sentenced to life imprisonment.

He was released due to illness in December 1988, but was restricted until the ANC was unbanned in 1990.

Mr Gwala's wife died while he was in prison. — Sapa.

Mandela to meet Major in May

(11A)

ARC 114/93

JOHANNESBURG — ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela will meet British Prime Minister John Major for talks on May 5.

Mr. Mandela earlier this year postponed a trip to Britain, during which he was scheduled to meet Mr. Major, due to illness.

Mr. Mandela is also scheduled to address a joint sitting of Britain's parliament, the ANC's department of information and publicity said today.

Mr. Mandela leaves South Africa on May 1 and will visit Portugal until May 4 before departing for London.

● Mr. Mandela was due to leave for Harare today to attend a meeting of the frontline states. He is expected back in Johannesburg tomorrow.

The meeting of the seven-member frontline group will discuss ways of securing peace in Angola and Mozambique and moves towards democracy in South Africa. — Sapa.

Hani urges commission probe

THE SACP fully agreed with Inkatha that the Goldstone commission should investigate allegations made by Solomon Mqanqeni that armed robberies were instigated by SACP general-secretary Chris Hani and ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale, Hani said yesterday. *B10PM*

At a media conference Hani and Sexwale denied they were involved in any way in criminal activity, and accused the SAP of "stage-managing the whole operation to discredit us and our organisations in the run-up to elections". *114193.*

Last week Mqanqeni, in a statement allegedly taken under duress, alleged that the two leaders ordered a series of armed robberies during 1991 and that the loot of R1m was handed to Sexwale.

Mqanqeni and his alleged accomplices escaped from custody on the evening that the statement was presented to the Rand Supreme Court.

Hani said the SACP called on Goldstone as a "matter of urgency" to set up an

157 *11A* *20*
BILLY PADDOCK

inquiry to investigate the unprofessional conduct of the SAP investigating officers who never visited them to investigate the allegations; the circumstances surrounding the escape of Mqanqeni; and any possible complicity of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel. *251*

SACP central committee member Jeremy Cronin said that since the Markinor survey in January this year showed Hani to be SA's second most popular political figure after ANC president Nelson Mandela there had been a campaign of character assassination.

In response to the SACP allegations, W/O Andy Pieke said that it was ludicrous to believe the escape was stage-managed. The SAP was investigating the matter to its fullest capability.

However, he said until any of the 16 escaped prisoners were rearrested it would be difficult to establish exactly what had occurred.

India trains ANC envoys ^(11A)

NEW DELHI — India has trained ANC diplomats in international relations at the request of ANC president Nelson Mandela. ⁽¹²⁾

Foreign ministry sources said the 90-day training course which ended this week included 15 ANC participants and officials from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Romania, Zambia, Hungary and Vietnam. ⁽¹³⁾

The syllabus included diplomatic practice, international diplomacy, implementation of foreign policy and management and negotiating techniques. ⁽¹⁴⁾

Lessons on protocol and etiquette were given and participants also honed their communication skills. ⁽¹⁵⁾

— Sapa-AFP.

Last-minute bid to find a name

Violence on the agenda as talks resume

BIDAM 1/4/93

MULTIPARTY negotiations get under way again today after an 11-month break following the collapse of the Codesa constitutional talks.

In contrast with the wave of optimism at the start of Codesa, today's meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park will be marked by caution, with negotiators well aware of the problems facing them.

Preparatory negotiations over the past few months have failed to resolve a number of issues, from constitutional questions to the treatment of violence and a name for the new gathering.

Because of the procedural nature of the two-day meeting, it will not be attended by President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela or Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The PAC and the right-wing CP are among the parties taking the number of delegations up to 26 from the 19 at Codesa, making this the most representative gathering yet.

Sapa-AFP reports that Constitutional Development Minister Roeff Meyer, who will head the government delegation, said yesterday he believed the new round of talks would succeed.

"We believe that this is the real thing. This is the place where we are going to negotiate over the months to come the constitutional principles on which the future constitution of this country is to be drafted and adopted.

"We are determined to reach agreement on these matters within the next month or two. It means time is of the essence and we should at all costs avoid devoting time to

BILLY PADDOCK

side issues and rather concentrate on the priorities."

He said SA was "still on target" for a timetable suggested by De Klerk last November, which envisages elections by April next year at the latest.

He also made it clear government wanted the talks to deal with the question of an interim constitution. The elected constituent assembly would then write a permanent constitution "on the basis of constitutional principles we are negotiating now".

Codesa failed last year partly because the ANC suspected that government wanted an interim constitution so immutable that a democratically elected assembly, inevitably dominated by the ANC, would have its hands tied.

Meyer said violence would top the substantive agenda at today's talks.

Delegates are expected to get straight down to tough bargaining today. Negotiators said it was vital that parties decided on the rules before negotiations began.

The first area of possible conflict is government's insistence that the issue of violence be dispensed with first. All parties have agreed that the forum is the best place to deal with the issue, but government and the ANC still differ strongly on measures to control the violence.

The ANC insists on joint control of the armed forces by way of subcouncils of the envisaged transitional executive council, while government wants the SAP and the SADF treated separately from the other

□ To Page 2

Talks

armed formations.

Other problem areas include the adoption of Codesa agreements as a foundation for the new forum, the reincorporation of the TBVC states, regional powers, the phases of the transition and the control of future elections.

The planning committee failed after a six-hour meeting last night to agree on a proposed new name for the forum. Nor could the contentious issue of formulating

a structure to discuss violence be resolved.

A subcommittee was set up last night to meet through the night and this morning in the hope of reaching agreement in time for a recommendation to be made to the forum meeting.

After lengthy debate on the Codesa agreements, the planning committee decided not to change the existing recommendation that the agreements be regarded as a foundation, but that parties were not bound by them and could oppose them.

□ From Page 1

Violence to top today's agenda

Star 11/4/93

(11A)

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Politicians gather at the World Trade Centre today to formally resume negotiations for the transition from apartheid to democracy.

But it appears that most of the first day of the multiparty negotiating forum will be devoted to confirming procedural matters.

The 10-member planning committee last night failed to agree on a name for the new negotiation forum — although 10 possible labels are still on the table.

Since the planning conference on March 5 and 6, key negotiators from the 26 participating parties have been thrashing out details such as the standing rules, chairmanships, structure and name for the new process.

The two-day negotiating forum will focus on the ongoing political violence and a scenario for the transition process.

A draft resolution on violence was prepared last night. It was hoped the resolution would structure the discussion on violence and its impact on negotiations.

Earlier yesterday the Government's top negotiator, Roelf Meyer, confirmed it intended to hold a nonracial election by this time next year, reports Sapa.

"We believe that this is the real thing," said Meyer.

"This is the place where we are going to negotiate over the months to come the principles on which the future constitution of this country is to be drafted and adopted.

"We are determined to reach agreement on these matters within the next month or two. It means time is of the essence and we should at all costs avoid devoting time to side issues."

Meyer said South Africa was "still on target" for a timetable suggested by President F W de Klerk last November, which envisages elections by April next year at the latest.

Substantive negotiations are only expected to begin in the smaller negotiating council which will convene again after the negotiating forum.

Heated debate

Some of the negotiators expressed astonishment last night that an issue such as a name could cause heated debate.

The crux of the argument was between those who saw the negotiating forum as the resumption of talks and others — including those who joined at the planning conference — who insisted that the conference signalled the commencement of talks.

In an attempt to defuse the situation, groups favouring the Codesa name, including the Government and ANC, said they were prepared to accept a new

name, which included Codesa.

Others, such as the PAC, said they had a mandate to negotiate a new name which did not include Codesa.

The committee nominated SACP chairman Joe Slovo to report on the names to the negotiating forum and to explain why no agreement was reached.

It was decided after the planning conference that plenary sessions, including leaders, will be called to confirm agreements.

A multiparty negotiating forum will confirm decisions by the negotiating council while the planning committee will make recommendations to the negotiating council.

Several technical committees will be appointed to deal with specific issues.

Differences are only likely to emerge when political violence and the transition process are discussed.

The discussion on the transition will include the status of Codesa agreements — whether they could form a constructive foundation for the resumed negotiations.

Key players, including the Government and ANC, are in favour of the forum concerning the scenario plotted out in the Codesa agreements: the appointment of a transitional executive council, the holding of the first all-in democratic elections and the establishment of an interim government.

'Higher duty' gets PAC leader off hook

MARIANNE MERTEN

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander narrowly missed being arrested for contempt of court yesterday after he had failed to appear in connection with fraud and forgery charges in the morning.

Alexander rushed to the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court in the afternoon, after Magistrate C Benade issued a warrant for his arrest. The case was postponed to June 9 and the court ruled there would be no investigation into Alexander's failure to appear in court.

Alexander's lawyer Moses Mavundla appealed to the court for sympathy. He argued that Alexander could not attend the hearing because the PAC needed him at the multi-party talks. It was "a higher duty which had caused him to be in there" and the court should take into consideration Alexander's public profile and role in the talks which were of national significance.

Prosecutor Mienke Erasmus said Alexander's behaviour was disruptive. Alexander had had ample opportunity to arrange another date for the hearing.

Erasmus said the summons served on Alexander contained fraud and forgery charges related to a traffic offence on November 27 last year when Alexander was stopped on the M2 East after overtaking another car on the road's shoulder.

The state claims that the identification document and driver's licence, which Alexander showed the traffic officers who stopped him, were forgeries.

PAC and Star 2/4/93 CP share limelight

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

They are at opposite ends of the political spectrum, and they hate each other with a passion. But the PAC and the Conservative Party shared something at yesterday's World Trade Centre negotiations: the limelight.

Benny Alexander and Schaik Pienaar basked in the attention that comes with being exotic newcomers at South Africa's great indaba, and the two politicians appeared to revel in negotiating rather than boycotting.

So much so, in fact, that the National Party's Dawie de Villiers — chairing one of the sessions — had to twice call Pienaar to order.

Bophuthatswana Cabinet Minister Rowan Cronje, who ably chaired the morning session, whispered into the microphone as Alexander made his way to the rostrum in African attire:

"I like your outfit, Benny."
(11A) (201A)
Comic relief

De Villiers provided comic relief when he invited the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) delegation to address the august gathering.

"And now," he said, "Chief (Chris) de Jager of the Afrikaner traditional leaders will address us."

The AVU MP from Bethal came back quick as a flash with: "Thank you, Comrade de Villiers".

And Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, in perhaps an unintentional hint that certain powers now reside at the World Trade Centre rather than in Parliament, referred to delegates as "honourable members" in intervening.

The honour for the most intervention of the day went to Amichand Rajbansi, leader and MP of the National Party. Unkind jests remarked that the "National Person's Party" might be more appropriate.

Alexander
Steir 2/11/93
warrant

withdrawn

Staff Reporter **11A**

A warrant for the arrest of PAC secretary general Benny Alexander for failing to appear in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday was later withdrawn.

Alexander is facing charges of fraud for allegedly possessing a false identity document and driver's licence.

His attorney, Moses Mavundla, had told the court Alexander could not attend because he was leading the PAC negotiating team.

Alexander arrived at 2 pm, asking why a warrant for his arrest was issued.

The court withdrew the warrant. The hearing was postponed to June 9.

Multi-party negotiations ● Paso calls for boycott

Azapo could join multiparty talks

Sowetan 2/4/93

11A

By Lulama Luti

■ BLOEMFONTEIN MEETING

National council to decide on issue:

THE Azanian People's Organisation's national council meets in Bloemfontein tomorrow in a two-day session that may see the movement joining the multiparty talks.

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said yesterday he was confident that both Azapo and the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania were ready to enter the multiparty negotiation process.

Future negotiations

Mosala said after talks with the ANC and PAC, Azapo had agreed in principle to take part in any negotiations in the future. Azapo is the only major political organisation that has shunned

the multiparty talks. "It is unfortunate that the multiparty negotiations had to take place at a time when we are having our council meeting. It is something that is beyond our control," said Mosala.

Talks with the ANC, PAC and the BCMA over the past few weeks had centred on identifying common issues that would build a basis for strong unity during the negotiation process. "Our position since 1990 has been that the liberation movement has to enter the negotiations as a unit rather than a divided force," said Mosala.

Talks with other organisations had

led to three main agreements. These were:

Unitary State

- The setting up of a unitary state;
- That the multiparty negotiations should culminate in the setting up of a Constituent Assembly; and
- That the Government should not be allowed to be "referee and player at the same time".

Other issues to be dealt with by the council are to be the consolidation of Azapo's membership and the possibility of a merger between Azapo and the BCMA.

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ANC wants forum for Cape Town

Municipal Reporter

THE ANC believes it is time to form a negotiating forum on the future of local government in the city.

Mr Thozamile Botha, head of the ANC's local and regional government department, said this in response to a question from the mayor, Mr Frank van der Velde, at a Chamber of Commerce symposium on local government at the Mount Nelson Hotel yesterday.

The deputy mayor, Mr Clive Keegan, said a negotiation forum would be established in the Western Cape by the end of May.

Development policies

Mr Botha said such a forum should "deal with the provision of services in the interim period", and that a representative executive council at the metropolitan level was needed in Cape Town to "address the budget issue for the entire metropole".

Ms Anne Bernstein, executive director of the Urban Foundation's development strategy unit, said regions should be able to pursue their own development policies, as some successes and some failures would be better than a uniform national failure.

Dr Deon Brand, chief director of inter-government finance, said revenue-sharing, or inter-government grants would be part of any dispensation, regardless of how regional boundaries were drawn.

AFRICAN National Congress negotiators this week proposed the formation of interim regional administrations after the first one person, one vote elections.

The proposals could be regarded as a "very imaginative gesture" aimed at taking Natal "beyond the politics of absolute confrontation", commented University of Natal political scientist Douglas Irvine.

Said ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa: "The principal of an interim government of national unity should be applied at the regional level. The interim regional administrations (IRAs) should be the product of elections. Parties should be represented in proportion to the number of votes they win in each region."

Observers pointed out that the proposals are based on the assumption that after the first election — expected to be held not later than next April — half the members of the constitution-making body would come from a national list. The other half would come from a regional list.

'Imaginative gesture' in ANC regional plans

W/Mail 2/4-7/4/93. (1/4)

ANC proposals for interim regional government may take Natal beyond the politics of confrontation. By **FAROUK CHOTHIA**

The IRAs' powers would be limited. "The interim government at central level should have overriding powers in all matters and the IRAs should not be granted exclusive power in any areas of government," Moosa said.

The situation may be different in the final constitution. When the IRAs are established, Moosa said, the ANC would take steps to "ensure that nothing is done to pre-empt the decision of the

constituent assembly".

Initially, the regions would be the Transvaal, Free State, Cape province and Natal.

Moosa said a commission on regions would be appointed either by Codesa or the transitional executive council. "This commission would then table a report for the constituent assembly on the powers, functions and boundaries of future regions."

When the new constitution is drawn up — the ANC expects this to happen within a maximum period of nine months — a second round of elections would be held in the new regions, Moosa said.

On a national level, the ANC believes that the interim government of national unity may exist for a period of up to five years. The constitution-making body may decide there is no need for a fresh national election.

But the second round of elections would still be held at regional level as new regions — with new powers and functions — would be created.

"Regional governments would be formed by the party which wins the national election — as in the majority-rule system. You either win the election or you lose the election," Moosa said.

However, if the victorious party in any region wanted to invite other parties to join in the regional administration it could do so, he added.

The ANC does not believe that the concept of IRAs should be enshrined in the new constitution — just as it does not believe the concept of an interim government of national unity should be so enshrined. Moosa said the ANC plans to hold bilateral talks with various groups — including Inkatha — to discuss constitutional issues, including regionalism.

The IRA proposals took some regional ANC organisers by surprise. In ANC circles in Natal, where there was stiff opposition to an interim government of national unity, the response to Moosa's proposals was mixed. Many leaders learnt of the proposals through reports published in the local press on Monday.

ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala said: "This is a totally new concept. I can't comment on something I don't know about. Why don't the ANC negotiators want to take us into their confidence?"

Stressing that he was expressing his own views, ANC northern Natal secretary Senzo Mchunu said he welcomed the proposals. "If at the national level we agree to make such an arrangement, what basis do we have to argue against a government of regional unity?" he asked.

Mchunu added that the formation of governments of unity at local level would be "consistent". ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisane Makhayo echoed this sentiment, saying it was "logical to expect IRAs to complement such a national government".

Addressing the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Tuesday, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the ANC had adopted a constructive approach. "We are quite prepared to discuss with the ANC any matters concerning this region," he said.

However, Buthelezi expressed concern at the ANC's rejection of the constitution of kwaZulu/Natal.

It was "extraordinary" that the ANC had proposed that for the first IRA elections the regions be the four provinces as they existed in 1910, he added. These had come about as a result of the Union of South Africa in 1910 and they were "foisted upon blacks through the barrel of a gun".

Friday, April 2 1993. SOWETAN.

NEWS PAC leader's excuse rejected

Alexandra taxi war escalates

Sowetan 2/4/93

By Abbey Makoe

ALEXANDRA taxi driver Mr Joan Cossa was shot down in Louis Botha Avenue while ferrying commuters to work yesterday.

This brings to seven the number of people, including drivers, killed in the township during the past two weeks.

A spokesman for the Witwatersrand police said Cossa (30) was shot by three men who sped off in a red car.

A spent cartridge from a Makarov pistol was found on the scene. Six people, four last Saturday and two last Tuesday, have been shot dead by unidentified men travelling in cars.

The renewed taxi violence is believed to

■ Seven lives lost in battle between taxi groups:

have been sparked off by a feud between the Alexandra Taxi Association and the Alex-Randburg-Midrand-Sandton Taxi Association.

The two associations are allegedly fighting over routes. Six of the victims already killed since last Tuesday were taxi drivers whose employers were affiliated to the ARMSTA, *Sowetan* established yesterday. The township was tense yesterday amid reports that Armstra had suspended its services in the morning to protest against the killings.

Cossa died at the Hillbrow Hospital from head and chest injuries.

Warrant for Alexander

JOHANNESBURG magistrate Mr C Benade yesterday ruled that a warrant of arrest be executed against the secretary-general of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Benny Alexander.

Alexander failed to appear in court yesterday morning on charges of fraud, forgery and the contravention of the Road Traffic Act.

Benade refused to accept the excuse that Alexander could not be in court because he was involved in the multiparty negotiating

forum at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park. *(11A)*

The prosecutor told the court a summons had been served on Alexander two weeks ago. *Sowetan 2/4/93*

The summons contained charges of fraud and forgery of an identity document and alleged contraventions of the Road Traffic Act.

It is alleged Alexander was in possession of a false driver's licence. — *Sapa*.

NEW NO MAN!) (THE HIGHER PETROL)

'ANC must preach political tolerance

Sowetan

2/4/93

11A

at their disposal?"
Miles, SA Prisoners Organisation
for Human Rights

Sowetan & Radio Metro
Talkback

By Isaac Moledi

A three-day peace summit organised by the ANC PWV region would focus on tolerance and discipline, an official, Mr Obed Bapela, said on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

The summit, to be held in Johannesburg from tomorrow, will also look into ways of creating a climate conducive to free and fair elections.

About 200 delegates from church, business, youth and women's organisations will take part.

Bapela said the aim of the peace summit was to bring stability and order to communities.

He said the summit was similar to those held in areas where members of the ANC Youth League were in conflict with other youths.

He said the causes of political violence like taxi wars or self defence units, would be looked into to create political tolerance.

"We don't want people to see the ANC as a monster.

"We want to build the ANC as an organisation respected by all our people," Bapela said.

He said although his organisation was aware that the Government had a hand in the violence, especially in the townships, the ANC had a duty to promote tolerance.

"I fully support the idea of the ANC holding a peace summit. But I think the police and the security forces have to be invited. Why can't they bring violence to an end with the manpower and resources

"We seem not to get to the reality of what is going on. The South African government will continue blaming the violence on the tsotsi element. Since when did they fail to control violence?"

Thabo, Meadowlands, Soweto

"You people (ANC) are not hitting the right target at the right time.

The idea of a summit is a wrong move. I'd rather suggest that black political organisations negotiate among themselves."

Mzimkhulu, Soweto

~~As a member of the ANC, I'm a bit worried about its member's intolerance. I was travelling in the train one day when ANC members who occupied a coach forced me to sing revolutionary songs with them. Is this tolerance?"~~

Daniel, ANC PWV region



with Tim Modise

Colourful women pep up the talks

By Ruth Bhengu

Sowetan 2/4/93
THE first day of the resumption of the still-to-be-named multiparty negotiating forum in Kempton Park was interesting.

While the delegates observed a moment of silence before getting down to business, two groups representing different organisations demonstrated their dissatisfaction outside the

■ Monotony of men's grey suits broken for the first time:

building.

The South African Democratic Teachers Union were protesting against their five percent salary increase, while the ANC Women's League was protesting against "the inadequate representation of women in the negotiating forum".

11/11
The forum has taken a decision that each delegation must have at least one woman.

EST
Hence the sprinkling of bright colours in the conference hall, breaking the monotony of grey suits for the first time.

The question of a new name for the negotiating forum led to futile discussion and suggestions. What all seemed to be agreed on, was that they did not want to call it Codesa 3.

'Creativity has no fences'

CITess 215/93

By SANDILE MEMELA

(11A)

MOTORISTS passing the Johannesburg Civic Theatre in Braamfontein this week must have done a double take when they saw the ANC flag billowing on flagpoles.

It symbolised a kind of coup to mark the ANC's Culture and Development Conference.

The youth who toyi-toyed around the building must too have relished the chance to join in subverting this icon of apartheid culture.

Conference delegate Prof Themba Sirayi explored the significance of transforming these former castles of privilege in his discussion paper "Heritage Resources".

"For the majority of our people most cultural institutions are seen as monuments of privilege, (a) waste of money, institutionalised proof of hegemony and abuse of the environment and culture," he opined.

"They are regarded as racist, elitist, Eurocentric, alienated and irrelevant and not belonging to the people.

"Inevitably, these institutions are notorious for marginalising the history and culture of the oppressed majority.

"This conference is committed to overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice created by colonialism and apartheid and to ensure democracy and encourage the flourishing of the feeling that this country belongs to all who live in it.

"We have to promote a common loyalty to and pride in the country

and create a universal sense of freedom and security within all its boundaries," said Sirayi.

Although there was no mistaking the quite palpable euphoria among the hundreds of delegates from township-based organisations who attended the five day conference, it remains to be seen if it will be a watershed for ordinary folk to dictate the cultural pace.

Over the past five days hundreds of international and local artists, writers, filmmakers, photographers, performers and cultural administrators gathered at the JCT.

They had come from universities, township theatre groups, backyards, studios, farms and small towns, big cities of the world, posh executive offices and various corners of the earth.

Like a magnet the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) had pulled them together to fashion guidelines for a new government to consider a new arts and culture policy.

No bones were made about the fact the ANC - as the "government in waiting" - could only formulate its future culture policy after mass-based consultation.

The line of thinking was to ensure that all interested parties from outside and inside the country make their voices heard in creating a new cultural policy in SA.

This was summed up in a significant moment when ANC president Nelson Mandela told delegates that everybody had to make their contribution to the new culture.



NOW HEAR THIS! . . . Delegates at the ANC's "Culture and Development" Conference met this week in JHB to discuss art in a new SA.

"The ANC does not own culture. Creativity has no fences, and expression is free," said Mandela to a wildly cheering audience.

However, three days into the proceedings the conference was haunted by the perception that the conference was an attempt on the part of the ANC to control all facets of life in the new society.

DAC founder member Barbara Masekela was acutely aware of it. In her presentation, which focused on the "need for unity" she sadly noted the absence of various cultural organisations, especially the National Arts Initiative, who only took observer status at the conference.

"There is no such thing as an ANC culture because culture can only come from and belong to the people," she said.

"It is in this context that we make an appeal for unity. The responsibility of the liberation movement is to interpret accurately the mood of the cultural organisations and take it into account.

"We sadly note the absence of the National Arts Initiative but . . . we are on the same side," said Masekela.

She was trying to say the DAC did not intend to dictate cultural life.

It became evident that hundreds of delegates from various township organisations had not been exposed to a

conference of this magnitude.

To a large extent the conference was a series of lectures from international speakers and prominent pro-ANC individuals with very little time devoted to question and discussion sessions.

The significant lesson to be gleaned from the "Culture and Development Conference" is that the struggle for meaningful participation by marginalised organisations has only begun.

The conference was a grim reminder that the quest to lay the foundation for the future foundation of a new South African culture will take many years.

However, the conference must be seen against the background of the ANC's historical role in mobilising all sectors of South African society in the struggle against racism and domination.

DAC chief Wally Serote, who outlined the ANC's view on the relationship between state and culture, said the future government should "enshrine the principle of artistic freedom".

"The future government must seek ways to harmonise the diversities in our culture as well as ensure that a democratic relationship exists between the needs of the artist and government programmes.

"Cultural workers must be involved in funded structures set up by the government.

"There is a palpable fear that the government's involvement in the arts and culture will lead to artistic control but this fear derives from the artists' experience with apartheid."

Nqakula balances on point of spear

C/Press 215/93

Hani's grassroots commitment will guide the SACP

By SEKOLA SELLO

(11A)

CHARLES Nqakula could not have been elected general secretary of the South African Communist Party at a more challenging time.

Keeping in check a growing and restless constituency with a large radical youth membership is likely to be a tough test for the 51-year-old former journalist and Umkhonto weSizwe operative who hails from Cradock in the Eastern Cape.

When the party was unbanned three years ago their membership was around one thousand - today it stands at slightly over 40 000.

It is widely held that only the sensitive hand of former party chief, Chris Hani could prevent the unleashing of mass anger.

While the new party leader concedes that the void created by Hani's death will not be easy to fill, he is optimistic that the radicals will not descend to lawlessness.

Nqakula says his predecessor established proper lines of communication and laid a solid foundation which will be useful even in his absence.

"Chris established a good rapport with the grassroots supporters. He briefed them regularly and also listened to their requirements. The Party will stick to the ground rules he established," he says.

Although Nqakula insists that he will be guided by collective leadership - a legacy of Hani - much will be expected of him to chart the future of the party in the coming months.

Nqakula believes the collective leadership will prove equal to the task. "Chris empowered us all. The party will continue to exercise influence and his death will make us even more determined to realise his ideals".

Strategic conference

Meanwhile, the party is taking a hard look at its options. A conference planned for May 21 will address increasing violence as well as uncertainty about negotiations. According to Nqakula, the Party has set May 31 as the cut-off date to decide its future course.

"We are going to give an unambiguous definition of the role of the Party in the light of the present situation," he says.

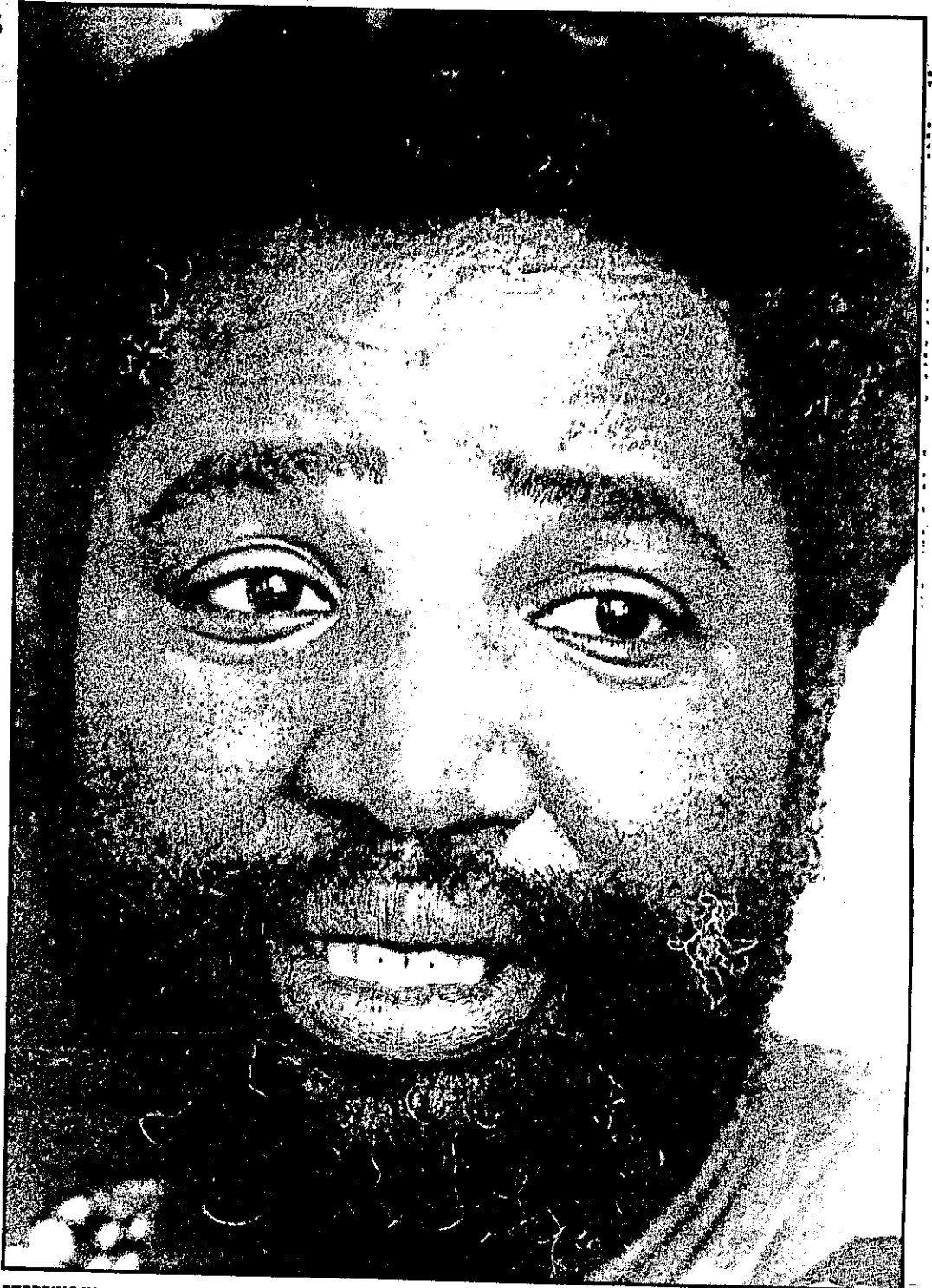
The conference was initially set for April 23 but had to be postponed following the death of Hani.

The general secretary adds that Hani had been looking forward to the conference: "His death has brought a totally different perspective to the entire political scenario. The conference will also have to consider the implications of Chris Hani's death on the talks".

According to Nqakula, delegates to the conference will confront the question as to whether it is "useful for negotiations to continue in the present fashion". He does not spell out the alternatives open to the Party should the talks not deliver.

It was initially hoped that the death of Hani would spur negotiators to a speedy resolution of the constitutional process leading to a setting of the date for elections.

However, recent events indicate that this optimism was misplaced. The Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) which comprises homeland groupings and white rightwing parties does not seem to be in a hurry to fix an election date.



STEPPING IN . . . Former Eastern Cape journalist, Charles Nqakula, 51, who was elected to take over Chris Hani's position as general secretary of the SA Communist Party, has taken over at a critical time.

Agenda for talks agreed on ahead of schedule

24/12

Star 21/4/93

On track to a new SA

(11A)

(20/12)

(11A)

By Esther Waugh
and Kalzer Nyatumba

South Africa moved a step closer to becoming a democracy when the multiparty negotiating forum agreed yesterday on an agenda for "real negotiations".

Observers and participants were taken by surprise when the scheduled two-day meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park completed its business a day early, ending just before 6 pm.

Both the Government and the ANC hailed the progress as a "real and substantive beginning".

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We can now safely say that the negotiations process is firmly under way. We are going to be dealing with the real substantive issues".

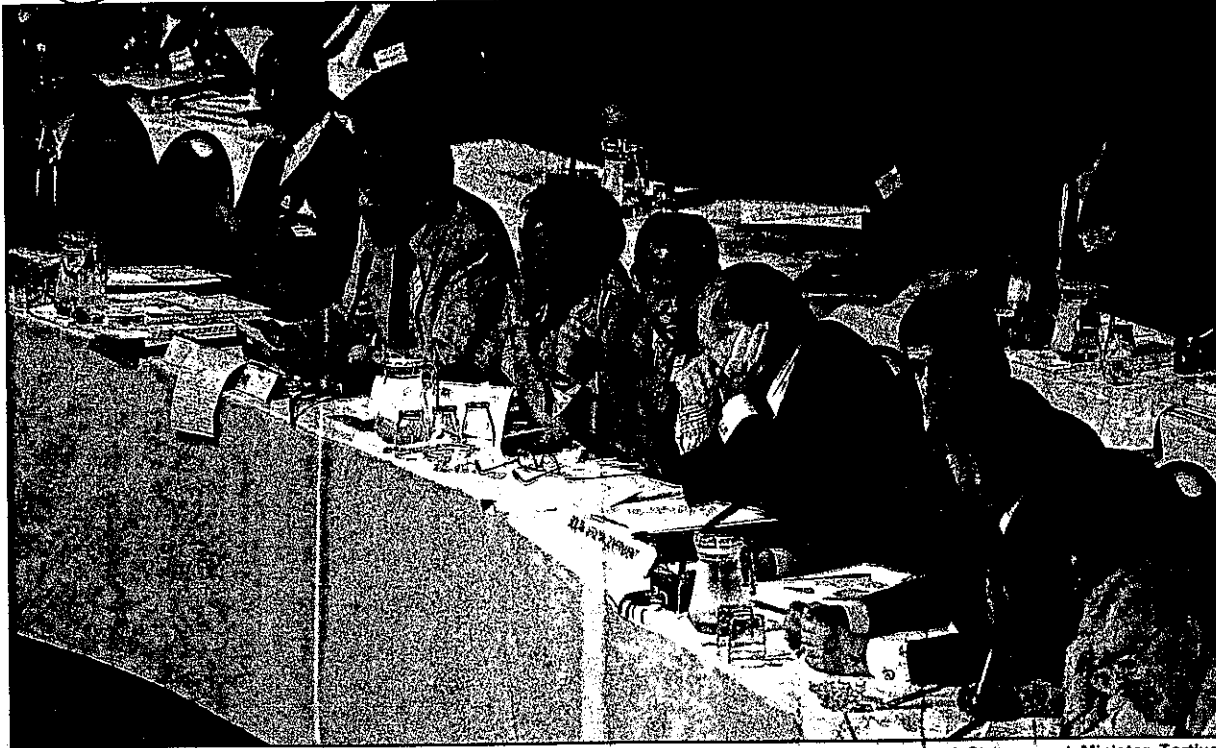
Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the press that the meeting had achieved its aims and all that remained to be thrashed out was the question of violence.

He warned that there was no way that negotiations could flourish with the violence that existed at present, but he was optimistic that elections could still be held early next year.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander declared: "Now we can begin real negotiations".

The forum yesterday moved swiftly through its agenda. Potential hiccups were avoided because potentially explosive discussions on political violence and the transition process were strictly controlled, and draft resolutions were adopted with minor amendments.

Tight chairing of the meeting made it difficult for participants to raise issues



Heading for democracy . . . delegates (from the right) SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont, Constitution Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel; Transkei delegates M Titus, N Jajula and Z Tjitu; and two members of the Transvaal delegation of traditional leaders. Picture: Ken Oosterbroek

outside the parameters set by the resolutions.

Substantial progress was made with the forum identifying several constitutional issues as well as causes of political violence which are to be referred to the smaller negotiating council.

It is in this council that the hard bargaining on these issues will take place in the coming weeks.

A name for the new negotiating structure was also referred to the planning com-

mittee and the negotiating council. Ten proposed names are still on the table and the planning committee could not reach consensus on the issue at a meeting on Wednesday night.

The negotiating council comprises two delegates from the participating groups, including leaders, and two advisers from each group. Its next meeting takes place on April 15.

Early in the meeting, the KwaZulu administration in-

dicated that it wanted the agenda to include discussion on whether a new South Africa would be a federal or unitary country.

The forum decided to place the issue at the top of a "shopping list" of constitutional principles.

The list includes a constitutional council, transitional regional and local governments, fundamental human rights during the transition, transitional exec-

utive council (TEC) and sub-councils as well as the future of TBVC states.

The issue of self-determination was included on the list after it was proposed by Conservative Party negotiator Frank le Roux. This has effectively ensured that the CP would stay on board for the time being.

In the discussion on political violence, Manpower Minister Leon Wessels and KwaZulu Health Minister Dr Ben Ngubane proposed that the

signing of the National Peace Accord was a prerequisite for continued participation in further negotiations.

The PAC, Transkei, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie are at the negotiating forum but are not signatories to the Accord.

The ANC, Government and National Party proposed that the issue of private armies be addressed in deal-

Agenda for talks agreed on ahead of schedule

2/4/93

Star 2/4/93

On track to a new SA

(11A)

(scribble)

(11A)

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and Kaizer Nyatumba

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© To Page 3

Talks step closer to democracy

(11A)

Star 21/4/93
(300A)
● From Page 1

ing with political violence.

Law and Order Minister and Government negotiator Hernus Kriel and Wessels questioned the commitment of political groups to ending violence.

Wessels asked the PAC how it could commit itself to a resolution against violence, while failing to distance itself from "the atrocious killings of innocent civilians for which Apla unashamedly and openly claims responsibility".

PAC negotiator Barney Desai said his organisation had emerged with the "cleanest hands" in all the reports compiled by the Goldstone Commission and that the security forces were guilty of more crimes than Apla.

The NPA had failed and there was "no inherent magic in signing it", he said.

The PAC and Apla were against the killing of women and children, who were not Apla targets. It "knew nothing about Eikenhof".

Kriel contended that the issue of private armies would have to be addressed in concrete terms.

"Arms caches will have to be uncovered and brought under control, trained personnel will have to be placed under control and discipline and further recruitment must be terminated.

"We want to know what steps political parties and organisations are taking to play their part in bringing down the level of violence," Kriel said.

The ANC proposed that all armed formations should be dealt with in phases linked to the transitional process and should be placed under multi-party control with the installation of a TEC.

Ngubane asked the forum to consider reconstruction funding "for violence-torn communities because it would contribute to a healing process.

Late in the discussion on the subject, Conservative Party negotiator Schalk Pienaar launched a vitriolic attack on Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He was interrupted by the session's chairman, NP negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers, and requested to remain within the parameters of the resolution.

The CP's alternative resolutions for the disbandment of MK and Apla were referred to the negotiating council.

ANC backs autonomy for cities

ARC 214193
Municipal Reporter



SUPPORT for a Western Cape forum on local government has had a significant boost through African National Congress endorsement.

The head of the ANC local, regional and housing department, Mr Thozamile Botha, said a negotiating forum was overdue.

"We need a negotiating forum now, because the local community must get involved in discussions about the shape of Cape Town."

Monitoring would be needed to see local talks conformed to national guidelines.

He was responding to a challenge at a Chamber of Commerce symposium from Mayor Mr Frank van der Velde, that a negotiating forum be convened.

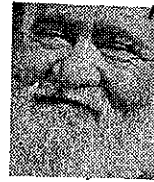
"Cape Town has pleaded for negotiations at local level for five or six years," said Mr Van der Velde.

He asked Mr Botha whether an ANC call for strong central government was repeating the behaviour of the government.

Mr Botha said they didn't favour "absolute" centralisation.

"We need central government to be the head prefect, to ensure imbalances are redressed."

A 'Marksist' seeks power



DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

FORMER ANC stalwart Mr Joe Marks has admitted to being power-hungry.

But the former United Democratic Front (Western Cape) leader told a student audience at the University of Cape Town yesterday he wanted power for the people, not for himself.

Explaining why he had left the ANC and SA Communist Party for the DP, he accused the ANC leadership of having lost touch with the "reality on the ground". He said he would

not return to the ANC.

"The DP did not ask me to join, as some people are claiming. I phoned the party and when I compared its programme with mine I felt I could live with it."

He said he was a working-class person living in a council house.

He was accused of joining the DP because he had twice failed to be elected to the ANC's regional executive committee, but replied that he had declined his nomination the second time.

ARC 24/93

11A (397)

Killed ex-Recce ⁽⁵⁾ 'caught off guard' _{ARG 2/4/92}

HENRI du PLESSIS
Staff Reporter

THE wife of former "Recce" Mr Cornell Taljaard of Table View, who was shot dead by Unita, did not know her husband was in Angola until she was told this week he was dead.

Mrs Gillian Taljaard, 32, talked about her loss for the first time yesterday.

Mr Taljaard was killed by Unita rebels at the weekend while inspecting an oil installation in Soyo in northern Angola. He was employed by the oil company Sonangol as a security adviser.

Only when she was told of his death did Mrs Taljaard realise where her husband was and what he was doing.

She had been under the impression the father of her six-year-old daughter Nicole was in the Caprivi to set up a business he had been planning.

"I know he went to Angola because it was a job. He did it because that was what he was trained for and I know for sure he was there purely for security duties.

"I now know what happened. They were totally off guard and caught by surprise. They

were not ready for an attack.

"It must have been terrible. They would not have been able to react in time at all."

"I understood his need for secrecy and privacy and we managed to separate it from our lives together," the shocked Mrs Taljaard said.

"But it was the horrible part of our relationship. It influenced his whole life and he tended to be a secretive person."

Mr Taljaard, 32, was a soldier in the South African Defence Force's elite 4 Reconnaissance Commando based in Langebaan.

He left in 1989 and worked as a freelance import-export agent with friends.

"Cornell had a lot of friends. He was a warm person who would do anything to help somebody out and he would do anything for his family and friends," Mrs Taljaard said.

"His circle of friends was very close-knit and several of the men recruited with him were old friends. Not all were Recces — some were ordinary soldiers.

"He was fit and tough and had a strong sense of adventure."

SA guards retreat from oil plant

PRETORIA. — South African guards protecting an oil installation at Soyo in northern Angola retreated under fire when Unita rebels launched a heavy attack.

There were no casualties in yesterday's attack and 30 guards were making their way to Luanda in a boat they were given by American oil company Texaco, said Executive Outcome spokesman Mr Eben Barlow, who recruited the guards.

According to Mr Barlow, representatives in Angola told

him there were no remaining South African security personnel at the site.

Unita rebels attacked the installation on Wednesday night but were repulsed, he said.

A second offensive was launched about 8am yesterday and the security head at Soyo decided the situation was too risky for them to remain. The guards had been ordered only to protect assets and not to get involved in the war, Mr Barlow emphasised. — Sapa.

deadline for elections will be met — if there is agreement on the role of the security forces.

FM 2/4/93

11A

PAC/APLA

Playing hard to get

FM 2/4/93

Findings of the Goldstone Commission on Apla, the PAC's armed wing, were made provisional "in the hope of a positive response from Transkei, the PAC and Apla." The commission warned, however, that if no response was forthcoming those parties "cannot be heard to complain if the findings are regarded as conclusive, by the local and international communities."

Judge Goldstone this week set a deadline — next Thursday — for those parties to contest the findings, after which they would indeed be deemed conclusive. It seems a safe bet that they will not respond.

The report, accepted by Judge Goldstone and forwarded to the State President on March 15, made nine provisional findings. These were released by President FW de Klerk in his wide-ranging speech to the joint

FINANCIAL MAIL • APRIL • 2 • 1993 • 39

session of parliament last week:

- Both the PAC and Apla still propagate the armed struggle;
- Apla is the military wing of the PAC;
- Apla uses Transkei as a springboard for attacks into SA. Arms and ammunition are stored in Transkei for use by Apla units and the presence of armed Apla members in Transkei is known to members of the Transkei police;
- The Transkei government has supplied Apla with arms, allegedly to protect VIPs;
- Apla's operational activities are aimed at members of the SAP, SADF and white civilians in general;
- The PAC controls Apla's budget;
- Apla members have received training in Transkei;
- Arms and explosives are being smuggled into SA and Transkei for use by Apla members; and
- Apla's internal high command for SA is based in Transkei.

In the prelude to its recommendations, the committee says that the vast majority of South Africans are committed to a peaceful political transformation to democracy. "It cannot therefore be tolerated that an organisation should commit acts of violence and wanton killings in order to promote its own political aims. Bitter experience has proved that acts of violence invite retaliation that causes a never-ending cycle of violence that it would be very difficult to contain once it gained momentum."

It therefore recommended that the security forces protect SA citizens to the best of their ability and arrest and prosecute the perpetrators of violence in terms of the common law.

The Goldstone Commission, it goes on, should ask the international community to request all countries to withhold assistance to Apla, press the PAC to cease condoning and supporting acts of violence by Apla and to join the multi-party negotiations process. Further, Goldstone should ask the Tanzanian government for its response to police and SADF allegations concerning the training of Apla in that country and the existence of an Apla base there.

Government and SA political groups should ascertain from Transkei authorities their response to the allegations of the police and SADF "and if they are confirmed or not denied" to pressurise Umtata to prohibit the use of that territory as a springboard for attacks on SA citizens.

All parties in the negotiations should bring pressure on the PAC and Apla to "suspend" the armed struggle and join the talks and, through negotiations, get the PAC and others to sign the National Peace Accord and take part in its structures.

The committee emphasised the provisional nature of its report, saying all parties were still free and are again invited to give evidence to the commission at any time regarding any matter in its report. Its brief was to investigate the location of Apla camps, arms, ammunition, personnel and operational ac-

tivities.

The committee was chaired by Goldstone Commission member Gert Steyn (a retired president of a regional court), Fikile Bam (a Port Elizabeth advocate) and Nico Coetzer (a Hoopstad attorney). In addition, the proceedings were observed by a UN appointee, Prof Kwame Frimpong of the University of Botswana. Hearings kicked off in PE on January 4 and wrapped up on February 12.

Though all interested parties were publicly invited to make submissions, only the SA Police and SADF responded — asking that copies which they had presented be forwarded to the Transkei consulate in PE and to the PAC. Both parties failed to take part in spite of repeated requests. Apla made no contact with the committee whatsoever.

The attitude of Transkei's military leader Bantu Holomisa is perplexing, observes UCT's Robert Schrire. First, the whole episode must be acutely embarrassing to the ANC — partly because it sours the negotiations environment and partly because the PAC and ANC are sworn enemies. Holomisa has often openly claimed to be pro-ANC and has hitherto acted as such, not least by appearing to want to lead the anti-Buthelezi homelands.

Another suggestion is that Holomisa has grown ambivalent about rejoining SA along with the other homelands, which it has been assumed will occur. Is he deliberately clouding the situation in the hope of increasing his leverage for a greater role in future? On the other hand, Holomisa (in his ANC colours) would be a strong candidate for some top defence job — unless he figures the ANC may feel it is already too heavily Xhosa and could lose out as result.

Is Holomisa, like KwaZulu's Buthelezi before him, starting to fall back on his homeland base as a prelude to declaring his hand in favour of greater regional autonomy in a federal set-up? Stranger things have happened.

NEGOTIATIONS

Homing in on security

FM 2/4/93

11A

Multiparty talks are due to resume at Kempton Park this week, against the background of a deepening security crisis and government's plan for an unprecedented crackdown on crime and violence. Linked to the plan is an expected government proposal for the resumption of administrative control by Pretoria over at least some of the TBVC states.

These two issues are likely to take precedence on the talks agenda and could delay progress in other important areas.

Government is under increasing pressure from the National Party parliamentary caucus and grassroots supporters to act effectively against the current wave of killings and crime. The recent indiscriminate attacks on whites, in particular, have incensed traditional NP backers and are threatening to undermine the election platform the party is trying to build.

The publication last week of the Goldstone Commission's report on Apla activities effectively implicated Major-General Bantu Holomisa's government in Transkei and brought new pressure on President F W de Klerk to act against him.

A possible showdown over security issues between government and the ANC is a serious threat to the continuation of the talks. However, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus says the organisation will do all in its power to ensure that the process is not derailed. Though deeply concerned by the security situation, the ANC believes it can be resolved only by negotiation.

Niehaus says the blistering attack on the ANC by Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel in parliament this week was unhelpful; he merely painted government into a corner from which it might be difficult to escape later.

Kriel cited a long list of alleged involvement by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and ANC members in serious criminal activity. He firmly rejected ANC calls for joint control of MK and government security forces; he described MK members as criminals who were uncontrollable.

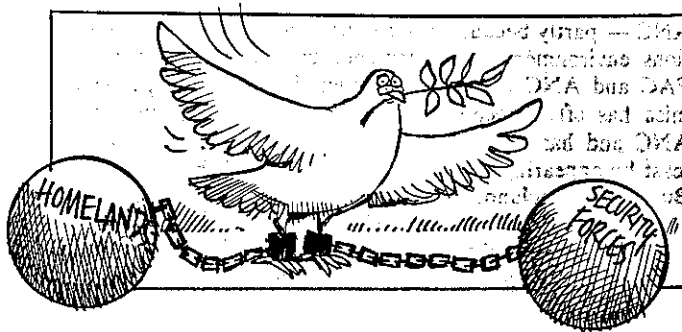
Niehaus says the ANC could respond with its own list of alleged involvement by security forces in deaths and criminal action and could show that elements in the security forces were out of control — but this wouldn't help to resolve the current crisis.

Kriel told parliament the security situation would be brought under control "come

hell or high water." It is understood that a comprehensive strategy, based on the 10-point plan unveiled by the police last week after De Klerk's address to a joint session of parliament, will be implemented within the next two weeks.

While Kriel was talking in parliament, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a media briefing in Johannesburg the ANC would continue to insist on joint control of security forces during the transitional period.

In terms of broad proposals already



agreed on between government and the ANC, the multiparty Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and a number of sub-TECs will effectively assume joint responsibility with government for administration during the transition.

However, agreement has not yet been reached on the role or control of the security forces when the TEC is established. The ANC view, reflected by Ramaphosa, is that the sub-TEC on defence must take control of all armed formations. Government insists that the security forces be dealt with separately from organisations such as MK. Negotiations on the issue were continuing, but this week's speech by Kriel indicated a significant hardening of government's attitude.

Government's expected proposal on the TBVC states will also be a significant change of attitude. It is likely to provide for some form of resumption of administrative control by the current government and/or the TEC when it is established.

Holomisa is now considered in government circles to be a major threat to negotiations and efforts to restore peace. He is seen as a rallying point for radicals and is perceived to be offering safe haven in Transkei to killers operating in SA.

According to Niehaus, the ANC would have no problem in principle with a proposal for SA to take over administrative control of the TBVC states — as long as the proposal included all four homelands. Up to now, government has not included Bophuthatwana in its plans.

He says the ANC's final response would

depend on details of any proposal and how it fitted in with agreements already reached at Codesa. The ANC, Niehaus adds, would have to ensure that the proposal was not simply a ploy to "get rid of a difficult political opponent (Holomisa)," in which case the organisation would probably not agree to it.

In earlier negotiations between government and the ANC, there has been fundamental disagreement on how the TBVC states should be brought back into SA. Government has insisted that, constitutionally, it can't simply pass a law re-incorporating them.

This week's talks were originally intended to discuss a wide range of issues related to the transition, including the establishment of technical committees to draft agreements which would ease the process.

Before the latest security crisis, the main obstacle to the talks continuing smoothly was seen as the possible intransigence of right-wing parties. This might still be the case, but their objections are likely to be based more on security issues than on political processes.

At a conference in Cape Town last month, political analyst Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said political agreement on the role of the security forces was a prerequisite for successful transition (*Current Affairs* March 19). Slabbert pointed out that civil/military pacts had proved essential to transitions around the world. SA started "late in the day" to tackle the issue, but there is a "reasonable chance" that the April 1994 deadline for elections will be met — if there is agreement on the role of the security forces.

PAC/APLA

Playing hard to get

FM 2/4/93

Findings of the Goldstone Commission on Apla, the PAC's armed wing, were made provisional "in the hope of a positive response from Transkei, the PAC and Apla." The commission warned, however, that if no response was forthcoming those parties "cannot be heard to complain if the findings are regarded as conclusive by the local and international communities."

Judge Goldstone this week set a deadline — next Thursday — for those parties to contest the findings, after which they would indeed be deemed conclusive. It seems a safe bet that they will not respond.

The report, accepted by Judge Goldstone and forwarded to the State President on March 15, made nine provisional findings. These were released by President F W de Klerk in his wide-ranging speech to the joint

Backing for urgent probe into new role of regions

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The Urban Foundation supported the idea of urgently setting up commissions of inquiry to investigate the role of regions and cities in a new constitution, the foundation's Ann Bernstein said yesterday at a Cape Town Chamber of Commerce conference on local government.

Bernstein said the commissions could gather evidence from around the country and make proposals to the constituent assembly.

She questioned the assumption in the regional government debate that development between regions had to be balanced. While all should have equal opportunities, there should not be social engineering to prevent migration of people and capital. Such flows were vital for development.

Bernstein said she was committed to the concept of regions promoting their own comparative advantage and competing for investment and people. Economic policy should be decentralised to allow for diversity and not be subjected to a central government dictatorship.

She expressed concern over the "deafening silence" of the role of cities in the national constitutional debate and warned that in negotiating parties' scramble to arrive at a deal the rights and welfare of individuals under a new constitution would be ignored.

This was apparent in the fact that in proposals proportional representa-

tion was not linked with constituency representation, eliminating the accountability and responsibility of those elected.

Frederick van Zyl Slabbert of Idasa emphasised the need for the creation of a strong community ethic if the delivery of services was to take place. Without community involvement the transition would be painful, whatever the constitutional arrangements agreed upon.

"We do not have a South African way of life that can sustain us through to the 'new SA'. We are going to have to fashion it out of our own transition," he said.

ANC local government spokesman Thozamile Botha said interim constitutional arrangements at local and regional level would be necessary in the transitional period. There was a need for a fairly representative interim executive council to deal with the metropolitan budget and rationalisation of personnel rather than this being left to the provincial councils and white local authorities.

The ANC proposed the dissolution of existing local government structures during the transitional phase and the appointment of interim local councils and interim metropolitan councils. They should be appointed on the basis of lists submitted by local and metropolitan negotiation forums,



TRANSKEI GOVERNMENT

Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, right, and Z Titus of the Transkei delegation at the multiparty talks in Kempton Park yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

PAC gives Owen '14 days to explain'

UMTATA — The PAC in Transkei has suspended its call for a boycott of the Sunday Times newspaper.

PAC spokesman Zingisa Mkabile said yesterday that Sunday Times editor Ken Owen had 14 days to explain the editorial comments published on March 21 describing the PAC's leadership as "thugs and murderers". *BIDAM 2/4/93*

The PAC called for the boycott earlier this week and accused the newspaper of conducting a campaign of "villifying and denigrating our leadership".

Mkabile said if no explanation was forthcoming in 14 days, the PAC would relaunch the boycott campaign. *(M)*

Sunday Times deputy editor Brian Pottinger said a meeting between Owen and Mkabile was being arranged.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said on Monday the PAC should campaign at the newspaper's source, in SA.

Holomisa promised the newspaper police protection for distribution purposes in the homeland. — Sapa.

Gwala wants to step down

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

SETBACKS in his personal life — coupled with disillusionment with the negotiation process — appear to be the reasons behind Harry Gwala's announcement that he hopes to step down as the chairman of the African National Congress's Natal Midlands region at the end of the year.

Gwala also plans to give up his position on the organisation's highest decision-making body, the national executive committee.

In an interview, Gwala said: "I want to work in lower structures at branch level. I want to hold political classes — that is my baby."

Asked whether he wanted to quit his leadership position because he opposed power-sharing between the government and the ANC, he replied: "That is a very cruel question. I'd like to work on the ground with the masses."

A diehard communist, Gwala does not believe the liberation struggle will end after the election of a

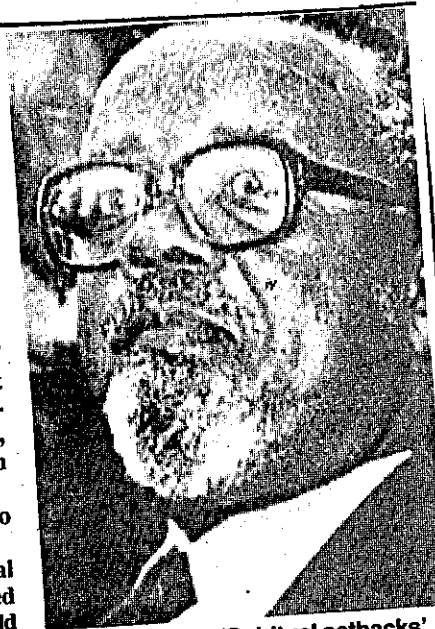
new government. "An election will only help to fortify our position, so that our people can fight further. We need to gain control of the means of production and the state apparatus."

The 72-year-old Gwala, who suffers from the degenerative motor neuron disease, dismissed speculation that his health has been declining. "My health is very fine. It has never been so fine," he said.

However, he added that he has suffered a spate of "spiritual setbacks" recently. He pointed out that his daughter, Lulu — whom he described as his "pillar" — died last year and last week, his nephew, Thabo Nettie, had also died. Lulu's four children have been left in his care.

"So it's been blow after blow. It's too much to handle," Gwala said.

Gwala said his "wish" to step down as regional chairman was not final. If his constituency wanted him to continue in a leadership position, he would do so.



Harry Gwala ... 'Spiritual setbacks'

11A (11) w/Man 2/4-7/4/93

Anger at MK swipe

w/moul 2/4-7/4/93
By STEPHEN LAUFER

(11A) (S)

CLEARLY angered by Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel's parliamentary broadside against Umkhonto weSizwe, senior African National Congress members fear the issue of joint control over the security forces during the transition period could seriously affect the negotiations.

MK commanders believe government intransigence could in fact derail the talks, pointing to the potential for disruption available to the government in the run-up to elections if the security forces are not under joint command. This, says Calvin Khan, personal assistant to MK chief Joe Modise, could involve an outside chief of the joint command, possibly appointed by the United Nations.

Sources close to the negotiations, while confirming the central importance of the issue, indicate that an acceptable compromise is likely once the grandstanding is over.

Says Jeremy Cronin, ANC national executive committee member: "The issue is crucial in the run-up to elections, because a fair and free vote hinges on the impartiality of the security forces. But the alternative to a compromise is a war of attrition lasting years."

Informed sources say the South African Defence Force has, indeed, moved preparations for the assimilation of other armed formations into high gear. Forms have been printed and inducting officers briefed.

TWO key players, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation, were absent. But the Patriotic Front conference held in Lenasia last weekend was a success in unintended ways.

For one, debate from the floor went a long way in revealing the under-the-surface faultlines separating the artificial group of anti-government forces that constitutes the PF. In spite of the last day's decision to fight a democratic election under the leadership of the African National Congress, the rifts were laid bare for everyone to see.

In the end it came as little surprise when the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) announced that it could not back an ANC-led election, as it also had PAC members and still had to deliberate on the issue.

The conference also succeeded in giving some indication of the issues that will haunt South African politics in the months to come.

The conference was called by the ANC but boycotted by the PAC because the latter felt it was not consulted on the arrangements. Those who did turn up included — according to the official list — no fewer than 14 religious groups, seven homeland parties and three delegations of the Labour Party, the only participant in the tricameral parliament to attend the conference. (Present were the Labour Party proper, the Labour Party youth section and the Labour Party women's section.)

When delegates left, nameplates were seen on empty tables denoting seats for the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk and the Hervormde Kerk. Whether these churches in fact attended the conference could not be confirmed.

The Black Management Forum, however, was certainly there. Representatives from the forum left little doubt about their unhappiness at not being included on the official list of those present.

It was not a remarkably representative group in anyone's books. PF delegates did succeed in pointing out some of the concerns plaguing the black community in the political lull before the resumption of negotiations.

One of these concerns was the presence of homeland governments in the PF. One delegate from Sanco, in an intervention from the floor, made it clear that it was not only "the regime" that was guilty of political intolerance. "We should also look at ourselves," he said. "Represented in this hall are administrations with laws to entrench the debarring of full political activity in their territories."

Another put it even more succinctly: "They

Revealing faultlines ripping through the Front

They call themselves the Patriotic Front, an alliance opposing the government, but in the coming months the cracks may grow into chasms.

By **CHRIS LOUW**

W/mant 2/4-7/4/73.

are very lucky that we accommodate them in the PF. What are they doing here? We all know they have double agendas. I have to ask: are they wasting their own time here or are they wasting my time?"

Delegates from the homelands smiled embarrassedly, but no one got up to defend themselves. They reacted in the same way when senior ANC speakers, including Mac Maharaj, in the same breath referred to "the regime" and "the bantustans".

While ANC representatives informed the meeting of the progress made since last September's Record of Understanding with the government, questions from the floor provided a clearer indication of what concerned people on grassroots level.

One concerned the issue of "power-sharing", a term conspicuously shunned by the leadership, who preferred to talk about "a government of national unity and reconstruction". This did not satisfy everyone. Some delegates were quite vocal in their opposition to what they insisted on calling the ANC's conceding to the NP's notion of "power-sharing".

Another thorny issue in the months to come is that of the number and boundaries of the political regions in a democratic South Africa. Although the government and the ANC have

already agreed on an elected constituent assembly consisting of 200 national and 200 regional representatives, no decision has been taken on what the regions will look like.

The ANC has its own proposals, but Maharaj alluded to the fact that a delimitation commission might be appointed to advise the multi-party conference on a regional map.

On one issue the delegates were left in little doubt: multi-party negotiations might have resumed in Kempton Park, but most of the modalities of the transition period have already been agreed between the ANC and the government. All that needs to be done now is that these agreements, in the words of Maharaj, "have to be put together so that all parties can make an input".

The South African Communist Party's Joe Slovo left little doubt about what could be expected if these other parties were not positively inclined towards the agreements. "The patience of the people and their true representatives is not endless ... The multi-party forum has to resolve the fundamental issues by the end of April and not later than mid-May. Those with ulterior motives who want to slow down the process must be made to understand we will go on without them."

It was obvious that the ANC was not prepared to let the negotiation process drag on indefinitely. They fear that a protracted process may "demobilise our people", as Maharaj put it. "If we cannot begin to prepare for elections now, it is going to become very difficult to motivate our people."

He warned that the path ahead would not be easy because of continuing differences with the government in spite of the agreements. "The question is how much time we have to continue with endless rounds of talks. The multi-party conference will very, very soon have to deliver an election date."

Slovo called for a referendum to be held as a final mechanism to break a possible deadlock if decisions could not be reached in the specified time.

To ensure no one was in any doubt about the leading role of the ANC, both in the negotiations process and in the Patriotic Front, president Nelson Mandela in his keynote speech announced that the organisation is convening a conference by June this year to which all PF forces will be invited.

The question now is whether the PAC and Azapo will this time accept an invitation without being consulted beforehand. It is just possible that the progress made by the multi-party conference before June could influence their decision.

MK lashes Kriel over security control

By Quentin Wilson

MR SIPHIWE Nyanda, chief-of-staff of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), this week refused to take Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel seriously when he bluntly refused to accept multi-party control of security forces.

In parliament on Monday Kriel rejected the ANC's pivotal demand, saying existing security forces would deal exclusively with the country's violence "come hell or high water".

Dismissing MK members as "criminals", Kriel said the government was not interested in joint control of ill-trained, ineffective and out-of-control MK criminals or weapons.

The ANC demands that during the run-up to a democratic election, all armies in South Africa (including those in the bantustans) be placed under multi-party control.

Negotiations on the issue have been held on the issue for the past two years

and will again be a crucial point in this week's multi-party talks.

In his response to Kriel, Nyanda dismissed the minister's parliamentary outburst as "nothing more than hollow government propaganda".

Said Nyanda: "I refuse to believe he really means what he said in parliament. At meetings with the ANC, he and his colleagues keep very quiet and avoid this issue like the plague, but they seem to have a markedly different approach when they speak in public.

"It is quite inconceivable that a senior government minister could really seriously contemplate a situation whereby the SADF and SAP remain under their control right up to an election.

"What ever happened to levelling the playing fields? Or committing themselves to free political activity?

"If he did not hold such a senior post, his remarks would be laughable."

Nyanda said that "deep down" the government knew only too well the

inevitability of multi-party security control and the integration of all armed forces after an election.

"The regime realise they cannot cling to their military instrument indefinitely, but at the same time they are finding it difficult to accept the reality that their private fighting forces are being taken away from their sole control.

"The revelations about their nuclear programme being scrapped is a sure sign that the government is eliminating all its embarrassments before an interim authority takes over," Nyanda said.

Nyanda added he did not want to trade insults with Kriel by talking about the "long list of criminal acts perpetrated by the SADF" as such talk "is not conducive to the spirit of negotiations".

"It has to be said, however, that no security forces must be left in limbo during South Africa's transition period. As we have said all along, the regime cannot be player and referee of the entire process," he said.

South 3/4-7/4/93
11A



NEWS IN BRIEF

Khan to face hearing over racist remarks

Political Staff *ANC 3/14/93 (11A)*
MR Dawood Khan, rebuked by the ANC for making racist remarks about Jews, is to face a disciplinary hearing on Monday.

Mr Khan was suspended after his statements outside the Israeli Embassy last month.

The ANC's regional executive committee resolved at a meeting last night that the movement's constitution would follow its course.

"Mr Khan will appear before a full commission of inquiry," an ANC spokesman said.

Slaying still hot topic in UK press

STAR 3/4/93
Star Bureau

LONDON — The assassination of Chris Hani continues to dominate the headlines of serious newspapers in Britain, along with continuing warnings of a racial bloodbath.

The Times, The Guardian and The Independent newspapers all make reports of the murder backlash their lead stories.

In a leading article, The Guardian speaks of the "deadly logic" of Hani's murder. But, despite his history, the newspaper says: "The meaning of this latest outrage must not be blurred by insinuations that Hani somehow met his due fate. His personal readiness to put aside the armed struggle as soon as a political road reopened is a matter of solid record."

The Times's analysis of the slaying leads to a similar conclusion: "Hani's assassination has shocked the country and again revealed the endless potential for reprisal and counter-reprisal. In that sense, it has emphasised the need for peaceful negotiation more than ever."



'Unified force will stop the violence'

BEEFING up a discredited security apparatus will not counter the violence ravaging the country, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Lenasia this week.

(IA)
Addressing the Patriotic Front conference, Mandela urged political organisations to promote peace and tolerance.

However, he added that government forces who wished to undermine negotiations were respon-

sible for the "violence gripping the country".

"There can be no doubt about who the main culprits are. Those who instituted a policy that decreed others sub-humans in their land of birth could not but rely on violence to maintain their vile system," he said.

Mandela added the speedy conclusion of negotiation and the setting of transitional structures would ensure joint control of armed forces. - Sapa

Mahlangu's reburial today

By THEMBA KHUMALO

CIPRESS 4/4/93

THOUSANDS of ANC supporters are expected at the exhumation and reburial of the body of Solomon Mahlangu, the ANC cadre who was hanged in 1979 for the murder of two whites in Johannesburg.

His body will today be exhumed from Atteridgeville Cemetery and reburied at Mamelodi.

ANC Atteridgeville spokesman Khorombi Tau said Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and MK commander Joe Modise would speak at the service.

The event would be preceded by a procession from Atteridgeville Community Centre to the lo-

cal cemetery at 6 am for the exhumation.

Buses will later transport supporters to a rally at Mamelodi's Solomon Mahlangu Square before the reburial ceremony.

Mahlangu and colleague Monty Motloun were among the first MK guerrillas to infiltrate SA after they had gone into exile following the 1976 student revolt.

They were cornered by the police at a warehouse in Goch Street, Johannesburg, after a heavy shootout. A third person escaped during the fracas.

Mahlangu's trial came under the international spotlight and his execution on April 6 1979 led to a hardening of attitudes against Pretoria.

PAC's Benny leaves talks to answer licence charges

By BERENG MTIMKULU (LIA)

IF the multiparty talks in Kempton Park were crucial for Benny Alexander's Africanist followers, so was the warrant of arrest issued when he failed to appear in the Johannesburg Regional Court court this week.

"It would be insensitive to issue the warrant of arrest given the significance of the Kempton Park multiparty discussions in which the accused (Benny Alexander) is a participant," argued defence counsel Moses Mavundla before magistrate C Benade.

PAC secretary-general Alexander was this week forced to leave the talks to appear in court on charges of alleged forgery of an identity document, driver's licence and a traffic offence.

The charge sheet alleged the forgery and fraud arose from an incident on November 27 last year when Alexander was stopped by traffic officers on the M2 East and allegedly produced a forged identity document.

Alexander earlier failed to appear before the court as he was a PAC

Mavundla argued that the talks were significant to the country and would also have a bearing on the courts.

The court has reason enough to rule in the interest of the accused," argued Mavundla as he opposed the warrant for Alexander's arrest.

State representative N Erasmus contended that there had been sufficient time for Alexander to have applied for further postponement since the summons was served two weeks ago.

Mavundla asked the magistrate to take into consideration the nature of the talks and their significance to the country.

He said: "The court must balance the interests of the society which is dependent on those talks. Causing disruption of those talks, with due respect to the court, would be naive."

Benade issued the warrant of arrest which was withdrawn after the lunch adjournment when Alexander attended court.

The case was postponed to June 9. Alexander was a delegate at the political forum held at the World Trade Centre this week.

Maritzburg's lion roars no more

4/2/93

C/Press

By FRED KHUMALO

THE "Lion of Maritzburg" will roar no more. (11A)

Natal midlands ANC chairman and SACP stalwart Harry Gwala revealed this week that he is hanging up his political gloves at the end of the year - to the chagrin of multitudes of militant young fans.

But the news also delighted those who - even within the ANC - regard him as "too radical".

He is quitting his position as head of the ANC in the volatile Maritzburg area and also withdraw-

ing his services from the ANC NEC and the SACP, of which he is a central committee member.

"Political leadership is like a relay race. Now the time has come for me to give the baton over to the youngsters. We need young blood in positions of leadership," said 72-year-old Gwala upon making the shock disclosure.

However, Gwala said he would continue leading the people at "grassroots level" and added that if the people demanded that he comes back to the centre-stage he would not

hesitate for the "voice of the people is the voice of God".

"I will continue stoking the fires using wood collected by the youngsters," he said in his typically poetic fashion.

Gwala, a former teacher, has been active in politics for the past 50 years.

He gained prominence in 1990 when he took the position of Natal midlands chairman.

It was during the height of the ANC-Inkatha conflict in the area that Gwala made some of his famous utterances:

"We don't offer (Inkatha leaders) bibles ...

we kill Inkatha warlords," he was quoted as saying.

"For peace to prevail, we must drive Inkatha warlords out of our areas," he told a rally in Lamontville in 1992.

Also in 1992, Gwala was questioned about rumours that Umkhonto weSizwe guns were being supplied in his region and other war zones.

With typical Gwala flamboyance, he retorted: "I wish this happened. Then we would have wiped out Inkatha."

About the apparent failure of peace efforts and the National Peace Accord in particular,

Gwala said: "These peace efforts have their place. They help to bring together those who are warring. But I can't say they are a solution to the problem ... It's like singing hosannah's, they don't necessarily take us to heaven."

There were allegations within human rights circles that Gwala's region was running hit squad-type training camps and that some opponents had been assassinated.

While most senior leaders of the ANC and other political organisations moved to the tranquil enclaves of erswhile white suburbia, or to exclusive



GOODBYE GWALA . . . Natal midlands ANC chairman Harry Gwala announced his resignation from politics this week.

middle-class black suburbs, Gwala still lives at KwaDambuza in Edendale, in the "Valley of the Widows".

The learned politico was one of the first ANC members to undergo military training in the 60s.

In 1964, Gwala was arrested and charged with treason. He was sent to Robben Island.

When he was released he was restricted for five years. He was again arrested in 1976 and was charged with terrorism and furthering the aims of the ANC. The following year he and four others were sentenced to life im-

prisonment.

During his 19-year stint on Robben Island he was afflicted by a motor-neuron disease which paralysed both his arms.

A senior ANC source said the bespectacled leader's health had been "shaken" by recent developments.

"He is an old man who works tirelessly . . . during the past month he has been very busy and has looked dead on his feet," said the source.

Despite his limp arms, Gwala is still strong and resourceful and works almost round the clock.

Two weeks ago - after

the horrific slaughter of 20 people in one week at Table Mountain - Gwala began blowing the trumpet of peace. Right now he is working at finalising preparations for the first-ever joint Inkatha-ANC rally in the midlands region.

This just weeks after City Press exposed an abortive plot by the ANC NEC, the organisation's most powerful decision-making body, aimed at sidelining Gwala for his radical stance.

Tipped to take over the chairmanship of the region is the equally militant Dr Blade Nzimande.

PAC flee

homes

City Press
in OFS

44193

shanty

(A)
town

By MOSES MAMAILA

FEARFUL things are happening in Ficksburg.

Virtually the entire membership of the PAC in Meqheleng township outside Ficksburg has fled - probably into the Lesotho mountains.

Two weeks ago, in a crackdown on "Apla", the government detained 18 Meqheleng youths. The PAC says it grabbed pupils who were members of the Pan African Students' Organisation (Paso), and not Apla.

City Press visited the beleaguered township and heard about a ruthless security force campaign to wipe out any trace of the PAC.

Tshepiso Mohautse, probably the only "above-ground" PAC member still in the area, told us: "The police arrest pupils who are members of Paso, claiming they are trained Apla guerrillas.

"Most of those detained were high school pupils who were on holiday."

His younger brother, Tefo, was on the run after police had raided his home several times searching for him.

Mohautse said the area was very tense.

He said the police harrassment would only drive youths into Apla's arms.

Community leader Sabata Moyane said the 18 youths had been arrested previously in October following a series of blasts in Ficksburg.

The Paso members were arrested after a house in town was bombed and were released without being charged in November.

However, Moyane suggested the attacks on whites in the area could be the work of Lesotho peasants furious with alleged assaults on their women and children by white Free State farmers.

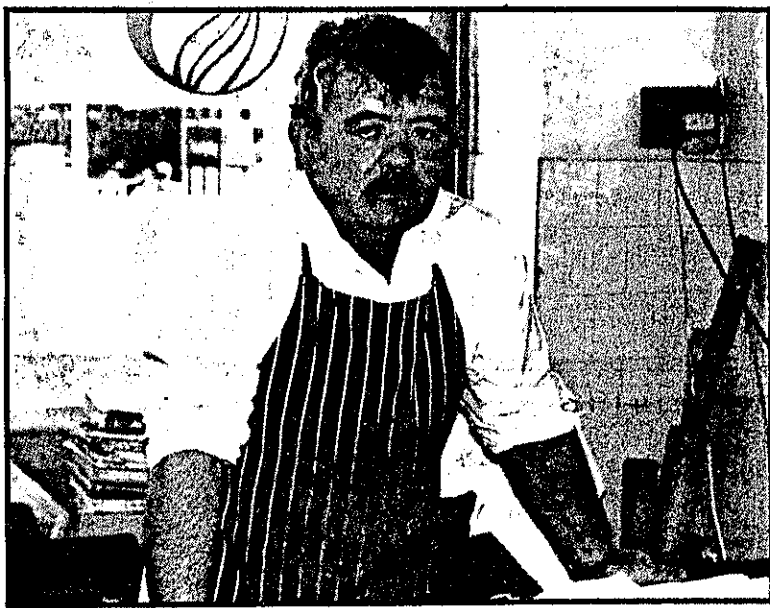
He claimed the farmers assaulted Lesotho people who gathered wood in SA.

Parents of the youths expressed fury over the incarceration of their kids.



PERSECUTED . . .
The PAC's Tshepiso Mohautse (above) won't abandon his township home, while Johannes Koen (right), had his home in town bombed last year. His four kids were traumatised by the blast. Koen says Ficksburg's whites are arming themselves to the hilt.

■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA



CIPRESS 4/4/93
Hani and Tokyo Sexwale 'framed'

THE SACP's central committee has labelled the alleged framing of Chris Hani and Tokyo Sexwale - who have been implicated in armed robberies - as an "election dirty tricks" campaign.

The ANC PWV region and the SACP, backed Inkatha in calling for the Goldstone Commission to investigate the allegations. (11A)

Sexwale, regional chairman of the ANC, and the SACP's general-secretary, are alleged to have masterminded a series of armed robberies in 1991 that netted R1-million for the organisations.

The allegations are a sequel to a statement made to the Rand Supreme Court on Friday in the case of Solomon Mqanqeni and two other accomplices facing charges of armed robbery, and illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

Mqanqeni later escaped from Diepkloof prison over the weekend, police said.

Cut it short, ANC told

By BENSON NTLEMO

A STIR was caused at the funeral of Gazankulu Chief Minister Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi on Friday when the master of ceremonies attached conditions to an ANC official's speech.

Master of ceremonies and Ximoko Progressive Party member S Mzimela told Mr Andrew Mlangeni, speaking on behalf of ANC president Nelson Mandela, not to speak for more than five minutes or make a

political speech. His was also the only speech not translated into Shangaan.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi addressed the 2 000 mourners at Giyani Stadium for more than an hour.

Mr Mandela's message described Professor Ntsanwisi as a born mediator and reconciliator, but ANC supporters held a march earlier this week in protest against his burial at the "heroes' acre" inside the parliamentary grounds.

Scrap councils by July, says ANC

By JAMES BRITTAIN
and DIANA STREAK

THE ANC is pressing for all town and city councils to be scrapped by July. *S Times*

The organisation sees two possible routes for the dismantling of the councils. *4493*

- Either the ANC — and other local government negotiating partners — rely on the national negotiators at the multi-party talks to establish local transitional executive councils cities and towns; or

- If this has not happened by July, the Local Government Negotiating Forum takes matters into its own hands and appoints the transitional executives disregarding the state of national negotiations. *(11A)*

(11A) Other ways

Although not a member of the forum — no political parties are — the ANC is strongly represented by SA National Civic Organisation members.

This was the scenario sketched this week by Mathole Motshekga, the ANC's deputy head of local government.

"As the ANC we don't want to de-link from national negotiations, but the breakdown of services in townships has reached such a crisis point that we may have to take drastic steps," he said.

Cape Town deputy mayor Clive Keegan said the council agreed it should move "as quickly as possible to a non-racial democratic government" but added that "there are other ways of doing it" than those proposed by the ANC.

"There are other electoral systems . . . which should be explored," he said.

GOVERNMENT-ANC DEAL IS AT THE HEART OF NEGOTIATIONS

IT WAS a strange spectacle. Inkatha's Joe Matthews backing communist boss Joe Slovo, the Indian Congress's Firoz Cachalia supporting the government's Tertius Delpont and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa amicably agreeing with everyone.

What was agitating them was a subject so arcane that the nuances escaped most observers: should the issue of the form of the state of the new South Africa be discussed as a separate item or should it be lumped with constitutional principles?

After more than half an hour they agreed on the latter. Such is the nature of our constitutional negotiations — tedious and impenetrable.

But on another level they are also a charade.

At the heart of this involved process is the deal between the government and the ANC which ushers in the first phase of multi-party rule in June, elections in the first half of next year and joint rule by the most powerful parties for five years thereafter.

Struck two months ago, the deal is rarely, if ever, mentioned at the World Trade Centre — the two key players realise that unless all the par-

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT By EDYTH BULBRING

ties are made to feel part of the deal its legitimacy will be questioned and stability will be uncertain.

The task for the government and the ANC in the months ahead is to sell their agreed constitutional settlement to the other parties.

They will attempt to keep all the participants together for as long as possible. But when major problems arise with the smaller parties, and they undoubtedly will arise, the ANC and the government will continue without them, backed by the majority of the parties.

At the World Trade Centre on Thursday the key players made the

breakthrough to the point at which the serious work of selling the ANC-government package could begin.

Having skilfully managed to lock all the parties into a process and achieved agreement on an agenda and body for constitutional talks, the legitimacy of the process has been established.

That body will be known as the negotiating council. All 26 parties participating in the talks will be represented on it and it will meet for four days a week from April 19 until the deal has been wrapped up.

Its work will be conducted in public, reinforcing the perception that the country's future is being negotiated openly and democratically by all the parties.

But the real hard-sell will take place in a 10-person planning committee which will meet daily behind

closed doors to thrash out compromises which can be placed before the public forum.

The ANC and the government want endorsement of their deal before the end of June. That month will see the establishment of the transitional executive council, the body which will effectively oversee the holding of free and fair elections.

It will comprise a member from all the participating parties and will operate in conjunction with the government. In effect, the government will no longer have the unbridled power to do as it pleases.

With the establishment of the TEC, an election date will be set and the parties will begin their campaigns. The government and the ANC want elections to be held before April next year.

For an elected government to rule the country, the existing constitution will have to be amended substantially or replaced to allow a unity government to operate.

This will be done by the Tricameral Parliament at a special parliamentary sitting in September.

The government and the ANC envisage a new parliament comprising all the parties that poll three percent in an election. Both national and regional representatives will be elected on the basis of proportional representation.

The president will be elected by the biggest party and he will choose a cabinet from all the parties that poll five to 10 percent of the vote, in proportion to their representation.

This government of national unity will rule the country for five years under an interim constitution, which

will also contain a bill of rights, while it negotiates a final constitution.

The only limits being placed on the writing of the new constitution are constitutional principles to be agreed in advance by all parties, and that it should be endorsed by two thirds of the members of the new parliament, which will double as a constitution-making body.

Constitutional principles already agreed to include an independent judiciary, a bill of rights, three tiers of democratically elected government with entrenched constitutional powers, a multi-party democracy and the accommodation of the diversity of languages, religions and cultures.

Until multi-racial elections are held, the country will undoubtedly witness incidents of shocking violence orchestrated by elements opposed to a constitutional settlement.

We are also likely to see walkouts by negotiators, grandstanding and deadlocks, even between the two key players. But the deal hammered out by the ANC and the government is on track and unlikely to be diverted.

ST figures 4/4/93

4/8

11A



Star 5/4/93

'Unlock insurance billions to rebuild'

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau



NELSPRUIT — The billions of rands invested in South African insurance companies should be "unlocked" to fund the rebuilding of the country, ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said here.

Speaking at a fund-raising dinner at Nelspruit's Valencia Park hall on Saturday, Mbeki said solutions to the country's investment programme were not international, but local.

"Life for people in squatter camps will not

change and it will not be a matter of manna from heaven once these people have the right to vote," Mbeki said. (11A)

He suggested that rather than invest in shopping complexes and commercial high-rise buildings, insurance companies should utilise accumulated funds for black housing.

Mbeki said South Africa should, at all costs, avoid the situation in which Angola now found itself.

About 60 couples from Nelspruit's business community attended the function.

NEWS No arms found after blockade of Transkei, says ruler

Holomisa to mediate between Apla and SA

Sowetan 5/4/93

TRANSKEI ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa and Azanian Peoples Liberation Army commanders are to hold talks later this month aimed at ending hostilities between Pretoria and Apla.

Holomisa and Apla have confirmed the meeting, scheduled for Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where the PAC military wing has its headquarters.

The meeting follows a series of other meetings between the two since last year.

Holomisa held talks last month with Apla's high command in the homeland's capital Umtata, where mass rallies followed.

Apla's chief Sabelo Phama is said to have also briefed senior officers of the Transkei Defence Force on issues relating to a joint armed force comprising Apla, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SA Defence Force.

■ FORGETFUL GENERALS Liebenberg and Van der Merwe did not investigate Apla:

"I have been talking to Apla about joining the multiparty talks for some time now and this is a process all South Africans have nothing to be afraid of," Holomisa said yesterday.

He said although the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress had been unbanned, members of the SA security forces still regarded PAC and ANC as the enemy.

Holomisa also blamed SA's General Kat Liebenberg and General Johan van der Merwe for the present strained relationships between Transkei and SA.

"I told President FW de Klerk last week that

when rumours of Apla bases in Transkei first surfaced last year, I invited Liebenberg and Van der Merwe to investigate the allegations with impunity from my government.

"The two generals failed to convey my invitation to the SA Government or to undertake such investigations. De Klerk asked them (the generals) at our meeting last week if this was true and they confirmed it," said Holomisa.

Holomisa said the border control posts did not "even yield one bullet, let alone a firearm," being smuggled in and out of Transkei. — *Sapa*.

See Page 7.

Azapo unclear on negotiations

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Azanian People's Organisation's leadership was undecided about joining multi-party talks, a national council meeting at the weekend showed when a moratorium was placed on resolutions about negotiations. *(1/1)*

A special congress is to be held to re-evaluate its position on talks, Azapo president Professor Ithumeleng Mosala said. *CT 5/4/73*

Azapo called for an intensification of the armed struggle through its armed wing, the Azanian Liberation Army. — Sapa

NEWS Historic talks scuppered

Azapo-Govt meeting on ice

Sowetan 5/4/93

■ Organisation's National Council decides to halt contacts with other movements for four weeks:

By Sowetan Reporter

THE Azanian People's Organisation yesterday put a moratorium on contact with other organisations until a special congress is held in four weeks.

The decision, made at the organisation's National Council meeting held in Bloemfontein at the weekend, means that a historic meeting between Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania on the one hand, and the South African Government on the other, scheduled for Gaborone, Botswana, on

Thursday, is off.

The meeting was to discuss the transfer of power from the "regime to the oppressed majority", the date for constituent assembly elections and the quarantining of the security forces, according to Azapo.

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala earlier yesterday confirmed the meeting and said the Botswana government would host and chair the meeting while Zimbabwe's former president, the Reverend Canaan Banana, would mediate.



Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre Mthethellell Mncube was the guest of honour yesterday at a welcome party held for him in Diepkloof. Mncube, in white shirt, is standing next to his wife, Nomsa, in headgear. Mncube was sentenced to death four times in Messina for incidents along the Zimbabwe border.

focus on talks

SUFFICIENT consensus, as opposed to a *decision of the majority*, dominated deliberations when multiparty negotiations resumed or commenced (depending on which side you are) at the 26-party political forum last Thursday.

In spite of the failure — read inability — to reach agreement on the new name to substitute the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, the negotiators decided not to vote on the 11 laid on the table.

Instead, a circular was passed around for the delegates to indicate their choice. This would be referred to the negotiating council composed of 26 delegation leaders for recommendation and firm proposal.

Also contentious is the question of political violence, which was of course tabled and surprisingly disposed of on the first day of the conference. In fact the meeting had been planned for two days but business was concluded on an optimistic note on the first day.

As was expected, Government spokesmen sitting a table away from the South African Communist Party and two from the Pan Africanist Congress, raised the question of the Azanian People's Liberation Army and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

No sparks flew.

This was so despite SACP national chairman Joe Slovo's quick "reminder" to the Government that it was not qualified to point a finger.

Even when PAC information secretary quickly remarked that major signatories of the National Peace Accord (implying the Government, Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress) were violating it, thus rendering it ineffective.

On the other hand, the Conservative Party did not walk out after failing to get backing, or recognition even, for their demand that constitutional negotiations with the PAC and ANC be suspended because Apla and MK were behind "terrorist murders".

The ANC's Thabo Mbeki described the CP's approach as provocative while channelling the rightwingers to accepting the forum's proposal and resolution on how to deal with the question of violence.

This was that violence indeed threatened smooth transition to democracy and that the negotiating council be charged with identifying its source and propose a way forward.

Transkei's presentation on violence by its state law adviser, Mr Zamindlela Titus, was quietly noted despite its aggressive, or rather forceful, tone.

Again, no sparks flew when Titus warned: "We are poised to reveal more details about the South African Government's corruption and plans to silence black opposition."

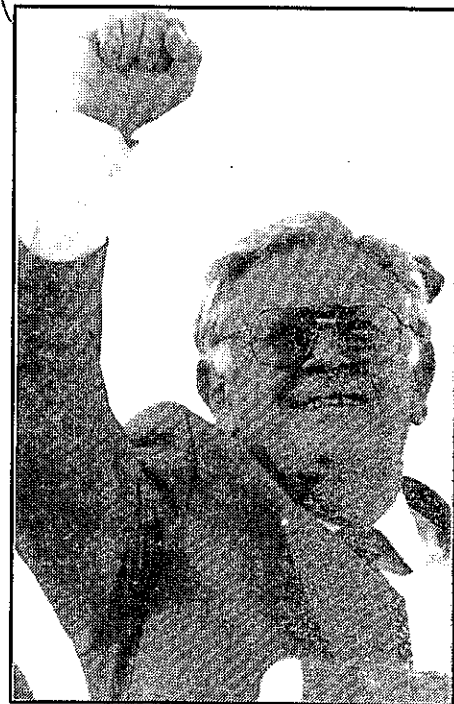
His leader and Transkei's chief negotiator,

Consensus and indeed compromise are the new key words in charting South Africa's constitutional future, political leaders gathering at the World Trade Centre last week discovered. Political Reporter **Themba**

Molefe reports:

(11A) (2/2/93)

Sowetan
5/4/93



Strange bedfellows ... the AVU's Andries Beyers (left) and the SACP's Joe Slovo.

Major-General Bantu Holomisa, and State President FW de Klerk were at that time discussing in Cape Town the impasse between the homeland and Pretoria on violence.

At the end of the day, as the phrase goes, the 26 parties reached sufficient consensus on "the way forward", another phrase to look out for as the process unfolds.

One could not help imagining what was going on in the minds of journalist covering the talks. This entered my mind while watching proceedings at the World Trade Centre.

The conference table is indeed round with delegations forming a full circle on the ground floor of the centre. The Press completes its own round table a floor above.

The ANC delegation is next to the Afrikaner Volksunie. This is because seating is in alphabetical order.

Therefore if and when the Azanian People's

Organisation joins the process, it would flank the rightwing group with the ANC.

The AWB would sit next to Azapo but it is of course unlikely to join.

The SACP and CP hate each other passionately and, given a chance, the CP would be the first to hang the SACP.

It was with such horrifying thoughts in mind that the negotiators came up with a new political lexicon for South Africa and agreed that the country needed sufficient consensus to get out of the morass.

Yes, this decision was reached by the general consensus of the 26 parties when they met to plan the way forward on March 5 and 6.

On April 19 therefore, the country's political leaders will converge once more on the World Trade Centre to cement South Africa's future.

And perhaps announce a date for South Africa's first democratic elections.

C1 Press 513193

Final farewell to Tambo



HAMBE KAHLE ... Daughters Thembi and Tselani Tambo file past the coffin of OR Tambo as he lies in state.

■ Pic: MIKE MZILENI

By ZANELE VUTELA

IT was with dignity and reverence that the body of Oliver Reginald Tambo was brought into St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg to lie in state yesterday.

An ANC choir kept the music flowing, a fitting tribute to a man who was personally responsible for the development of choral music within ANC ranks in exile.

There were poignant moments as old friends and comrades met and embraced, including Nelson Mandela, Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira and Kenneth Kaunda. Father Trevor Huddleston, Tambo's friend for more than 50 years, was led towards the body to give the first prayer.

Tambo will be buried today at a cemetery in Tamboville, Benoni. The funeral service will be held at the FNB Stadium at 8.30 am.

ANALYSIS SAP with red face after 'Apla' debacle and siege of Transkei

Seeing the wood for the trees

■ HIGHWAY AMBUSH Don't point a finger before you have all the facts:

By Mathatha Tsedu

THE announcement at the weekend that two men arrested for the Eikenhof killings 16 days ago were linked to the ANC raises many questions about previous police statements.

What had started as a simple criminal action in which several men hijacked a car and went on a shooting spree, leaving three people dead, was turned into a political outrage that led to Transkei being placed under siege.

Typical of this kind of attack, no motive was initially identified. Then came the news that a schoolbus carrying white children had been the initial target and all hell broke loose.

It started with the attack being "probably" the work of "terrorists" of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the PAC.

Within a day, when PAC leaders said they could not comment on the matter, and following a telephone call to a news agency, the PAC leadership was under siege.

Police spokesmen said the attack bore "the hallmarks" of Apla attacks. And as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging manned its roadblock on a national road in the presence of police, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel flew into Eikenhof, firing from the hip.

The PAC leadership should account for the death of the three people, he said. If they did not distance themselves from the attack, they should then be kicked out of talks.

President FW de Klerk convened an emergency special sitting of all houses of Parliament and let go at the PAC for its "terroristic" attacks.

The Goldstone Commission's report on Apla activities, prompted by another

attack on whites in Queenstown, was released on the same day, reinforcing the State President's attack on the PAC and Transkei.

Goldstone, in a report based largely on police and military witnesses, had found that the Transkei was the nerve centre of Apla activities.

The commission also found that Transkei helped Apla. Transkei and PAC leaders, as well as Apla commanders, refused to testify.

The PAC said its military activities could not be the subject of a commission appointed by an illegitimate regime against whom its operations were directed.

As days went by, the noise about PAC involvement in the attack became deafening. The PAC leadership must come clean, Kriel and his spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, thundered.

But the PAC said it could not confirm nor deny. It however said it was not its policy to attack women and children. This was seen as an egg dance by the media, which, in the heat of the moment, also took the police cue that the attack bore the hallmarks of Apla strategies.

South African Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani got on to the bandwagon and called on the PAC to stop attacks on civilians, adding that this form of attack was not military action but cowardice.

De Klerk then made his move. Saying Transkei was a haven for terrorists, he descended on Transkei with a ring of iron, blockading the bantustan.

The action, in which vehicles to and from Transkei were thoroughly searched, brought memories of the Lesotho blockade which led to a coup and the downfall of Leabua Jonathan.

Then came the arrests of the two suspects and initial police refusal to confirm rumours that the men were linked to the ANC and not the PAC.

Until this weekend, when police eventually confirmed. And now there is talk that the "Casspir diplomacy" at the river Kei may end.

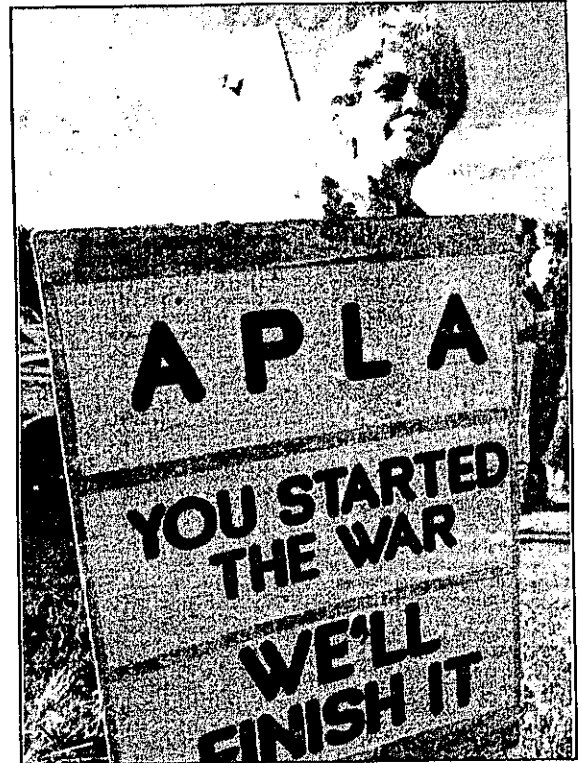
What happened to the Apla hallmarks in this attack as police saw them? The same police force testified before the Goldstone Commission and their evidence was used to reach its conclusions. Conclusions which themselves prompted the gunboat diplomacy in the Eastern Cape.

How reliable was that evidence?

There must be a lesson here for everyone, especially the police and media. And that lesson could be that, until you know who did anything, do not go about accusing people and demanding denunciations.

Because if you do and you are wrong, as police were in this case, you end up with a lot of egg on your face.

But more seriously, you create hardships for innocent people, such as those in Transkei, who suddenly found themselves faced with a border post where none had ever existed before since the birth of the banana republic in 1976.



An AWB protester at the scene of the Eikenhof shootings.

ANC repudiates FW's latest plan for reincorporation

Swelein 5/4/93.
THE African National Congress has denied it supports President FW de Klerk's reported plan to speed up the reincorporation of the nominally independent homelands into South Africa.

In a statement issued on Saturday the ANC said while it was correct that the organisation supported the reincorporation of all the homelands, it was incorrect that the ANC supported President de Klerk's reported proposal for the immediate reincorporation of the homelands.

"Reincorporation into South Africa, after a comprehensive agreement has been reached at the multiparty negotiating forum, has long been the proposal put forward by the ANC," the statement said.

Referendum rejected

According to the ANC this approach had also been repeatedly publicly proposed by both the Transkei and Venda administrations, coupled with a rejection of Pretoria's insistence on a referendum to test public will on reincorporation.

"But the key element of this proposal is reincorporation into a South Africa that has a democratic constitution and not in terms of the existing apartheid constitution."

(NIA) (W) (BDS)
■ End supported but not the method, says ANC:

An international news agency reported that the South African Government wanted the reincorporation of the nominally independent states soon to simplify democracy negotiations.

Homelands warned

Homeland leaders would be warned that they could not expect to take part in the talks on a new constitution if they were not sure of being part of the new dispensation.

The reported plan envisaged cutting off budgetary aid from Pretoria if the homelands did not fall in line.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, reacting to Press reports of the reincorporation plan, said Transkei would "not come back to an apartheid South Africa".

He said the authors were indulging in "wishful thinking" if they believed Transkei would return at the behest of the SA Government, although he remained committed to reincorporation negotiated at the multiparty talks. — *South African Press Association*

We pledge peace, confirms AN C

Sowetan 5/4/93
By Musa Zondi

THE African National Congress and its allies have pledged themselves to creating a climate of "peace, promotion of the principles of political tolerance and political co-existence of different organisations".

This pledge was taken after the organisation's East Rand peace summit which ended in Johannesburg yesterday.

They also decided to strengthen the National Peace Accord by campaigning for signatories to adhere to the provisions of the agreement.

This follows the ANC's proposal to the negotiating forum at the World Trade Centre last Thursday that the Peace Accord be given wider powers to deal with political violence.

It was decided that separate commissions be formed to develop a programme of action around taxi and train violence, mass democratic movement structures, crime, self-defence units, local dispute resolution committees and business,

Commissions to be formed to develop programme of action:

youth and building organisation.

At the summit were delegations from, among others, the ANC, SACP, Cosatu, Sadtu, youth organisations, business organisation and also taxi associations. The summit noted that attempts were being made to delay the transition and "to weaken the liberation movement by all forms of violence" on leaders and communities.

Speedy movement

"We believe only a speedy movement towards the establishment of a true and genuine democracy in our country, will bring about an end to the violence plaguing our people and communities," the statement said.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's secretary for international affairs, said earlier that thousands of AK-47s imported by the South African Gov-

ernment to arm Mozambique's Renamo rebels were coming back into the country, reports Sapa.

Giving the closing address he said the ANC was concerned about a South African repetition of the violence that had erupted in Angola after last year's elections.

More people had died there in the last seven months than in the previous 16 years of civil war, he said.

"The Government imported thousands of AKs to arm Renamo. These are coming back to South Africa."

Mbeki said the ANC was prepared to abide by the decisions of an election.

He also said the ANC was the only organisation that could lead the country into a nonracial and nonsexist society.

Organisations that had stayed out of negotiations had returned because they were not strong enough to stop the process, Mbeki said.

Organisations that called for the continuation of the sports boycott were also unsuccessful.

Holomisa, Apla to talk about peace

SA security forces blamed for Transkei tension

11A
~~102~~
 ARG 5/4/93

JOHANNESBURG. — Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa and Apla commanders are to hold talks this month to try to end hostilities between Pretoria and Apla.

General Holomisa and Apla have confirmed the meeting which is scheduled for Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where the PAC military wing has its headquarters.

General Holomisa last month held talks with Apla's high command in Umtata which were followed by mass rallies.

Apla's chief Sabelo Phama is said to have also briefed senior officers of the Transkei Defence Force on issues relating to a joint armed force comprising Apla, Umkhonto We Sizwe and the South African Defence Force.

"I have been talking to Apla about joining the multiparty talks for some time now and this is a process all South Africans have nothing to be afraid of," General Holomisa said yesterday.

He blamed the present impasse between Transkei and South Africa on disinformation

by members of the South African security forces.

He said that although the PAC and the ANC had been unbanned members of the South African security forces still regarded them as the enemy.

General Holomisa also blamed General Kat Liebenberg and General Johan van der Merwe for the present strained relationships between his country and South Africa.

"I told President De Klerk last week that when rumours of Apla bases in Transkei first surfaced last year, I invited General Liebenberg and General Van der Merwe to investi-

gate the allegations with impunity from my government.

"The generals failed to convey my invitation to the South African government or to undertake such investigations.

"Mr De Klerk asked them (the generals) at our meeting last week if this was true and they confirmed it," said General Holomisa.

General Holomisa denied again that Transkei was harbouring or helping Apla to launch attacks against South Africa, saying his border control posts did not "even yield one bullet, let alone a firearm" being smuggled in and out of Transkei. — Sapa.

Hani wants 'black army' claims probed



Chris Hani

Political Staff

(11A) PRC 5/4/93
SOUTH African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani has proposed that the Goldstone Commission investigate allegations that he and Winnie Mandela were considering forming a "Black People's Army."

The allegations were published yesterday in an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper. It further reported that Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla representatives had met twice earlier this year to establish co-operation.

Mr Hani said: "Any insinuation that I am forming a new army goes against the grain of the National Peace Accord and should be investigated."

He denied attending an alleged meeting between Apla and MK in Transkei.

Referring to speculation in

the report that he and Mrs Mandela wanted to lead a breakaway group from the ANC, Mr Hani said: "I am very happy in the ANC and the party. There is not a single reason for me to form a black people's army. I support Umkhonto we Sizwe and the move to form a single army."

He added that he supported negotiations as a strategy to achieve democracy.

MK chief-of-staff Sphiwe Nyanda denied that a meetings took place between MK and Apla in Transkei in January and Secunda in February.

He denied being present at the Transkei meeting as alleged in yesterday's report.

However, Mr Nyanda said he met his Apla counterpart, Mr Sabelo Phama, at a seminar in Transkei on March 25. The seminar was organised by the Transkei and Venda govern-

ments and was attended by Apla and MK delegations, he said.

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa confirmed that he had met Mr Phama in the homeland when the Apla chief-of-staff was attending a PAC national executive committee meeting.

General Holomisa said he had met Mr Phama once before in Uganda two years ago. He denied setting up a meeting between Apla and the government but said his government was encouraging both the government and the PAC to enter bilateral talks.

Responding to Mr Phama's presence in Transkei, a spokesman for the Ministry of Justice said yesterday: "South Africa only has powers for criminal proceedings on its own territory."

Azapo keeps its ¹¹⁹ talks options open

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Azanian People's Organisation's leadership is still undecided about joining the multiparty talks, it emerged at a national council meeting. *ARG 5/4/93*

A special congress has been scheduled within the next four weeks to re-evaluate its position on talks.

Azapo president Professor Ithumeleng Mosala said his organisation had decided to impose a moratorium on its resolutions about negotiations.

The organisation has also called for an intensification of the armed struggle through its armed wing, the Azanian Liberation Army. — Sapa.

Tanzania agrees to put pressure on PAC

(11/7) (11/7) ADRIAN HADLAND (11/7)

PRETORIA — The Tanzanian government had agreed to put pressure on the PAC to close Apla bases in the country, a diplomatic source said at the weekend.

The agreement follows the visit to Dar-es-Salaam of a senior SA Foreign Affairs official last week in the wake of Goldstone commission disclosures about Apla activities in Tanzania. (11/7) (11/7) 5/10/93

The Goldstone commission found, in its interim report last month on Apla activities, that the majority of Apla members — up to as many as 15 000 — were based and trained in Tanzania. Tanzanian government officials had said they would seek the support of the OAU to close down the Apla military camps and put pressure on the PAC, the source said.

Foreign Affairs deputy director Wolf Rothkegel said although his trip to Tanzania had been planned before the Goldstone disclosures, the question of Apla camps had been among issues that were discussed.

Tanzanian officials had been informed about the state of negotiations in SA, violence and Apla activities, Rothkegel said.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports Transkei ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and Azanian People's Liberation Army commanders are to hold talks later this month aimed at ending hostilities between Pretoria and Apla.

Holomisa and Apla have confirmed the meeting, scheduled for Dar-es-Salaam.

Holomisa held talks last month with Apla's high command in Umtata.

Holomisa yesterday blamed the SADF's Gen Kat Liebenberg and SAP Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe for the present strained relationship between his country and SA.

"I told President F W de Klerk last week that when rumours of Apla bases in Transkei first surfaced last year, I invited Gen Liebenberg and Gen Van der Merwe to investigate the allegations with impunity from my government.

"The two generals failed to convey my invitation to the SA government or to undertake such investigations."



US President Bill Clinton, left, and Russian President Boris Yeltsin take a walk at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver on Saturday. Picture: AP

Frontline states set up SA mission

HARARE — The Frontline states had established a joint "resident mission" in SA, Frontline states chairman and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe said at the close of a one-day summit of the group in Zimbabwe on Friday.

The mission, established a week earlier, would work alongside the liberation movements "to analyse all the forces at play so that we may together find a way forward to the democratic and peaceful state of affairs we all yearn for, both in that area and in our region as a whole", he said.

Diplomatic sources believe the mission has temporary premises in Johannesburg and paves the way for the eventual establishment of formal diplomatic ties still shunned by Zimbabwe, Tanzania and the more militant of SA's black neighbours who only recently dropped calls for continued international boycotts.

The meeting, joined by ANC and PAC leaders Nelson Mandela and Clarence Mak-

MICHAEL HARTNACK

wetu, said continuing violence threatened the SA democratic process.

The leaders reiterated their demand President that President F W de Klerk's government fulfil its responsibility to maintain law and order, and appealed to all political parties "to contribute to the creation of a tolerant climate".

Disunity "among the representatives of the oppressed majority" continued to compromise their efforts in the quest for a new SA, while violence haunted society and disrupted the search for a new order.

Delegates called on the UN to send an additional inspection team to SA to verify its nuclear weapon capability had been destroyed.

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said Frontline state leaders believed full disclosure of SA's nuclear activities had not been made.

Govt, ANC working on homelands deal

~~11/9~~ ~~20/9~~ ~~20/9~~ BILLY PADDOCK ~~20/9~~
GOVERNMENT and the ANC have set in motion concerted efforts to persuade the nominally independent homelands to accept a transformation from "independence" to self-governing status prior to the first round of elections in a year's time. *B10M 5/4/95*

The key to resolving this problem would be progress in negotiations on regionalism and security of tenure of political heads and officials under a new dispensation.

A senior government source said yesterday the approach to Bophuthatswana was different to that being employed with the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda. Venda and the Transkei were "reasonably keen to come back into the fold" but Bophuthatswana was more difficult.

Officials and politicians in Bophuthatswana had a great deal more to lose than those in the other administrations.

However, despite Venda and the Transkei having committed themselves to reincorporation, they would not move and the ANC would not accept it if Bophuthatswana was not treated equally.

The government source said it was very difficult to persuade Mangope's administration to accept reincorporation prior to elections. But he said the evaluation the territory had done on the viability of non-reincorporation had surprised Mangope considerably.

It had gone a long way to show that the territory really could not go it alone. Government was in regular discussion with the homeland to convince it that the advantages of reincorporation far outweighed any disadvantages and that to remain separate was virtually a guarantee of economic and social collapse.

The government source said the major exercise was going to be the negotiations over regionalism. He said the ANC was already contributing largely to settling nervousness through regular discussions with the homeland leaders and shifting, not only their position on regionalism but also their language: "Instead of marching on Bop they are talking."

Ciskei, which appeared to be backing off its earlier commitment to reincorporation, would be easier to convince, especially if Bophuthatswana was moving towards acceptance.

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6/10/93 5/4/93

Impartiality pledge (1/18)

AN ANC-appointed commission of inquiry into alleged human rights abuses in the organisation's camps in Africa is confident its findings will be impartial. Chairman Sam Motsuenyane said at the weekend the commission would try to establish "who did what". Former Zimbabwe Supreme Court judge David Zamchiya and former US judge Margaret Burnham would assist him.

Key to power lies in the regions

Wimani 8/4-15/4/93

By CHRIS LOUW

THE division of South Africa into political regions promises to be one of the more complex problems to be solved by the multi-party conference which resumes at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park this month.

The African National Congress and the National Party both regard regional politics as the key to power. That is where the agreement ends, however. They hold very different opinions of the boundaries, the number and the powers of these regions.

To compound the problem the present provincial and homeland administrations will have to be accommodated. It is impossible, at a stroke of a pen, to replace these established infrastructures. The new regional structures lack administrative capabilities and it will take time to set them up.

It is quite possible, therefore, that the provincial and homeland administrations may be run in their present form for another two years — concurrent with the Government of National Unity and Reconstruction (GNUR) which will flow out of the con-

stituent assembly — while the new regional structures are being established.

Selling the concept to the likes of kwaZulu's Mangosutho Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope may prove an enormous stumbling block in the months to come. And how these regions will look, will also be the topic of some tough negotiations.

The NP has, in the past week, publicly adjusted its proposal of seven regions designed to accommodate the country's ethnic divisions, to "anything between five to nine regions". The party believes that, together with its allies, it can win some of these regions from the ANC in an open election. And why the NP is strongly in favour of a greater autonomy for regional governments is because it will ensure that an ANC-dominated central government will not have too much power.

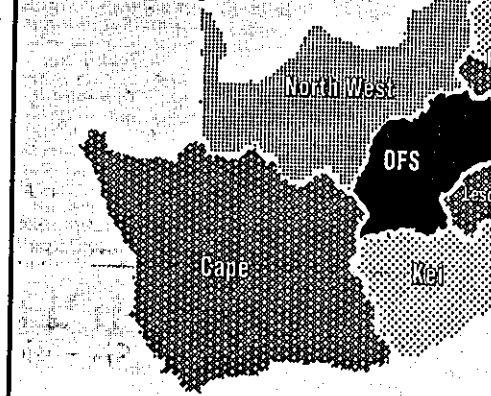
The ANC, on the other hand, wants a strong central government with concurrent and overriding jurisdiction in the regions. It proposes "no more than 10 regions", based on the Development Bank of Southern Africa's map.

Both the ANC and the NP have accepted that a delimitation commission be appointed by the multi-party conference to give advice on the boundaries, the powers and functions, new constitutional structures and the fiscal relations between the regions and central government. And they have accepted that they will have to compromise; the ANC especially is adamant that disagreement over boundaries should not delay elections.

The multi-party conference is likely to decide on a set of principles to apply to regions and the issue will then be referred to the delimitation commission.

According to ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj, when addressing the Patriotic Front conference in Lenasia two weeks ago, the boundaries and powers of the regions can only be changed with a two-third majority in separate votings among the 200 national and the 200 regional representatives respectively. This mechanism was decided upon to alleviate the fears of regional leaders that their powers may be taken away from them by a simple majority vote.

NP plan for seven regions



Proposed regions ... The National Party's seven region propose

Cape Town — a city

Restructuring local government in the Cape Peninsula

“The new dispensation that is proposed gives Cape Town the chance to create a system of local and metropolitan governance which enjoys legitimacy and the support of all the peoples of Cape Town.

“It has been developed in a spirit of vision and courage and seeks to make Cape Town a truly great city, offering stability, prosperity and quality of life to all its peoples.”

Clive Keegan, deputy mayor of Cape Town and chairman of the *ad hoc* Constitutional Affairs Committee.

The Executive Committee of the Cape Town City Council appointed an *ad hoc* Constitutional Affairs Committee to investigate ways in which local government can be restructured to accommodate political change and at the same time ensure a stable and well-run Greater Cape Town area, which will provide the springboard for greater economic growth in the region.

The Constitutional Affairs Committee's proposal is the most detailed of its kind to have been prepared by any South African local authority to date and represents Cape Town's position on local government in future negotiations.

Some of the main recommendations made by the Constitutional Affairs Committee are the following:

Two-tier system for Greater Cape Town

It is recommended that the Greater Cape Town area be run on a two-tier system which would unite the present 69 local authorities into a single non-racial entity serving all the people of Cape Town.

Local government would then operate at two levels. The first would be a *metropolitan authority*, which would be an integral part of local government and not an independent level between central and local government; and a system of lower level *primary local authorities*.

The Metropolitan Authority would co-ordinate crucial development policies for Greater Cape Town in such areas as transport, land use, low-cost housing and the impact of development on the environment. Special Purpose bodies, democratically controlled by the Metropolitan Authority and accountable to the public, would be established to manage each of these specific areas of responsibility.

One city, one tax base

The two-tier system would be the most efficient option for the one city, one tax base principle according to which income is pooled and then redistributed in accordance with community needs.

The *metropolitan authority* would be the principal taxing authority with responsibility to pool and redistribute funds across the region, while the *primary local authorities* would retain an adequate taxing capacity. The *primary local authorities* would, however, have the powers to provide local services and services of a higher standard than the minimum set for the metropolitan area. The latter could, for example, include more frequent refuse collection, maintenance of grass verges etc.

Abolishing the Western Cape RSC

The Committee recommends that the Western Cape Regional Services Council, a remnant of the Apartheid sys-

tem, be dissolved and all its functions and that derives be transferred to the Metropolitan Authority. Two bodies to exist alongside each other would conflict and dilute the impact of metropolitan aimed at reconciliation.

Who gets the vote

Under the proposed new system the present franchise qualifications, linked to property ownership will be abolished. Instead, all persons of 18 and older, with a 5 citizenship and permanent residence in the area will be eligible to vote.

Residents include tenants, family members, temporary residents (such as university students) and persons occupying informal housing and squatter settlements. The voting rights of fictitious persons, widows, businesses and even deceased and insolvent estates will be abolished. (Such voting rights do not exist in South Africa anymore).

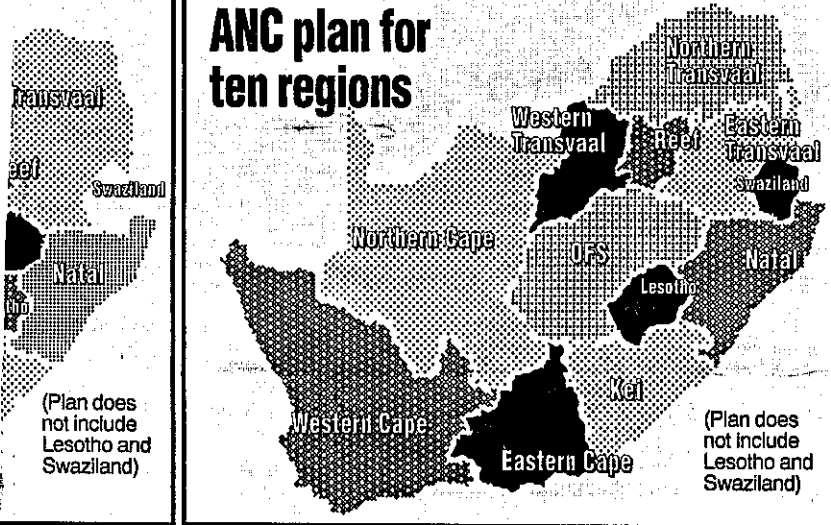
The Constitutional Committee believes that the proposed system offers greater opportunities for public participation and greater access to the decision-making process. The franchise of traditional voters to mobilise opinion at Council decisions will in no way be diminished by extending the franchise it would be giving



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ANC plan for ten regions



ANC slices up South Africa – and PW smiles

WHEN the boundaries of South Africa's regional governments are decided, former state president PW Botha will be excused a smug smile at his retirement home in the Wilderness. Chances are that the country's final regional map will show a remarkable resemblance to the "development regions" which resulted from Botha's Carlton and Goede Hoop conferences in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

The acceptance of regional government represents a major shift in African National Congress thinking. Until quite recently regional government was rejected as "a ploy by the regime" to weaken the powers of a democratic government in favour of "the creation of disguised National Party-dominated homelands".

Hardly any mention is made of regions in the ANC's constitutional guidelines of 1987 or its Harare Declaration of 1989 — the basis from which the ANC started the present negotiations with the government.

Now it has come full circle in accepting the NP's proposals of September 1991 that the development regions used by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) be used as the basis for negotiations. The NP, ironically, has since adjusted its own map and scaled it down to seven regions.

Long hours of behind-the-scenes discussions, many braais with Afrikaner businessmen, late night drinks with senior NP members, meetings with representatives of the DBSA and two Codedas helped precipitate the change in ANC policy.

In NP circles there has been a "quiet pride" that the ANC was persuaded to abandon its insistence on a unitary state with virtually all power in the hands of central government. It is still seen as a major breakthrough and a compliment to the NP's smooth-talkers for their negotiation skills.

The change in policy, of course, cannot fully be explained in these simplistic terms. The acceptance of a regional dispensation followed major pressure from the ANC rank-and-file who, during the years of struggle, came to realise that different regions had very different interests to protect. The ANC-in-exile, up to then responsible for policy-making, lacked the experience of the internal struggle. From a distance things seemed much less complicated.

On their return, the exiles were quick to learn — and equally quick to accept — the validity of grassroots argument that a country as vast as South Africa could not effectively be governed from the centre. Without access to state resources they lacked the capacity, knowledge and infrastructure to establish the boundaries of an economically viable regional dispensation.

What they proposed was a plan in which, among others, Chris Heunis' former Department of Constitutional Development and Planning had a hand in during the days of "plural development" and "total onslaught".

The initiator of this regional plan was none other than former prime minister PW Botha. The "development regions" were a direct result of the Good Hope and Carlton conferences, designed to draw the private sector into development plans.

The regions which the ANC have now "inherited", and will probably submit to the multi-party conference, have their origin in the first efforts of the NP government to move away from its apartheid policies.

It took months of braais and late night drinks for the African National Congress to be persuaded to shift from its demand for a unitary state to accepting the NP's idea of dividing South Africa into regional governments.

By **CHRIS LOUW**

In 1975 the Office of the Prime Minister formulated its first national development plan. South Africa was divided into 44 planning regions based on existing magisterial districts. These districts were later grouped into eight development regions. In 1983, shortly after the Good Hope conference, a ninth region was added, separating the western Transvaal from the northern Cape.

In 1982, Constitutional Development's division of development regions was taken over by the DBSA, originally an apartheid institution intended to service the homelands. Under the leadership of the verligte Dr Simon Brand the DBSA slowly outgrew its apartheid past, but still found it difficult to establish legitimacy among progressive black organisations.

Using Constitutional Development's regional divisions was a way for the DBSA to shift from the homeland concept in determining their aid-assistance priorities.

When the ANC was unbanned in February 1990, its leadership was forced almost overnight to abandon its revolutionary rhetoric for the language of pragmatism. It quickly learned that it did not have the expertise and knowledge to come to grips with a country as complex and technologically as advanced as South Africa.

Interviewed last week, head of the ANC's constitutional and law department Zola Skweyiya corroborated the pragmatic changes the organisation had to undergo. "While we were in exile, we mainly kept contact with the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vaal area. When we drew up our constitutional principles in 1987, very little attention was given to regions and local government. But during the late 1980s other regions apart from the PWV started reaching out to us while we were in Lusaka. When we came back from exile, it was with the realisation that a regional policy had to be worked out."

Tough discussions followed, with civics from platteland areas consistently asking that the regional divisions should not exclude them in favour of the urban areas. At first, 32 regions were proposed by platteland representatives, mostly from the western Cape. It was later reduced to 16 regions, the main argument against their plans being that too many regional administrations would be unaffordable.

At a meeting two weeks ago the 16 region map was rejected on the same grounds. No official decision was taken to adopt the 10 region map as ANC policy, but it can be expected that this will form the basis of the regional proposals the organisation will submit to the all-party conference in Kempton Park.

It can also be accepted that the regional dispensation decided on by a delimitation commission appointed by the multi-party conference will be largely based on the map that was the result of PW Botha's initiative.

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ously denied the vote, many of whom are making an active contribution to Cape Town through their labour, an articulated voice and a share in the decision-making process.

Being accountable to the public

A set of stringent mechanisms, including a code of ethics and the close scrutiny of the books of account by the Auditor-General, would ensure that Council members would be accountable to the general public, their wards, political parties and local interest groups.

New boundaries for metropolitan Cape Town

New boundaries must be set for the Greater Cape Town area, that take into account not only technical considerations (such as topography which can affect the way in which services are provided), but also political, social and economic factors.

Taxation

Valuation for the purpose of determining property taxes should be streamlined and simplified. Until a national decision is taken on property taxation of black local authority areas, site and services charges should be levied. Similar charges should be applied in informal settlement and squatter areas. The Metropolitan Authority would also determine an annual uniform property tax.

pe Town City Council

of the full report are available from the Relations Officer, P O Box 298, Cape Town 8000 phone (021) 400-3237.

Star 514193

No truth in breakaway army, says Hani

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

11A
SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani has proposed that the Goldstone Commission investigate allegations that he and Winnie Mandela were considering forming a "Black Peoples' Army".

The allegations were published yesterday in an Afrikaans newspaper. It also said Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla representatives had met twice this year to establish co-operation.

Hani said: "Any insinuation that I am forming a new army goes against the grain of the National Peace Accord and should be investigated by the

Goldstone Commission."

He denied attending an alleged meeting between Apla and MK in Transkei.

Referring to speculation in the report that he and Mandela wanted to lead a breakaway group from the ANC, Hani said: "I am very happy in the ANC and the party. There is not a single reason for me to form a black peoples' army."

MK chief of staff Sipiwe Nyanda denied meetings took place between MK and Apla in Transkei in January and Secunda in February. He denied being at the Transkei meeting.

But he said he met his Apla counterpart, Sabelo Phama, at a seminar in Transkei on March

25 organised by the Transkei and Venda governments.

Transkei military ruler Major General Bantu Holomisa last night confirmed he had met Phama in the homeland when Phama was attending a PAC national executive committee meeting.

Holomisa said he was asked in his meeting last Thursday with De Klerk whether Phama had been in Transkei. "I replied that Apla was unbanned, it is his home, and he is free to visit unconditionally."

He might meet Phama in Dar es Salaam as part of their ongoing talks but the meeting had not yet been confirmed, Holomisa said.

Car killing suspect wants torture guarantee

JOHANNESBURG. — One of two suspects still sought in connection with the shooting of three occupants of a car near Eikenhof, south of here last month, would hand himself in to police if they guaranteed he would not be tortured, the ANC said yesterday.

ANC Witwatersrand official Mr Obed Bapela said Mr Zipo Samuel,

29, wanted to hand himself over to the ANC and police to prove his innocence but would do so only if he had assurances police would not torture him. CT 6/4/93

Mr Bapela said the two suspects so far arrested, Mr Sphiwe James Bholo, 24, and Mr Titi Ndweni, 19, had both alleged police had tortured them in Weikom, where they

were arrested.

He said Mr Samuel's parents had approached the ANC with their son's offer in the Meyerton Magistrate's Court, where Mr Bholo and Mr Ndweni appeared yesterday on murder and attempted murder charges in connection with the killings.

Mr Bapela said preliminary ANC

investigations showed that none of the four suspects were card-carrying ANC members or trained uMkhonto we Sizwe soldiers.

However, he said Mr Bholo, Mr Ndweni, Mr Samuel and the fourth suspect, Mr Vincent Tefo — who has not yet been arrested — were members of the Evaton Self-Defence Unit.

The matter had been handed over to the ANC head office, which would approach Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel.

Mr Bapela said none of the three witnesses called to an identity parade yesterday could identify the two suspects as having been at the scene of the Eikenhof shootings. — Sapa

Eikenhof attack suspect 'is ready to give up'

FRCT 6/4/93

11A

JOHANNESBURG. — One of the two suspects being sought in connection with the gun attack which killed three occupants of a car near Eikenhof, south of Johannesburg, last month, has offered to hand himself over to the police.

ANC Witwatersrand region deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela said 29-year-old Mr Zipo Samuel Gavin's parents had approached the ANC in the Meyerton Magistrate's Court yesterday, where two suspects

appeared in connection with the killings.

Mr Bapela said preliminary ANC investigations showed none of the four suspects was a card-carrying member of the ANC or a trained member of the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

However, Mr Bapela said the two who appeared in court on murder and attempted murder charges yesterday — Mr Siphwe James Bholo, 24, and Mr

Titi Ndweni, 19, — and the two suspects still on the run, Mr Samuel and Mr Vincent Tefo, were members of the Evaton Self-Defence Unit.

Mr Bapela said the ANC had established that Mr Samuel and Mr Tefo had left the country for MK military training when the ANC was unbanned in 1990, but had never received it.

"They got as far as a refugee camp in Dukwe, Botswana, but it was at the time when the

ANC had stopped military training and they were sent back to South Africa," he said. Mr Bapela said Mr Samuel's parents told him their son was willing to hand himself over to the ANC and to the police to prove his innocence, but was only willing to do so if police could guarantee he would not be tortured.

He said Mr Bholo and Mr Ndweni alleged police had tortured them in Welkom, where they were arrested. —Sapa.



ROAD TO A DREAM

STICK A PIC



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THE PROFESSIONAL NURSERYMEN WHO CARE

EASTER HOLIDAY
IN AUNT CALE

CSA
OUTERS

Apla 'gunning for children'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

APLA'S leadership backed the killing of innocent schoolchildren because the PAC's military wing wanted "to strike at whites where it would hurt them most", the government claimed yesterday.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in a sharply-worded diplomatic note to the Transkei that this chilling message had been conveyed to units of the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) and police by Apla commander Mr Sabelo Phama at a recent briefing with the homeland's security services.

The note, dated April 4 and delivered yesterday, also contained an official objection to the Transkei authorities' allowing Apla to make such threats.

In an earlier diplomatic note, dated April 2, from the Transkei government to Pretoria, Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa said the Apla commander had addressed units of the TDF "in line with a standing policy allowing leaders occupying a position similar to his to make themselves available for briefings from time to time".

However, Mr Botha said the South African government had information

that when Mr Phama was asked during the briefing why Apla had killed innocent schoolchildren, he had responded that Apla wanted "to strike at whites where it would hurt them most".

Mr Botha added pointedly that the reincorporation of Transkei was "imminent".

However, there were indications that relations between South Africa and Transkei might be on the mend.

One was the welcoming by South Africa of Transkei's decision to support co-operation between Transkei Chief Justice Beck and Mr Justice Goldstone in the proposed Transkei Commission of Inquiry into Apla.

● Last night Mr Phama went public, saying in an interview on TV1 that 1993 was "The Year of the Great Storm" and Apla did not want the oppression of blacks to extend beyond the year 2000.

● Transkei yesterday released draft terms of reference for a commission to inquire into the activities of Apla in the homeland.

The commission's draft terms of reference include a probe into the military training of the AWB and the Wit Wolwe and the recent cross-border raids into Transkei by members of the AWB.

Mayor to speak on Founders' Day

CT 6/4/93 Staff Reporter

MAYOR Mr Frank van der Velde is to address the annual Founders' Day ceremony in the city today — in contrast to last year when the council called off the event.

The Jan van Riebeeck Foundation is to host the ceremony in the city centre.

The council, in calling off the ceremony last year, said it was "divisive to focus on a one-sided, Euro-centric founding of Cape Town".

A navy spokesman said last night two Naval 21-gun salutes would be fired at noon today to celebrate Founders' Day.

This year a compromise has been reached after talks between the foundation and the mayor. The foundation is to host the event and Mr Van der Velde is to be the guest speaker.

The ceremony is to be held at the Jan van Riebeeck statue on the Foreshore at 10.30am. If the weather is unsuitable, the ceremony will be moved to the concourse level of the Civic Centre.

Royal trio 'legit'

VATICAN CITY. — The Vatican said yesterday Pope John Paul II had ruled Princess Caroline's three children legitimate, opening the way for her sons' possible succession to the throne of the tiny Catholic principality of Monaco.

The children, two boys and a girl, were born of her seven-year civil marriage to Mr Stefano Casiraghi, an Italian businessman who was killed in a speedboat accident in 1990.

Caroline married Mr Casiraghi in

1983, a year after Philippe Junot.

Her first marriage was annulled a year by the Vatican. She had requested the Pope to leave her free to marry if she wished.

In a brief statement, the Pope said he had ruled on February 2 that the children were legitimate.

Princess Caroline's youngest brother, Prince Albert, is the heir to the throne.

BUSINESS BRIEF

COLOUR ENLARGERS

FREE

NEWS Police criticised

ANC denies meeting Apla

Sowetan 7/4/93

(11A)

■ Doubts raised on police neutrality:

THE African National Congress has denied claims by a Law and Order Ministry spokesman that senior NEC members met the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army in Transkei and Zambia this year.

In a statement on Monday, the ANC said Captain Craig Kotze's statement "belies the claimed neutrality of the police.

"Not only are the statements inaccurate but they clearly form part of a propaganda offensive against the ANC and MK."

The ANC denied that Chris Hani, Sphiwe Nyanda and Harry Gwala met Apla without a mandate from the NEC.

The statement said the three remained committed to the negotiations process as directed by the NEC and had at no stage attempted to undermine it.

The statement said it was ironic the allegation came after Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel's statements against MK in parliament last week. — *Sapa*.

Botswana meeting ● Five held over Vaal killings

ANC man shelters at police station

THE African National Congress chairman of Brown's Farm squatter camp in Philippi, Cape Town, has sought refuge at a police station.

Mr Christopher Toise was detained and held for questioning on Sunday in connection with illegal firearms but was later released. *Sowetan 7/4/93*

Toise and about 60 of his supporters have since fled the farm and have been camping out on the grounds of the Nyanga police station after an attack on their homes by

■ Squatter camp leader and supporters flee their homes after attack: (11A)

their opponents on Sunday night. The attackers have accused Toise of "dictatorship". (225)

In another happening at Brown's Farm, a man was yesterday found stoned to death. Police said the body of a man in his late 20s was found almost buried in stones, his skull crushed by a large rock. — Sapa. (225)

Now Mandela admits violence

Soweto 7/4/93.

■ KILLING CONDEMNED ANC boss 'not

11A

prepared to blame only Inkatha and Nat Party':

By Josias Charle

THE president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, has admitted that certain members of his organisation were involved in violence and has called for political tolerance.

Speaking at the reburial of ANC guerilla Mr Solomon "Kalushi" Mahlangu in Mamelodi yesterday, Mandela urged women to be in the forefront in condemning the use of violence by ANC members.

"The killers of innocent people are not advancing our struggle for democracy any further.

"And I can tell you that our members are also involved and I strongly criticise their role," he said.

Mandela added that he was not prepared to blame only the Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Party for the violence.

Those involved in the senseless killings were "animals", Mandela said.

He paid tribute to Mahlangu, saying it was through the efforts of people like him that nego-

tiations were now on.

Mahlangu was hanged on April 6 1979 in Pretoria after being convicted on two counts of murder in which two whites were killed in Johannesburg.

The remains of Mahlangu were dug up early yesterday from the Atteridgeville cemetery where he was given a pauper's funeral by the Department of Prisons exactly 14 year ago.

They were placed in a new coffin draped in ANC colours and transported to his hometown, Mamelodi, escorted by a large convoy of cars and buses carrying young ANC supporters.

In Mamelodi a rally addressed by Mandela and other top ANC leaders was held at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square and thereafter he was buried in the Mamelodi cemetery.

Also present at the rally were former ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief commander Mr Joe Modise, president of the ANC Women Women's League Mrs Gertrude Shope, president of the ANC Youth League Mr Peter Mokaba and ANC NEC member Mr Thomas Nkobi and KwaNdebele Chief Minister Prince James Mahlangu.

NEWS Reaction to report in *Sowetan* or

No agreement yet on meeting

■ But negotiations between BCMA and the State are continuing:

Sowetan 7/4/93 *11A*
THE exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania will not be meeting the South African Government in Botswana tomorrow.

In a telephone interview from Harare yesterday, BCMA secretary-general Mr Jairus Mpotseng Kgokong said no agreement had been reached on the meeting yet but negotiations were continuing.

He was reacting to a report in *Sowetan* on Monday in which Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala was quoted as saying the Botswana government would host and chair the meeting while former Zimbabwe president, the Reverend Canaan Banana, was scheduled to mediate.

Mosala confirmed the Botswana meeting following Azapo's national council meeting in Bloemfontein at the weekend, at which the organisation decided to put joining the multiparty talks on hold.

"We are not aware of any meeting between us and Azapo on the one hand and the South African government on the other

hand scheduled for Gaborone, Botswana, tomorrow," said Kgokong.

He said a suitable date for the talks still had to be worked out between representatives of the South African Government and the organisations' facilitator, the Anglican Archbishop of Central Africa, Archbishop Walter Makhulu.

He added that Makhulu was still negotiating with the Botswana government to host the talks.

"The matter has not yet been finalised," said Kgokong.

His organisation would not be party to the current multiparty talks.

"As far as the multiparty talks are concerned, we wish to make it clear that the BCMA will have nothing to do with them. We don't feel we are going to miss out on anything," he said.

Kgokong said there was no fundamental difference in the current multiparty talks and the previous Codesa meetings.

● See page 26.

**Scrutiny of
Apla aid**

TANZANIAN authorities said they would examine assistance to the Pan Africanist Congress, a South African Foreign Affairs official said on his return from Tanzania.

Wolf Rothkegel, deputy director responsible for relations with, among other countries, Tanzania, said on Monday the topic was raised during discussions with his Tanzanian counterparts. — Sapa.

Sowetan 7/6/93

(CIA)

Sisulu calls for party discipline

■ DET sends security guards for memorandum: *Sowetan*

By Musa Zondi

7/4/93

AFRICAN National Congress deputy president, Mr Walter Sisulu, yesterday called on the party faithful to be disciplined during one of the marches commemorating the anniversary of Solomon Mahlangu.

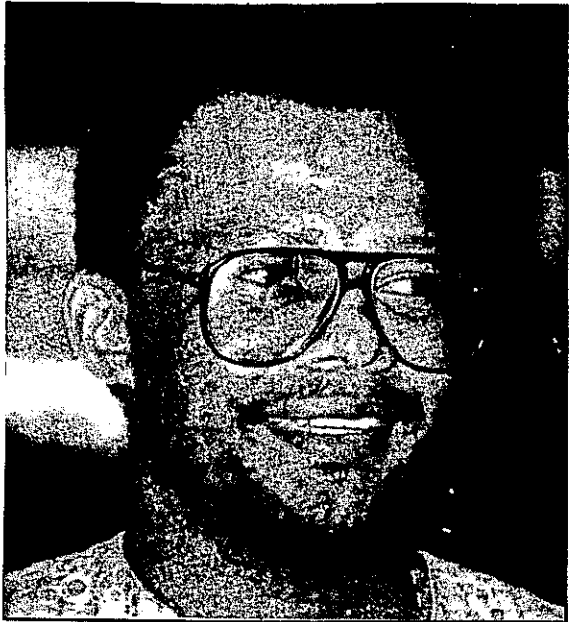
Speaking at Rockville yesterday, Sisulu said this was an important day since Mahlangu was the first guerilla to fall inside the country. He added that Mahlangu was a "symbol of unity for heroes and heroines" who have fallen in the struggle.

"Militancy does not mean being rowdy," Sisulu said.

The march, organised by the ANC Youth League, South African Democratic Teachers Union and the Congress of South African Students was also to present a memorandum to the Department of Education and Training at the Jabulani UBC offices.

The department sent security guards to receive the memorandum. The marchers refused to pass it on to the guards.

The organisers were demanding, among other things, a living wage for teachers, the scrapping of examination fees and the establishment of a National Education Negotiating Forum.



Professor Itumeleng Mosala ... decision needs the mandate of congress.



Mpotse Kgokong ... to head the BCMA delegation.



Don Nkadameng ... to head Azapo delegation.

Azapo agonises over negotiations

THE CALLING off of talks between the Government and the Azanian Peoples Organisation indicates a serious difference of opinion among members with regard to talks with the Government.

The talks, which were due to take place soon in Botswana, were called off at an Azapo national council in Bloemfontein at the weekend.

The groups due to meet were Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania on the one hand and the South African Government on the other.

About 400 delegates at Azapo's council resolved to call a special congress within four weeks to revise Azapo's position on talks.

This call for a special congress comes only four months after a biennial congress held in November last year.

Since the 1990 Shareworld congress, Azapo has declared that it is not opposed to negotiations in principle, a position reiterated by the organisation's president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, in his State of the Nation address.

But it seems delegates have differing interpretations of this concept, thereby prompting the call for a special congress to look into negotiations politics.

In case the forthcoming congress decides to close the door on negotiations, whether bilateral or multilateral, what

TALKS OPTION Congress delegates

divided over Botswana meeting with the Government:

would be Azapo's option?

The answer could be found in Mosala's words at a Press conference at the end of the council when he called on the Azanian National Liberation Army, the military wing of the BCMA, to intensify the armed struggle until "black people's land and economy are liberated".

And this sums up the majority feeling among the Azapo delegates who attended.

In their songs and slogans they called on all black youths to swell the ranks of Azania and confront the "enemy".

According to Mosala, the multiparty talks represent the reverse order of doing things.

The correct way would have been for participants to have obtained a mandate from black people, through elections, so that those who sit to deliberate on the future of the nation are those who have a mandate to do so.

Asked if Azapo will not be overtaken by events or if the multiparty partici-

pants will have the patience to wait for the organisation's special congress, Mosala said:

"Of concern to us is whether all the Codesa participants will be able to catch up with Azapo.

"We are in the hearts and minds of our people and that's why we are the fastest growing movement in the country."

The next four weeks are bound to be hectic as the differing views jostle for support within the organisation.

The organisation has always described the ongoing multilateral talks as a "Muzorewa option", a reference to the Zimbabwean experience when the settler regime co-opted blacks into the government while retaining control.

Delegates say they will go back to their constituencies to frustrate what they call the "Muzorewa option".

They say they are not "interested in becoming the 27th party at the multiparty talks".

They insist that homeland parties at

the talks are FW de Klerk's henchmen and there is no purpose in talking to them.

Azapo delegates say they prefer a bipolar arrangement at the negotiations with the liberation movements on one side of the table and the Government on the other.

It is this position that seems to rule out the possibility of Azapo ever joining the multiparty talks as the present participants, especially the ANC and PAC, are unlikely to succumb to such a deal because they are already talking with the bantustans.

The demand for the removal of bantustans from talks led to Azapo being kicked out of the plenary session of the Patriotic United Front in 1991.

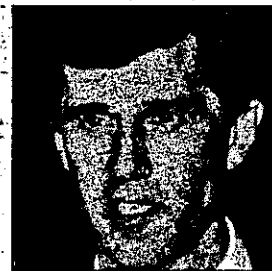
Azapo still insists on what it calls a "true patriotic front of patriots" who would gang up against the Government.

The Azapo-BCMA and South African Government meeting, which is being arranged by facilitator Archbishop Khoso Makhulu of Botswana, is believed to be still on track.

Insiders say the meeting will definitely go ahead.

But sources yesterday said tomorrow's date was premature as arrangements are still being made with "interested parties".

According to Azapo, the meeting will focus on:



Roelf Meyer ... to meet Azapo and the BCMA.

- The transfer of power from the minority to the majority;
- The date for Constituent Assembly elections; and
- The quarantining of the security forces.

If the meeting goes ahead Mr Don Nkadameng and Mr Mpotse Kgokong, secretaries-general of Azapo and the BCMA, will head their respective delegations while it is believed Constitutional Affairs Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer, will head the South African Government mission.

Many believe that meeting may actually see Azapo eventually entering the multiparty talks now underway in Kempton Park.

C

Sowetan 7/4/93



ANC to discuss conflict in camp

Staff Reporter

THE ANC will meet today to discuss the situation at Brown's Farm squatter camp in Philippi where controversial ANC chairman Mr Christopher Toise has been driven out by strong opposition.

Police confirmed that one man was killed, two were injured and eight shacks were destroyed during an attack on Mr Toise on Sunday. It was the second attack in less than a month.

Mr Toise is reported to be in hiding after residents called him a "dictator".

ARG 7/4/93

ANC involved in violence ~~(11A)~~ ~~(11A)~~ too — Mandela

PRETORIA. — A call for peace, political tolerance and discipline has been issued by ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who also acknowledged that his organisation is "just as" involved as any other group in the violence sweeping South Africa.

Addressing a 4 000-strong rally in the black township of Mamelodi, outside Pretoria, at the reburial of former Umkhonto we Sizwe member Solomon Mahlangu, Mr Mandela urged his supporters to allow members of rival political groups, such as Inkatha, to organise freely. ARG 714193

On the issue of violence, Mr Mandela said: "I'm not going to blame the IFP and the government only. We must face the truth — our people are just as involved in violence."

Leaders had to "to condemn their own people when they kill the innocent", he said. Perpetrators of violence did not serve the cause of freedom.

Mr Mandela's peace call comes in the wake of a meeting with State President De Klerk in Cape Town on Monday to discuss violence.

Those involved in the senseless killing of innocent people were "animals", said the ANC leader, vowing that ANC supporters who took part in violence would face the "strongest disciplinary action" or even dismissal. — Sapa.

ANC men blockade Transkei bridge

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A group of African National Congress members today blockaded the Um-tamvuna River bridge — the only crossing over the Transkei-Natal border near Port Edward and the only entrance from Natal to the Wild Coast Sun casino resort in Transkei.

Mr Alberto Chiaranda, managing director of the casino said that a truck had parked on the bridge and about 10 flag-

carrying ANC men were singing and chanting.

No traffic was being allowed through. *ARG 7/4/93*

Mr Chiaranda said the men were protesting about searches by the security forces of all traffic crossing the border.

"I have contacted both the South African and Transkei authorities and top-level discussions are taking place to resolve the matter. I don't think the blockade should last very

long," he said. *(1111)*

"Early today some people were allowed to go to work, but since then no vehicles have been allowed to pass the bridge," said Mr Chiaranda.

At the weekend about 90 visitors to the casino were turned away because they did not have identity documents with them. Security forces are insisting that people show identity documents before they are allowed through the roadblock.

Manuel's 'concept of democracy' criticised by DP

Political Correspondent

11A ARG 7/4/93

SENIOR ANC figure Mr Trevor Manuel has been fiercely criticised at a Democratic Party meeting for warning that activists who turn their backs on the ANC "will be trampled by the people".

Mr Manuel made the remark at an ANC meeting in Grassy Park last week.

He was strongly attacked by DP MP for Green Point Mr Hennie Bester, who shared the platform at a meeting attended by about 150 people in Retreat yesterday with ANC defectors Mr Joe Marks and Mr Jerry Silgour.

Mr Bester said: "If this (the remarks made by Mr Manuel) is his conception of democracy, it bodes ill for the future.

"It will be unfortunate if the ANC adopts the attitude that 'if you are not with me, you are against me'."

Mr Bester pointed out that in terms of the ANC's own electoral projections, it would gain only 17,8 percent of the votes in the Western Cape.

This corroborated the DP's assessment that it would hold the majority in the region.

He also took Mr Manuel to task for calling the DP "Anglo-American's party".

In contrast to the DP, the ANC was in the multi-million rand league in its electioneering ... and in terms of the homes in which its leaders lived, said Mr Bester.

Azapo to plot its direction

WILSON ZWANE IIA

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) would hold a special congress in a month's time to discuss political developments and its future direction, deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said this week.

He said Azapo would not request meetings with other organisations before the event because it had decided to focus on organising the congress. But this did not mean Azapo would not meet organisations which asked to discuss matters of common interest. BLOM

On a meeting between his organisation and government, Nefolovhodwe said government had not yet indicated whether it would meet Azapo's conditions for a meeting. These conditions included a neutral venue for the meeting and discussions concentrating on the transfer of power to the majority. 7/4/93

Nefolovhodwe said his organisation had appointed a person to liaise with government. He stressed, however, that even if government agreed to Azapo's conditions, the meeting would not be held until after the congress.

Holomisa defiant as Apla 'lists children'

BLOM 7/4/93

TRANSKEI military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa was unmoved yesterday by reports that Apla commander Sabello Phama told Transkei police that it targeted children because it wanted to "strike at whites where it hurts them most".

SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha sent an official note objecting to Transkei allowing such people to address its security forces.

In response to SA's objection, Holomisa said: "I don't give a damn about it. We are not going to be told by the SA government who should address us. Apla is unbanned here as it is in SA — so what is the fuss about?"

He said he did not know if Phama was quoted correctly, but added he was not obliged to look into it.

Holomisa said he was in favour of re-incorporation into SA but not if it meant being dictated to by an "apartheid Nationalist government".

Holomisa yesterday also released draft terms of reference of a commission to inquire into the activities of Apla in the homeland. This follows his rejection of the Goldstone commission's preliminary findings on Apla activities in Transkei and the agreement last week by the SA and Transkei governments that a commission chaired by the Transkeian chief justice be appointed to investigate the allegations.

Holomisa said the draft had been framed in wide terms to ensure the inquiry ad-

KATHRYN STRACHAN

ressed "the reason behind SA's targeting of Transkei in pursuit of the destabilisation strategy".

The terms include the location and extent of camps or training bases allegedly used by Apla in Transkei, as well as the alleged co-operation between Apla and the Transkei government.

The commission would also consider the policies of the SA government in respect of frequent deployment of SA security forces along Transkei's borders and its effects on the Transkei economy and citizen morale.

He said the commission would be empowered to consult Judge Richard Goldstone on any matter arising from previous investigations.

BILLY PADDOCK reports Holomisa said on Monday he was not bothered about the Goldstone commission's April 8 deadline for his administration to provide evidence on Apla activities in the homeland. "Goldstone cannot issue deadlines to me, and anyway I have appointed my own judicial commission and therefore Goldstone is of no relevance."

Sapa reports Apla yesterday warned SA to "keep away" from Tanzania or "face the consequences".

Apla spokesman Romero Daniels said in a telephone interview from Dar es Salaam that the SA government would achieve nothing by asking Tanzania to stop supporting Apla.

Randburg to get extra policemen

GAVIN DU VENAGE

RANDBURG will have 60 additional policemen after an agreement between the town and the SAP is signed next week.

Last month the Cabinet approved a measure allowing Randburg to fund the training and deployment of additional police within the town municipal boundaries. This is the first agreement of its kind in SA.

The Randburg Town Council had budgeted an additional R750 000 for the project, which management committee chairman Gary Cooney said was in response to the "desperate" crime levels. BLOM 7/4/93

The council had considered setting up a municipal police force, but present ordinances did not allow for this, he said. It believed security was a state function, but in light of the current recession and the resulting crime wave, plus the SAP's thin resources, the council had to act "with urgency".

Recruiting would begin soon and it was hoped that recruits would be drawn from the community.

Cooney said the council had "thought very carefully" before pressing for its own policemen. A condition of the agreement was that they operate only within the town municipal boundaries.

Other municipalities were reportedly interested in the scheme.

ANC also party to violence, Mandela admits

810AM 7/14/93
PRETORIA — ANC president Nelson Mandela acknowledged yesterday that his organisation was "just as involved" as any other group in the violence sweeping SA.

Addressing a 4 000-strong rally in Mamelodi, outside Pretoria, at the reburial of former Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre Solomon Mahlangu, Mandela urged his supporters to allow members of rival political groups, such as Inkatha, to organise freely.

Mahlangu was executed 14 years ago for his part in the Goch Street shooting in Johannesburg and was originally buried by the state in Atteridgeville.

On violence, Mandela said: "I'm not going to blame the IFP and the government

only. We must face the truth — our people are just as involved in violence."

Urging the country's political leadership to help stem the bloodshed, he said perpetrators of violence did not serve the cause of freedom. Mandela's call for peace came in the wake of a meeting with President F W de Klerk in Cape Town on Monday to discuss violence.

The ANC leader said those involved in the senseless killing of innocent people were "animals", and he vowed that ANC supporters found guilty of participation in violence would face the "strongest disciplinary action" or even dismissal from the organisation.

11A
Mandela also urged his supporters to tolerate different views. "Our strength is not in violence but in correctness of our policies. We practise democracy and allow people to criticise us."

Countering criticism within his organisation's ranks of a government of national unity, Mandela said it was necessary for parties jointly to address the country's problems and to avert an Angola-type situation after elections.

It was possible that the ANC could be defeated in elections if other organisations organised more effectively, so he urged supporters not to be complacent but to

To Page 2

ANC

810AM 7/14/93
organise and recruit "10 members for the rest of the year" to secure victory.

At a Mahlangu commemoration rally in Durban, ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande told about 3 000 supporters that the Concerned South Africans Group could be the basis for a "Savimbi option" after elections.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's "federal alliance" should be taken seriously as potential spoilers after elections. "Buthelezi's federal alliance, including the right wing, has access to arms. The IFP is armed and controls the KwaZulu Police and this we must not take lightly."

Federalism was an attempt by Inkatha to counter the form of state decided by a constituent assembly and would act only to serve "old apartheid's interests", Nzimande claimed. "I see this as a prelude to a

11A
Savimbi option."

On the issue of government's security cordon around Transkei, Nzimande said KwaZulu posed a greater problem: "If there is to be any blockade, it should be around Ulundi."

He charged that Inkatha was being used as a government "tool" to foment violence so that government could blame the conflict on ANC-Inkatha fighting.

Nzimande also took a swipe at the SA Police, branding it a "specialist force in killing black people in this country".

Mandela was due to leave SA yesterday to meet Senegal President Abdou Diouf, current OAU chairman, as "part of the battle against apartheid". He would also meet an Angolan representative in Senegal to receive "an important message" from the Angolan president. — Sapa.

From Page 1

Stay away from Tanzania, Apla tells SA government

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) warned South Africa yesterday to "keep away" from Tanzania or "face the consequences".

Speaking from the Tanzanian capital, Dar es Salaam, Apla spokesman Mr Romero Daniels told Sapa in a telephone interview that the South African government would achieve nothing by asking Tanzania to stop supporting Apla.

Tanzania had been used as a base for over 30 years by Apla and its political wing, the PAC.

(11A) CT 7/4/83
"The regime is only up to its dirty tricks of harassing and destabilising African countries north of the Limpopo," he said.

"We have our roots here and Pretoria cannot have things their way. Their time is over."

He was reacting to a top-level meeting in Tanzania last week between the South African and Tanzanian governments which focused on Tanzania's support for Apla.

Mr Romero said Apla had its "army, bases and support right inside Azania (South Africa)". — Sapa

Violence: ANC 'is involved'

1177

CT 7/4/93

PRETORIA. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday acknowledged that his organisation was "just as" involved as any other group in the violence sweeping South Africa.

Addressing a 4 000-strong rally in Mamelodi at the reburial of former uMkhonto we Sizwe cadre Solomon Mahlangu, Mr Mandela said: "I'm not going to blame the IFP and the government only. We must face the truth — our people are just as involved in violence."

He said that perpetrators of violence did not serve the cause of freedom. ANC supporters found guilty of participating in violence would face the "strongest disciplinary action" or even dismissal.

He urged his supporters to allow members of rival political groups, such as Inkatha, to organise freely. "Our strength is not in violence but in correctness of our policies. We practise democracy and allow people to criticise us," he said.

Mr Mandela's peace call comes in the wake of a meeting with State President F W de Klerk in Cape Town on Monday to discuss violence in SA.

● **Mandela admits violence by ANC — Page 2**

Mandela admits violence by ANC

CT 7/4/93

PRETORIA. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday called for peace, political tolerance and discipline — and acknowledged that his organisation was “just as” involved as any other group in the violence sweeping South Africa.

Addressing a 4 000-strong rally in Mamelodi at the reburial of former uMkhonto we Sizwe cadre Solomon Mahlangu, Mr Mandela urged his supporters to allow members of rival political groups, such as bitter enemy Inkatha, to organise freely.

On the issue of violence, Mr Mandela said: “I’m not going to blame the IFP and the government only. We must face the truth — our people are just as involved in violence.”

The country’s political leadership and especially women should stem the bloodshed, he said. Perpetrators of violence did not serve the cause of freedom.

Mr Mandela’s peace call comes in the wake of a meeting with State President F W de Klerk in Cape Town on Monday to discuss violence in SA.

Mr Mandela said ANC supporters found guilty of participation in violence would face the “strongest disciplinary action” or even dismissal.

“Our strength is not in violence but in correctness of our policies. We practise democracy and allow people to criticise us.”

In countering criticism within his organisation’s own ranks about a Government of National Unity, Mr Mandela said such a government was necessary for parties to jointly address the country’s problems and to avert a situation similar to that in Angola.

It was possible that in the forthcoming elections the ANC could be defeated if other parties organised more effectively.

He urged supporters not to be complacent, therefore, but to organise and each to recruit “10 members for the rest of the year” to secure an election victory.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would persuade other political groupings, including those participating in the multi-party negotiation forum, to join in the Patriotic Front.

Failure to participate in the PF would give the NP government a chance to continue ruling SA, he said. — Sapa

Pupils urged to show discipline

PRETORIA. — Schoolchildren should exercise discipline in their struggle for a single education system, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing a rally in Mamelodi marking the reburial of former uMkhonto we Sizwe cadre Solomon Mahlangu, Mr Mandela said the ANC supported the formation of a single education system and the scrapping of exam fees and would intervene in the crisis if education bodies wanted this. — Sapa

Mandela flies to Senegal

DAKAR. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived in Senegal yesterday for talks with President Abdou Diouf, current head of the Organisation of African Unity. (11) 178/4/13

During the 48-hour visit the two leaders will discuss political developments in South Africa, Angola and Mozambique.

Mr Mandela was invited to Senegal by Foreign Minister Mr Djibo Ka, who visited SA last month. — Sapa-Reuter

Chief of Apla denies race war

Star 8/4/93

AZANIAN People's Liberation Army chief Sabelo Phama denied in his first full television interview broadcast in South Africa that Apla was engaged in a racist war against whites, but said his military force did not believe in the concept of "hard" or "soft" targets.

Speaking on CCV-TV's news actuality programme, Newsline, broadcast last night without any indication where the interview was conducted, Phama said the political situation in South Africa had to be seen in what he termed its right perspective.

"In racist South Africa, we have two forces at play — the oppressed and the oppressor, the dispossessed and the dispossessor. You have a situation where guns and licences were given to the white community to the disadvantage of the oppressed.

"Can we now, in terms of those who say there are 'hard' and 'soft' targets, say whites are 'soft' targets and Africans are 'hard' targets?" he asked.

"If you look at it from the point of view of the enemy itself, with its Koevoet and Askaris (former Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla cadres who are now policemen), it will hit people on the trains. Now are our

Apla says that it can't distinguish between 'hard' and 'soft' targets in the struggle.

mothers, fathers, brothers and our sisters on the trains 'soft' targets? That is where the confusion is.

"But when the enemy for instance attacks the whites, then it says the issue of 'hard' and 'soft' targets must come in."

Phama further denied that whites were specific targets of his military force.

Blame

On the question of killing white women and children, Phama blamed the media, saying it did not report that Apla believed in attacking armed structures.

"The media is owned by whites. So, if any aspect of the shaking of the tree is directed at some colour aspect, then a black/white type of situation comes in. The media is pushing that line because the South African Government wants any straw to cling in order to get the complete, uncritical support of Western countries."

He refused to confirm or deny that Apla was involved in recent racist attacks against whites.

"I don't think it is necessary to deny or accept certain aspects of a war situation because people were killed in the Natal Table Mountain area (earlier this year) and no one was called to deny or accept responsibility."

Asked whether Apla's activities placed the PAC leadership in a difficult position at the negotiating table, Phama replied: "That situation (negotiations) is not easy, it is being complicated every day.

"We cannot accept the regime's arrogance (a reference to a Government statement that it would not talk constitutional matters with the PAC unless it clarified its stance towards Apla). Who is calling the shots here? Is it the African majority or the Boers?"

"If South Africa says PAC cannot go to the negotiating table if Apla does this, did PAC say Koevoet and the SADF are not disbanded, therefore we will not talk to you? We cannot have a situation where the Boers are going to continue having anarchy and also calling the shots in our own country, in our own land." — Sapa. □

● Apla vows to intensify its struggle in 1993

I'll meet Mandela anywhere, anytime

Sowetan 8/4/93

(11A) (11B) (11C)

By Lulama Luti

NO STRINGS I'll do anything in the interests of peace, says Buthelezi:

P RIVATE armies like Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army could not be equated with instruments of maintaining law and order such as the KwaZulu police, KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing newsmen at a media briefing on his arrival from London at Jan Smuts Airport, Buthelezi said there was ample evidence that "our members are being killed by MK cadres on the Natal South Coast".

He said this had been proved by the Goldstone Commission.

"I can't see why they have to keep private armies," he said, referring to the PAC and ANC.

Asked how far the preparations for a meeting between himself and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela were, the IFP leader said he was prepared to meet Mandela without any preconditions.

Buthelezi said he was prepared to make any effort to end violence, particularly the carnage in Natal.

"I am prepared to meet him any time without any preconditions," Buthelezi said.

"I've always said we are living in a low-intensity war in South Africa. It's been going on for seven years now," he said, adding that there were a lot of loose

cannons in all (political) organisations in the country.

Asked why he thought elections would be held in September 1994 as opposed to April as proposed by the De Klerk Government, Buthelezi said this was not practical.

"As a pragmatist I don't see how we can hold elections in such a short space of time, especially given the enormity of the obstacles we are faced with.

"But even if they could be held in April, in principle, I am not opposed to that notion. In my point of view its just not practical," he said.

112 travellers die on SA roads

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Star 8/4/93

ANC man is 'sorry' for Jewish slur

Western Cape organiser Dawood Khan was this week suspended for three months by the ANC for shouting: "Hitler should have killed all the Jews" at a demonstration last month.

An ANC press disciplinary committee ordered Khan to apologise, saying such a "hate speech" was against ANC policy. (11A)

Khan said his utterance was made in the heat of the moment and "in no way reflects my true feelings".

Apla chief speaks on 'racist war'

Sowetan

(11A)

8/4/93

AZANIAN Peoples Liberation Army chief Mr Sabelo Phama denied in a TV interview that Apla was engaged in a racist war against whites.

Phama, however, said Apla did not believe in the concept of "hard or soft" targets.

Speaking on CCV's *Newsline* last night, Phama said the political situation in South Africa had to be seen in what he termed its right perspective.

"Apla is targeting any force or any person who wields a gun or weapon of oppression against the oppressed. So, the whole aspect must not be looked at from a racialistic point of view.

"When you take Askaris and Koevoet, they are Africans, but they go on killing our people. Don't look at any reactionary act with racialistic spectacles."

On the question of killing white women and children, Mr Phama blamed the media.

"The media is owned by whites. So, if any aspect of the shaking of the tree is directed at some colour aspect, then a black/white type of situation comes in.

"The media is pushing that line because the South African Government wants any straw to cling to in order to get complete, uncritical support of the Western countries on the basis that white people are being destroyed in South Africa."

He refused to confirm or deny that Apla was involved in recent racist attacks against whites.

■ 1993 'The Year of the Great Storm':

"I don't think it is necessary to deny or accept certain aspects of a war situation because people were killed in the Natal Table Mountain area and none was called to deny or accept responsibility."

Asked whether Apla's activities placed the PAC leadership in a difficult position at the negotiating table, he said: "That situation (negotiations) is not easy, it is being complicated every day.

"We cannot accept the regime's arrogance (a reference to a Government statement that it would not talk constitutional matters with the PAC unless it clarified its stance towards Apla).

"Who is calling the shots here? Is it the African majority or the Boers? We cannot have a situation where the Boers are going to continue having anarchy and also calling the shots in our own country, in our own land."

He said there was no conflict between Apla and the PAC leadership.

"The PAC congress in Umtata last year took a decision on negotiations and the pursuit of the armed struggle," said Phama.

He added 1993 had been declared "The Year of the Great Storm — a great storm of pushing the revolution forward". Apla would only stop when a satisfactory political solution that met the aspirations of the African majority was found, he said. — *Sapa*.

Mandela's peace ^(1A) message amazes ~~the~~ the crowd

W/Mail 814-15493.

Nelson Mandela chose the burial of an executed guerrilla, Solomon Mahlangu, to deliver a surprising message of peace.

He described township killers linked to the African National Congress as "animals" and pledged to root them out of the organisation.

Reacting to murmurs of disagreement from mourners, Mandela turned on his audience.

"There are members of the ANC who are killing our people. We must face the truth ... Our people are just as involved as other organisations that are committing this violence."

What lies behind the new, placatory stance? Observers suggest that meetings with the State President this week provide a clue.

More details on PAGE 4
Comment on PAGE 14



Mandela at the Solomon Mahlangu funeral ... Words of peace

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

LAST Saturday, I flew from Johannesburg to address a meeting in the heart of the Boland, at Worcester. I was met at DF Malan Airport by Kameraad Ben Willems, wearing a T-shirt with the inscription, "Nou is die tyd. Stem ANC".

All of the proceedings of the meeting were in Afrikaans, and at one point the comrades rapped me over the knuckles because most of the publications produced by ANC head office are only available in English.

On holiday in Cape Town this week, I spent an evening discussing with the ANC's Kader Asmal and Reg September how to reach out to the many Afrikaners who are alienated from the National Party and are looking for a new political home. In the middle of an academic discussion, Asmal jumped up and insisted on playing us a recording of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* by the Libertas Choir of Stellenbosch.

The first part was in Xhosa, followed by Dirkie de Villiers' Afrikaans translation beautifully sung by the 900-strong choir: "Almagtige God seen Afrika ..."

"That is the way to reach people, show them there is a place for them, respect their language, encourage them to develop it and become part of a free and diverse country," Asmal said. "What is this nonsense that we will not allow people to develop their language and culture? No, we must encourage and support them."

Yet I feel uneasy writing about Afrikaners in the ANC.

Is it because my and other Afrikaners' presence in the ANC is still considered something strange and exceptional?

Is it because I feel so at home among my ANC comrades, while there were times when I was desperately unhappy at Wits University, where my Afrikaans accent and background was always noted — a reason for distrust and for me never being allowed to become fully part of the "white left"?

I think it is both, and because I am irritated by the incomprehension that there is a place for Afrikaners, like me, in the ANC.

I would say that the ANC is the only truly non-racial political organisation in South Africa — a remarkable achievement for an organisation that was so long the victim of white racism.

But having fought and struggled untiringly for that identity, is it so strange that the great ideals of the Freedom Charter also open the ANC's doors to Afrikaners? And that the ANC acknowledges that Afrikaners were never the sold implementors and benefactors of apartheid; and that Afrikaners are not inherently racist; and that there is a long Afrikaner history of anti-colonialism and freedom fighting?

Afrikaners cannot be left easily off the

I am an Afrikaner and the ANC is my home

W/ mail 8/4-15/4/93



Carl Niehaus ... Afrikaners must confess their wrongs

CARL NIEHAUS keeps a model ox-wagon in his African National Congress office and listens to Afrikaans recordings of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*. It's only natural, he argues, because the ANC is the home of patriotic Afrikaners

hook. Our own anti-colonial struggle should have prevented us from becoming oppressors. Afrikaners have suffered the tragedy of thousands of women and children dying in the concentration camps.

We have to acknowledge and confess a history where Afrikaners, once having gained power, held on to it at all costs, and committed terrible crimes against humanity in the process. These wrongs must be confessed.

President FW de Klerk does Afrikaners a disservice by telling them that it is not necessary to do so. Afrikaners have to challenge themselves with the great changes that they have to make in order to become part of a

truly democratic society.

When they are prepared to do so, the doors stand fully open to them, and they will find that it is not expected of them to reject their own culture and language.

They will find there is an immense compatibility in the ANC with the love for the land, warm neighbourliness and close family ties that are so characteristic of Afrikaners.

Afrikaners will also find they have done themselves an immense disservice by trying to project an exclusive nationhood which excluded the majority of Afrikaans-speakers. Most Afrikaners have always known that the majority of those that speak the language are black, and yet they have tried to project a special character for Afrikaans as the language of white Afrikaners.

Ironically, those who erected these artificial walls are also those who now, for reasons of political expediency, are trying to bring Afrikaners and coloured people together in the NP.

Now that it is clear the NP will only be able to make a respectable showing in the elections if they are able to persuade sectors in the black community to vote for them, the cultural and language ties with the *bruin broers en susters* are suddenly recognised and cultivated.

The ANC provides a credible alternative for Afrikaners. Instead of pseudo-convictions and expediency, it offers the chance to join the majority of South Africans in the search for a truly South African identity and the building of a nation.

It is an organisation where the way you pronounce your "r's", or the colour of your skin are not the criteria. Your love and patriotic commitment are what count.

There is a model ox wagon in my ANC office. I have placed it there deliberately — and with pride. Visitors often pass remarks about it, but my ANC comrades never refer to it.

To them it is natural that it is there, as natural as I and other Afrikaners who joined the ANC; as natural as my comrades in Worcester flying me all the way from Johannesburg to address them, not because I am some strange Afrikaner apparition in the ANC, but because they are fed-up with all the English-speakers in the ANC who have difficulty in understanding, and because I speak Afrikaans as they do.

Why am I, who always insists that I am an Afrikaner, a member of the ANC?

Because I can drink with Reg September and Kader Asmal and together we get tears in our eyes while listening to the Libertas choir singing our national anthem in Xhosa and Afrikaans.

The ANC is my home. There can be no other.

Massacre prompts police reward offer

BIDAY 8/4/93

DURBAN — Police are offering a R50 000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the killers of 10 ANC supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, on Monday.

Durban police spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo announced the reward offer yesterday. He said informants could telephone Crime Stop on 0800-111213 or investigator W/O Frik Breedt on (0391) 22524.

The violence-related toll in Murchison this week has climbed to 12 with two more killings early yesterday. Police spokesman Lt Dawood Kader said three suspects had been arrested.

The two latest victims, aged 19 and 25, were hacked and stabbed to death while sleeping in a house in Mtengwane.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi condemned Monday's Murchison massacre saying: "Violence is not in the interests of anyone." He was speaking on his return from Britain yesterday.

He said he had no preconditions for a summit conference with ANC president Nelson Mandela and would like such a meeting as soon as possible. "I can see him tomorrow," Buthelezi said.

He also "rejected with contempt" Monday's statement by ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande that the Concerned South Africans Group, of which Inkatha was a principal member, might stage a "Unita option" — rejecting election results if they lost.

Meanwhile, unidentified gunmen on Tuesday night shot and wounded senior IFP member Manuel Mdunge on his way home in Umlazi, Durban, party spokesman Ed Tillett said yesterday.

Tillett said the car in which Mdunge was travelling was riddled with bullets and at

least 20 spent cartridges were found at the scene. It was the second attack on senior IFP officials in Umlazi in the past week, he said.

"There is a systematic campaign to eliminate IFP leaders, to destroy the IFP and to sabotage peace initiatives in Umlazi," Tillett claimed.

Another two people were shot dead and a woman seriously injured in an attack on a squatter camp at Esikhaweni near Empangeni on the Natal North Coast, it was reported yesterday.

At Nkelabantwana near Bulwer in the Natal Midlands a man was shot dead yesterday and another wounded in an attack. A police spokesman said five people fired on a group, killing Ndoneni Bunenizizi.

In Khayelitsha near Cape Town yesterday, a policeman was shot and two wounded men arrested when police were attacked and involved in a 40-minute gunfight, according to police.

Sgt I Isaacs, Const S Ntongona and Const M Mbolekawa went to the scene in an armour-plated vehicle. Sgt Isaacs was shot in the leg.

The robbers fled with the police in pursuit. The heavy police vehicle became stuck in deep sand, however, and its occupants stepped out to try and calm an angry crowd, which, according to police reports, were being egged on to set the vehicle alight.

The SAP members were attacked and in the ensuing gun fight, Isaacs was shot. Two men were later arrested trying to have their bullet wounds treated at a hospital.

Police said members of the Internal Stability Unit prevented the crowd from setting the armoured vehicle alight. — Sapa.

ANC proposes tough arms laws

CAPE TOWN — The failure of the security forces to protect people from attack was a major cause of the spiralling demand for firearms, the ANC told a committee of the Goldstone commission investigating illegal arms yesterday.

The ANC told the committee in Cape Town both self-defence units and hostel residents' associations demanded firearms because they had little or no faith in the security forces' willingness and ability to protect them.

"For as long as the security forces are perceived as partisan or ineffective, there is little prospect of any statutory intervention (affecting) the proliferation of illegal firearms in our country."

The ANC said firearms should be confined to sporting activities and to securing a livelihood.

Statutory amendments proposed by the ANC included:

- Raising the age limit for the issue of firearm licences from 16 to 21 years;
- That applicants for licences undergo psychometric testing to assess their suitability to possess a firearm;

(114)

- Individuals be restricted to one firearm; and

- That anyone found in possession of more than two illegal firearms be presumed to have been dealing illegally in such arms.

Weapons such as semi-automatic and automatic arms and large-calibre weapons should be statutorily restricted to a much greater extent, the ANC submitted.

Meanwhile, committee chairman M N S Sithole ruled yesterday that the terms of reference of the Goldstone commission committee investigating the illegal importation, distribution and use of arms and ammunition will remain unchanged.

His ruling followed a complaint by counsel for the Inkatha Freedom Party, Louis Visser, SC, that the committee's mandate did not extend to the illegal possession of firearms. *BIDAY 8/3/93*

Visser said the committee could not fulfil its task properly without also investigating the illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

Sithole said the committee would proceed with its inquiry as mandated.

The hearing continues today. — Sapa.

ANC's Damascus road on violence

W/MAIL 8/4-15/4/93. (11A) (11A)

Dust to dust: An MK hero comes home

By DAVID BERESFORD
FOUNDERS DAY was as good a time as any for the raising of the dead; after all, many are likely to remember Solomon Mahlangu as one of the founders of the new South Africa. It was shortly before dawn that they began digging for him. Which was appropriate as well. It was about the same time of day that he would have heard the "song in the morning" with which residents of Pretoria's death row traditionally say goodbye to one of their number walking to the gallows. They were singing for him again on Tuesday morning: about a dozen women dancing in the avenue of jacaranda trees, buxom hips swaying under the black skirts, green blouses and gold scarves of the African National Congress. Nearby, tombstones peeped at them over a sea of long grass. To one side, ghostly in the half light, a dozen men took turns to clamber into the grave, swinging gingerly with a pick axe, anxious not to damage the broken-necked remains of their hero. Truth to tell, nobody was too sure whether it was his body. It has been 14 years since the South African government defied a storm of international protests and hanged Solomon Mahlangu. One of the first "graduates" of the 1976 student uprising to join Umkhonto weSizwe, he was captured after a shoot-out in downtown Johannesburg in which two whites died. The judge found that Mahlangu did not fire the fatal shots, but sentenced him to death anyway. He was hanged, at the age of 21, on April 6 1979 and buried the same day. When the death factory which is Pretoria Central is in full swing (and President FW de Klerk has pledged to try and get them swinging again) the "processed" black prisoners are usually buried, for convenience's sake, in the cemetery in nearby Mamelodi.



Final farewells ... Relatives of executed guerrilla Solomon Mahlangu, who were excluded from his first burial, pay their respects during Tuesday's ceremony. Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Which should have been particularly convenient in the case of Solomon Mahlangu. He was a hometown boy, born, bred and educated in Mamelodi where his family still lived. But the crowd that waited at the cemetery on that Friday morning 14 years ago was so big that the police diverted to Atteridgeville, on the other side of Pretoria. They buried him there, without benefit of clergy, or family. Which is why there has been a lingering doubt as to whether it was really Mahlangu in the unmarked grave later identified by police. Some reassurance was found about six feet down, on Tuesday morning, when a fragment of the coffin was discovered. It was passed around among the volunteer grave-diggers to cries of "It's cheap! Cheap wood!" The indignant tone gave expression to the unspoken judgment that only those capable of cold-bloodedly breaking the neck of their 21-year-old hero would be capable of putting a man in a junk coffin. The pick-axe gave way to shovels and shovels to bare hands. And finally they uncovered him, with the tenderness of a mother for her baby — a skull with dislocated jaw, earth-stained ribs and pieces of leg. It was all hastily put in a plastic shroud which, by the time it was heaved to the surface, looked like what it was; a bag of bones. They stood awkwardly around it until a new coffin was rushed over, wrapped in ANC colours, and the remains were carefully laid out in a manner befitting their hero. By then the dozen dancers had swollen to a crowd of thousands. In a convoy led by a prancing warrior in skins, with drum-majorettes, goose-stepping MK guerrillas, clergy, family, stretch limousines and shark-like hearses, the coffin was walked and driven around Pretoria to Mamelodi. They stopped at "Solomon Mahlangu Square" on the edge of Mamelodi, to bear Nelson Mandela pay tribute, before making the final journey up the road. The grave was waiting on a hillside in the corner of Mamelodi cemetery, with a view across valleys to the distant skyscrapers of Pretoria. There the crowd sang the traditional lament for the dead of the liberation struggle — "go safely, MK guerrilla" — his former comrades-in-arms filing past, strewing their handfuls of earth on the coffin. Dust to dust, Solomon Mahlangu had come home.

THE African National Congress appears to have had a revelation on the issue of violence which is being compared to Paul's experience on the road to Damascus.

Senior leaders, including Nelson Mandela and South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani, have made forceful interventions on the issue in the past several days, after what has been an intense and critical self-examination by the organisation. They have gone further than ever before in admitting that ANC members — often organised within township self-defence units — are contributing significantly to the climate of violence in the country.

Sources familiar with the contents of recent meetings between Mandela and President FW de Klerk have confirmed to *The Weekly Mail* that the issue was raised at the talks. Particular attention was paid to the need for a more creative approach to ending the bloodshed.

Mandela's landmark speech at the funeral of the executed guerrilla, Solomon Mahlangu, this week, went further than any political leader so far in holding his own followers accountable for violence.

Speaking to a crowd of thousands at Solomon Mahlangu Park, on the outskirts of Mamelodi, Mandela lumped ANC killers with all others as "animals" and pledged to root them out of the ANC.

The ANC leader rebuked those who blamed the violence entirely on Inkatha, or on the government. He also appealed for ANC "tolerance" of the political views of rivals, insisting that the organisation should take a lead in defending the political rights of others.

Reacting to murmurs of disagreement from mourners when he said there was "some truth" in allegations that violence was caused by fighting between the IFP and the ANC, Mandela turned on his audience.

"There are members of the ANC who are killing our people. We must face the truth ... Our people are just as involved as other organisations that are committing this violence. And people who are doing that are no longer human beings; they are animals," he said.

"It is no use when I speak the truth for you to say: 'No, no, no, no'. You want me to blame the IFP only. I am not going to do that," he said, earning a round of applause for the statement.

He said that it was true that the government was involved in the violence. "It is members of the army, members of the police force, members of their

ANC leaders have admitted — to themselves and their followers — that their organisation is partly responsible for the violence in the country. By **STEPHEN LAUFER and Weekly Mail Reporters**

intelligence service who are also behind this violence, because they want to cripple and weaken the ANC. But I am not going to criticise only the government and IFP.

"People who participate in this violence, for whatever reason, who kill innocent people because others have killed innocent people, are not serving the cause of freedom."

Appealing for political tolerance, he said: "Those of you who have (in your midst) members of the IFP, of the PAC, of Azapo — don't use violence against them, unless it is in self-defence. Let them do their political work in the community. They are entitled to do that."

The ANC's strength was not violence. "Our strength is the correctness of our position," he said. "You should be tolerant of those who have views that are different to yours. Because you will win by the correctness of the position that you take on all major national issues."

Mandela also defended the ANC leadership on the issue of power-sharing with the National Party. Telling the crowd that the leadership had been criticised by the Youth League, among others, he once again drew distinction between power-sharing being pursued by the De Klerk administration — a veto on executive decisions — and a government of national unity.

"In 1966 Kwame Nkrumah was deposed. He had got 98 percent of the vote of the country in an election. It was one of the strongest governments in the world. But he was overthrown by a chap who hardly had the rank of colonel, through a coup."

Pointing out that the MPLA had won the election in Angola, he said Jonas Savimbi had nevertheless "almost overrun the whole country today."

"We have to be very careful in our own country, to make sure that we take all the precautions to prevent a situation of that nature happening." The "only way" to do so was to ensure that all political parties committed to democracy had a stake in government.

ANC puts Khan on ice over Hitler remarks



Mr Dawood Khan

Political Staff (11A) ANC 8/4/93

MR DAWOOD Khan has been suspended as chairman of the Kensington branch of the ANC and the movement's regional executive committee for three months by a disciplinary committee.

Mr Khan, 62, appeared before the committee, comprising his regional executive committee colleagues on Monday night, after remarks made during a Muslim-organised protest outside the Israeli embassy on March 19.

At the meeting, Mr Khan agreed to apologise politically, unconditionally and immediately for saying "Hitler should have burnt all the Jews."

The ANC said that, as a mark of disapproval, it had decided to suspend Mr Khan for three months, adding that the position would be reviewed and further steps would be taken if Mr Khan made similar remarks again.

In an apology, written two days after his disciplinary hearing, Mr Khan said he shared the view of all demo-

crats that Hitler was one of the worst tyrants in history.

He added: "The unspeakable crimes committed against Jewish people must be condemned as a crime against all humanity".

In his letter, he also tendered his "most heartfelt and humble apologies to the Jewish community", ANC members, its friends and the general public for his disgraceful remark.

"I can only say that it was said in the heat of the moment and in no way reflects my true feelings."

The ANC also apologised to the Jewish community, South Africans and democrats who had supported the movement, "for the fact that an official of our organisation used such disgraceful words".

The movement said it supported the principle of freedom of speech and the right of ANC members to take part in activities outside the organisation and in support of Palestinians.

But, "we cannot tolerate or condone the slightest hint of support for the sanguinary policies of Hitler in any shape or form, least of all outright approval".



SUSPENDED . . . Mr Dawood Khan

11A CT 8/4/93

ANC acts against Khan

Staff Reporter

THE ANC has suspended senior regional member Mr Dawood Khan for three months for an anti-Semitic remark — and has asked him to apologise in an open letter.

Mr Khan, the Kensington ANC chairman, shouted: "Hitler should have burned all the Jews," during a demonstration outside the city's Israeli embassy last month.

In the open letter Mr Khan said: "I share the view of all democrats that Hitler was one of the worst tyrants in history and that the unspeakable crimes committed against Jewish people must be condemned as a crime against all humanity."

After an ANC Western Cape regional executive committee (REC) inquiry the organisation said it was "unanimous" in their condemnation of Mr Khan's "ugly statement" outside the embassy.

Mr Khan's endorsement of Hitler's policies, was to side with South Africa's apostles of fascism and the "staunchest enemies of the ANC", an REC statement said yesterday.

In the statement they extended their deep apologies to the Jewish community, members of the ANC, South Africans, and the world's democrats for Mr Khan's "disgraceful words".

Mr Khan was warned by the REC to "refrain from ever again uttering such or similar remarks", or face further disciplinary measures.

Nats stand alone on dune mining

Star 8/4/93

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — The ANC and the Conservative Party became strange bedfellows yesterday when they and the other opposition members in the extended parliamentary sitting banded together to challenge the Government's alleged support for dune mining at St Lucia. (11)

ANC MP Rob Haswell (Pietermaritzburg South) challenged the National Party to put the issue to a vote, but this was rejected by the Speaker.

It is likely that a vote against mining would have been passed with 12 NP members in the House facing 20 members of the ANC, DP, CP, IFP, Solidarity Party, Labour Party and National People's Party. (12)

DP MP Mike Ellis (Durban North) demanded that the NP come clean on the issue. "I am concerned that members of the NP made up their minds to support mining long before the environmental impact assessment (EIA) came out." (13)

CP representative Joseph Chiloe (Pretoria West) said the CP rejected the EIA — which favoured mining — as biased.

Killings: ANC hits at police

By Anna Louw
and Sapa

The ANC alliance criticised the police yesterday for allowing a gunman to get close enough to kill two marchers and wound two others in Vanderbijlpark at the weekend.

A 52-year-old Vanderbijlpark grandfather was arrested immediately after the shooting and is being held in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

He is believed to be a member of the CP and to have close ties with the AWB.

Police refused yesterday to disclose the suspect's name before he appeared in court. They could not give a possible date for an appearance. Sunday newspapers identified him as Mike Odendaal of Vanderbijlpark.

Eyewitnesses said the gunman fired into the crowd near the end of the march route. He was in a bakkie.

The two who died of gunshot wounds have been identified as Jabu Landa and Thabo Madayi of Boipatong.

Police said Jimmy Msibi (42) of Bophelong was in a serious condition in the Vanderbijlpark Hospital after being shot in the back.

James Diutlwileng (36) of Boipatong was in a satisfactory condition in the Sebokeng Hospital.

ANC bites bullet on gun laws

114/504

ARG 10/4/93

THE African National Congress has proposed reforms to regulations controlling the ownership of firearms in submissions to a committee of the Goldstone Commission.

The committee began sitting in Cape Town this week to investigate how to prevent the illegal importation, distribution and use of firearms, ammunition and explosives.

Sections of the ANC's 40-page submission to the committee were withdrawn after complaints from representatives of the police, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Kwa-Zulu government and the South African Defence Force.

The passages were objected to on the grounds that they were irrelevant to the committee's inquiry. The South African Police also claimed the ANC was attempting to discredit its document.

In the pages that remained after the purge, the ANC spelled out proposals to tighten South Africa's firearm laws.

ANC representative Professor Nick Haysom told the committee they proposed that people undergo psychological tests to assess their suitability to possess a firearm.

These would provide important information on the handling of a firearm, safe storage and the laws relating to the use of firearms.

The ANC argued that the minimum age limit of 16 for licence holders was too low and should be increased to 21, so that emotional-

ly immature people could not get permission to bear arms. The organisation believed that the firearm for which a licence was sought had to be of a kind related to, and proportional to, its intended use.

JOHN VILJOEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

ly immature people could not get permission to bear arms.

The organisation believed that the firearm for which a licence was sought had to be of a kind related to, and proportional to, its intended use.

For example, an application for a licence for a .44 magnum or .45 semi-automatic handgun for the purpose of self-defence would be inappropriate and could be disallowed.

There should be particular caution in licensing handguns designed almost exclusively for shooting people, which were easily concealed, highly portable, capable of firing numerous shots in quick succession, and of little or no valid recreational use.

Individuals should be limited to only one firearm, unless they were able to prove that a greater number of guns was essential or for sporting or recreational use.

Present legislation allowed licences to be valid permanently, but this should be changed to a

system of annual renewal, said Professor Haysom.

In addition, a fee — perhaps R120 — should be payable each year. This, he argued, would discourage people from holding on to firearms they did not need or use.

These unused firearms represented a pool of weapons just waiting to be stolen.

The minister should disclose the guidelines that governed the exercise of his discretion on granting authorisation to import arms and ammunition.

The ANC was concerned about a recent police statement that there were 200 licenced AK-47 owners in South Africa.

Professor Haysom argued that police should clarify this and give details of the source of the weapons.

A new Bill proposing a mandatory sentence of at least five years for contravening the Arms and Ammunition Act was undesirable, said Professor Haysom.

While the ANC was not opposed to stiffer penalties for breaking weapons laws, the courts' discretion in imposing sentences should not be limited, he said.

The ANC proposed the creation of a new offence to combat arms dealing and smuggling.

Any person found with more than two illegal firearms should be deemed to be dealing in arms, unless the contrary was proved.

The inquiry resumes on Tuesday when the parties will respond to the ANC submissions.

20 000 to push for ANC in Cape

ARG 10/4/93 (11A)
VUYO BAVUMA
Weekend Argus Reporter

WINNING the hearts and minds of the Western Cape's voters will take 20 000 volunteer workers, the African National Congress believes.

Its election machine started in January at a national workshop in Johannesburg.

In a follow-up at regional level 500 ANC branch representatives held a workshop to discuss "political education skills and basic voter education".

Since then ANC executive members from more than 100 branches have attended eight workshops to learn the nitty gritty of voting.

By the end of May the ANC plans to use 20 000 volunteers for door-to-door canvassing to pass on their message.

ANC regional secretary Tony Yengeni believes the movement will shatter the "myth" that the National Party could win the coloured vote.

"The National Party doesn't have a network on the ground like us," he said.

"We also have corps of members active in most areas who can organise public meetings and spread our message."

He said the ANC was working hard on problems which included the acceptance by many so-called coloureds of the Nats' *swart gevaar* propaganda; a perception that ANC was a movement for "Africans", and what many regarded as the albatross around ANC's neck, its close partnership with South African Communist Party.

Mr Yengeni said the ANC planned to meet a wide range of church groups to explain its policies and would continue to include all members of the population in its decision-making structures to reflect its nonracial face.

'ANC is the problem, not coloureds'

IT HAS become imperative to tackle the "coloured question" head on. The ANC has apparently failed to draw the mass of people classified coloured in the Western Cape as members and active supporters.

It is alleged that leaders in the struggle for nonracialism have been disillusioned and withdrawn from political participation.

Opinion polls claim a small percentage of coloureds will vote for the ANC, and there is a rumour that people within our ranks propose a Coloured People's Congress.

If any of these perceptions have substance, the consequences for the ANC are grave.

The danger of an NP regional government in the Western Cape with an ANC national government cannot be overlooked.

The image of the ANC must be corrected, and its ideal of nonracialism, for which many lost their lives, needs to be affirmed through positive action. It must be stressed that the ANC is not embarking on ethnic mobilisation simply to win an election.

Recently, in an article in SOUTH, Jakes Gerwel argued that we need to accept the materiality of the coloured experience under apartheid and the political implications of such experience.

The coloured experience, particularly for the generation of adults of the sixties, was one of forced removals and removal from the common voters role; in short, it was one of oppression. Their loss of franchise was accompanied by preference policies that created permanent material differences between Africans and coloureds.

For many the nationalist influence was pervasive, particularly with regard to inculcating a fear of Africans on the one hand and of political involvement on the other.

By the seventies the Black Consciousness Movement provided a framework for resistance. NP ideology was challenged. At every point where the NP attempted to forge a coloured identity in its own interest, the majority in the Western Cape resisted.

A rally against the Coloured Representative Council in 1973 drew over 20 000 people to Athlone, many activists from the Western Cape were arrested in 1974 after the Pro-Frelimo rally in Durban and after the banning of the Black Consciousness organisations.

Student boycotts in the Western Cape in 1976, the opposition to mass removal of Africans from the Western Cape and the resistance to the bulldozing of squatter camps



SPEAKING OUT

Jean Benjamin
Psychology
Department, UWC
and ANC member

at Modderdam were acts of struggle which transformed the consciousness of people.

The contribution of Black Consciousness to our self-definition as part of the oppressed is often overlooked by those who theorise about coloured ethnic identity.

It is true that many working class people internalised the conception of themselves as coloured, African, Indian, (even white) together with the derogatory stereotypes imposed by the ruling class.

However, problems in organising coloureds in the Western Cape should not be conceived only in terms of the experiences of these peo-

ple under apartheid, but also in terms of limitations of the way they were organised in the eighties and particularly the nineties.

While the UDF made many gains in organising coloureds, the realities of the Group Areas Act meant people were organised in branch structures within primarily coloured areas. This did not afford much opportunity for building nonracialism in struggle.

It has also become clear that building non-racialism is a two-edged sword. Within our ranks it has become necessary to critically scrutinise the meaning of "African leadership" and what it may mean in the Western Cape where coloureds are the majority. Related to this is the question of how the practice and interpretation of affirmative action has influenced the perception that the ANC is an African rather than a nonracial organisation.

When we quote statistics on the coloured majority in the Western Cape we should be aware of rapidly changing conditions due to urbanisation. Unfortunately, most statistics are silent on the many informal settlements which have sprung up in the Western Cape.

We must work towards making people comfortable with what they are, where ethnicity is not manipulated and where people are not marginalised or excluded from resources and human rights because of ethnic identities.

Resolving the coloured question and national question go beyond winning the first election. However, winning the first election in the Western Cape should mark the end of ethnic mobilisation for minority rule.

Statistics and opinion polls predicting NP support among coloureds have spooked some in our ranks because we know that we (the ANC) have not paid adequate attention to mobilisation and political education within our communities.

Our failure to focus on local issues and develop forums consisting of community organisations, unions and ANC branches has been mentioned as an impeding factor.

It has been argued that in organising in our communities we should take note of the peculiarities of our communities — we should, for example, counter anti-communist propaganda by opening meetings with a prayer.

It seems the conclusion has to be that a concerted effort must be made to mobilise our constituency, through making the ANC visible in our areas.

After the deliberation around the coloured question, it is clear the problem is not with the coloured community, but with the ANC.



NURSING BRUISES: Khayelitsha's ANC Youth League leadership who say they were beaten up by Lingeletu West councillors during Wednesday's demonstration

Shots fired at demo

South 10/4 - 14/4/93.

By Sabata Ngcai
and Quentin Wilson

AN ANC Youth League (ANCYL) demonstration ended in chaos on Wednesday when Khayelitsha councillors fired shots to disperse a crowd of about 500 people.

As protesters gathered around the Lingeletu West Town Council offices, councillors say they "panicked for their lives" and dispersed the crowd with gunfire.

The Goldstone Commission's Cape Town unit is to investigate the shooting.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the commission's Cape Town investigation unit had informed it of

the events in which a number of people had occupied the offices.

"As soon as it is safe for it to do so, the commission's investigation unit will make appropriate inquiries as to the cause of the incident and the conduct of the parties involved," Goldstone said.

"After receiving the report from its unit, the commission will decide what further action, if any, is appropriate," Goldstone said.

An eight-person ANCYL delegation inside the building at the time discussing their demands claim they were assaulted by councillors.

No-one was hit by the gunfire but minor injuries were sustained in the scramble to get away.

Angry Youth League members say there was no provocation from

their side and insist councillors over-reacted.

"They were definitely under no threat from us," said ANCYL secretary, Mr Mbuyiseli Boqwana.

"We came there to discuss issues affecting our community. Our only weapons were our mouths and their response was to shoot at us."

Mr Graham Lawrence, Lingeletu West town clerk, disagrees. He said protesters "pushed the locked gates open and stoned the offices", leaving the councillors no choice but to defend themselves.

The Youth League was demanding the resignation of Lingeletu West councillors and an independent commission of inquiry to examine allegations of council corruption.

Joe tells of Marxism-DP marriage

Source 10/4-14/4/93
By Diane Coetzer (1/A)

JOE MARK'S attempt on Tuesday to explain to the people of Steenberg and Retreat why he left the ANC for the Democratic Party was a polite affair.

St Mary's church hall in Retreat Road was strewn with yellow and blue posters, pretty flower arrangements and hand-drawn placards declaring "Mr Marks, a people's leader".

Eighty people turned up to hear why Marks had changed political horses. There was no heckling, loud shouting or efforts to break up the meeting.

And at the end the DP thanked ANC supporters for displaying "such tolerance" before some people went to the back of the hall to sign up as party members.

However, Marks held aloft a poster advertising the DP meeting over which a number of ANC stickers had been stuck.

"This is why I left the ANC," he said, stabbing a finger at the stickers.

"The ANC does not tolerate people with different ideas and does not truly understand democracy."

Despite the polite tone of the meeting and the obvious support of some 50-odd people, Marks was still unable to provide his questioners with any substantial reasons for his decision.

Like the press conference announcing his shift last month, the former Western Cape UDF vice-president and Cape Areas Housing Action Committee member could only point to vague allegations of "non-accountability and undemo-

cratic behaviour" in the ANC.

"The reason I left the ANC is because of the top-dog system and you people know that is the truth," he told an ANC supporter.

"I will say there is a lack of democracy and accountability in the organisation as well as a lack of commitment to ordinary people.

"It is really for those people, people in the audience now, that I have made the move because I feel I can best serve them through the DP.

"I have read their constitution and feel it is the right path."

Challenged to explain the difference between the two constitutions, Marks said there was not much, except that, unlike the ANC, the "DP stands for a social-market system which is the only one that can address the questions of poverty, hunger and disease".

TO page 19

Azapo's deep anguish: Are we in or are we out?

C Press 11/4/93

THE Azanian People's Organisation, which repeatedly describes the present constitutional talks as a venture aimed at betraying the black masses, is simultaneously trying to convince its rank and file that negotiations are the only viable form of struggle.

Azapo's leaders went to council in Bloemfontein last weekend hoping that the council - the second-highest decision-making body, would endorse a plan to engage the government in talks.

A week before Azapo held a strategising confer-

ence attended by about 100 influential Azapo delegates. Shortly afterwards, Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala told a press conference that the conference had taken "key decisions" regarding negotiations, but these would only be made public after ratification by council.

However, insiders maintain that the "key decisions" were a face-saving plan to enter into the multiparty talks. The main question to be answered at council was about how to join talks and not whether the organisation should join, ob-

servers claim.

City Press learned that when the debate went to council - attended by Azapo's rank and file members - it was greeted with chants from radicals of "Down with those intending to go to Kempton Park" - referring to the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park where the negotiations are taking place.

It was clear that while the Azapo leadership was divided on the question of talks, the rank and file was as united as ever to stay out of talks.

Radical members had stood by the organisa-

When the South African negotiations re-opened in Kempton Park recently, Azapo, the organisation bearing the torch of Steve Biko's black consciousness movement, was conspicuous by its absence. This in no way meant the organisation was ignoring the changing times. On the contrary, argues MOSES MAMAILA who has followed a debate which strikes at the core of the movement.

tion's initial position - that the sections of the liberation movement who engaged in talks were "selling out the struggle of the oppressed" as there could be "no meaningful negotiations between unequal partners".

Azapo leaders have repeatedly asserted that the product of the negotiations would be a Muzorewa-type of settlement in which some black lead-

ers are co-opted but the white minority retains power.

The message to the leadership was clear and unambiguous: "If you go to Kempton Park, you do not represent Azapo."

Delegates at council called on the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) to intensify the armed struggle through its military wing, the Azanian

National Liberation Army (Azanla).

But critics say Azanla does not have the military might or resources to translate the slogans into reality.

Even if Azanla could recruit more personnel, where would they get the material resources that are crucial to waging the armed struggle? The BCMA, unlike the PAC and the ANC, is not re-

cognised by the UN and the OAU who have been the main financial backers of the ANC and PAC.

However, an Azanla cadre dismissed claims that Azanla cannot sustain a guerrilla campaign as "a defeatist attitude".

He was confident that "the Azanian chimurenga (war of struggle)" could still be waged.

Questioned on Azanla's military operations, the cadre blandly stated: "Your problem as civilians is that you are unable to distinguish armed struggle from armed activities."

He explained that armed struggle involved

mobilisation and recruitment.

He said Azanla had intensified mass mobilisation in the country. "The time to strike is not far away," he said.

However, developments this week indicated some confusion between Azapo and the BCMA.

Azapo's Mosala issued a statement saying a meeting between Azapo, BCMA and the government this week in Botswana had been put on hold pending the announcement of Azapo's final stance on negotiations. He said a special congress had been called to discuss the issue.

He explained that armed struggle involved

Meanwhile, the BCMA refuted any plans of a Botswana meeting.

Although Azapo in the past maintained that it would only participate in talks with Pretoria if these were held at a neutral venue under a neutral convenor, it now seems that many in the leadership have come to terms with the reality that the negotiations' process will continue with or without the movement.

They feel the process has the blessing of the international community and the product of the talks will be recognised internationally.

They have a case, as all

major organisations in the country are taking part in the talks.

Opponents - the majority of Azapo - do not seem to have come up with a viable option. The slogans of the past have not been borne out.

Will Azapo start talking to the government in the same vein as the PAC?

This remains to be seen.

However, it seems that some senior leaders in the movement are working very hard on designing an acceptable route which will take Azapo into the talks.

Decisions, decisions...

'I want a free SA ... even if I have to lay down my life for it'

Senior ANC official weeps at killing spot

Senior ANC official Tokyo Sexwale, Chris Han's neighbour, could not hold back his tears as he described how he found Han's bullet-riddled body.

Hani was gunned down in the driveway of his Boksburg home as he returned from a jog. Among the shots were two hits to the head - below the left ear and in the jaw.

Sadly distressed Sexwale: "Chris Hani died for peace. About two days ago he was calling for peace in the country. His killers are obviously opposed to peace."

Sexwale was one of the first on the scene.

Hani's wife, Dimpho Hani, was away in Lesotho and was informed yesterday of her husband's death.

Hani's daughter, who was in the house at the time of the shooting, was taken to the Sexwale home and comforted.

Hani's death was described as a "fragile blow" by fellow SACP member Ronnie Kasrils.

"I think it is the most tragic day for South Africa that someone with such outstanding qualities as a human being should be assassinated. It is the most shattering blow," said Kasrils.

By LEN KALANE and Sapa

DEATH always stalked Chris Hani, who had survived several assassination attempts in the past.

The most publicised had been the 1981 incident when explosives were placed under his car in Maseru, Lesotho.

The following year during the SADF Maseru raid on the ANC, Hani had been away overseas for three months, but his house and family were also targeted. But apparently the soldiers made a mistake and fired at the house next door, missing his wife Limpho, and the couple's three children.

The SADF however released a statement insisting that Limpho had definitely been among the people killed during the raid. It turned out not to be true. The Hanis had once more been targeted - but survived.

A Latin scholar and devotee of the Romantic poets, Hani also saw service in two wars of liberation in southern Africa. As chief of staff of Umkhonto weSizwe he directed the ANC's armed struggle for five years.

"I've lived with death for most of my life," he said in a 1990 interview. "I want to live in a free SA ... even if I have to lay down my life for it."

He first became an ANC National Executive Committee member in 1974 at the young age of 32 while the ANC was still banned and in exile.

After the ANC and the SACP were unbanned in February 1990, Hani re-

turned to SA. He caused a stir when he indicated that despite the talks with the government, a seizure of power could not be ruled out if whites were not prepared to give up power.

Hani was born on June 28 1942 at Cofimvaba, Transkei. He completed his Senior Certificate at the Lovedale Institute in Alice; attended Fort Hare and graduated from Rhodes University in 1962 with a BA in English and Latin, which he had learned to love while at a Catholic primary school.

He then worked for a year as an articled clerk with a Cape Town law firm, but did not complete his articles.

While serving articles Hani helped the SA Congress of Trade Unions. This helped him broaden his perception of the workers' struggle and of the need to achieve a redistribution of the wealth of the country.

Hani joined the ANC Youth League in 1957 while at school in Lovedale, and was suspended from Fort Hare for his involvement in protest politics.

The ANC was banned in 1960 and in 1962 Hani joined its military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), and became a member of its Western Cape leadership.

Arrested in late 1962 under the Suppression of Communism Act, he was sentenced to 18 months' jail, but was released on bail pending an appeal.

When the appeal was turned down early in 1963 he skipped the country to undergo military training.

As Commissar of the Luthuli De-

tachment of MK, he fought in Rhodesia alongside cadres of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, then crossed to Botswana, where he was charged with possessing weapons of war and served two years of a six-year sentence before being released on parole.

During his time in Rhodesia Hani was involved in three battles near Tlojto in Wankie against the Rhodesian African Rifles. Joint MK/Zapu bases were under intense bombing from the Rhodesian helicopters and planes at the time.

In 1974, when he was elected to the ANC's National Executive, Hani was instructed to enter SA to establish a political infrastructure for the ANC in the Cape. He then moved to Lesotho, where in 1981 an attempt was made on his life when explosives were placed in the car he was using. He survived another assassination attempt the following year.

In 1982 he was recalled to Zambia and appointed Army Political Commissar and Deputy Commander of MK, responsible for the ANC's political programme within its army, ensuring that cadres carried out the political tasks of the ANC.

In 1983 he took part in the suppression of a mutiny by MK dissidents in training camps, but denied in later years that he participated in the arrests, killings and torture that followed.

In 1987 he took over from Joe Slovo as MK chief of staff, responsible for its day-to-day operations.

After the ANC was unbanned in February 1990, Hani re-entered SA under temporary indemnity, which the government renewed later that year only after protests from the ANC.

"The armed struggle has been central in inspiring our people to strike against the enemy," he said on his return. "It is the result of this struggle that our leaders have been released. That is victory for the ANC."

When the SACP was re-launched as a legal body in July 1990, Hani was named a member of its 22-person interim leadership group.

In 1991 he was named as front runner to Thabo Mbeki for the ANC deputy presidency, but withdrew in favour of compromise candidate Walter Sisulu. Hani was however re-elected to the national executive and its working committee.

In December 1991 he bucked directives from the ANC and MK by taking over from the ailing Slovo as general secretary of the SACP.

In April last year he quit as MK chief of staff.

Hani was fond of reading Romantic poets like Keats and Shelley, which he found a handy way to "fly away from the trials and troubles of this world". However Shakespeare remained his favourite author.

He also liked his jogging, reading English literature, Greek mythology and Classics.

He is survived by Limpho and three children.



SOLDIER, SCHOLAR AND HERO ... Martin Thembisile (Chris) Hani served in wars for both the liberation of Zimbabwe and SA. He also survived several assassination attempts while he carried out his tasks for Umkhonto weSizwe ... until yesterday's fateful bullets.

Hani knew death was near

By SEKOLA SELLO

TWO weeks ago, Chris Hani told me that the recent spate of black-on-white killings was part of a smokescreen to create the right climate for leading anti-apartheid activists to be killed.

How prophetic this was to be. Hani became the first high profile, anti-apartheid victim to fall.

When Hani told me this in the presence of leading SACP members, no one would have thought that he was to be the first victim.

And in a cruel twist of fate, Hani was assassinated only a few days after he appealed to political organisations across the spectrum to give negotiations a chance.

His appeal, which some newspapers incorrectly interpreted as a criticism of Apla, earned him the wrath of the PAC, who accused him of dishonesty and inconsistency.

How ironic that Hani, who had escaped several

Honesty might have cost

CP/Press 11/4/93

Chris his life

(11)

attempts on his life while in exile, should fall at a time when even his most vehement detractors were beginning to see him for what he was - a true patriot who was not anti-white.

To white South Africans who had demonised him when he was chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, his recent statements about peace and reconciliation gave the impression of someone who had undergone a Pauline conversion.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Hani was always true to the truth and if this rubbed

some people up the wrong way, it was tough luck.

Hani was not the ogre some whites made him out to be. His only political weakness, which I believe cost him his life, was his honesty. Hani might have been an accomplished politician, but he was too good for his own good.

It was not for him to engage in diplomatic niceties.

A recent Markinor poll found Hani to be the most popular figure in the entire country after ANC president Nelson Mandela. Yet Hani was the most accessible political

leader I ever knew in such a short period.

I could pick up a phone and speak directly to him quicker than I could with any other political leader in the country.

To me, at the risk of incurring the wrath of some leaders, Hani was the true son of the soil. A true leader who had time even for political writers like yours truly.

I always considered Hani the true conscience of the ANC. With Hani around, I was confident that the true aspirations of the people would not be compromised.

He was always on the side of the poor, something natural to this son from Cofimvaba who came from such a poor background.

It is a real tragedy that someone who defied the numerous machinations of Pretoria for so many years, should die when he was about to see his country become free and democratic.



HORROR... Grieving neighbours and friends of the Hani family gathered at his Boksburg home yesterday where he was gunned down in cold blood. Pict: TLADI KHUELE

Appeal for calm as reaction pours in

By CP Reporters and Sapa

by fellow SACP member Ronnie Kasrils.

SHOCKED reaction to the murder of SACP chief Chris Hani poured in yesterday, as the ANC condemned the assassination as an attempt to derail the peace process.

The ANC said it had "no doubt those responsible for the killing would be found among those against current efforts to bring peace to SA".

"The assassination of Chris Hani comes at a time when the hopes of millions of South Africans for peace and tranquility have been raised by the recommencement of multiparty negotiations.

"The ANC has no doubt that those responsible for Hani's murder will be found among those elements who have for so long sought his demise by fair means or foul."

The ANC has appealed to its supporters to remain calm and not to be provoked by the "senseless act".

Hani was also a member of the ANC's NEC.

State President FW de Klerk yesterday condemned the assassination, saying it: "Undermined the work of people of goodwill from all political persuasions who strove for a peaceful future."

"I wish to convey my sincere condolences to the family and friends of Chris Hani.

"He and I were at opposite poles of the political debate, but we were both prepared to resolve the problems of our country through the process of peaceful negotiations."

Condemnation of the killing flooded in from

"I think it is the most tragic day for SA that someone with such outstanding qualities as a human being should be assassinated. It is the most shattering blow," he said.

The PAC, whose military wing Apla this week invited Hani to join its "Year of Horrors", also condemned the killing.

The PAC asked people "to remain calm" and extended its sympathies to Hani's family.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said: "Chris Hani never took the easy road but always followed his conscience and said what he believed was right... for that he has paid with his life."

Senior Inkatha official Dr Ben Mngubane said: "I'm still very shocked... and I'm sure everyone is shocked by this."

"He was a colleague in the negotiations process... goodness knows why someone would do this to a leader of his calibre."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has appealed for restraint in the wake of the assassination of Chris Hani.

"I want to make a call to our people: Please... don't let them manipulate us. Don't let this tragic event trigger reprisals. It is what somebody wants to see happen."

"It's an irony, isn't it, that when he was leading the liberation movement's armed wing, they didn't kill him, and now when he can speak of Combatants for Peace, urging young people to become Combatants for Peace, when he is speaking for peace, speaking for reconciliation...

Sharp-witted neighbour prompted swift arrest

By DESMOND BLOW

CP/Press 11/4/93

SWIFT thinking by a white woman neighbour of Chris Hani, who was shot down in cold blood yesterday morning, led to the arrest of the suspected killer - a 40-year-old South African citizen of Polish descent - within minutes of the assassination.

The SACP leader was shot four times - three times in the head - in front of his house 10.25 am yesterday by a gunman who had lain in wait.

He died instantly, a newspaper and car keys in his hands.

City Press learned from another neighbour in the mostly white neighbourhood of Dawn Park in Boksburg that the woman saw the killer speeding away in a red Ford Laser. She took down the registration number and immediately telephoned the Boksburg police who stopped the car and apprehended the driver minutes later as he sped through Boksburg.

Two weapons were found in his possession. It is also believed the registration plates on the car were false.

It is believed the swift action by the woman trapped the killer before he could change the registration plates, and the false plates will be strong evidence against the assassin.

According to a witness who was one of the first people on the scene, Hani, who was dressed in a white and blue tracksuit, had just returned from a morning

jog. However, Brig Frans Malherbe of the SA Police said Hani had visited the local supermarket to buy a newspaper. As he got out of the car a man got out of a red Ford Laser which was parked nearby and fired four shots at Hani.

The suspected killer denied he was at the scene of Hani's murder, but at the time of going to press he was being interrogated by the East Rand Murder and Robbery Unit.

Capt Craig Kotze, spokesman for Law and Order minister Hennis Kriel, said the motive for the killing was unknown and they did not know whether the killer acted on his own or was part of a conspiracy.

However, Deputy Minister of Law and Order Gert Myburgh yesterday said preliminary investigations indicated that the killer had acted on his own.

However, there is a feeling in some circles that the killer was a hired assassin and the motive was to create anger among blacks to inflame violent unrest and so abort the constitutional talks.

They point out that certain facts indicate that the killing was premeditated and there was a conspiracy behind it. They say:

■ The killer knew Hani's movements and when he would be without his usual bodyguards.

■ The shooting was so accurate that the killer was an obvious sharpshooter, possibly even a hired killer.

near Appeal for calm as reaction pours in

C/Press
11/4/93

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By CP Reporters and Sapa

by fellow SACP member Ronnie Kasrils.

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"I wish to convey my sincere condolences to the family and friends of Chris Hani.

"He and I were at opposite poles of the political debate, but we were both prepared to resolve the problems of our country through the process of peaceful negotiations."

Condemnation of the killing flooded in from across the political spectrum yesterday afternoon.

A shocked Zach de Beer of the DP said there could be no doubt that Hani's death would put a great strain on the negotiating process as well as on efforts to build a united nation for the future.

Hani's death was described as a "tragic blow"

"I think it is the most tragic day for SA that someone with such outstanding qualities as a human being should be assassinated. It is the most shattering blow," he said.

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"I want to make a call to our people: Please ... don't let them manipulate us. Don't let this tragic event trigger reprisals. It is what somebody wants to see happen.

"It's an irony, isn't it, that when he was leading the liberation movement's armed wing, they didn't kill him, and now when he can speak of Combatants for Peace, urging young people to become Combatants for Peace, when he is speaking for peace, speaking for reconciliation, speaking for negotiation, that's when he gets killed," said Tutu.

The international observer missions of the UN, the Commonwealth, the European Community and the OAU in a joint statement yesterday also expressed shock at Hani's assassination and appealed for calm.

He laid down his life for peace

C/Press 11/4/93

I HAVE lived with death for most of my life. I want to live in a free SA even if I have to lay down my life for it.

These were the first words of SACP secretary-general Chris Hani following his return to SA in 1990 after almost 28 years in exile.

Hani is now dead, shot four times at his home in Dawn Park, Boksburg, early yesterday morning.

Yes, Hani lived with death all his life. He survived several assassination attempts while in exile.

Yes, Hani wanted to live in a free SA - that is why he waged a relentless armed struggle against a racist minority regime. For five years, he was chief of staff of Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's armed wing.

Yes, he laid down his life for it, because all his life Hani was unwavering in his criticism of undemocratic forces.

Hani may not have been the darling of many whites and moderate blacks because of his fiery and sometimes emotional speeches, but he certainly had a big following among millions of blacks.

Whoever assassinated Hani and whatever his intentions were, he robbed this country of a true stalwart, a soldier committed to the cause and, above all, a man who dearly loved his country.

Only a few days ago, Hani openly criticised the PAC for continuing the armed struggle and called for the isolation of those disrupting the peace process.

He also called for the existing self-defence units to be scrapped and replaced with a peoples' peace corps because of his concern about lawlessness in our townships.

Also, when an Afrikaans newspaper this week insinuated that he and Winnie Mandela were forming a new "Black People's Army", Hani took the matter to the Goldstone Commission.

This is the other side of Hani which some people did not know. A peaceful man, intelligent and diligent.

We know this was a calculated, cold-blooded murder and our emotions are running high. However, we appeal for calm and restraint. Let history judge and deal with those who are against any transformation to a peaceful and democratic SA, the democracy which Hani fought for all his life.

FIRST of all, two important...

Suspect held within minutes

C/Press 11/4/93

■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

By DESMOND BLOW

JANUSZ Walus, a 40-year-old Polish-born transport worker, was arrested in Boksburg minutes after Chris Hani was shot down in cold blood in front of his Dawn Park home yesterday morning.

The SA Communist Party leader was shot four times, three times in the head, by the waiting gunman at 10.25 am yesterday.

He died instantly, a newspaper clutched in his hand.

An alert white woman neighbour in the mostly white neighbourhood of Dawn Park, who says the killer speeding away in a red Ford Laser, took down the registration number and immediately phoned the Boksburg police.

Walus was apprehended minutes later as he sped through Boksburg.

Two weapons were found in his possession. It is also believed the registration plates on the car were false.

The swift action by the woman prevented the suspect from changing the registration plates, which would have made the task of the police much more difficult.

Walus has been in South Africa 12 years and works for a small transport company in Pretoria.

Mandela calls for calm

C/Press 11/4/93

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday appealed for calm throughout the country.

In his reaction to the assassination of SACP secretary-general Chris Hani, Mandela said: "With all the authority at my command I appeal to all our people to remain calm and to honour the memory of Chris Hani by remaining a disciplined force for peace."

He described the assassination as a heinous crime against not only Hani's person and his family, but also against the people of SA as a whole.

"Those responsible for this terrible deed are demented enemies of justice, democracy and peace in our country," he said, adding Hani had been at the forefront of the campaign to end violence in SA and to encourage a spirit of tolerance among all people.

Mandela said Hani was a martyr to the cause of justice and peace, adding his death "demands of us we pursue that cause with even greater vigour and determination".

Mandela appealed to South Africans not to be provoked into any acts of violence, even if motivated by a desire to avenge Hani's death. - Sapa

the company where his brother worked, or his brother's telephone number or address.

The woman who tipped off the police "disappeared from her home shortly after the arrest and even the police were unable to find her. It is thought she may have gone into hiding for fear of retaliation for giving the police information that led to the arrest of Walus.

According to a witness who was one of the first people on the scene, Hani, who was dressed in a white and blue tracksuit, had just returned from a morning jog. However, Brig Frans Malherbe of the SAP said Hani had visited a local supermarket to buy a newspaper. As he got out of the car a man got out of a red Ford Laser which was parked nearby and fired four shots at Hani, three hitting him in the

head, one behind the ear. The suspected killer denied he was at the scene of Hani's murder, but at the time of going to press he was being intensely interrogated by the East Rand murder and robbery unit.

Capt Craig Kotze, spokesman for Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel, said the motive for the killing was unknown and they did not know whether the killer acted on his own or was part of a conspiracy.

However, Deputy Minister of Law and Order Gert Myburgh said preliminary investigations indicated that the killing bore the hallmarks of an individual operating on his own.

However, there were feelings in some circles that the killer was a hired assassin. It was claimed the motive was to create anger among blacks and inflame violent unrest in order to abort constitutional talks.

Sources pointed that certain facts gave the impression that the killing was premeditated and that there was a conspiracy behind it.

■ The killer knew Hani's movements and when he would be without his usual bodyguards.

■ The shooting was so accurate that the killer was obviously a sharpshooter, possibly even a hired killer.

■ This is also supported by the fact that he drove a car and did the killing alone, which is not the way the so-called South African "hit squads" acted. There was always, at least, a second person to drive their cars.

■ See Page 2

THE GRIEF, THE FURY

By ELIAS MALULEKE

HUNDREDS of whites joined blacks in Pretoria on Wednesday and stayed away from work to attend memorial services in honour of assassinated SACP secretary-general Chris Hani.

The massive stayaway by thousands of blacks turned Pretoria and its surrounding areas into virtual ghost towns.

More than 100 000 people, including whites, attended memorial services in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Brits, Soshanguve, Hammanskraal, Winterveld, KwaNdebele and GaRankuwa.

However, many other whites who were given time off "to attend services" instead flocked to holiday and picnic spots in the outskirts of Pretoria where they held braais.

Services were also held at the St Albans Cathedral in Pretoria and at the Seva Samaj Auditorium in Laudium.

Apart from barricades that were erected in townships with burning tyres, old car bodies and rocks, and the burning of two cars in Soshanguve, services were held without further serious incidents.

Police turned out in force, but kept a low profile throughout the day.

The stayaway in Pretoria also saw many firsts in that:

- Most white-owned businesses and industries in the city were shut down for the day in honour of Chris Hani.

- Almost the entire black workforce stayed

Pretoria whites join blacks at memorial services for Chris Hani

away from work. ■ Members of the PAC and Azapo participated for the first time in rallies under the banners of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance in all regions of Pretoria.

■ Bophuthatswana police turned a blind eye to marchers.

■ Trains were, for the first time in the history of Pretoria, withdrawn and no buses or taxis could be seen on the roads.

In all services speakers called for restraint.

The "young lions", in a militant mood, roared their disapproval in the background, calling for arms and revenge.

The main service was in Mamelodi where more than 25 000 people gathered at the Solomon Mahlangu Square to hear SA Civic Association president Moses Mayekiso and ANC speakers condemn the killing and make impassionate pleas for peace.

ANC NEC member Mac Maharaj addressed

about 10 000 people in Atteridgeville: 12 000 people gathered in Soshanguve, and 5 000 marched in Hammanskraal.

Police spokesman Lt Evan Johnson said the services had passed without any serious incident.

In the far-northern Transvaal, similar services attended by thousands of people were also held and there were incidents of violence in Nylstroom when 10 people were shot by police during alleged stone-throwing incidents.

Police spokesman Maj Arno Vogel said one man was admitted to the Pietersburg Hospital in a serious condition and nine others sustained gunshot wounds after police opened fire on a crowd.

Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike was escorted out of a service held in Pietersburg after unruly elements in a 7 000-strong crowd booed him and prevented him from speaking.

PICTURES BY FANIE JASON
 IN CAPE TOWN, THUDANI
 SITHOLE IN JOHANNESBURG and
 RAES MAYER IN MARITZBURG



... PUTSCH ... SACP supporters took down the republican SA flag ... the Supreme Court in downtown Jo'burg - and raised theirs.



BURN BIKE, BURN ... A mangled motorbike in Maritzburg's city centre burns furiously in the road while protestors casually mill about - oblivious to the smoking object of mass outrage.

Nats deserting

By SEKOLA SELLO

sinking ship

Professor Pieter Joubert of the Department of Politics at Potchefstroom University doubts that the recent defections necessarily indicate support or even preference for Inkatha's policies.

He believes that these are tactical moves made by politicians who have evaluated their future in terms of national politics and realised that their options lie with Inkatha.

"The guys who left the NP did not hold any senior positions in the party and calculated that in any government of national unity, there was no future for them.

"In Inkatha they stand a better chance of occupying senior positions," said Joubert.

According to Joubert, irrespective of what some people might think of it, Inkatha will play a major role in the KwaZulu/Natal region and that it is at regional level where the political future of the defectors might lie.

"Their move is essentially out of self-interest and not necessarily because they are sincere and believe in Inkatha. But, then, all politicians do things out of self-interest in the first place."

Whatever the motives behind those defecting to either the ANC or Inkatha, there is no escaping that the demographic reality has finally caught up with the politicians.

In this country, politicians aspiring to power do not seem to have much choice but to throw in their lot with a party with the potential of gaining a majority following.

THE recent defection of some leading figures in white politics to Inkatha has raised an interesting question in the changing face of South African politics - what future is there for white political organisations?

When Inkatha's major catch in the Transvaal, Henrie Bekker, quit the ruling NP, he said he doubted whether the party would be able to distance itself from the ghost of apartheid.

He further stated that it was unrealistic to expect large numbers of black South Africans in large numbers to join what have been predominantly white political parties.

The reasons given by Bekker for leaving the Nats were not dissimilar to those given by Jannie Momberg, Dave Dalling, and Jan van Eck when they left the DP to become the ANC's first representatives in parliament.

They said they joined the ANC to promote non-racialism and work towards the full liberation of all South Africans - a clear indictment that the DP, with its liberal tradition, was not capable of achieving this.

The Nats are reported to be split down the middle with one faction led by Kobie Coetsee, Hennis Kriel and Tertius Delpont in favour of closer links with Inkatha while the Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and Dawie de Villiers grouping favour ties with the ANC.

But only the politically ignorant would start writing the epitaph of the NP. The Nats have the material resources and a constituency that will ensure they don't fade from the political landscape overnight.

In spite of the ability of the Nats and the DP to continue, there is little doubt that after decades of white political party power, the roles are about to be reversed.

In this unfolding scenario, Inkatha could become the home of many white politicians disaffected with the policies of the NP and DP.

Inkatha also has closer ties with the CP, through their common membership of the Concerned South Africans Group.

In the space of two months, Inkatha has gained four MPs and a former mayor of Durban. The three MPs are from the white Legislative Assembly and the other one from the Indian House of Delegates.

Options

When Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz joined Inkatha, he was dismissed as a maverick and many in the NP treated his defection as something of a joke.

It was also said that given his constituency - right in the heart of KwaZulu - it made perfect political sense to bond with Inkatha.

Even the DP, who lost four MPs to the ANC last year, did not attach much value to his defection. They were soon jolted when one of their members, Mike Tarr, who represents Maritzburg North, also went over to Inkatha.

The defections of Tarr and Bekker defied what had been considered conventional wisdom in South African politics. The two represented urban constituencies and Bekker was considered *verlig*. Going to Inkatha, it was said, defied logic.

Why is Inkatha suddenly the refuge of whites? And given that there is going to be a government of national unity lasting at least until the end of this century, why are these MPs abandoning the NP boat?

That some white MPs would join Inkatha has never been in doubt. The party's position on federalism, its anti-sanctions stance and its support for the market economy is supported right across the political spectrum by the predominantly white political parties.

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter
APLA defence chief Sabelo Phama had already returned to the safety of his Tanzanian lair when he appeared on TV this week to tell South Africans that he would aim his guns at children — to hurt whites where it hurts most.

Earlier he had slipped into the Transkei to grant the SABC a rare interview.

As Phama was unlikely to talk to "white settlers," the SABC sent a black television team and crew to film the interview.

But getting the full version of the interview screened on TV3's Newline on Wednesday night — 16 days after it had been taped — was not without intrigue.

Apla security aides confiscated the cassette, apparently by mutual agreement, and said it would be released at the "appropriate" time for "security reasons".

Twelve days later the tape was given back to the SABC by an Eastern Cape office of the Pan Africanist Congress, giving the Apla commander enough time to return to Dar es Salaam.

The interview gave some insight into the mind of the man who claims to be engaged in guerrilla warfare against the "regime and its agents".

Phama said that it was Apla policy to kill policemen, white farmers in rural areas and whites in general.

He disclosed that he had ordered the murder of innocent people at a private party in a restaurant in the Eastern Cape last December.

When Apla struck at King William's Town Golf Club on December 8, "Apla forces were in pursuit of specific enemy agents", Phama claimed.

Not much is known about Sabelo Phama. As PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander put it: "We only give out biographical details of Apla members after their death."

Sabelo Victor Phama is in his early 40s. He was born in the Transkei, is married and has three-year-old twin sons, Sandile and Andile, who live with him in Dar es Salaam.

Normally after unsolved terrorist attacks on policeman or members of the public in SA, Apla's field operative, Carl Zimbiri, takes it upon himself to telephone news agencies claiming the deaths to be "Apla successes".

Sitimes 11/4/93
These statements — true or false — are endorsed by Phama, who condones the attacks with the rationale that "cops are a key part of Pretoria's settler-colonial oppressive establishment".

"We will continue striking until the regime is forced to hand over power to the indigenous African majority.

"The SAP and SADF are armed enemy organs and, because the regime relies on them for its perpetual stay in power, they should be wiped out of existence," Phama declares.

Whereas the ANC's military wing, Umkonto we Siswe, prefers AK47s, Apla cadres use mostly Scorpion machineguns.

Apla literature claims there are at least six regional commanders based inside SA and who form an integral part of the high command.

Apla/PAC's military strategy is theoretically based on Mao Tse-Tung's protracted war in China, with three main stages:

- Liberation movement strategically defends during the period of "enemy offensive";

- Preparation of the liberation movement's strategic offensive during the "enemy's" strategic consolidation; and

- The liberation movement's counter-offensive during the enemy's strategic retreat in the period of "total war".

According to evidence before the Goldstone Commission, Apla's high command (external) is in overall command of all Apla's operations inside and outside SA.

According to Goldstone, Apla consists of 30 persons, with the first deputy president of the PAC, Johnson Phillip Malambo, as commander-in-chief.

This week, Benny Alexander denied Mr Mlambo was in any way involved with Apla. He said Apla reported directly to the PAC's central committee.

He said Phama, who was PAC defence secretary until the second national congress in 1990, was the sole chief commander of Apla.

According to evidence the SAP gave the Goldstone Commission, Apla has about 120 members in SA who had received training abroad. The number of recruits trained locally is not known.

The SAP estimates that Apla has approximately 2 700 members abroad, the majority of whom are in Tanzania, and who include women, children and people working on agricultural projects.

Apla chief bolts home after TV talk

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WEEKEND WINNERS
ALL THE LUCKY NUMBERS PAGE 12

Four shots kill SACP chief after lone drive



Tragedy strikes two days after peace call

HOW HANI DIED

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO,
CHARLES LEONARD and
CHARLENE SMITH

AS CHRIS HANI drove into his driveway just after 10am yesterday, a red Ford Laser pulled in close behind. The driver, a white man, followed Hani to his front door.

Four shots rang out. Hani was hit at point-blank range in the chin, behind the ear and in his chest.

Mr. Hani, 50-year-old revolutionary turned peacenaker, lay dead, clutching a newspaper to his chest.

The assassin sauntered back to his car, reversed out of the driveway and drove around the corner.

Alerted by the sound of the gunshots, Mr. Hani's daughter, Nomakhwezi, 15 — the only member of his family at home at the time — opened the front door to be confronted by the sight of her father's bloodied body in his blue track suit and running shoes.

Her screams alerted a neighbour, who ran to the Hani house from next door and found the hysterical girl bent over her father's body.

"It was pitiful. The child was wailing. I quickly took her away from the sight of her dead father, bleeding all over the patio," said the neighbour, who did not want to be named for fear of reprisals.



CHRIS HANI
... collapsed outside his front door

ANC calls for calm

By EDYTH BULBRING
THE ANC and the South African Communist Party yesterday appealed to their supporters to remain calm and restrained following the assassination of Chris Hani.

The ANC asked its members not to be provoked by those intent on wrecking the peace process. ANC leader Nelson Mandela said Mr. Hani, the leader of the SA Communist Party, was a martyr to the cause of justice and peace.

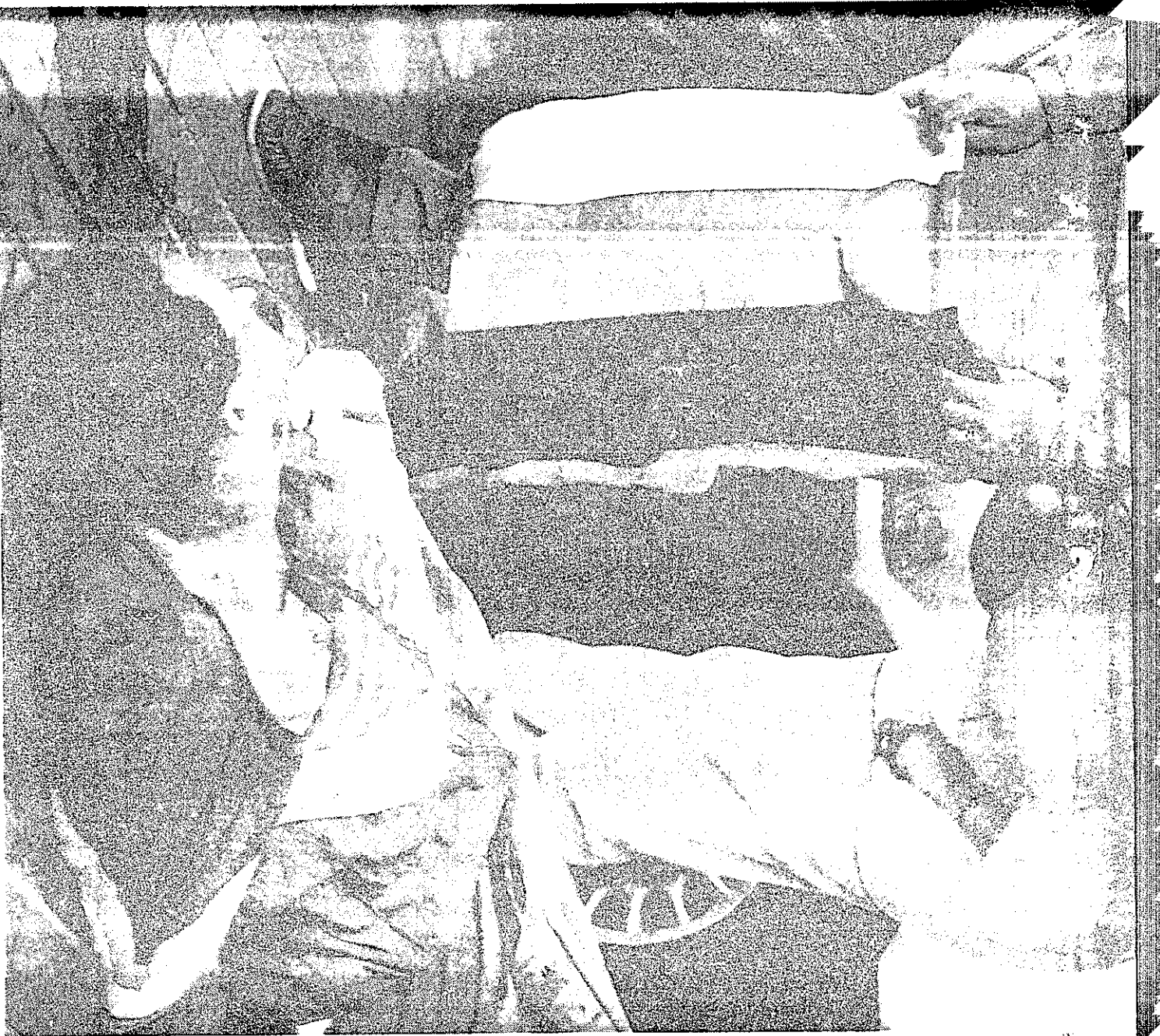
"His death demands of us that we pursue that cause with even greater vigour and determination," said Mr. Mandela. "With all the authority at my command, I therefore appeal to all our people to remain calm and to honour the memory of Chris Hani."

Blacks taunted in streets
Sunday Times Reporter ONLY hours after the slaying of SACP leader Chris Hani, four white men in a white bakkie cruised past the SACP headquarters in Johannesburg chanting: "SACP with the AWP". Two men in the back of the open bakkie shouted

Police hold riot - witness

Police hold riot - witness
SACP leader Chris Hani was shot dead yesterday.





Cordon

She took Nomakhwezi to the nearby home of the ANC's PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale.

As the killer drove away, a woman who lives nearby took down the registration number of his car and reported the killing to the police.

By 10:30am, police, SADF personnel and traffic police had cordoned off the entire block bordering Hakea Street.

Mr Hani's body was removed in a police mortuary van at 12:30pm.

ANC members formed a column on either side of the van and broke into an emotional rendition of the farewell song for fallen comrades, *Hamba Kahle M'kontlo*.

As the van slowly drove through the large crowd, ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo, his wife Adelaide and son Dali arrived. With them was the Mandela lawyer Ismail Ayob.

Mr Tambo, in obvious pain and leaning heavily on his walking stick, insisted on saying a personal farewell to his friend.

Alone

Soon afterwards, white-haired Walter Sisulu arrived alone, with a driver. Mrs Winnie Mandela, who arrived with a three-car entourage, also paid her last respects.

This was to have been a rare weekend off for Mr Hani, who broke his usual security routine to drive alone to the shops. His driver, who doubles as his bodyguard, was not at the house when the assassination took place.

He arrived after the cordon had been erected and broke down after a newspaper reporter told him Mr Hani was dead.

Mr Hani, who often addressed three to four rallies a day, decided to take some time off over Easter.

He returned from Transkei after a day-long visit with ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma to see General Bantu Holomisa to discuss ways of reducing tension between Transkei and the SA government.

On Thursday night he appeared on SABC-TV's *Agenda* with PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander.

On Friday his wife, Limpho, a Lesotho

□ To Page 2

Immigrant

By DE WET POTGIETER and EDYTH BULBRING

A FORTY-YEAR-OLD man of Polish extraction, allegedly with right-wing sympathies, has been arrested in connection with the killing of ANC Communist Party boss Chris Hani.

Police sources yesterday identified the man as Mr Jan Wallus — a Polish immigrant with violently anti-communist sentiments and close links to the most militant wing of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

They said Mr Wallus fled Poland 10 years ago to get away from the communists.

Meanwhile, a right-wing source said Mr Wallus was unmarried and stayed on a farm outside Pretoria.

He is self-employed, selling glass and pottery. He was described as a "concerned, active and registered" member of the AWB and the CP.

Extreme

Three weeks ago, in the wake of the shootings of white civilians at Elkenhof, south of Johannesburg, AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche announced that an extremist white group, unconnected with his organisation, was setting itself up to wage civil war.

It is not clear whether the man being held by the police is connected with this extremist group.

No official confirmation of the man's identity was available yesterday. The man was arrested by police half an hour after his car was spotted leaving the murder scene. Police, responding to an all-points

□ To Page 2

force for peace. Their call for calm was reiterated by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. "I want to make a call to our people. Please, don't let them manipulate us. "Don't let this tragic event trigger reprisals. "It is what somebody wants to see happen."

Elsewhere, the communist leader's death was greeted with shock and in some cases anger. The SACP reported spontaneous gatherings of supporters in the Eastern Cape and other major centres. At the time of going to press, burning barricades were being put up in Khayelitsha in the Western Cape.

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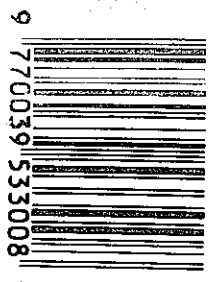
where delivery routes exist

Tokyo Sexwale, a former MK comrade and now the ANC's PWV chairman, and Themwe Mthintso, an SACP negotiator and long-time friend of Chris Hani, stand in shock beside the SACP chief's body

Picture: CECIL SOLS

Yes, FRIDAY'S NEEDERS, South Africa's most popular family fun game, is back in the SUNDAY TIMES next week. And this year we'll again be giving away

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SITINGS 11/4/93

FROM MILITANT TO PEACEMAKER

By CHARLENE SMITH

CHRIS HANI, SA Communist Party chief and probably the second most popular politician in South Africa after Nelson Mandela, had become one of South Africa's most vocal and active peacemakers in the last year of his life.

No one articulated better the fears and hopes of the poor and militant than he did — and no one did more in recent times to direct the energies of the militant toward peace.

In one of his last public speeches last weekend, he called for the formation of a peace corps, either paid or voluntary, to "do a two-year stint assisting with crime control, patrolling, clean-up campaigns and general service to townships."

The former chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe called for "major demilitarisation" and said that, instead of thinking of a future army, "would it not make sense to prioritise a future police service?"

"It is imperative that the ANC and its allies become ever bolder and more creative in building a major momentum for peace," he said.

Fifty-year-old Mr Hani was one of six children of Mary and Gilbert Hani of Cofimvaba in Transkei. His father was a member of the ANC and, according to ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, he has been in exile in Lesotho for many years.

IDEALS

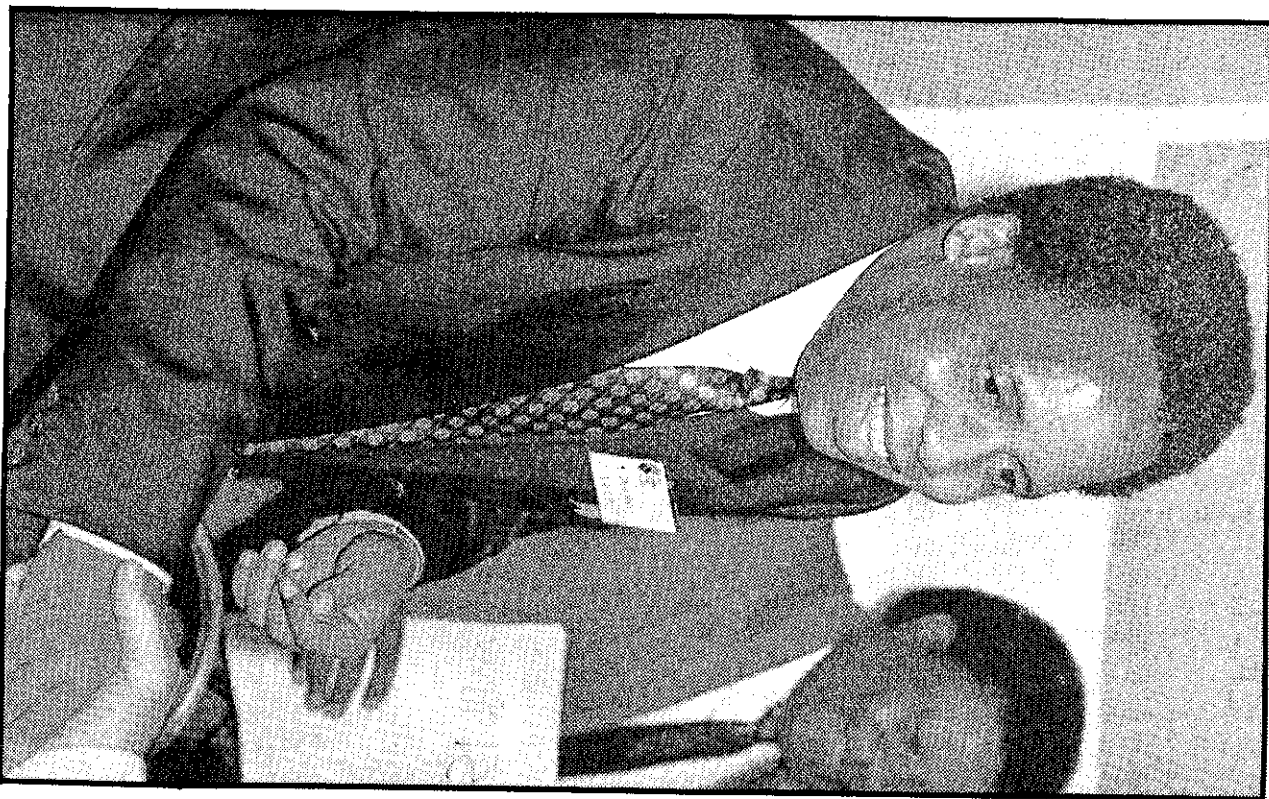
As a child, Mr Hani went to a Catholic primary school, where his lifelong love of Latin began. At the age of 12 his sights were set on studying for the priesthood but his father was against this goal and moved him to a non-denominational school.

At Fort Hare University, he continued his study of Latin and the classics, which helped mould his political ideals. He was also influenced strongly by Govan Mbeki, father of his schoolfriend Thabo Mbeki, and by the time Mr Sisulu met him in Johannesburg at the home of Braam Fischer in the late 50s, Mr Hani was already a powerful youth leader and ardent communist.

A shocked Mr Sisulu said Mr Hani was one of the most loved people in the ANC. "He was a most wonderful chap. It is a shocking loss I can't begin to describe how serious a setback it is."

One of the most casual leaders in the ANC, with an office door always open, a booming voice and a ready laugh, Chris Hani was by far the most vigorous political campaigner in the country.

His weekends were packed with addresses to public meetings in out-of-the-way places. No cause was too insignificant for him to take up and he



CHANGING FACES... a smartly suited Chris Hani shakes hands at a housing conference in 1992 and in uniform at Umtata rally in 1990



often deputised at meetings for ANC president Nelson Mandela.

He joined the ANC in 1957, while at school at Lovedale in the Eastern Cape. Some years later, while serving his legal articles in Cape Town, he assisted the then SA Congress of Trade Unions. The son of a migrant worker, he retained a lifetime concern for the needs of working people.

In 1962, after the ANC was banned, he joined Umkhonto we Sizwe. He was detained on several occasions before going underground and then into exile in May 1963. In 1967, as

commissioner of the Luthuli detachment of Umkhonto we Sizwe, he fought in southern Rhodesia with Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union.

In 1974 he was the youngest ever member of the ANC, at the age of 32. In that year he set about establishing a political infrastructure for the ANC in the Cape, operating from Lesotho. In 1981 he was one of the primary targets of the SADF Maseru raid in which 49 ANC members and Lesotho citizens were killed.

Mr Hani was one of the few survivors of that early morning raid. Earlier, a failed car bomb attempt was made on his life.

In 1992 he became deputy commander of MK and Army Political Commissar.

With Gertrude Shope, he then visited MK camps, where he catalogued complaints of brutality and abuses, took them to Oliver Tambo, then ANC president, and ensured that they stopped.

No leader of MK was idolised more than Mr Hani, who maintained strict

11A

to give up power.

As a result of such statements and his involvement in the ANC underground Operation Vula, Mr Hani became the government's favourite "foggieman". He was the last ANC leader given immunity from prosecution by the government.

An active member of the SA Communist Party, he was elected its leader in 1991 after Joe Slovo stepped down. Many criticised his decision, believing that his popularity made him a candidate as a future ANC president. However, his commitment to socialism won over any thoughts of personal power.

Later he relinquished the position of MK chief-of-staff and was replaced by Siphiwe Nyanda.

After his appointment as SACP leader, Mr Hani began to tone down his speeches — replacing fiery rhetoric with considered criticism of involvement by ANC and SACP members in violence.

After he was asked to investigate self-defence units by the ANC, he published an article in the SACP journal, *Umsenzisi*, in which he called for a rethink on the control of these units, some of which he said were running riot in the communities which they were supposed to protect.

PEACE

He continued to be critical of SDUs and only last week suggested they be transformed into a peace corps.

In his last public speech on Tuesday, Mr Hani criticised the PAC for contributing the armed struggle and called for the political isolation of those disrupting the peace process.

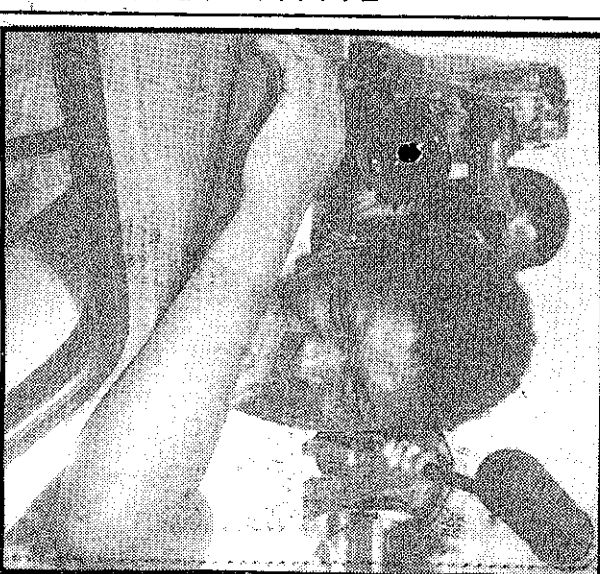
Recently there was speculation that he was involved with Winnie Mandela in setting up a new black army to rival MK. The SACP said this was part of a disinformation campaign on the part of the police and military to discredit him.

Mr Hani told the Sunday Times: "I am convinced that in the security forces there exists an element that has singled me out as someone not to be trusted. They see me as a monster."

"The message is being sent to the white population that Chris Hani is the devil himself. The police see me as the brains and key strategist. I have given up trying to prove that I'm campaigning for peace."

"These guys see me as someone who is bad news. I fear that there are people who have the capacity to eliminate me. I am frightened about what they are planning."

Mr Hani is survived by his Lesotho-born wife, Lampho, and three daughters — Neo, 20, a final year B Comm student at UCT, Nomakhwezi, 15, a high school student in Johannesburg, and Lindwe, 11.



TEARS FOR HIS HERO... Chris Hani's bodyguard Sandile Sizani after yesterday's assassination

The bodyguard who wasn't there

By BRIAN SOKUTU

Moridi Gungubele — believed to be the last person to have spoken to Mr Hani yesterday morning.

Mr Gungubele said: "Comrade Chris first phoned me last night to say he was going to post money to his son in Cape Town the following day."

"I told him I would be free to go with him, because it would not be safe for him to go alone. He agreed. He promised to call again in the morning."

"Chris called again this morning, saying I should accompany him to Spruitview, where his daughter lives, where he wanted to go to a hair salon."

"Twenty minutes after speaking to Chris, a crying Nomakhwezi called to say: 'Uncle Moridi, daddy has been shot.' I rushed there with Tokyo Sexwale to find Chris dead."

HOW CHRIS

HANI DIED

From Page 1A

made him dangerous. He said let's get away from the violence... he died for the violence. I beg all our supporters to remember that... SA Communist Party

Calls go

THE leaders of the six self-governing territories have the power to pay themselves whatever salaries and perks they please without the knowledge or approval of the SA government.

Although they are financially dependent on the South African taxpayer for millions of rands every year, not even President FW de Klerk knows — or can dictate — how much his counterparts pay themselves.

And, according to legislation amended by each of the homelands from 1987, not even their own inhabitants and parliamentarians have the right to know what their chief ministers earn.

There has been growing concern in the Department of Regional and Land Affairs following reports of corruption and mismanagement that the spending in the homelands is out of control.

The department took over the function of channeling the funds to each homeland when the Department of Development Aid was disbanded last year.

Chief ministers secretly taking in huge salaries

By EDYTH BULBRING, Political Correspondent

remuneration of political office-bearers reached a deadlock last year with most of the territories tailing the department that it was none of their business. A question by Homeland DP spokesman Peter Soal to Parliament in February this year sounded alarm bells in the department that the remuneration of office-bearers in the homelands had reached a stage of "anarchy".

Mr Soal asked the government to find out whether the homelands had paid themselves bonuses of any kind. Mr Soal said yesterday he had received information that several of the homelands had paid their political office-bearers hefty bonuses.

After two months, the department had still not received satisfactory replies from the six homelands.

And reports this week indicated that Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Rammotse's remuneration package of R350 000 exceeded President FW de Klerk's package of R100 000. Even the ordinary ministers' remuneration packages were more than Mr de Klerk's.

Squeeze

Prior to 1987 the Act which governed the remuneration of political office-bearers was amended each year to give the precise details of what each minister and chief minister earned.

The amended Act would be signed by President de Klerk and then placed before the legislative assembly for approval. However, since 1987, all the homelands amended this Act, thus enabling the salaries of political office-bearers to remain the knowledge only of the Treasury and the Cabinet.

Attempts by the Sunday Times to establish the salary of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelez were unsuccessful. His secretary, Mr George Smit, said the salary of Chief Buthelez was confidential. He said it was Chief Buthelez's prerogative not to make it known. It was information that they did not even disclose to the SA government, he said.

And officials at the Department of Regional and Land Affairs said they were having the same kind of luck. Trying to "squeeze" the information out of the homelands was proving time consuming and frustrating. Many of the homelands were being evasive, they said.

Mr Soal said it appeared that affairs in the homelands were out of hand. He said the SA government should send in auditors to establish the exact state of affairs.

"The rumours of excessive payments must be put to rest. It's intolerable that a situation has arisen where taxpayers' money is spent on rewarding and enriching political office-bearers in secret. It is taxpayers' money. We are entitled to know how it is being spent," he said.

calm

By EDYTH BULBRING and CHARLENE SMITH

THE ANC and its allies were last night discussing plans to hold a national day of mourning for SACP leader Chris Hani.

Meanwhile, calls by the ANC and SACP on their supporters to remain calm were echoed by political leaders across the spectrum.

They expressed concern at the possibility of escalating violence in response to the murder of the ANC's second most popular leader, and the implications this could have for negotiations.

President FW de Klerk called on all leaders to show maximum restraint and to exercise the strongest possible discipline over their followers.

"I likewise call on all South Africans to exercise restraint," he said.

Mr de Klerk said the assassination of Mr Hani and other politically-motivated murders undermined the work of people who strove for a peaceful future. "I wish to convey my sincere condolences to the family and friends of Mr Hani," added Mr de Klerk.

"He and I were at opposite poles of the political debate, but we were both prepared to resolve the problems of our country through the process of peaceful negotiations."

While Mr Hani could no longer do so, those who remained had to re-dedicate themselves to peaceful negotiations, said Mr de Klerk.

The government's chief negotiator, Roelf Meyer, said the murder of Mr Hani was a setback for negotiations.

"There is only one solution for SA — negotiations," he said.

"Mr Hani's death must encourage all those involved to succeed with constitutional negotiations."

The PAC's Barney Desai said SA was on the brink of a breakthrough in negotiations, and this "dastardly act can only put the process back."

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer also condemned the assassination.

"Nothing that has happened in many years has shocked me as this deed has done," he said. "Morally, this is utterly repugnant. Politically, it is the most dangerous deed that could possibly have been committed."

After being told in a telegram that her husband had been murdered, Mrs Hani was on her way back to Johannesburg.

As news of the killing spread, the crowd outside the Hani house swelled. Emotions were running high and ANC leaders present appealed to supporters to remain calm.

"We ask that our people do not act on their own," said ANC spokesman Gill Marcus. "This is an emotional time. We are holding a meeting of the NEC to discuss a proper response. Our prime concern is that emotion and anger should not be used for more loss of life."

Miss Marcus said that senior officials from the ANC, the SACP and Cosatu would meet this weekend to formulate a strategy.

Mr Sexwale echoed her call for calm. Dressed in a purple and turquoise tracksuit, Mr Sexwale broke down: "It is a time to cry. I saw Chris Hani dead. I was devastated."

"Chris Hani was not a poet, he was not a shopkeeper, nor a musician... he was a revolutionary, a politician."

"Just two days ago he preached peace which

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- PAUL WANDERLICH R2500
- LYNN CHADWICK R2500
- HENRY MOORE R800
- JOE TILSON R200
- JOHN PIPER FROM R700

FEW EXAMPLES: HAND PAINTED CANTONISE VASE

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- CANTONISE TEMPLE JAR R400
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- REDUCED TO: KASHAN R12500
- SENEH R800
- KIRIMAN R1300
- ANDIOLU SILK KUM KAPU R1800
- COLORFUL PERSIAN KELEMS R1900

WEATHER AND TIDES

SPECIAL WARNING: Overcast could weather will move into the south-western Cape later today with general rain and heavy falls in the south. Gale force winds will occur along the south and south-west coasts. TRANSAVAAL: Partly cloudy and warm with isolated thundershowers. FREE STATE and LESOTHO: Partly cloudy and warm. NATAL and SWAZILAND: Partly cloudy and warm but hot to muggy with isolated thundershowers. EASTERN CAPE and TRANS-KEI: Fine and warm becoming cloudy and cold from the west with thundershowers and rain. WEST and CENTRAL CAPE: Partly cloudy and cool becoming overcast and cold overnight with rain.

Low/High
Cape Town 0005/0613 1230/1847
Mossel Bay 0002/0625 1230/1853
Knysna 0019/0644 1244/1909
Port Elizabeth 0006/0624 1231/1851
East London 0010/0629 1224/1856
Durban 0005/0618 1225/1842
Wahiba Bay 0004/0645 1225/1921

Suspect held

From Page 1

bulletin, spotted the car and its passenger in downtown Boksburg, a comparatively short drive from Dawn Park, where Mr Hani lived.

When the man was arrested on the corner of Trichardt and Mark streets, he allegedly had a 9mm Z88 and a Luger pistol with him.

He denied all knowledge of the killing and was detained for questioning.

Police spokesman Brigadier Frans Malhebe told dozens of journalists gathered at the Hani home that forensic tests were

being done at the fire-arm laboratory, the Johannesburg City Commissioner of Police SAP confirmed last night that the car used by the alleged killer was registered in the name of a WK Morgan, a director of Pretoria company Pyramid Plastics.

The car had not been sighted, General Smit added.

The Sunday Times visited the white office building at 50 Lebompho Road, Ashlea Gardens, Pretoria, yesterday. It still carries the name plate of Pyramid Plastics and the details of its holding company at the front door but according to Mr H. Jacobs an attorney from the firm Goodman and Jacobs in the same building, the company vacated the premises a year ago for Babbelgati outside Pretoria.

A sign at the entrance of the building — which houses Futurus, one of Pretoria's main home construction companies — says Pyramid Plastics, Inceptus and Boplas are all part of the holding company, Piasgroup (Pty) Ltd.

PICK 6

TURFOONTEIN There were 252 winners with each receiving R3500. Numbers: 6; 6; 1; 2; 4; 3; 2; 8.

CLAIRWOOD One lucky winner collected a dividend of R545 082.00. Selections: 5; 1; 7; 2; 3; 4.

KENILWORTH Only 2 winners received a payout of R110 650.00 each. Combinations: 7; 1; 14; 5; 10; 11.

'High-handed' ANC made allies into aliens

Sf Times (C1 Metro) 11/4/93

(11A)

By NAZEEM HOWA

THE high-handed manner in which the ANC re-established itself after its unbanning has been one of the main reasons for its difficulty in drawing coloured support, says Dr Allan Boesak.

The ANC's chairman in the Western Cape, Dr Boesak said this week that another major concern for the organisation was the "politics of neutrality", whereby many people were withdrawing from the political process and waiting on the sidelines for a solution.

However, he was confident that the ANC's drawing up of strategies would provide solutions to some of the many hurdles it faced.

This in turn would see the ANC's attracting the majority of votes in the Western Cape.

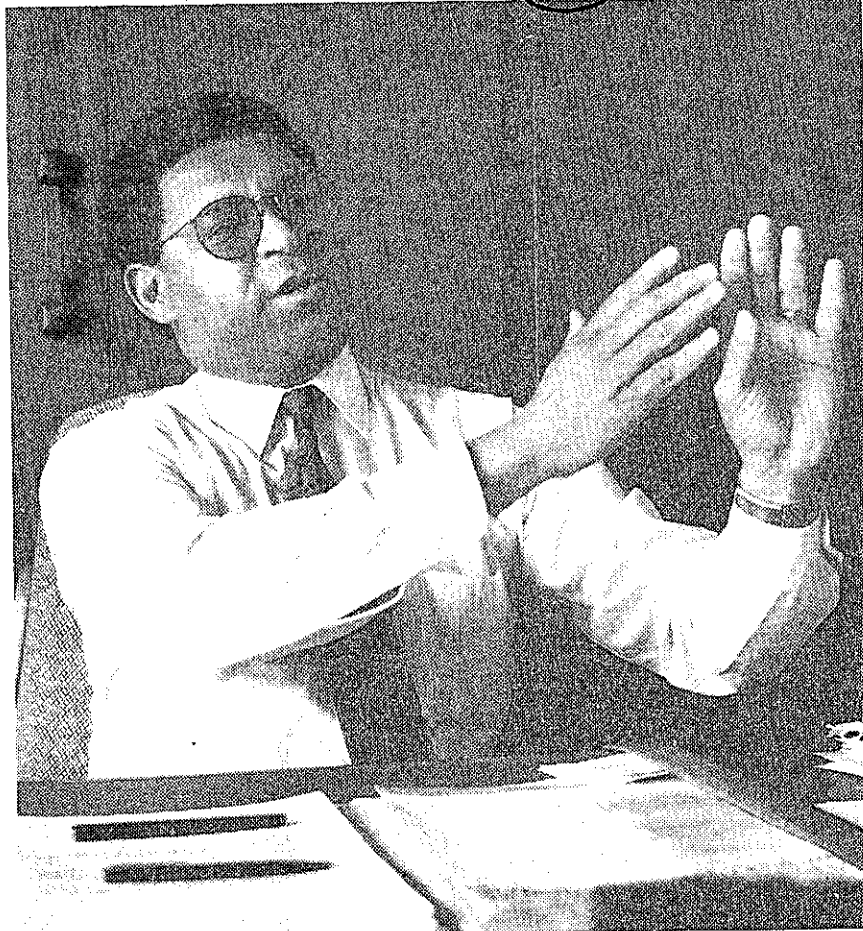
The ANC intended to "look hard at its character" in the Western Cape and to find ways of ensuring that the cultures and aspirations of all communities were reflected.

"The ANC will be looking at ways of rooting itself firmly in the community," Dr Boesak said.

"One option under consideration is the appointment of area organisers whose primary task it will be to work in communities on local issues.

"This will demonstrate our commitment to fighting for the rights of disadvantaged people.

"When the ANC was unbanned there was little or no consultation with internal figures and



HIGH-HANDED . . . Dr Allan Boesak, interviewed this week, explains some of the ANC's problems
Picture: JACK LESTRADE

precious little consultation with leadership figures and activists in the coloured community.

"For the first two years that the ANC was back in the country it was an exile-run operation, which estranged a lot of people," he said.

The manner in which the United Democratic

Front (UDF) had been closed down had only made matters worse.

"A lot of the people who had been active with the UDF, working for the unbanning of the ANC, were just pushed aside, left by the way-side or ignored.

"I really think that the ANC, during those first

few months, had very little idea of how to handle its internal constituency."

There was a tendency in the ANC to take its constituency for granted and to think, incorrectly, that the role the coloured community had played in the UDF automatically meant this

support would be transferred to the ANC.

The politics of neutrality was another hurdle the ANC faced in coloured communities, Dr Boesak said.

"There were a lot of people who believed that President F W de Klerk should be given a chance to deliver in terms of his promises.

"Rather than play an active role in the political process, these people chose to wait in the wings to see what happened. The ease with which many were taken in by Mr De Klerk shocked even me."

Also shocking was the confidence with which the National Party believed it could appeal to latent racism in the coloured community.

Dr Boesak acknowledged that there had been some discussion among ANC supporters about the possible revival of the Coloured People's Congress.

"The recent Agenda debate on the coloured question was quite cathartic in that it conveyed the urgency of the debate.

"In the week that followed the debate the ANC was contacted by many formerly inactive activists.

"Those who formerly had been reluctant to join the organisation were also spurred into action by the programme.

"In a way, I'm sure Agenda played no small part in ending that debate."

Star 12/14/93

Smit, Webster, Hani

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THE IMPACT of the assassination of Chris Hani is likely to have a profound influence on how quickly South Africa moves to democracy.

Its shock-effect on the country's political life is being compared to that of the assassination in Parliament of former Prime Minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd in 1966.

Now South Africa waits with bated breath to see whether Hani's murderer will be brought to justice — for the country has had its share of political assassinations, and many of the cases remain unsolved.

Verwoerd's killer was caught, and Dimitri Tsafendas

remains in prison as a "State President's patient". He was never charged for stabbing the former prime minister to death on the floor of Parliament, having been diagnosed as a schizophrenic unfit to stand trial.

But most of the more well-known assassination cases remain mysteries.

It is still unknown whether they were the work of individuals or groups of crazed or cynically sane people.

They include:

- The slaying of aspirant National Party MP Dr Robert Smit and his wife in their home in Springs in November 1977.
- The murder of anti-apartheid

academic Dr Rick Turner at his Durban home in January 1978.

- The killing in Johannesburg of Wits University lecturer and anti-apartheid activist Dr David Webster on May 1 1989.

- The shooting to death of Swapo leader Anton Lubowski in the run-up to Namibia's independence from South Africa in September 1989.

In addition, many other assassinations of less prominent people, mainly anti-apartheid activists, remain unsolved.

The burning question is whether the Hani case will add to this list, or whether it will be one of the very few to be unravelled. □

Hani — intellect with a vital role

CT/2/4/93

~~11A~~ 11A

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

WHENEVER Mr Chris Hani was in the field as an uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) guerilla he carried a pocket edition of the collected works of Shakespeare in his rucksack and he read from it in the field.

It was a gesture that said much about the man who was tragically assassinated outside his Boksburg home on Saturday — an intellectual and a classicist but at the same time an activist and a brave soldier.

But he was more than that. He had a remarkable memory, a great sense of humour and although he was a committed socialist, Mr Hani was also a pragmatic figure who played a key role in keeping the ANC/SA Communist Party/Cosatu alliance locked into negotiations.

He also possessed the priceless political asset of charisma and presence.

These qualities made him a

key figure in the transitional process. He had credibility among the black masses, particularly among the young and the poor.

With at least half of the South African electorate under the age of 30 and over half the voters living in the rural areas, Mr Hani would have been a vital figure in the ANC alliance's election campaign.

He also had considerable legitimacy within the SACP, a relatively small but very active and often militant group whose support for the negotiations process could be crucial — and potentially disruptive if alienated.

Mr Hani did, of course, have his political enemies, particularly among right-wingers and those still obsessed with anti-communist phobia.

Indeed, I couldn't help wondering after being told of his murder whether his brazen sporting of a cap marked "re-

bel" on television last weekend did not spark off the kind of maniacal reaction that led to his death. It was the sort of defiance that would have annoyed his enemies.

It was, however, typical of Mr Hani, who surprised many observers when he agreed to become secretary-general of the SACP when Mr Joe Slovo retired from the position in December 1991.

He repeatedly said he was not interested in any position in the cabinet and that he saw his role as representing the interests of the working class. This made sense of his decision to accept the position in the party, rather than retain his position in the ANC leadership.

For journalists, Mr Hani was a delight. Friendly and humorous, he always had a direct answer to questions without waffle.

The first time I had direct contact with him was at a press

conference in the ANC's Western Cape headquarters. We both arrived on time, but it took a while for the press conference to get going. While we chatted, he commented in detail about a book I had written some years previously with Richard Wicksteed on the Transkei and then said he had grown up in the Cofimvaba area of Transkei, in a village near the home of the homeland's one-time dictator Chief Kaiser Matanzima, with whom the Hani family had conflicted.

His recollection of the book and events in the Transkei showed deep knowledge of the situation there although he had been exiled at the time. His murder, however, will be felt far more than his loss to journalists. Mr Hani could have played a crucial role in the difficult transition process in South Africa and his loss will indeed be felt by the whole country.



MAN OF THE PEOPLE . . . The charismatic figure of Mr Chris Hani, who commanded a large following among the youth and the poor communities.

Picture: AP

PAC, Transkei miss deadline

JOHANNESBURG. — Transkei and the PAC failed to respond to the Goldstone Commission's Thursday 4pm deadline. (A) (B) (C) (D)

Both were asked to submit counter-evidence to the commission's committee investigating the activities of the PAC's armed wing, the Azan-

ian People's Liberation Army, in the homeland. 2/24/93

The committee provisionally found that Apla had been operating from Transkei, but asked for counter-arguments.

Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa said from Umtata he had made a gesture of goodwill by institut-

ing his own commission of inquiry to investigate the Goldstone "allegations".

He was confident this commission would materialise.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said in an open letter to commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone that the armed

struggle was being discussed with the South African government.

"Armed struggle is a political struggle by other means. It can and should be resolved politically.

"The regime should not shift its responsibility to commissions of inquiry." — Sapa





TRIBUTE TO LEADER . . . Communist Party members ran for kilometres through the rain yesterday to pay tribute to their fallen leader Mr Chris Hani. Here the Dora Tamana branch of the SACP makes its way from Khayelitsha to a packed rally in Nyanga.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Barricades burn in Khayelitsha

By PETER DENNEHY

ANGER at the killing of Mr Chris Hani manifested itself yesterday in Khayelitsha where a number of burning tyre barricades were erected.

Barricades were also seen in Mowbray and reportedly in Rondebosch.

At least four vehicles were reportedly set alight in Khayelitsha. Stones were also thrown

at police as they tried to remove one of the barricades.

And at a memorial service in a packed Zolani Centre in Nyanga East yesterday, three shots rang out in a salute to the slain SACP secretary-general and former chief of staff of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK).

The shots were fired in the hall as a crowd of about 600 people sang in praise of Mr Hani.

More people were standing

outside after arriving from another rally — at Khayelitsha Stadium — in 20 buses and 50 cars, said ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni.

He conceded that some of the buses had been commandeered by "comrades" walking in the persistent rain.

The Nyanga East crowd decided to dispense with speeches from dignitaries.

Instead, everyone marched in the rain to Nyanga police

station. There Mr Yengeni demanded that "in view of the spate of killings", Nyanga police station be closed down immediately, and that four policemen suspected of killing MK member Mr Chris "Khaya" Simane in Nyanga on Friday be suspended from duty and "brought to justice".

Staff Sergeant Harold Leven-dal said police were investigating the killing.

Tragedy Star 12/4/93 hangs over church service

11A

By Michael Sparks

The dominee presiding over yesterday's early morning service at the Dutch Reformed Church in Van Dykpark, Boksburg, did not talk to his parishioners directly about the murder of Chris Hani, but the tragedy hung like a cloud.

Hani was assassinated at his Boksburg home in Dawn Park on Saturday, which was only kilometres away from the church.

Dominee Johan Orsmond instead called on the 100 or so worshippers to pray for their country and its political leaders.

He related the parable of the death of Christ at Easter, and the anguish it caused.

"The death of Christ was probably the worst day in the lives of many of His followers," he boomed into the vast hall.

Asked about the service afterwards, Orsmond said he felt there was no point in referring directly to Hani's slaying.

"To focus on the killing itself would have been to look at the political violence and the vendettas which plague this country," he said.

"That is what we need to get away from.

"Today is about sorrow for the family of Mr Hani, rather than about apportioning blame," he said.

Orsmond added that he wanted to focus on Christ since nothing happened without His involvement.

His parishioners agreed, Hansie Horn saying the dominee had left everything in the hands of God.

He said that was all Orsmond could do.

"He talked about the politicians of the country, and did not need to refer to this death in particular.

"This is a Sunday church service, after all," Horn said.

Shocked Star 12/4/93 reaction

to killing floods in

Staff Reporters

Shocked reaction to the assassination of South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani continued to pour in yesterday, with most appealing for calm from South Africans.

But Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa took the opportunity to attack President de Klerk, Sapa reports, accusing him of "adopting a cheaper method of killing his political antagonists than his predecessors".

He also announced the scrapping of a judicial investigation of Apla activities in Transkei.

The West Rand ANC branch said it had suspended its participation in the local dispute resolution committee in protest against the killing.

Thousands of ANC supporters from Bekkersdal and Westonaria marched to the Westonaria police station to present a memorandum, saying participation would be suspended until all the "facts are uncovered", and expressed support for the suspension of talks with the Government.

The Azanian People's Liberation Army, in a faxed statement on Saturday night from Apla headquarters in Dar es Salaam, said the assassination justified continued guerilla attacks by Apla.

The Johannesburg branch of the Polish Association of South Africa has condemned the assassination.

Chairman Waldemar Wojtowicz said he was shocked to hear the arrested suspect was probably of Polish origin.

Afrikaner Volksunie law and order spokesman Moolman Mentz also condemned the killing.

"Politically motivated murders such as this country has experienced are contra-productive and only bring grief to all sectors of the party-political spectrum," he said.

Assassin's bullets put paid to our lunch date

STAR 12/4/93

By KAIZER NYATSUMBA

CHRIS Thembisile Hani and I were deep in conversation as we walked into the international arrivals terminal at Jan Smuts Airport a month ago, when an elderly white woman tapped him on the shoulder from behind and greeted him.

It was around 4 pm on Monday, March 22, and our Transkei Airways flight from Umtata had just landed. I had gone to Transkei on a special assignment, and Hani had travelled there to address March 21 rallies and to inform ANC and South African Communist Party followers in the area about the latest developments in the negotiations.

"Chris, on how nice to meet you. I wish you luck in your efforts to bring peace in this

country," the white woman said as she shook Hani's hand. The SACP general-secretary's bodyguard studied the situation but kept his distance.

The woman, who said she was born and bred in Butterworth and described herself as a Transkeian, invited him to stop by at her home when next he was in the area.


Inconvenient

As Hani and I walked out of the arrivals hall, we were making arrangements to have lunch together as soon as time allowed. In the nature of the current political scene in South Africa, that week was out for both of us, the following week was equally inconvenient — because of the multiparty negotiations — and finally we set-

tled on last Thursday. As fate would have it, he had to cancel at the last moment. It would have to be this week ...

I happen to have been the first South African journalist to interview Hani on his return to South African soil in 1990. The interview was conducted in The Star's car, and for an hour we drove up and down the streets of Johannesburg and Braamfontein. I took Hani and Tokyo Sexwale to Fox Street, next to the Carlton Hotel, where they mingled freely with people — unrecognised.

Hani savoured every minute of his first walk in the streets of Johannesburg in years, and it was a special interlude to share with him. I will not be able to repeat it, and nor will the unexpected lady from Butterworth receive her visitor. □

It's ANC Star 12/14/93 facing ANC in this trial (11A)

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The murder trial in which the State plans to pit renowned poet and ANC member Antjie Krog against the chairman of the ANC's Kroonstad branch, Dennis Bloem, starts in the Bloemfontein Supreme Court on Tuesday.

The Maokeng branch of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) has called a work stayaway and protest march in Kroonstad on the opening day of the trial, in which Bloem and two others stand accused of killing George "Diwithi" Ramasimoeng, leader of the Three Million Gang which wreaked havoc in Maokeng in 1990/91.

Krog and a member of the ANC's branch executive committee, Daniel Hankan, are both listed as prospective State witnesses in the case.

According to the indictment, Bloem, Roland Petrus and Cassius Ntlokosi were in possession of a gun, when they used Hankan's car to travel into Kroonstad on February 25 1992.

Petrus is alleged to have donned a balaclava and followed Ramasimoeng to the taxi rank where he was murdered.

Mandela to visit Major

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela will meet British Prime Minister Mr John Major next month and address a joint sitting of the British Parliament, the ANC said yesterday. CT 21493

The ANC said Mr Mandela would visit Portugal from May 1 to 4 before going to Britain on May 5.

Mr Mandela, 74, postponed an earlier visit to Britain and Portugal in mid-February after doctors ordered him to rest.

— UPI

Torture: Plea for testimony

CHC CT 12/4/93
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Those who want to make submissions to the commission of inquiry into allegations of human rights abuse by ANC officials against their prisoners and detainees have been invited to come forward.

Commission chairman Mr Sam Motsuenyane, former president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry, was appointed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to chair the inquiry.

Hani murder weapon was stolen from Air Force

Star 12/14/93

Police seize 'hit-list'



Staff Reporters

Police have found a "hit-list" in the home of Janisz Waluz (40), the man accused of assassinating Chris Hani, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said last night.

The South African Communist Party chief was shot dead on Saturday with a firearm stolen from the SA Air Force, said Van der Merwe.

He alleged the weapon, among a consignment stolen from SAAF headquarters in Pretoria on April 14 1990, was found in Waluz's car when he was arrested about 10 km from the scene of the murder.

Earlier, police alleged that forensic tests on the weapon and on Waluz's

hands had shown the weapon was the one used to gun down Hani in his driveway, and that Waluz had fired a firearm on the morning of the killing.

Last night the police claims drew relieved reactions from political figures, who said it was essential, in the current volatile political climate,

that whoever was responsible for Hani's death be brought to book as soon as possible.

In a statement, Van der Merwe said that during a search of Waluz's Pretoria home "a name list, suspected to be a murder or so-called hit-list, was seized.

"The name and address of Hani, and other people, appeared on this list."

He said those on the list included political leaders as well as people not active in politics. He did not release their names, but said they had been warned and offered police protection.

A special police team of 14 is investigating and is probing whether Hani's killer acted alone or not.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Brigadier Frans Malherbe said ballistic tests on the two firearms allegedly confiscated from Waluz had shown that one of the weapons fired the fatal shots. It was found in the red Ford Laser, registration number PBX231T, which was driven by Waluz, according to police.

Waluz is a South African citizen of Polish descent.

It was also claimed that "residue tests" on the hands of the suspect indicated he had fired shots on Saturday morning.

Malherbe said a court hearing had been set down for 9 am tomorrow at the Boksburg Magistrate's Court.

Malherbe confirmed that an identification parade had been held yesterday, but the result would not be disclosed until the court hearing.

Yesterday political leaders from all major parties moved to calm emotions in the wake of the killing, which has caused shock in South Africa and around the world.

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, which met in urgent session in Johannesburg yesterday, called for calm and recommitted itself to a peaceful, negotiated solution. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said Hani's tragic death meant that the transition to democracy should be speeded up.

The Government echoed the ANC's sentiments, stressing the negotiations process had to survive this crisis.

Similar statements came from the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Democratic Party and other groups.

All emphasised that retribution would lead to another dangerous cycle of violence. SACP chairman Joe Slovo said there were "sinister forces intent on derailing the (democracy) process."

Hani (50), a former chief of staff of the armed wing of the ANC, was deeply hated by rightwingers. Political analysts said his death removed the man best able to persuade young black militants to accept peaceful efforts at political reform.

Mandela said: "With all the authority at my command, I appeal to all our people to remain calm and to honour the memory of Chris Hani by remaining a disciplined force for peace."

President de Klerk described Hani's killing as tragic and said: "Now is the time for all South Africans to stand firm against radicalism, from whatever source."

Speaking on SABC-TV last night, De Klerk said the Government was not underestimating the risks to public order which Hani's murder had produced.

He agreed that Hani's death threatened negotiations. There was a risk that emotions might flare and run out of control.

This risk posed a challenge to the security forces and the judiciary to be seen to be effective.



Chris Hani ... his name and address, and those of other people, found on a list at suspect's home.



Day of Infamy ... a grieving Nelson Mandela yesterday told a press conference in Johannesburg that Chris Hani's assassination should not be allowed to derail the negotiations process. Picture: Ken Oosterbroek

More reports — Pages 3 and 9.
Pictures — Page 18. Comment — Page 8.

Politicians' security beefed up

By Kaizer Nyatumba and Peter Fabricius

Protection for all political leaders is to be increased following the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani, President de Klerk said last night.

Police said yesterday that they had refused an ANC request to give Hani police protection on the grounds that it was impractical to offer protection to all political leaders.

Interviewed on TV1's *Agenda*, De Klerk said it had become necessary to offer reassurance to political leaders and he had given orders that greater protection should be offered to them.

Last night Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, in reference to a hit-list of various political leaders found at the residence of suspected assassin Janisz Waluz, said police would offer protection to non-office-bearing politicians until "the threat has been traced and removed".

But he emphasised it was impossible to provide full-time protection and advised them to provide their own protection as far as the law allowed.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday that the ANC last year asked Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel to provide protection for Hani, but the Government took no action.

Speaking after an urgent ANC-led meeting, Mandela said ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu wrote to Kriel last year asking for police protection for Hani.

The Ministry of Law and Order yesterday confirmed receipt of the request, but said it had been unable to act, as Hani did not occupy an official position. Private citizens were not eligible for State protection.

Mandela said Sisulu had made it clear to the Government that the former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff "had been threatened on several occasions".

SACP chairman Joe Slovo said although neither he nor ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was aware of recent death threats against Hani, he could confirm that an attempt was made on Hani's life three months ago as he was leaving the SACP office.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said Kriel had turned down the ANC's request because Hani was not in an official position, and it was impossible to give every politician more protection than the ordinary citizen.



F W de Klerk . . . necessary to offer reassurance to political leaders

Asked to comment on ANC accusations that the police had refused applications for gun licences for Hani's bodyguards, Kotze said he did not have immediate access to police records.

Asked if Hani should not have been treated as exceptional because he was in unusual danger, Kotze said that other politicians such as AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche could also claim they were in particular danger.

Ramaphosa also said that the alliance would call on Kotze and Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh to withdraw their weekend statements that it did not appear as though Hani's killing was politically motivated.

The alliance, said Ramaphosa, was convinced that the murder was politically motivated, and thought it had parallels to the assassination of Witwatersrand University academic and human rights activist Dr David Webster.

"We say Hani's death was politically motivated, and we are confident that the investigations will confirm this," Ramaphosa said.

Kotze said the State would have to look anew at security and intelligence issues, in the light of the Hani murder.

**'No racist war'
pledges Gwala**

MARITZBURG — The ANC will fight racism, but will never fight a racist war, Natal Midlands ANC chairman Harry Gwala told a commemoration service for SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani yesterday. (11A)

Gwala spoke after other speakers were greeted by thunderous applause when they issued a call to arms, saying the ANC was "tired of being a burial society".

— Sapa.

Parties determined that negotiations should continue

Star 12/4/93

(11A)

(25/7/93)

ADDRESSING a media briefing after an emergency meeting of the ANC-SACP-Co-satu alliance yesterday morning, Cyril Ramaphosa left no doubt that he believed negotiations should be speeded up, not delayed, because of the tragedy.

He emphasised that Hani had committed himself to the negotiations process and a peaceful resolution of the country's problems — and added that what he would have wanted was the conclusion of negotiations and the setting of an election date.

In a statement Ramaphosa said: "The tripartite alliance is more than convinced that the process of negotiations should move on. In fact, the untimely death of Comrade Hani should act as an inspiration to ensure that the process goes on."

His sentiments were welcomed — and echoed — by a range of key political parties in South Africa, all of which have expressed their horror at the slaying of the popular SACP leader.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman told The Star he welcomed the ANC alliance's determination not to let the assassination slow down negotiations. This was a tribute, he said, to the level of maturity and sincerity which the negotiations process had reached. This had manifested itself in the determination of all the main negotiators to solve problems such as violence through the process itself.

"I think it is important that we get a democratically-elected government installed as

The assassination of Chris Hani has unleashed widespread fear that South Africa's "transition timetable" will now be dramatically delayed. But the major parties seem determined that this should not be so, report KAIZER NYATSUMBA and PETER FABRICIUS.



Ramaphosa . . . Hani's death should act as an inspiration to speed up negotiations.

soon as possible so we can solve the problem of violence," he said. He had not been in direct contact with his ANC negotiator counterparts to discuss the assassination and did not know if his Minister, Roelf Meyer, had been. Meyer was away on holiday, he said.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo, who was the party's general secretary before making way for Hani, said the former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff's murderers had thought the ANC-led alliance would pull out of negotiations.

"I want to put it emphatically," Slovo said. "Any suggestion of calling off the negotiations process is playing into the hands of the murderers, whose purpose is to stop the process. We must defeat them."

Democratic Party national chairman Ken Andrew said although Hani's assassination might at first strengthen the hand of those who were sceptical about negotiations all along, in the long term it would "reinforce the need to continue with negotiations in order to get away from violence".

Inkatha Freedom Party chief negotiator Joe Matthews described Hani's murder as "a very terrible act" which was aimed at derailing the negotiations process which was "going pretty fast".

Matthews said it was the responsibility of all South African political leaders to ensure that negotiations remained "firmly on track to beat whatever sinister motives these people have".

"Whatever differences the IFP has with the Communist Party, we could never tolerate this kind of act which runs counter to what we are trying to achieve.

"To many people Hani was a hero. We don't have many heroes in South Africa, and we should take good care of the few we have," Matthews said. □

My life, in Hani's

Star 12/4/93

①

11A

OWN WORDS

I WAS born in a small rural town in the Transkei called Cofimvaba. This town is almost 200 km from East London. I am the fifth child in a family of six. Only three of us are still surviving, the other three died in infancy. My mother is completely illiterate and my father semi-literate. My father was a migrant worker in the mines in the Transvaal, but he subsequently became an unskilled worker in the building industry. Life was quite harsh for us and we went through some hard times, as our mother had to supplement the family budget

through subsistence farming; had to bring us up with very little assistance from my father, who was away working for the white capitalists.

I had to walk 20 km to school every five days and then walk the same distance to church every Sunday. At the age of eight I was already an altar boy in the Catholic Church and was quite devout. After finishing my primary school education I had a burning desire to become a priest, but this was vetoed by my father.

In 1954, while I was doing my secondary education, the apartheid regime introduced Bantu Education, which was designed

to indoctrinate black pupils to accept and recognise the supremacy of the white man over blacks in all spheres. This angered and outraged us and paved the way for my involvement in the struggle.

The arraignment for treason of the ANC leaders in 1956 convinced me to join the ANC and participate in the struggle for freedom. In 1957 I made up my mind and joined the ANC Youth League. I was 15 then, and since politics was proscribed at African schools, our activities were clandestine. In 1959 I went to the University of Fort Hare where I became openly involved in the struggle, as Fort

Chris Hani (50), one of South Africa's most popular leaders, was assassinated on Saturday. Here is what he wrote about himself in February 1991, in a rare moment of personal introspection. Simply entitled "My Life", the article tells — in Hani's own words — about his conversion to Marxism, his involvement in the anti-apartheid movement and his eventual belief that the "armed struggle" had to be suspended.

Hare was a liberal campus. It was here that I got exposed to Marxist ideas and the scope and nature of the racist capitalist system. My conversion to Marxism also deepened my nonracial perspective.

My early Catholicism led to my fascination with Latin studies and English literature. These studies in these two courses were gobbled up by me and I became an ardent lover of English, Latin and Greek lit-

erature, both modern and classical. My studies of literature further strengthened my hatred of all forms of oppression, persecution and obscurantism. The action of tyrants, as portrayed in various literary works, also made me hate tyranny and institutionalised oppression.

In 1961 I joined the underground South African Communist Party as I realised that national liberation, though essential, would not bring about total economic liberation. My decision to join the party was influenced by such giants of our struggle like Govan Mbeki, Braam Fisher, J B Marks, Moses Kotane, Ray Simons, etc.

In 1962, having recognised the intransigence of the racist regime, I joined the fledgling MK. This was the beginning of my long road in the armed struggle, in which there have been three abortive assassination attempts against me personally. The armed struggle, which we never regarded as exclusive, as we combined it with other forms of struggle, has brought about the present crisis of apartheid. In 1967 I fought together with Zipra forces in Zimbabwe as political commissar. In 1974 I went back to South Africa to build the underground, and I subsequently left for Lesotho where I operat-

ed underground and contributed to the building of the ANC underground inside our country.

The four pillars underpinning our struggle have brought about the present crisis of the apartheid regime. The racist regime has reluctantly recognised the legitimacy of our struggle by agreeing to sit down with us to discuss how to begin the negotiations process.

In the current political situation, the decision by our organisation to suspend the armed action is correct and is an important contribution in maintaining the momentum of negotiations. □

Faith in 'converting the unconvertible'

Star 12/4/93

By ESTHER WAUGH

CHRIS HANI always said he felt more comfortable with a collective leadership style — not because of weakness, but because he believed in teamwork. His former colleagues say he always acted on the principle.

Before meetings with ANC president Nelson Mandela, Hani would consult the SACP secretariat on issues they might want to bring to Mandela's attention; and afterwards Hani would inform the secretariat of what had happened.

But Hani had to act more individually of late because, as a personality, he was so much in demand. This meant that his style — at least as far as dress was concerned — changed too. He'd been going to his modest office in a suit, primarily be-

cause of an increasing number of meetings with businessmen.

Hani had also been meeting groups of Afrikaners in Pretoria and the Free State. He was scheduled to address students at Potchefstroom University and said he would be repeating a familiar message: that whites had nothing to fear from a new government.

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11A
Delighted

After addressing students in Pretoria, Hani was delighted by the response he received. "A couple" told him they would henceforth question "propaganda" about him, he said.

He viewed the influencing of rightwingers as a personal challenge. In a Braamfontein restaurant in June, Hani was

approached by a man with a pistol strapped to his waist. He told the SACP chief he was a former AWB member, and then launched an attack on the ANC. Hani defused the situation, saying the problem was not the ANC or AWB, but the fact that many people were so poor. The rightwinger replied: "Let's shake the hand of peace."

Some people close to Hani believe this fascination with "converting the unconvertible" could explain why he remained calm when his assassin approached — probably thinking he just wanted to talk.

Hani spent his last days preaching peace. At a rally in Daveyton on Tuesday, when some supporters fired their weapons into the air, Hani told them that guns were only to be used in self-defence. □

The Star's political correspondents, ESTHER WAUGH and KAIZER NYATSUMBA, recall, on the one hand, Chris Hani's joy at returning to South Africa after decades in exile, and on the other his near-obsession with converting whites to his point of view.



Hani . . . opposed all forms of oppression.

Hani's assassination widely condemned

By Joshua Raboroko and Sapa

Local and international parties express outrage at weekend murder of SACP boss:

LOCAL and international organisations have expressed their anger at the assassination of Chris Hani.

The ANC, Cosatu, SACP, PAC, Azapo and the Black Lawyers Association yesterday condemned in the strongest terms the killing of the general secretary of the South African Communist Party and executive member of the ANC at his Dawn Park home on the East Rand.

The ANC said the assassination of Hani came at a time when the hopes of millions of South Africans for peace and tranquility had been raised by the start of multiparty negotiations.

"Hani himself has in the past weeks been at the forefront of a nationwide campaign calling for peace. As recently as the night of Thursday April 8 he participated in an SABC broadcast around the theme of peace," the statement said.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said Hani had spent his life fighting for a just society. Consistent with that, he had been playing a central role in the common effort to arrive at a negotiated settlement of the problem facing South Africa.

He said Hani had been in the forefront of the campaign to end violence in the country and to encourage a spirit of tolerance among all people and their political organisations.

The SACP demanded the investigation of the murder and of all relevant and surrounding factors. The assassina-

tion also underlined that steps taken so far to dismantle apartheid hit squads, special forces and dirty tricks departments have all been half-hearted and partial.

The PAC condemned the murder. His death was a clear indication that black leaders in South Africa should step up their security.

Azapo president Prof Itumeleng Mosala has called upon all South Africans to defend themselves. Hani's death was further proof that black people needed to come to terms with the reality that it would be "foolhardy to abandon the war before it ends".

Severe setback

The South African Democratic Teachers' Union said the assassination was a severe setback to the process of establishing peace and a democratic order in South Africa.

In a letter to the ANC president, the ambassador of the Russian Federation said Hani's death was a tragic loss to the ANC, the SACP and the national democratic movement as a whole.

The Basotho National Party said Hani survived attacks to his life, including the Maseru massacre of December 9 1982.

"It is particularly cruel to the entire masses of South Africa that he should die at a time when his great leadership qualities were needed most," the statement said.

Reactions from other organisations

were:

● The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) in a statement from Tanzania said the assassination of Hani justified the "continued guerilla attacks" being mounted by Apla against the South African Government.

Aplachief-of-staff Mr Barney Mzolo said Hani was the victim "of the vicious spiral of violence being perpetrated by the Pretoria regime through its notorious hit-squads and other hired forces". Mzolo said Hani had interacted with top PAC military officials and senior Apla officers in a number of crucial military and political gatherings facilitated by the Frontline States and the Organisation of African Unity.

● The National Council of Trade Unions expressed its shock and disappointment at the assassination.

Nactu president Mr James Mdlalose said: "We believe the perpetrators or killers of our leader should be brought to book as a matter of urgency.

"Mr Hani was not the leader of the SACP and the African National Congress only, but had also been a leader to everyone among the struggling masses in South Africa."

● The Johannesburg branch of the Polish Association of South Africa condemned the killing.

The chairman of the association, Mr Waldemar Wojtowicz, speaking on behalf of 140 families represented by the branch, said he was shocked to hear the suspect arrested was of Polish origin."

Sweetan 13/4/93.

● The secretary-general of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, in a message to Mandela, said few calculated tragedies could have done as much as this to the process of achieving a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

Anyaoku also appealed to South Africans not to allow this "heinous crime to provoke more violence".

● KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said it was sad that South Africa had to lose a leader of Hani's calibre at such a crucial period when there was so much that he could have contributed to solving problems in the country.

* South West Africa People's Organisation Women's Council secretary-general Mrs Ellen Musialela said it showed the enemy was trying to harass the people into stopping the negotiation process by targetting the country's leaders.

* The South African Students' Press Union said it viewed the action as a deliberate attempt by the "regime" through its programme of low-intensity warfare to weaken the liberation movement in the period of negotiations.

The killing of Hani served the interest of those opposed to the transfer of power from the "bloodied hands of the minority regime" to the people of South Africa.

● The chairman of the Goldstone Commission into the Prevention of Pub-

lic Violence and Intimidation, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, said: "It (the commission) extends its condolences to the family and friends of Mr Hani."

The commission was closely monitoring the situation and would act in any way appropriate having regard to its mandate and terms of reference, Mr Justice Goldstone said.

● The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said it was well known Hani espoused an ideology and future plan for South Africa which was in direct conflict with the freedom ideal of the Afrikaner. The CP said it, however, rejected murder as a political tool and disapproved of the killing.

● The British Embassy said: "Mr Hani's assassination is a senseless act of violence and comes at a time when constitutional negotiations — which Mr Hani supported have just been resumed."

The British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Anthony Reeve, has sent letters of condolence to Mr Hani's family and to Mandela.

● The Human Rights Commission called for the full participation of independent and international observer missions into the investigation of Hani's assassination.

The HRC said whoever masterminded this "obscene deed will, at the end of the day, have little to celebrate because it can only result in a redoubling of the determination and efforts of those committed to peace and democracy."

11A

ANC pursues election date with renewed vigour

13/4/93
MEDIA / INFORMATION
11A

A DATE had to be set for democratic elections soon to defuse the dangerous climate of uncertainty following the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hani, ANC negotiator Moosa Valli Moosa said yesterday. His statement followed a warning by ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale that delaying elections would "unleash an unprecedented wave of anger from our people".

Moosa said the ANC would urgently pursue ways of speeding up the negotiation process in bilateral meetings with government, as well as in multi-party talks, scheduled to resume next

RAY HARTLEY

week. "There is no reason why, when we are all in agreement (that there should be elections by early next year), we shouldn't set a date for elections."

Timetables for "effective measures" to speed up the transition needed to be revised once a date had been set. Delegates at a joint ANC, SACP and Cosatu meeting at the weekend to discuss the assassination were "manif-estly agreed that negotiations should not only be resumed, but should be speeded up". Moosa said there was no contradic-

tion between an ANC NEC decision not to call for a national stayaway and the decision by the organisation's PWV region to hold a stayaway tomorrow. He added that it had been agreed in consultation with religious leaders that memorial services would take place generally during lunch hour tomorrow.

The ANC NEC's decision to speed up the negotiation process directly contradicted weekend calls by ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala and ANC western Cape official Tony Yengeni for a suspension of talks in protest.

The 26-party "negotiating council" is

scheduled to resume discussions for four days a week next Monday with a view to establishing a transitional executive council by June. ANC and government negotiators have said they would like to see elections leading to a five-year government of national unity speed up talks. "The government must listen. We are saying to (President F W) De Klerk: listen to (ANC president Nelson) Mandela. We are saying to (ANC secretary general) Roelf Meyer: listen to (ANC secretary-general) Cyril Ramaphosa," he said.

Successor 'not obvious'

B/D/M 13/4/93 ALAN FINE

(11A)

THE SACP central committee would meet soon to consider the question of a successor to assassinated general secretary Chris Hani, but there was no obvious candidate in sight, party chairman Joe Slovo said yesterday.

Assistant general secretary and former eastern Cape journalist Charles Nqankula would fulfil the general secretary's functions in the interim. The SACP "polit-buro" was scheduled to meet today to discuss the issue.

"It is no use beginning to speculate now about the identity of a successor. Obviously the question of whether we can find someone who fits is going through our minds," Slovo said. "(Hani) made a major contribution to the growth of the SACP since he took over as general secretary (in December 1991). There is no one in his street in terms of his popular appeal to working people and the youth — our main constituency."

Govt linked to killers, US told

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

(11A)

Star 1314193

WASHINGTON — ANC national executive member Tokyo Sexwale told prime time television news channels last night that there was “a very clear link between the Government and the murderers” of Chris Hani.

But he did not say what sort of link, and neither did he provide evidence to support his claim.

American viewers were also shown the reaction of other spokesmen, including an unidentified radical youth who demanded vengeance for Hani's death “so that he will not have died in vain”.

But news coverage of the aftermath of the assassination also stressed the appeals for calm which have come from senior ANC leaders and some channels showed the flags flying at half mast at the South African embassy and at consular offices in other centres, in mourning

for Hani.

The order to fly flags at half mast apparently came from Pretoria. The South African ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz, was in South Africa for consultations when the shooting occurred.

Meanwhile White House spokesman George Stephanopoulos said in answer to a question today that “obviously President Clinton is upset by the assassination and deeply deplores the violence in South Africa”.

ANATOMY OF AN ASSASSINATION Activities to remember a great soldier for peace

World expresses shock, concern

Observer missions condemn Chris Hani's assassination, mourn loss of 'strong peace ally':

THE international observer missions of the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Organisation of African Unity have expressed shock at the murder of SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani.

"As observers of the peace process in South Africa, we condemn unreservedly this dastardly act and expect that the perpetrators will be apprehended and that the law will take its course," said a joint statement issued in Johannesburg by the missions.

"The missions also appealed for calm and restraint."

● The National Peace Secretariat on Saturday said Hani's death was a sad loss for the negotiations process.

NPS chairman Dr Antonie Gildehuys said his organisation had found a strong ally in Hani in its quest for peace.

"Assassination as a political tool must be condemned in the strongest possible terms, particularly so in the delicate political situation pertaining to South Africa. The NPS calls on all supporters of the peace process in South Africa not to take the law into their own hands but to allow justice to take its course."

Gildehuys said the measure of peace and understanding achieved up to now through negotiations was far too precious to allow it to be destroyed by "this cowardly act of assassination".

● The South African Federation of Business and Professional Women said it abhorred the type of violence that resulted in the assassination of Hani.

The organisation urged all South Africans to act with restraint in the coming days.

"We express our condolences to the family and we urge the women of South Africa to work for peace and understanding in this country as we move towards democracy," the organisation said.

● The British Anti-Apartheid Movement said Hani's assassination underlined the fragility of the negotiating process in South Africa. AAM executive secretary Mr Mike Terry said in a statement from London the assassination also underlined the potential threat which political violence posed to the very fabric of the South African society.

● The ANC Youth League said it offered no appreciation for the "crocodile tears of President FW de Klerk and his henchmen" following their reactions to the assassination. It claimed the Nationalist Party Government policies have provided a justification for Hani's murder.

His assassination was the culmination of a long-standing vilification campaign of communists and freedom fighters by the Government and other institutions of the ruling bloc, the ANCYL said in a statement.

The organisation said even after the unbanning of organisations in 1990, the Government continued with its portrayal of the SACP as opponents of democracy and villains.

"We therefore cannot conclude other-

Hani memorial services

Activities planned by the ANC in honour of Chris Hani

PWV REGION

Tuesday 13 April — pickets in all major routes leading into the city centre (Jhb)

— picket Boksburg Magistrate Court at 9am

Wednesday 14 April — Regional stay-away

— Memorial services in:

● Johannesburg — St Mary's Cathedral

● Alexandra — Alexandra stadium

● Boksburg — Boksburg Civic Centre

● Sebokeng — Sebokeng Zone 7 stadium

● Jabulani — Jabulani Amphitheatre

● Krugersdorp — Krugersdorp stadium

● Tembisa — Tembisa Stadium

Saturday 17 April — March — 10am from National Acceptance House to John Vorster Square

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

Memorial Services — 14 April

Unless otherwise indicated, the services will be held in the city centres.

● 12pm — Groblersdal

● 12pm — Burgersfort — Spar Centre

● 12pm — Pietersburg

● 12pm — Malamulele stadium.

● 12pm — Phalaborwa

● 7pm — University of the North (Turloop)

● 12pm — Tzaneen

● 12pm — Louis Trichardt

● 12pm — Ellisras

● 12pm — Potgietersrus

● 12pm — Messina

● 12pm — Nylstroom

BORDER

Memorial Services

Wednesday — 14 April

● 12pm — East London — Border Rugby Union Grounds

Venues for rallies in honour of SACP chief announced:

● 12pm — Queenstown — Freedom Square (City Centre)

● 12pm — Burgersdorp — Ilrugersdorp Sports Ground.

Businesses will also be encouraged to close down.

TRANSKEI

Memorial Service

Wednesday — 14 April

● 11am — City Hall/Umtata Stadium

WESTERN TRANSVAAL

Wednesday — 14 April

● Planning memorial services in major districts of Klerksdorp

NORTHERN CAPE

Memorial Service 14 April

● 11am — 3pm — Padima Church

● Planning a programme of mass action for the whole month around the assassination. Details will be made available later.

SOUTHERN ORANGE FREE STATE

Memorial Service — Wednesday 14 April

● Venue and time not confirmed yet. Please contact Moss Moganime at (031) 48-2610

SOUTHERN NATAL

Memorial Service — Wednesday 14 April

● Emmanuel Cathedral Church.

March — Durban City centre.

Closure of shops will also be encouraged.

NATAL MIDLANDS

Memorial Service — Wednesday 14 April

● Freedom Square (City Centre).

Meanwhile the ANC reiterated the call by its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, who said: "With all the authority at my command, I therefore appeal to all our people to remain calm and to honour the memory of Chris Hani by remaining a disciplined force for peace."

Hani's assassination underlines the fragility of the negotiating process in South Africa

wise, other than to say the Nationalist Party policies have provided a justification for the murder of Chris Hani.

● The murder of Hani is a setback for the constitutional negotiation process, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said on Saturday.

"I am terribly shocked. Although we differed drastically on political grounds, I learnt to know him at the negotiating table. During these discussions, it was always my impression that he was in favour of solutions through discussion and negotiation."

● The Transvaal Indian Congress said the score would never be levelled even if the assassin was brought to book. TIC president Mr Cassim Saloojee said the assassination of Hani was an irredeemable loss. He had a unique part to play in the transformation of South Africa.

● Hani's role in normalising politics in the country should not be underestimated and it is a national loss which history will record as such, the Democratic Party spokesman on law and order, Mr Peter Gastrow, said.

"It is a shocking killing of a national leader who had wide grassroots support.

The test for all South Africans is whether we can overcome this crisis period without permanently damaging the prospects for the peaceful resolution of our problems."

● Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu has appealed for restraint in the wake of the assassination of Hani. "I want to...make a call to our people: Please,

don't let them manipulate us. Don't let this tragic event trigger reprisals. It is what somebody wants to see happen.

"This is real madness and a total tragedy for our country...I'm devastated. Of all the ANC leaders, maybe all the political leaders that we have, he more than anybody else had the credibility among the young to have reined in the radicals. Clearly someone wants to do all they can to sabotage the negotiations. There is somebody who doesn't want us to have a new South Africa and I just fear for our country.

"It's an irony, isn't it, that when he was leading the liberation movement's armed wing, they didn't kill him, and now when he can speak of Combatants for Peace, urging young people to become Combatants for Peace, when he is speaking for peace, speaking for reconciliation, speaking for negotiation, that's when he gets killed."

● The assassination was "one of several carried out against key figures from the various liberation movements in Azania" the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania said in a statement issued in Harare.

"Besides crimes carried out directly by the armed forces of the Pretoria regime, several fascist groups such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging have been allowed to carry out training of units expressly aimed at terrorising black people," said publicity and information secretary Mr Vuyisa Qunta.

NEWS Swedish aid of 14,5 million dollars will dry up before next election

ANC may lose its yearly grant

Sowetan 13/4/93
■ Start of election campaign may cost organisation financial support:

THE African National Congress will lose its 14,5 million US dollars a year in Swedish aid when it starts campaigning in South African elections, a Swedish Government official said yesterday.

Sweden is the largest single contributor to the ANC, giving it \$14,5 million annually.

Along with Norway, the only other government that gives the ANC financial support, Sweden's aid makes up "a large share of" the ANC budget, said Mr Alf Samuelsson, undersecretary for foreign aid.

Swedish law forbids aid to political parties, Samuelsson said. He said the South African Government, its ruling National Party, and the ANC's chief rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party, have already criticised Sweden for favouring the ANC now that all parties can

operate freely in South Africa.

"When the African National Congress, as a political party, runs in a democratic election, aid cannot be paid," Samuelsson said. South Africa's first elections with blacks and whites voting together could be held as early as November, if the constitutional negotiations between the ANC, the white-dominated Government, and other parties are successful.

The ANC planned to send a delegation to Sweden before the end of April to try to convince the government to continue its support, to phase it out gradually, or to provide aid broadly to the democratic process, Samuelsson said. Sweden has already announced plans to give South Africa \$31,6 million in aid for the 1993-94 fiscal year, mainly to aid the development of democracy.— *Sapa-AP*.

ANATOMY OF AN ASSASSINATION Mourners and journalists throng SACP chief's house



Chris Hani ... was in South Africa for only three years.

Hani: Why I joined liberation struggle

MR CHRIS Hani had been back in South Africa only three years after 28 years in exile. As a child he was a Catholic altar boy and, in his own words, "quite devout".

In February 1991 he wrote a brief autobiographical account entitled *Chris Hani: My Life*. *Sowetan* 73/4/93

I was born in a small rural town in the Transkei called Coffimvaba. This town is almost 200km from East London.

"I am the fifth child in a family of six. Only three of us are still surviving, the other three died in infancy.

"My mother is completely illiterate and my father semiliterate. My father was a migrant worker in the mines in Transvaal, but he subsequently became an unskilled worker in the building industry.

"Life was quite harsh for us and we went through some hard times as our mother had to supplement the family budget through subsistence farming; had to bring us up with very little assistance from my father who was always working away (from home) for the white capitalists.

"I had to walk 20km to school every weekday and then walk the same distance to church every Sunday.

"At the age of eight I was already an altar boy in the Catholic Church and was quite devout.

"After finishing my primary school education I had a burning desire to become a priest but this was vetoed by my father.

"In 1954, while I was doing my secondary education, the apartheid regime

■ OWN WORDS Martyr describes how

he ditched Christianity for communism:

introduced Bantu Education which was designed to indoctrinate black pupils to accept and recognise the supremacy of the white over the blacks in all spheres.

"This angered and outraged us and paved a way for my involvement in the struggle. The arraignment for treason of the ANC leaders in 1956 convinced me to join the ANC and participate in the struggle for freedom.

"In 1957 I made up my mind and joined the ANC Youth League. I was 15 then and, since politics was proscribed at African schools, our activities were clandestine.

"In 1959 I went over to university at Fort Hare where I became openly involved in the struggle, as Fort Hare was a liberal campus. It was here that I got exposed to Marxist ideas and the scope and nature of the racist capitalist system. My conversion to Marxism also deepened my nonracial perspective.

"My early Catholicism led to my fascination with Latin studies and English literature. These studies in these two courses were gobbled up by me and I became an ardent lover of English, Latin and Greek literature, both modern and classical. My studies of literature further strengthened my hatred of all forms of oppression, persecution and obscurantism. The action of tyrants as portrayed in various literary works also made me hate tyranny and institutional-

ised oppression. In 1961 I joined the underground South African Communist Party as I realised that national liberation, though essential, would not bring about total economic liberation. My decision to join the party was influenced by such giants of our struggle like Govan Mbeki, Braam Fisher, JB Marks, Moses Kotane and Ray Simons.

"In 1962, having recognised the intransigence of the racist regime, I joined the fledgling MK. This was the beginning of my long road in the armed struggle, which we never regarded as exclusive, as we combined it with other forms of struggle and which has brought about the present crisis of apartheid. In 1967 I went back to South Africa to build the underground and I subsequently left for Lesotho, where I operated underground and contributed in the building of the ANC underground inside our country.

"The four pillars underpinning our struggle have brought about the present crisis of the apartheid regime. The racist regime has reluctantly recognised the legitimacy of our struggle by agreeing to sit down with us to discuss how to begin the negotiations process. In the current political situation, the decision by our organisation to suspend armed action is correct and is an important contribution in maintaining the momentum of negotiation."

focus on security

THE POOL OF WATER ON THE SLOPES OF the driveway were murky and brown.

The muddy colour hid the blood of South African Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani, who had been gunned down outside his No 2 Hakea Street home in Dawn Park, Boksburg, by a lone white gunman.

A hose had been used to clean the driveway where Hani had literally fallen for his country. Earlier, it had been an ugly scene, with blood trailing down the driveway as his body lay where it had fallen after the four shots.

Groups of people stood separately, some crying, some talking in hushed tones about the murder that has shaken the country.

Who did it? Why did it happen? Why had it been so easy to kill Hani? What had happened to his security guards? What will happen now?

The questions were endless and the answers were elusive.

But some had to be answered. For it seemed unbelievable that a man of Hani's standing could just be trailed and shot dead as he got out of his car.

Wrong timing

Where was the alertness that saw him survive previous attempts on his life in Lesotho and here at home?

The ANC explanation, as given by Dr Pallo Jordan, is that Hani had given his bodyguards a weekend off. They work very long hours, he explained.

It just happened that the timing for the weekend off was particularly wrong, Jordan said.

But there are those, like NUM's Mr Marcel Golding, who feel the ANC was taking security too lightly.

It is a feeling shared by many who see the Hani killing as a result of believing too much in the Codesa rhetoric of brotherhood, forgetting that there are people who have agendas of their own to maintain white supremacy.

ANC PWV Peace Desk official Mr Mondli Gungubele, who stays near Hani's home, was phoned by Hani's distraught daughter. He was shaken by the killing.

"I spoke to Chris about 20 to 30 minutes before his death. He phoned to arrange that we should take his daughter Kwezi to Spruitview to have her hair done.

"In the process he told me he had just come back from Boksburg alone. I castigated him and told him: 'Chief, this is dangerous. If you want to go anywhere, call me, do not go alone.'

"But after that call, I think he sneaked out to get newspapers and the bastards followed him and shot him here," Gungubele said.

When ANC leaders arrived back home in 1990 for the Groote Schuur talks, there was apprehension that they might be killed by opponents of the liberation struggle.

In the wake of the assassination of SACP chief Chris Hani at the weekend, people are beginning to question whether the ANC has not been fooled into the false brotherhood of Codesa. **Mathatha**

Tsedu looks at the problem:

So wefen 13/4/93.
For those who move around Johannesburg, it is not surprising to bump into national leaders of the ANC strolling around at soccer stadiums, theatres and similar places alone

Security around leaders was tight then and journalists complained of the hard times trying to get through to these very news-worthy men and women.

But it was explained that this was a necessary nuisance that people had to live with.

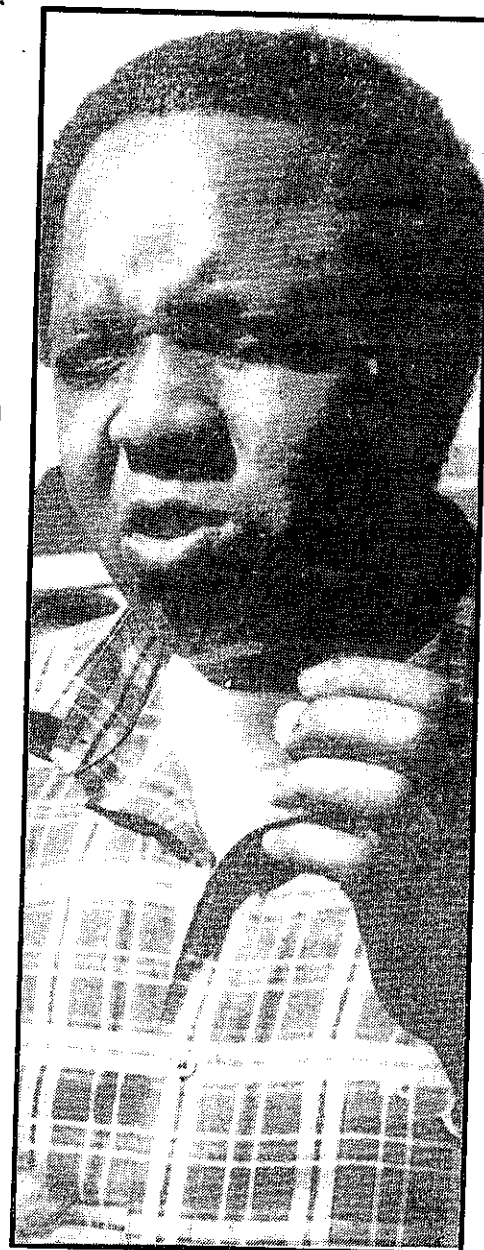
Hani moved into the strongly rightwing Boksburg in 1992 and the then councillor for the area and CP member, Mr Andries du Toit, said ominously: "There might be something drastic done to show him we don't want him here."

Given this kind of reception a mere 14 months ago, what then happened to make Hani drop his guard to lead to a situation where he could feel safe jogging alone, going to the shop alone and even failing to notice a red tail in Du Toit's neighbourhood?

For those who move around Johannesburg, it is not surprising to bump into national leaders of the ANC strolling around at soccer stadiums, theatres and similar places alone.

Recently, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa drove to SABC headquarters all by himself for an *Agenda* programme. This after the incident when white gunmen chased Major-General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei from the same broadcast centre into the Carlton Hotel in the city as he left after an interview.

It all points to a laxity that this country cannot afford. There are too many rightwing loonies from all sorts of funny places such as Poland and Rhodesia running around here. They have the expertise and the anger to commit murder to stem the tide of the revolution.



Chris Hani ... was security too lax?

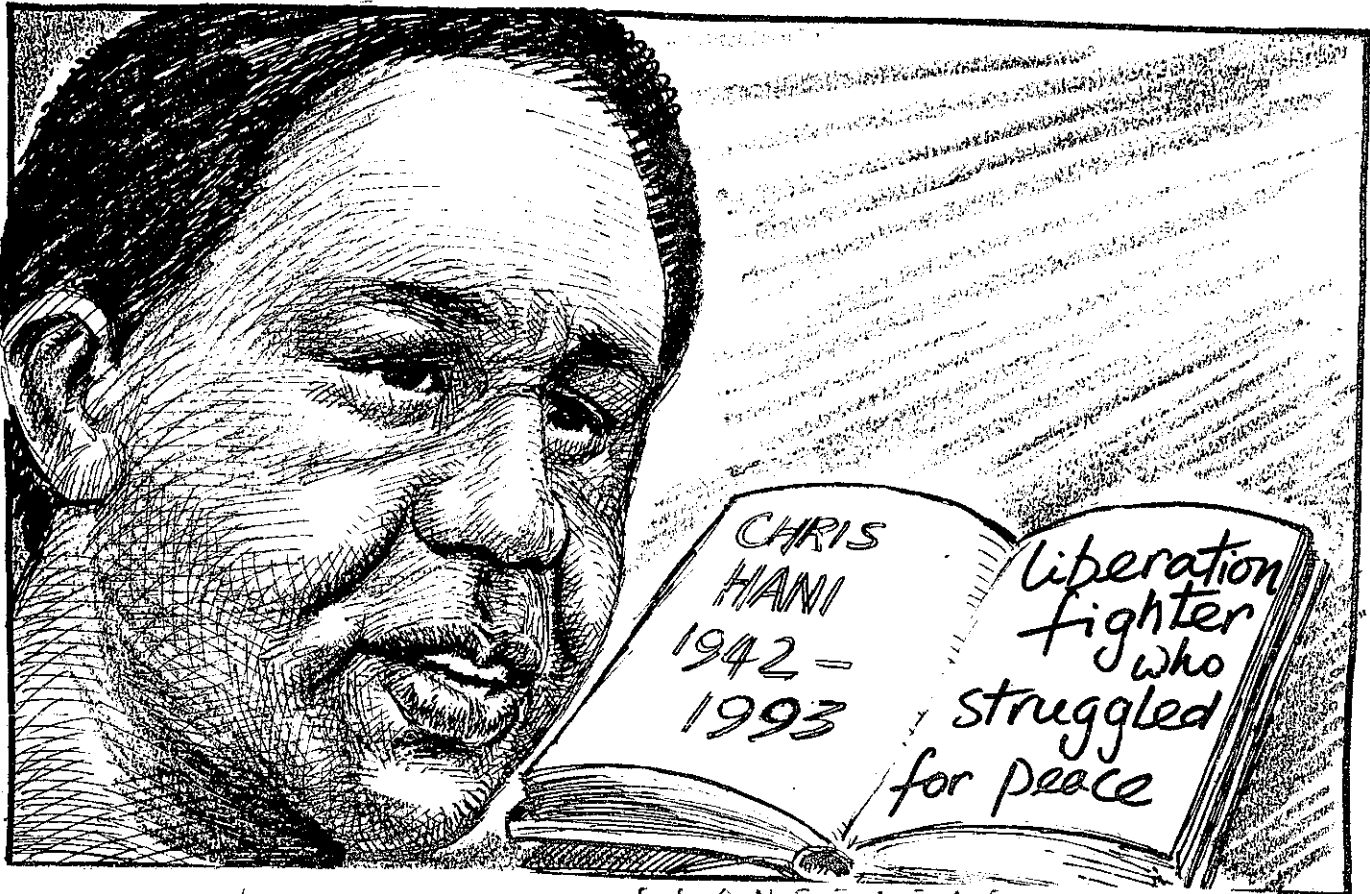
(iii) Surnames consisting of more than one word

If an author's surname consists of more than one word and the first word consists of less than six letters, use letters from the remaining words of the surname to make the first part of the acronym up to six letters, e.g. the acronym for W.A. de Klerk's The Puritans in Africa will be:

DEKLERPUAF _ _

SOWETAN Tuesday April 13 1993

FOCUS *Are our leaders taking security too lightly?*



FRANCE: E: E

ANC condemns Strand murders

(1A)

Political Staff

THE ANC has condemned the weekend killing of three men in Lwandle, near the Strand.

ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said it was not clear if the killings were related to the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani.

He said: "One thing is clear, such senseless and brutal acts go against everything for which Chris Hani lived and died."

Extending his sympathies to the families of those killed, he said the ANC condemned incidents of stone-throwing which took place at the weekend.

"One thing must be made absolutely clear — this cannot be a time for more killing."

He said further violence played into the hands of Mr Hani's killers.

ARC 13/4/93

FOR MANY people, the first sign that Chris Hani did not fit the stereotype reserved by outsiders for SACP and Umkhonto we Sizwe leaders came during the ANC's national conference in Durban in July 1991.

At a time when the ANC was debating whether to lift the suspension it had placed on negotiations three months previously in protest against continuing violence, the reputed hardliner surprised journalists with a passionate but coherent case for continued negotiations.

"The murders of ANC and MK members by right-wing elements opposed to negotiations is no reason to withdraw from negotiations with government," he argued. The existence of such elements was inevitable because, having been promised that apartheid would last forever, they now felt let down "and some will use force to defend the status quo".

This was only hours after his MK and SACP comrade Mac Maharaj (now a top ANC negotiator) had argued equally strongly that negotiations might be premature because the ANC had failed to mobilise its constituency and that the ANC had made far too many concessions to government — including suspending the armed struggle — without receiving much in return.

Hani also used the opportunity to display the disarming frankness which became part of his public profile — in this case by expressing concern that the self-defence units then being established had the potential to degenerate into vigilante groups. He took up this theme again only a week ago at the East Rand peace summit convened by the ANC.

This refusal to play to the more militant sections of the gallery did not harm Hani's standing.

He went on to lead the 1991 conference poll in national executive committee elections with the support of 95% of delegates.

He was equally willing to lay bare some of the warts of ANC history. In an interview last May with *Work in Progress* magazine he spoke of the paranoia and hysteria in ANC ranks over the infiltration by SA intelligence services during the '80s which led to the atrocities in MK camps.

A leadership style which will not easily be emulated

B/D/M 13/4/93 /

ALAN FINE

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Then, of course, there was his final public statement last week about violence and negotiations.

And this was the essence of Hani's approach to politics. As his MK chief of staff and SACP general secretary predecessor Joe Slovo put it yesterday: "Although he had reached the pinnacle of popularity — and although, like all of us, he would sometimes talk up the crowd — he would not hesitate to say what had to be said, even if it was going to bring a negative response. His leadership style was one of radicalism combined with a strategic and tactical sense."

The importance to the negotiation process of that leadership style, combined with Hani's credibility among the "young lions", was recognised by only a few — even though it has become part of the conventional wisdom in the three short days since his assassination.

There may be, within ANC ranks, individuals with similar leadership styles. But they would have only regional support bases. After Hani there is no such individual with his national standing — a fact underscored by the difficulties the ANC alliance leadership is experiencing in containing the reaction to the assassination.

That kind of leadership style is not easily sustainable. Slovo himself, with a similar MK and SACP background, enjoyed a similar reputation



□ HANI

in the townships in the period soon after his return from exile. However, agreeing to play the role of the credible leader who will sell unpopular compromises to the rank and file (as Slovo did with the power-sharing and sunset clause concepts, for example) takes its toll.

Coming to be seen by growing numbers of militant supporters as too eager to compromise has probably lessened Slovo's effectiveness. Hani is now dead, without his full potential in that respect having been met. "History has a way of throwing up the right people at the right time," comments Slovo, but there is no sign of anyone at this critical stage.

It may be an overstatement to talk of a leadership vacuum. But the question arises whether Hani's assassination gives the initiative back to the "alternative" leadership of the young lions — those without the tactical and strategic sense — Harry Gwala (who on Saturday called for a suspension of negotiations) or Winnie Mandela, once a close associate of Hani's but whose political perspectives had clearly diverged from his at the end.

"It may give a platform (to Gwala, etc) to press ahead with their positions in the short term," said one ANC source who asked not to be identified. "But Chris will be remembered as one who was not in that camp." Which is why the Rapport story nine days ago suggesting he and Winnie Mandela were establishing a secret private army was hardly credible.

Hani's death creates a succession problem for the SACP at a time when it is attempting to carve out a role for itself. The central committee was scheduled to meet within the

next few weeks for a major strategy planning session. Now it will have to add the question of a future general secretary to the agenda. That there is no natural successor is borne out by the fact that Slovo — little more than a meeting chairman these days — was thrust to the forefront of representing the party after the assassination.

Despite their similar backgrounds, Slovo and Hani had very different attributes. Slovo is the intellectual, skilled at initiating theoretical debate on the future of socialism, adept in the negotiating chamber and on the platform at public meetings. However, the party has a number of other leaders in a similar mould — which is why Slovo could comfortably shift his attention to concentrate on ANC work.

Hani, on the other hand, did not consider such debate his priority. Despite his position, he had not even bothered to participate publicly in the socialism debate. He was primarily an on-the-ground organiser able to establish a unique rapport with actual and potential SACP members.

That is a quality that will be sorely missed by an SACP which faces difficult tasks in an unfriendly world. If a recently published strategy discussion paper is adopted, the SACP will set a course of lowering its profile while making "quality interventions" within the ANC. Hani's statement last week is described as an example of this, though not all non-SACP ANC members will always appreciate SACP interventionist tactics even if they are made openly, as the paper stresses they should be.

The SACP would also, in terms of the paper, have to build up its membership and devise a credible socialist programme while acknowledging that the "socialist struggle" is effectively moribund and will remain so "until" it is reasserted internationally.

Hani's commitment to socialism was based more on the repugnance with which he viewed poverty and inequality — not least because of his own upbringing — than on the Marxist classics, although he delved into them, too. But it was probably that which made him as accessible as he was to the common people whose interests he sought to champion.

Hani kept idealism burning against the odds

B/DAM 13/4/93

SIMON BARBER in Washington

(B) (11A)

WHEN Chris Hani moved into Boksburg and enrolled his youngest daughter at an exclusive private school so she might get a classical education, some, inevitably, sneered. A typical nomenclaturist, they said, posing as champion of the dispossessed while seeking the good life for himself and his family.

I disagree. There are many reasons to mourn his death, but one of the most powerful lies in where he chose to live and how he wanted to raise his children. This was not an act of hypocrisy (for one thing, he could have selected a far more jacarandaed neighbourhood). It was an affirmation of SA's nonracial possibilities and his own belief in them.

One may quarrel with his politics, and some of its more bizarre manifestations, such as his trip round the US as the guest of the CPUSA. One may shudder at what went on in the Angolan camps and the extreme methods used to keep the ANC's heavily infiltrated and increasingly disaffected guerrilla band from imploding. But say this for Hani: he could have made revolution on the basis of race and culture — logically the most obvious approach in SA — but chose instead to proceed from an analysis of class.

As the 20th century draws to a murderous close, this is no back-

handed compliment. Nor, by the same token, is it an attempt to brush over the epic horror wrought in the name of the ideology Hani did espouse. The point is this: whatever havoc may be unleashed by class warfare, the effects are likely to be transitory since class is mutable. Race isn't. 'Divide' humanity by racial or ethnic consciousness and it will stay divided for a very long time. Such divisions, once a certain critical mass has been reached, become all but irreparable.

It is perhaps a miracle that in SA that critical mass was not reached long ago. Much of the credit must go to Hani and others like him in the ANC. They have had every opportunity to exploit race for power and plenty of encouragement from the ethnic bully boys who captured the state in 1948. Cynics may offer any number of practical reasons they chose to avoid such temptations. At the end of the day, however, it suggests a high and rare idealism, kept burning against all odds.

Hani was a literate man, schooled in Latin and Greek, a lover and quoter of Shakespeare, Keats and Shelley. He evidently hoped that his children would grow up able to share his appreciation of such things. Indeed, this has been reported as one of the reasons he decided to move to

Boksburg. It was near a school where his youngest daughter could learn Greek.

This seems more than just a mild eccentricity. It says that Hani harboured no cultural or racial grudges. He may have grown up in a world of discrimination, his freedoms and opportunities ruthlessly curtailed by the white minority, but that made him no less proud of what he learnt at his mission school, nor instilled in him any contempt of what others might understandably have construed as white man's learning.

Contrast this with what is currently going on in American academe where, in the name of undoing centuries of racial oppression, the classics are under withering assault. The issue is not simply their relevance, or even the idiot assertion that the authors are "Dead White European Males" and should therefore be banished from reading lists. The charge now being levelled — and going largely unanswered — is that all classical scholarship is part of a massive, historical conspiracy against Africa and Africans.

Mary Lefkowitz, one of the country's most eminent scholars of Greek literature, described in last Wednesday's Wall Street Journal a lecture she recently attended at Wellesley College, where she heads the classics department. The speaker was Yosef ben-Jochannan, author of *Africa, Mother of Western Civilisation*, who has been repeating his arguments, essentially un rebutted, since he first stated them in 1971.

There was no such thing as Greek philosophy, he told his audience, mostly impressionable young students. It all came from "black" Egypt. Socrates was a figment of Plato's imagination, invented to help cover Plato's wholesale theft of ideas he stole during an 11-year sabbatical by the Nile. Aristotle subsequently arranged for Alexander the Great to sack the great library at Alexandria to ensure that his own plagiarism of Egyptian wisdom would go unnoticed.

All of which was patently preposterous. The record of Socrates as a historical character extends far beyond the writing of Plato about whose having visited Egypt there is not one iota of evidence. As for the Alexandrian library, it was not even built until after Aristotle's death, and it would have been difficult to ask Alexander to do anything in a city he

would not found until several years after his last encounter with the philosopher.

Lefkowitz tried to raise these points with Ben-Jochannan. He refused to answer, retorting that she was being arrogant and insolent. Several students agreed. One stormed out. Others came to her afterwards and protested: "You think you know the truth, but HE is telling the truth. What you learned is wrong."

This was not an isolated incident. "Afrocentrism" is sweeping campuses across the US as weak, easily cowed — and for the large part classically illiterate — faculties bow before its demands in hopes of keeping the peace. The demands are utterly Orwellian: the oppressed must be liberated by a version of history that builds their "self-esteem". Truth, let alone the scientific rigours of historiography, be damned.

I wonder what Hani would have thought. I'll hazard a guess: he would have been repelled. For one thing, he had already seen history abused enough by racists. Perhaps more importantly, he looked at the classics and saw that they belonged to him, enriched him, as much as any other human being regardless of his or her race. Why else would he have sent his precious little girl to learn Greek?

LETTERS

181 lives lost in March violence

POLITICAL violence claimed 181 lives and 247 people were injured during March, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) disclosed in a report released in Johannesburg yesterday.

During the same month seven people died in police custody, there were 590 political arrests, 44 people were detained without trial and four people were sentenced to death for political offences. Since the beginning of the year until the end of March, 12 people have died in police custody.

SA had a documented 294 incidents of political violence, bringing the total so far this year to 753. The HRC also noted that during March, unrest area declarations affecting 15 eastern Cape magisterial districts and nine districts in the Free State were extended for a further three months.

In Natal 118 deaths were recorded for March, making up 65% of the total number of deaths throughout the country.

The report said train commuters were untouched during March, with only one fatality.

Bus and taxi commuters, however, suffered 19 deaths and 23 injuries in 10 incidents. — Sapa.

ANC to canvass donors for a R200m election campaign

PRETORIA — The ANC is working out a fund-raising strategy to meet the enormous costs of the coming election campaign, a spokesman said this week. The organisation estimates its campaign will cost more than R200m.

Possible sources of assistance were currently being investigated, the spokesman said. Other sources said appeals would probably be made to foreign governments and institutions as well as to big business in SA.

The ANC spokesman said the organisation had also approached government to establish a post-election fund. This would be used to meet the huge costs involved in the run-up to the election — such as TV, radio and newspaper advertising. Each party's allocation would be based on its support at the polls.

Meanwhile, Human Sciences Research Council centre for constitutional analysis head Bertus de Villiers said there were a number of ways in which political parties could be assisted.

They could be given financial grants by the state and facilities under state control, such as the government printer, could supply some services at a discount.

Experience in neighbouring coun-

GERALD REILLY

tries indicated an election should take place over two or perhaps three days. He said SA had the administrative capability to manage an election involving the 23-million voters.

It was not likely a registration of voters would be needed. A more practical way would be to allow all SA citizens with identity documents to vote. It was estimated that 94% of Asians had IDs, 80% of blacks, 83% of coloureds, and 99% of whites.

Sapa-AP reports from Stockholm that a Swedish government official said yesterday the ANC would lose its \$14,5m a year in Swedish aid when it starts its election campaign.

Swedish law forbids aid to political parties, said undersecretary for foreign aid Alf Samuelsson. He said the NP and Inkatha had already criticised Sweden for favouring the ANC.

The ANC planned to send a delegation to Sweden this month to try to convince the government to continue its support, to phase it out gradually or to provide aid broadly to the democratic process, Samuelsson said.

Sweden has already announced plans to give SA \$31,6m in aid for the 1993-94 fiscal year, mainly to aid the development of democracy.

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Claim of government link to murder — but no evidence

HUGH ROBERTON of The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington.

~~SECRET~~ 11A
ARC 13/4/93

A MEMBER of the ANC's national executive, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, told prime time television news channels last night that there was "a very clear link between the government and the murderers" of Mr Hani.

But he did not say what sort of link, and neither did he provide evidence to support his claim. American television viewers were also shown the reaction of other radical spokesmen, including an unidentified youth who demanded vengeance for Mr Hani's death "so that he will not have died in vain".

But news coverage of the aftermath of the assassination also stressed the appeals for calm which have come from senior ANC leaders, including ANC president Nelson Mandela, and some channels showed the flags flying at half mast at the South African embassy and at consular offices in other centres,

in mourning for Mr Hani.

Meanwhile the White House spokesman, Mr George Stephanopoulos, said in answer to a question that "obviously President Clinton is upset by the assassination and deeply deplores the violence in South Africa." He said he was not aware of Mr Clinton becoming personally involved in the issue, however.

● Dennis Cruywagen of The Argus Political Staff reports that Archbishop Desmond Tutu has called on those angered by Mr Hani's death not play into the hands of his killers by resorting to violence.

The Anglican leader expressed his sympathy with victims of the weekend's violence, including the families of three men killed near Lwandle township.

He said: "The aim of those who assassinated him is clearly to un-

dermine the peace and negotiation process. Don't let us play into their hands. Let us mourn with dignity."

The Canadian embassy said it was tragic that Mr Hani's life had been so brutally ended at a time when the prospects for greater peace and the achievement of a non-racial democracy in South Africa were beckoning.

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa executive director Dr Alex Boraine said the senseless killing of Mr Hani would haunt South Africa for years to come.

"It is our hope that those who respected him most will honour his death and his memory by working even harder for an end to violence and a deep commitment to peace and justice."

The Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action said Mr Hani's death would not deter it from the

struggle for socialism, but would strengthen its resolve to build a better future.

The Japanese government said it was seriously concerned that acts of violence were still taking place in South Africa.

In a joint statement, the missions of the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Organisation of African Unity expressed shock.

"As observers of the peace process in South Africa, we condemn unreservedly this dastardly act and expect that the perpetrators will be apprehended and that the law will take its course."

The US embassy in Pretoria slammed the killing as "deplorable and terrible".

In London, the British Foreign Office also strongly condemned Mr Hani's murder.

Joe Slovo, once again in the heat and darkness of an assassination, sat behind it, sighing deeply. He's been through this appalling kind of thing before. He said the death of Chris, "that warm, warm man" took him back 10 years, to the assassination of his wife, Ruth First.

He recalled meeting a very young Chris Hani in the 1950's at an underground meeting of the SACP. "He was thin, so young, so shy, never said a word."

In the general office were some of the best known of South Africa's former political prisoners, people who had also known sudden death, assassination, jail and torture. There was no hysteria, it was all calm. People filled with bedrock sorrow.

Jeremy Cronin, activist, negotiator and poet sat quietly at his word processor writing and honing an obituary about his leader. And calling for peace.

Esther Basel, an apartheid fighter from way, way back was quietly fielding the phone calls, and former Robben Islander, Indres Naidoo was feeding the fax machine.

High tension as thousands march on police station

Thousands turned out in the rain to protest against the killing of Chris Hani. On the scene were Staff Reporters DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and VUYO BAVUMA.

THOUSANDS of ANC and South African Communist Party supporters are expected to march through central Cape Town tomorrow in memory of Mr Hani.

Yesterday more than 10 000 protesters braved the rain to march 10km from Guguletu to Athlone.

Addressing the crowd from the roof of a lorry opposite the Athlone police station, ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said boxing legend Muhammad Ali, due in Cape Town this afternoon, would join the ANC-organised march.

He said: "The police must know that on Wednesday we are going to town in our thousands."

He added in Xhosa: "If they shoot at one of us the town will be burnt down."

Reverting to English he said: "They can kill Chris Hani but they can't destroy the spirit of our people for liberation. Our anger should be felt."

Yesterday's march, organised by the ANC Youth League, was led by Mr Yengeni, ANC regional vice-chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako, SACP (Western Cape) secretary Mr Lizo Nkonki, and other members of the ANC regional executive committee.

A group of youths, carrying tyres, walked in front of the main body of marchers, followed by a row of marchers carrying ANC and SACP flags.

During the march, volleys of shots were fired into the air intermittently from within the crowd.

These were met with roars of approval and shouts of "Viva MK" from sections of the chanting phalanx.

But some residents watching the march from their homes ran inside when the shots rang out.

Initially, it appeared that the march was headed for Guguletu police station, and the heavily armed police, behind a bolted



DANGEROUS WEAPON: An activist holds aloft a tyre — the weapon often used in necklace killings.

iron gate seemed to be waiting for the leaders, but the procession passed the building and turned from NY 1 into Klipfontein Road.

At this stage, Mr Yengeni said over a loud-hailer: "We are asking people not to shoot near the police station because the cops will be provoked and fire at us. We don't have too many guns to defend ourselves."

As the march passed Manenberg police station and marchers spilled into both carriageways of Klipfontein Road, effectively closing the street, marshals carrying tyres ran ahead to warn shopkeepers in Surrey Estate and Gatesville to close their doors.

Motorists in Vanguard Drive did hasty U-turns and headed into oncoming traffic. No accidents were reported.

Near Athlone, tension rose when a police video unit got entangled in a section of the crowd and the driver of the police vehicle drove over an island to get out of trouble.

Police with shotguns and automatic rifles faced the crowd at the intersection of Jan Smuts Drive and Klipfontein Road.

Ululating women shouted abuse at police, but there were no incidents.

After addressing the crowd,

Mr Yengeni and some of his regional executive committee colleagues tried to see the Athlone police station commander, but he was not there.

Later, a Sergeant Hermanus led Mr Yengeni and nine colleagues into the charge office where a memorandum was handed to him.

In the document, the ANC, the ANC Women's League, the ANC Youth League, the SACP, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the South African National Civics Organisation condemned the killing of Mr Hani and called for an independent judicial inquiry into his death.

At 5.45pm, almost two hours after leaving Guguletu, the marchers headed home, leaving behind a barricade of burning tyres which was removed by police.

● Yesterday about 5 000 protesters marched in torrential rain to present a memorandum to Nyanga police station in protest against the assassination of Mr Hani.

They demanded that the police station be closed and that an inquiry be held into the killing of a Nyanga Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier, Mr Jimmy Khaya Simane.

Mr Simane was shot dead at his home in Mau-Mau on Good Friday.

● The regular Tuesday features and letters do not appear on Spectrum pages today because of the priority given to reports of reaction to the killing of Mr Chris Hani. The Tavern of the Seas column by David Biggs will resume tomorrow.

1179 ARLT 13/4/92

'It is time to cry ... Chris Hani died for peace'

ARG 131493 (11A)
Argus Correspondent BRENDAN SEERY reports from Johannesburg.



IN TEARS:
Mr Tokyo
Sexwale

TOKYO Sexwale has a reputation as a hard man: earned the hard way, through 13 years on Robben Island for carrying out sabotage on behalf of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

But, he went to pieces when he tried to talk to journalists about his friend Chris Hani, whose shattered body lay in a pool of congealing blood not 50 paces behind him.

The chief of the ANC PWV region choked and the tears flowed.

"It is time to cry. I saw

Chris Hani dead."

Describing how he found the assassinated South African Communist Party general secretary lying next to his car outside his garage, Mr Sexwale said he could see Mr Hani had been shot behind his ear and in his jaw.

"That shows that whoever did this was a marksman."

Battling with his emotions, he said he could not look any further at the body of his comrade to see if there were other wounds.

"I am devastated."

"The Chris Hani who lies in his drive way today dead was not a poet. He was not a shopkeeper. He was not a musician. He was a revolutionary. He was a politician for his country and his people."

Wearing a neckerchief in the ANC colours of green, gold and black, Mr Sexwale, who lived around the corner from Mr Hani, said Chris Hani had obviously become "a dangerous man for certain people.

"He was dangerous because he was talking peace."

Saying that there were people who wanted to perpetuate the image of Chris Hani as the Chief of Staff of MK, as a man of arms and violence, Mr Sexwale insisted that the dead man's recent statements gave the lie to that image.

"The hand that pulled the trigger was merely a hand. There are greater forces at work, challenging him for what he was."

Mr Sexwale added: "The enemies of Chris Hani are the enemies of the people of this country." This comment at-

tracted a chorus of agreement from a crowd of bystanders — many of them ANC supporters — which had swelled to more than 100.

"We should remember him for what he stood for. For peace, stability and co-operation."

Again fighting back the tears, Mr Sexwale added: "Chris died for peace".

The tears would not be stopped though, and Mr Sexwale's next sentence — "How shall we convince them ..." — trailed off into sobs.

Anger turns to fiery violence

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Two children aged 10 and one aged 11 were admitted to hospital with bullet wounds.

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Petrol bombs were thrown at police stations and policemen's homes. Cars were set alight.



LATE-NIGHT MARCH: Protesting University of Cape Town students march in Main Road, Rondebosch, at the weekend.

Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.



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EMOTIONAL MOMENT: Mr Tony Yengeni, a close friend of Mr Chris Hani, speaks to a crowd before yesterday's march to Athlone police station.

Yengeni lashes leaders

The ANC's regional secretary tells Staff Reporter VUJO BAVUMA that ANC and Communist Party leaders should consult their grassroots members in deciding the way forward.

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TYRE PYRE: Marshals toyi-toying beside a burning barricade in Guguletu.

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'Waluz is a loner, but never aggressive'

Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg

ALLEGED assassin Janusz Waluz's plans for Easter included spending Sunday with friends and sharing a traditional Easter breakfast with them, according to friends.

They reacted with astonishment to the news that he had been arrested for Chris Hani's murder, and said the whole matter was "very strange".

"When police took him around to several friends and family, he repeatedly said it's a mistake, everything will soon be sorted out, according to one friend, who asked not to be identified.

"Added to this is the fact that he had made arrangements to spend Easter with friends. Being Roman-Catholic, Easter is a big celebration and he would apparently have joined them for the traditional breakfast. He even joked that he would bring Vodka and caviar to the meal.

"We just don't understand it. We can't say whether or not Janusz is the guilty one, but it simply does not sound like him."

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But he was also easily indoctrinated and did not have a strong character, said Lucy Banola.

She said Waluz was not highly intelligent and was still struggling with the English language. The only newspaper he read was The Citizen. Waluz used to do everything extremely slowly.

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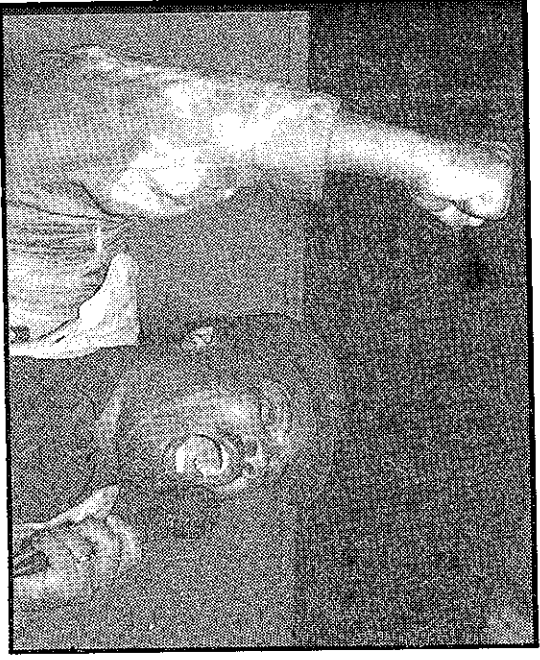
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'Waluz is a loner, but never aggressive'

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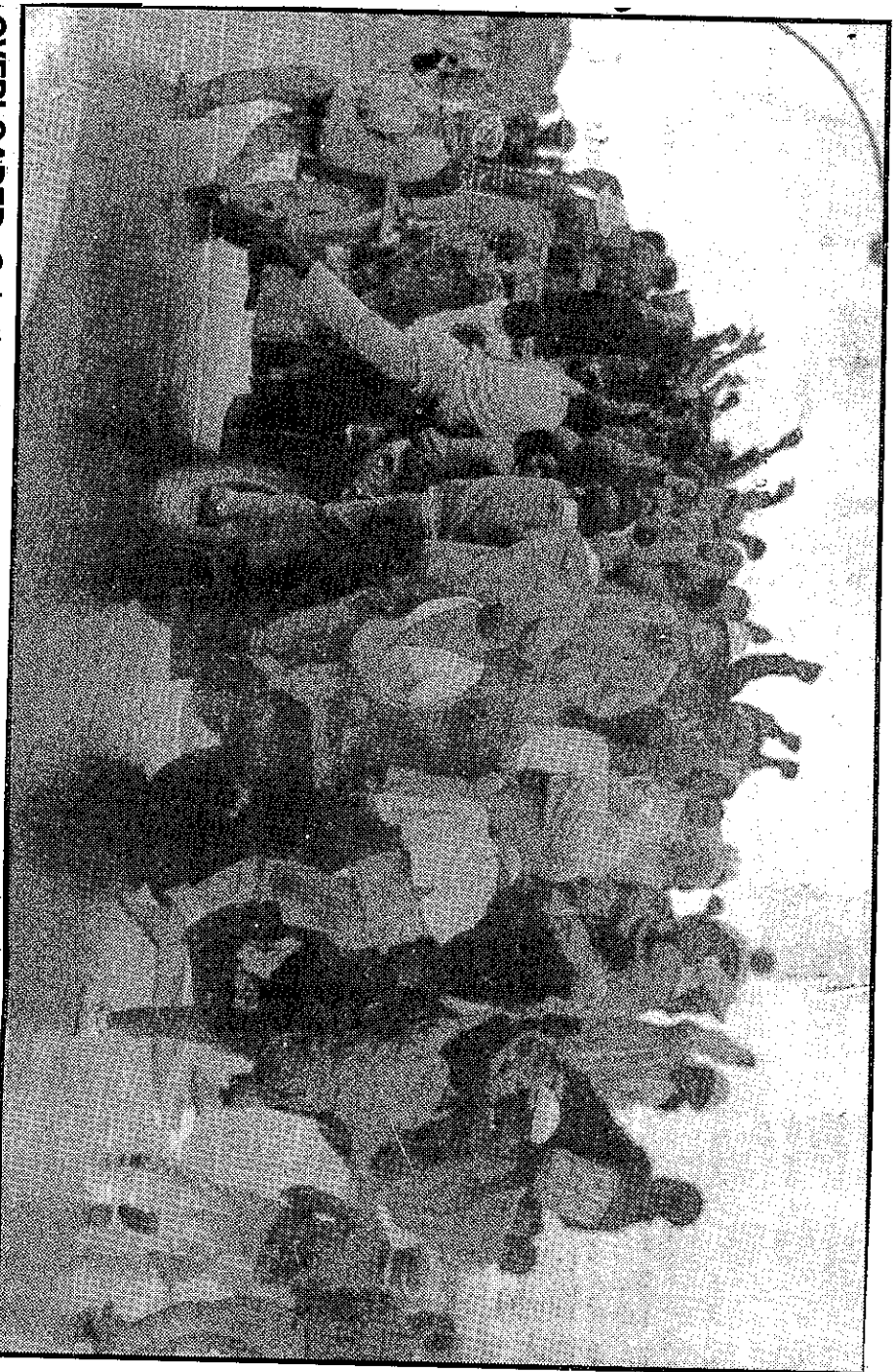
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A belief he was prepared to die for



A MARKED MAN: Chris Hani ... knew it was more likely than not that he would meet a violent death.

Hani was convinced negotiations would deliver democracy

Chris Hani couldn't wait for the New South Africa, but the old South Africa got to him first. Argus Correspondent ESTHER WAUGH, who knew Mr Hani well, marks his tragic passing.

TWO weeks ago, after yet another death threat, Chris Hani jokingly asked me whether I realised how high the chances were that I would one day be writing his obituary.

Warming to the marcarbe theme, he suggested I write one then and there — so he could read it and see what he thought.

This was typical of the private Chris Hani, a different man from his public image.

Whenever discussion turned to his security — and this was often, because of his highest-of-the-high profile — he would say he was not afraid of dying.

He would then retell the story of his three close shaves with death, "which only sheer luck" saw him survive. The first was when he came under fire in Rhodesia in the Wanlike campaign so long ago.

The second, the Lesotho raid by South African security forces in the days of PW Botha. And the third, so recently, at Bisho.

His military background, one supposes, obliged him to affect the untouchable air, but Hani's vulnerability did get to him occasionally.

After a trip in February to Cuba — his first visit and meeting with Fidel Castro — he let slip that one of the aspects he enjoyed most was not having to "look over his shoulder" all the time.

He knew it was more likely than not that he would meet a violent death. Hani knew he was "a sitting duck anywhere." He worried most about his family's safety. He said he would "get a lump in his throat" when he had to leave home, which was frequently.

South Africa gained nothing from Chris Hani's assassination. It suffered a tremendous loss. The former MK chief of

staff did not, in spite of his image, relish violence.

On Saturday, on a rare day off, he was planning to attend the soccer match between South Africa and Mauritius.

An avid Orlando Pirates fan and keen supporter of the South African squad, he was looking forward to sitting in the stands again. He loved going to soccer. From the moment the whistle blew, he was transported out of the world of politics.

He was as animated about daring shots and body swerves and fouls as he was famous for captivating his audiences at mass rallies.

Many South Africans were astounded by — and many were cynical about — Hani's recent calls for peace and political tolerance because of his close identification with the armed struggle.

But if you knew him, you would know that it was precisely this background that made his peace interventions so credible, so potentially persuasive, so invaluable to South Africa.

Many have called for peace and been ignored. Hani's calls had a far greater chance of being heeded.

Chris Hani was also a family man — protective and proud of his three daughters' achievements at school and university.

Only five days ago, he wondered aloud about what would happen to them if he should die.

Since his return to South Africa, and especially since the end of Codesa I, Hani was convinced that the days of the armed struggle were over and that negotiations would deliver democracy to our country. It was a belief, he said, he was prepared to die for.

He was also, let it be said, a committed socialist until



HANI PROTEST: The bridge across the railway line at Guguletu appears to have disappeared under the feet of thousands of activists marching to Athlone police station to protest against the killing of Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani.

the end. He regretted never having been asked to be allowed to attend the Lenin School in Moscow because of the armed struggle.

He said he was lacking the theories of socialism, and had never read Marx's Das Kapital. But he tried in his own way, to work for the upliftment of the poor and the installation of democracy in the country in which he was born.

He was larger than life in the townships, and this amazed him. In January, when a Markinor poll found him to be the second most popular political leader in the country — after Nelson Mandela — he was incredulous.

He first became aware of the extent of his popularity inside the country at the launch of the SACP in July

1990. He had picked up signs of it when he visited Transkei on return from exile, but explained this to himself as being a reaction to his being a "local boy."

Although he had severed his links with Umkhonto we Sizwe, many cadres still went to see him to seek advice.

Only last week, he was again asked to help sort out "problems on the ground" with MK. He was willing to help, but was sensitive about stepping on others' toes. It had to be a formal arrangement, for Hani to feel comfortable.

It is well known, that Hani was passionate about Shakespeare, Shelley and Homer.

He enjoyed reciting long extracts of plays or poems, he loved Latin, and sometimes

said he wished he'd been a lecturer.

He was interested in and knowledgeable about Xhosa history — a subject he wanted to write about.

Face-to-face, Hani was intensely honest, to the point of bluntness. He was greatly respected within ANC, MK, SACP and Cosatu ranks, by friends and foes alike.

About six months ago, Hani began exercising furiously, sometimes twice a day, and he was unashamedly excited about the future and his part in it.

He had lost weight in preparation for the New South Africa.

But the old South Africa got to him first.

Picture: OBED ZILWA. The

A note on desk pad said 'Peace Corps' ..

Argus Correspondent

"PEACE Corps" scrawled across piece of paper on Chris Hani's Johannesburg office desk.

He was making notes Friday about a peace-keeping force 16 hours before he was stopped by an assassin's bullet.

His office is pleasant. A few pot plants, a case with copies of L. works, a couple of post-pen and ink drawing of ers and the struggle. His is a humble size.

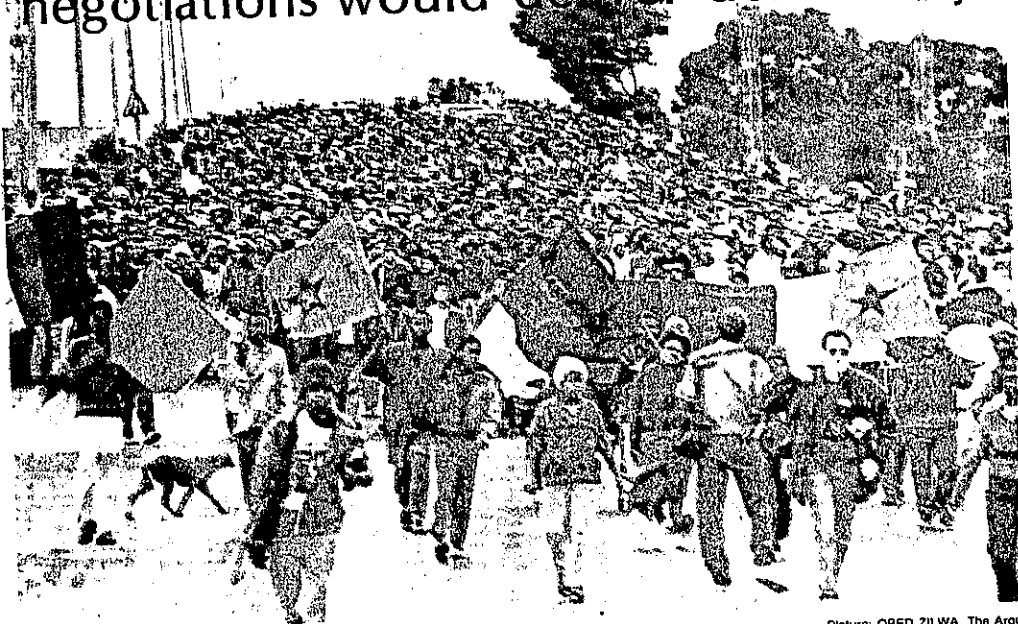
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ANC renews its call for calm

Mass protests to mark Hani assassination

B/DAY 13/4/93

11A

RAY HARTLEY
and LLOYD COUTTS

PLANS for mass stayaways and protest marches around the country took shape yesterday as messages of concern at the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hani continued to pour in.

ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale announced a programme of joint ANC, Cosatu and SACP "rolling mass action" in protest. The action would include a stayaway tomorrow, during which memorial services would be held, protest pickets and "a massive protest march in Johannesburg on Saturday", along with smaller marches elsewhere in the region.

In honour of Hani's memory, the SA flag at the Washington embassy was lowered to half mast, Sapa reports. Ambassador Harry Schwarz said the gesture was "to show respect and a feeling of grief which arises from Mr Hani's assassination".

The death toll in violence sparked by Hani's slaying rose to four yesterday, and sporadic violence continued.

The toll rose with the death in hospital of a white man badly injured by a mob in Lwandle township near Cape Town on Sunday. Two of the man's white companions were burnt to death in their car.

Sapa reports one man was killed in Soweto's Chicken Farm squatter camp on Sunday.

Chicken Farm residents said police fired

on a commemorative rally for Hani. Police said they were forced to return fire while making an arrest.

Security force reinforcements were deployed in Reef townships yesterday after rampaging youths fired on cars and set shops and buses alight.

Police described Reef townships as "chaotic" after a shopping centre in Kagiso on the West Rand was gutted and several other shops torched. Youths in Katlehong and other East Rand townships stoned and attacked cars and buses.

Also in Katlehong, gunmen in a crowd of about 3 000 people fired at journalists and police with machine guns. Reuter photographer Juda Ngwenya said gunmen fired at black and white journalists who tried to film a truck that had been set on fire. He said no one was hurt. A white cameraman for CBS television narrowly missed being struck by a bullet and stones were thrown at a car carrying a Reuter television crew.

The ANC said pickets planned for today would focus on Boksburg, where suspect Janusz Walus is due to appear in court in connection with Hani's death. Thousands of ANC supporters were expected to gather outside the court.

□ To Page 2

Protests ~~13/4/93~~ 11A ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ □ From Page 1

A crowd of about 6 000 ANC supporters marched from Vosloorus to the Hani home in Boksburg's Dawn Park yesterday to pay their respects to the family.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba told the mourners any action in response to the killing would be disciplined but militant. "We came here in our numbers to show the enemy the ANC will live on no matter how many of us they kill. On Wednesday we must hit them with a stayaway. They must know that they have provoked the people and we must hit back."

Mokaba called for the restructuring of defence units. "(We must) make sure whenever they take action like this they will live to regret it... We must become disciplined, cool, but hit back. Chris Hani should not die in vain."

ANC PWV peace desk official Mondli Gungu gele had to restrain a section of the large crowd from setting alight a house near the Hani home. "We are not here to deal with racial wars. We are here to pay our last respects," he said.

The ANC Youth League earlier called for arms to be taken up against whites in retaliation, Sapa reports. Speakers at a rally attended by 3 500 people at Mamelodi, near Pretoria, also called for a boycott of businesses in Pretoria and blamed government for the killing.

About 2 000 people marched from Phola Park squatter camp to the Thokoza police station where they handed over a memorandum blaming police for the killing.

The ANC, meanwhile, yesterday moved to defuse tensions, saying it had not called for any "armed activities" directed at whites. "While the ANC understands the

anger of our people in this time of grief, we condemn the attacks on whites... Colour does not play a role in this instance and we therefore call on our people to refrain from racial attacks and hijacking of cars," the ANC's PWV region said in a statement.

It said while the alleged assassin was white, so was the person who reported the incident.

Employers appeared sympathetic to the stayaway call, but were likely to adopt a "no work, no pay" policy tomorrow.

Announcing the mass action programme, Sexwale also said police were incapable of an impartial investigation into the killing without the assistance of international observers.

□ Our political staff reports from Cape Town that Walus, arrested shortly after Hani was gunned down on Saturday, is an AWB member and that the organisation is considering applying for him to be treated as a political prisoner.

AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche said last night a search of the organisation's records showed that Walus had joined the AWB on August 1 1986. The fact that he was a member of the AWB indicated he "was driven by political ideals and ideas", Terre-Blanche said.

He did not think Walus was particularly active in the organisation and could not remember seeing him when he visited the Pretoria commando. He was not an officer but "just a member of the movement".

Terre-Blanche repeated his condemnation of the killing, saying assassination was an unacceptable way to resolve political differences.

● See Page 6

Star 13/4/93

'Chris could say: Apla, you are wrong'

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

(11A)

The untimely death of SACP leader Chris Hani has left the ANC leadership in a "difficult position", according to ANC PWV regional chairman and one of Hani's closest friends, Tokyo Sexwale.

"He so fought for peace. How are we going to convince our people that it is right to fight for his ideals of peace," said Sexwale.

He met Hani for the first

time when he fetched the former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from exile in 1990. Since then, a very close bond had grown between them.

Sexwale said Hani was a fighter for peace.

"He was involved in an uncompromising fight when it came to principled matters. He was true to his beliefs. He was controversial. He was polemical, very comradely and charismatic."

Sexwale said Hani was always ready to accept views different from his own.

"Chris could, without seeking favour, congratulate people in the movement, just as he was able to criticise them."

Hani was therefore the only leader who could publicly point to problems in the self-defence units. "Chris could stand up and say 'Apla, you are wrong'."

"People wanted Chris as a deadly man of war. The danger with Chris was that he was a man of peace."

Star 1314193

Commoner who defied the odds

H"AWKS" and "doves"; "militants" and "moderates"; the "unreasonable radicals on both ends of the spectrum" — these are the pigeon-holes of much prevailing political commentary in our country. Chris Hani's life defied their easy assumptions.

Martin Thembisile Hani was born in Cofimvaba to a migrant worker and an illiterate mother. He was the fifth of six children. To get to be what he was, from where he came from, meant defying the odds.

Perhaps the most popular orator in our country, he always had the courage to tell supporters difficult truths. Just last week he was out at a mass rally on the East Rand, with a cap emblazoned REBEL, reflecting critically on ill-disciplined self-defence units.

Two weeks before that, Hani, without the cap, summarised for an informal social meeting of Pretoria business people the prevailing common wisdom about a negotiated settlement.

"To make a successful transition from authoritarian rule to a relatively stable democracy, the moderates on both sides are meant to find each other. Some kind of elite deal then has to be struck, while extremists on either side are supposed to be marginalised.

"I don't have to tell you", he

The assassination of Chris Hani has sent shock waves throughout South African society. Here his close colleague in both the ANC and the SA Communist Party, JEREMY CRONIN, describes the qualities that made Hani so popular.

added wryly, "into what role this particular screen-play casts someone like me."

Hani refused to play the role. He rejected elite deals that would marginalise the majority. But he supported negotiations.

In the past few days, in the aftermath of his death, some newspapers (which just weeks before were portraying him as the archetypal, irrational militant) performed somersaults. "Chris Hani: a Dove in Hawk's Clothes" read a Rapport headline. Others have been implying a very recent conversion to reasonableness.

Born in rural poverty, Hani would sometimes jokingly describe himself as a "commoner", partly to explain the contrast in style with the man he most admired, Nelson Mandela.

Hani was at his happiest touring through rural backwaters in the northern Transvaal, northern Cape or Transkei. In the last two years he was doing this virtually every second week, addressing four, five or six gatherings a day.

If he could talk, he could also listen. He knew the name and family background of virtually every MK cadre and SACP activist.

When he was in Johannesburg, his office was besieged with deputations coming from squatter camps, workers on strike, or MK returnees.

He enjoyed his popularity without a trace of arrogance. He was a commoner. And it was because he saw himself as a commoner that he made a fatal mistake.

He was embarrassed by special attentions that kept him apart from neighbours. So he gave his bodyguards the Easter weekend off.

And now, millions of commoners in South Africa are in mourning.

They are in mourning for this supposed "extremist", the man in the REBEL cap, who never stopped saying that democracy must also mean simple, dignified things for the poorest of the poor, like tap-water, household electricity and roofs over heads. □



Party men . . . SACP comrades Jeremy Cronin and Chris Hani addressing a conference. Hani rejected "elite deals" but had the courage to tell supporters difficult truths, such as when he criticised ill-discipline in self-defence units.

Star 14/4/93
Talks delayed over slaying
(11A)

The ANC has requested that tomorrow's meeting of the negotiating council be cancelled because of Chris Hani's death.

ANC negotiator Matthew Phosa said yesterday: "The nation is mourning."

The meeting has been rescheduled for next Thursday.

The tripartite alliance — the ANC, SACP and Cosatu — reaffirmed its commitment to negotiations within 24 hours of Hani's death.

The alliance said it would not allow violence to derail the negotiation process.

Allowing negotiations to derail would be "a betrayal of

what Chris stood for", Phosa said. Hani had backed the move to suspend the armed struggle and was committed to the installation of a new democratic order through negotiations.

In a speech to the East Rand tripartite alliance peace summit 10 days ago, Hani had made a strong plea for peace.

Next week's meeting of the negotiating council — the chamber where the "real" negotiations take place — will be its first since the successful multi-party negotiating forum meeting two weeks ago. — Political Correspondent.

Funeral on Monday

CT 14/2/93

JOHANNESBURG. — South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani will be buried on Monday, which will be a day of mourning, says a joint statement released by the ANC and Cosatu yesterday.

Funeral proceedings will begin at 9am at Soweto's FNB Stadium and he will be buried at the Boksburg cemetery at 2pm.

On Sunday Mr Hani's body will lie in state at the FNB Stadium from noon.

A vigil will be held from 6pm onwards.

"The full programme for the funeral will be announced on Sunday," the statement said. — Sapa

~~(Sapa)~~ 304

Star 14/1/93
'Death brings

new urgency (11A)

The South African Foundation says that if "a new realism and sense of urgency can emerge" as a result of Chris Hani's death, then "the sad occurrence would not have been in vain".

In a message of condolence to ANC president Nelson Mandela, the foundation says Hani's death "only serves to emphasise the culture of intolerance that still exists in South Africa, and which threatens to isolate this country from the international community".

The foundation urged political leaders to seek an urgent resolution to the violence.

COMMUNITY MODEL

Star 14/1/93

Revamp of security forces urged

Staff Reporter

Renewed demands for immediate reform on the security front have stemmed from the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani.

The Rev Dr Stanley Mogoba, presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, insisted that the people of South Africa would have confidence in nothing less than a joint peacekeeping force.

"The joint peacekeeping force must be in place before any constitutional agreements are reached or an interim government takes power," he said.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) projects director Jody Kollapen called for an interim peacekeeping force made up of members of all parties, and for security forces to be placed under multiparty control forthwith.


"Chris Hani's death highlights the fact that certain parties are unable to operate freely in the run-up to an election."

LHR called for measures to help restore confidence in the security forces and the rule of law — including the disclosure of all covert operations.

John Carlin joins blacks marching to their murdered leader's home

Will Macbeth have his day?

STAR 14/4/93

11A 

MACBETH was harbouring murderous thoughts. Gaunt and brooding, he stood sullenly apart from the crowd of African National Congress supporters gathered at Vosloorus football stadium in memory of their murdered leader, Chris Hani.

His name was Macbeth Ndaba. He was 26, a veteran of the liberation struggle, detained repeatedly by the police since his teens. "It's very disturbing, very disturbing, very disturbing," Macbeth said. "There's a lot of pain. Not just because of Comrade Chris — many others have been killed before him. We should have taken action before. Now we should take revenge. Now we should take up arms against the enemy."

Were the enemy the whites? "No, no. Not exactly. It's De Klerk. It's the regime. It's the police."

I had heard that the ANC Youth League was going to organise a rally in Vosloorus. I had also heard that, in an apparently racist attack connected to the Hani killing, two white men had been burnt

to death, and one had had his tongue cut out, near Cape Town.

Unpleasant images washed through my mind as I drove out to the township, 20 minutes south-east of Johannesburg, on Monday. At the stadium I had to forge a path through the throng to the main gate. A group of "comrades" surrounded my car. "Press card, please," said one. I showed it to him and he gave me a thumbs up. "Fine, comrade. Would you just mind opening the boot?"

Inside, people made way for me, smiled reassuringly — there were perhaps five whites here in a crowd of 3 000. The first speaker, however, felt a need to make certain we — and the broader white public — would be all right. "Our first principle is that we're a non-racial organisation," he said in Zulu. "We're not racists. Anyone here who hates whites does not belong to the ANC."

The main speaker was Peter Mokaba, president of the ANC Youth League, the one man, in the absence of Hani, with the fire and the image, perhaps, to control a crowd that was becoming increas-

ingly restless, burning for an outlet for their rage and grief. "Yes, we are an angry people, we are an angry organisation, we are an angry nation. The murder of Chris Hani is the murder of the people. We cannot take it any longer. We will act. But we will act with calm and discipline. There will be no racial war."

To act, in a move not anticipated by Mokaba, meant to march to the police station near by, and then another five miles down the road to render homage at Chris Hani's house in the traditionally white, recently mixed, suburb of Dawn Park.

The crowd, swelled by passers-by, stopped outside the barbed wire fence of the heavily guarded police station. A helicopter circled overhead and two army armoured vehicles drew near.

Beside the police station, on a piece of open ground, four men were practising their golf swings. This used to be a golf course, they explained, but they used it only as a driving range now. They were sad that Hani had died, but also mildly irritated. "When will these

people leave so we can start hitting some balls?"

Amid the pandemonium when the crowd set off for Dawn Park, Mokaba lost sight of his vehicle. Would I give him a lift? He was extremely worried. Some anti-white radicals from the Pan-Africanist Congress seemed to have infiltrated the march. Right-wing gunmen could cut us off.

Would the police open fire, as in Soweto on Sunday? "Chris Hani is the only man in the ANC who could have handled this situation," he said. "That's why I have to do this. No one knows who most of the leaders at headquarters are."

He asked whether we could go up and receive the road to Dawn Park. Easier said than done, with a solid wall of marchers blocking our way. I suggested he stick his head out of the window, which he did, and the crowd parted like the Red Sea. Two kilometres down the open road, we met some 200 African traditionalists, also ANC supporters, carrying spears, machetes and axes. A kilometre on, a dozen plainclothes officers with rifles. Mokaba spoke to each

group and reported back, smiling and relaxed, that all would be well.

At Dawn Park, a white family stood on the pavement watching the approaching column, stretching back as far as the eye could see. How were they? "Frightened," replied the middle-aged mother, pointing her chin at the marchers, the vanguard of whom were now only a hundred yards away.

"But if they're peaceful, they have a right to do this," she said. "It's sad. Chris Hani was a father. He had a family. His neighbour, who was a white man, was terribly upset by his death."

Her son, in his twenties and wearing only a blue dressing gown, chipped in, more excited than alarmed. "It's a real 'new South Africa' suburb, this. It's been peaceful here since the black people arrived. Hani helped us organise the neighbourhood watch. We liked him. He said he was for peace and we could see that he was. I used to meet him at the shops and he'd wave and smile."

These people seemed oddly at

ease. Here it was at last, the ultimate white nightmare: hordes of blacks descending on the suburbs. In a scene never seen in South Africa, the crowd jammed the leafy residential streets, sang songs, shouted slogans and listened to more speeches.

There was a moment of panic among ANC officials, which re-

vealed just how jittery they were, when the rumour spread that someone was trying to burn a house down. But it wasn't true. One final speech, reminding all "comrades" that anyone who did harm to white people could not call himself a member of the ANC, and everybody trooped off home in solemn order.

Within minutes no sign remained that Dawn Park had just

undergone a historic invasion. "Phase one," an ANC official said, "has gone well." But today the people of Vosloorus march again, to a neighbouring town. And again tomorrow, on Friday, on Saturday. One spark and anything could happen. Perhaps yesterday was a happy aberration. Maybe Macbeth will have his day. — The Independent News Service. □

Mandela's impassioned plea

● 23 000 extra troops on alert

'A time for peace'

Staff Reporters

ANC president Nelson Mandela last night made an impassioned plea for peace and discipline during today's stayaway in honour of Chris Hani, while a massive security operation involving an extra 23 000 police and troops swung into operation to help keep order.

The nationwide stayaway, organised by the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and backed by organisations such as the Pan Africanist Congress and the National Council of Trade Unions, will coincide with memorial services, protest marches, consumer boycotts and demonstrations across South Africa.

Mandela led a host of political leaders in calling for peaceful protests aimed at honouring Hani, and not provoking a racial war.

Speaking in a televised address as reports of violence

● Full text — Page 7
More reports on
Pages 3, 6, 13 and 19

around the country mounted and unrest areas were declared in the eastern Cape, Mandela said: "Tonight I am reaching out to every single South African, black and white, from the very depths of my being.

"A white man, full of prejudice and hate, came to our country and committed a deed so foul that our whole nation now teeters on the brink of disaster.

"A white woman, of Afrikaner origin, risked her life so that we may know, and bring to justice, this assassin.

"The cold-blooded murder of Chris Hani has sent shock waves throughout the country and the world. Our grief and anger is tearing us apart.

"What has happened is a national tragedy that has touched millions of people, across the political and colour divide."

He urged the nation to avoid serving the interests of assassins and to honour Hani in a fitting manner. "We must not let the men who worship war, and who lust after blood, precipitate actions that will plunge our country into another Angola."

In a special plea, he asked youths to exercise a discipline indicative of their responsibilities as future leaders of the country.

He said the police needed to show particular sensitivity in carrying out their duties today.

Mandela also called on "white compatriots, from whom messages of condolence continue to pour in", to reach out with understanding and join in the commemorations.

Regions which have specifically called for a stayaway today include the PWV, the eastern Transvaal, the western Cape, the east-

● To Page 3

'A time for peace'

● From Page 1

ern Cape, the Kei/Border region and the Natal Midlands.

Others have called for an early shutdown of businesses and have asked employers to release their workers early to attend services.

Political and church leaders and the National Peace Secretariat have also called for calm and restraint during today's functions.

Announcing the deployment of reinforcements last night, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said police had information that "radical elements" from the Left and the Right intended to use the occasion to foment violence.

"They aim in particular to focus their attention on the destruction of property and attacks on security forces, culminating in public violence."

He said that while police had been ordered to act with restraint, they would do "whatever is necessary" to protect lives and property.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and his National Peace Committee counterpart John Hall said they would be asking church leaders across the country to plead with their followers to be peaceful.

PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo, who visited Hani's home yesterday, called on employers to grant workers a paid holiday today, but IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose warned that stayaways would have a negative effect.

SEARCH 14/4/93

11A

SEARCH 14/4/93

Star 14/4/93

Hani: Ordinary folk mainly speak of anger

(11A)

WHILE most political bombshells tend to polarise South Africans on racial lines, Chris Hani's murder appears to have shocked the majority of both whites and blacks.

Saturday Star chief reporter John Perlman, who stood in for John Robbie on his Radio 702 talkshow this week, said the vast majority of callers were angry.

However, half a dozen people called in to say they were glad Hani was dead.

"Some were brutally blunt, like the coloured man from the East Rand who proposed a medal for the man who gunned Hani down, and suggested that the assassins get working on some more targets — starting with Jay Naidoo and finishing up with F W de Klerk.

"Others less honest tried to smuggle in their views inside a cloud of reasonable sounding 'facts' — why so much fuss about Chris Hani when the South African Communist Party has so few members? Why don't we hear the same cries of outrage when police-

Politicians have called for calm following the assassination of Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani. But how do ordinary South Africans feel about the events of the past five days?

men are shot?"

But Perlman said there were white callers who said "this is our death too".

"There were black callers who were deeply grateful for the courage of an ordinary white woman, Retha Harmse, who bit back her fear and ensured the prime suspect was arrested.

"Some people struggled for words, through their own feelings of helplessness, fear and hurt, but it is precisely that which made their sentiments ring so true," Perlman added.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for TV1 reports that people who called the station after Hani was shot on Saturday, most of them white, felt a sense of tragedy over the murder, although a small minority believed Hani deserved his fate.

"Of the 200 telephone

calls received, most callers wanted the news confirmed as they could not believe it, only 5 percent were negative. Many complained that we were making Hani a hero," said TV1 spokesman Johan van Heerden.

He quoted a caller who described himself as a "white male" as saying. "This is the best thing that could have happened, not everyone is sad about Hani's death".

Van Heerden said several callers complained that the station had interrupted the religious film "King David" and asked if it meant the station considered Hani as above God.

Another caller said he was sick of the media making an issue of white on black violence, and that the "SABC is making it seem like all whites are guilty of this crime".

Some callers asked for the station to re-screen the speeches by Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi calling for peace to prevent the spread of violence.

Staff reporter Abdul Milazi, in a random survey of township youth in Sebokeng and Soweto, gained the impression that most preferred a resumption of the ANC's armed struggle as a result of Hani's murder.

Tsepo Mogale (23) of Sebokeng said Hani's death was evidence that whites and "their government" did not want peace. He said the ANC should join forces with PAC's military wing Apla and resume the armed struggle.

Simthembele Zako (19), also of Sebokeng, said it was the duty of the black youth to avenge Hani.

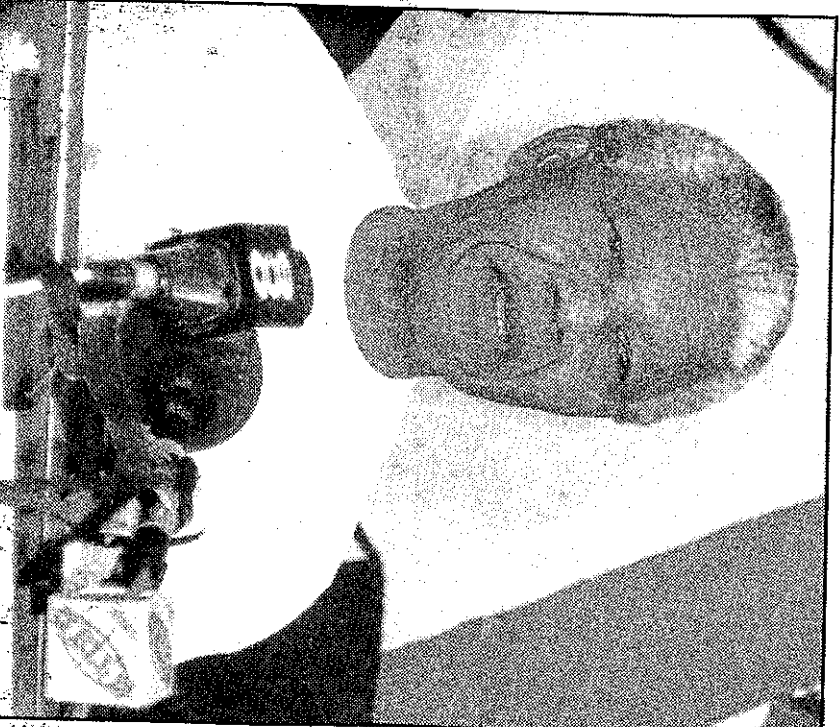
"The whites and the Government hated Comrade Hani because he spoke the truth."

Thapelo Modise (19) of Soweto said whites had declared war on blacks and they would be sorry.

But Sello Matlatse (23) said South Africans should put peace first.

'National tragedy crosses political divide'

Star 14/4/93



ANC president Nelson Mandela . . . this is a watershed moment for all of us.

TONIGHT I am reaching out to every single South African, black and white, from the very depths of my being.

A white man, full of prejudice and hate, came to our country and committed a deed so foul that our whole nation now teeters on the brink of disaster.

A white woman, of Afrikaner origin, risked her life so that we may know, and bring to justice, this assassin.

The cold-blooded murder of Chris Hani has sent shock waves throughout the country and the world. Our grief and anger is tearing us apart.

What has happened is a national tragedy that has touched millions of people, across the political and colour divide.

Our shared grief and legitimate anger will find expression in nationwide commemorations that coincide with the funeral service.

Tomorrow, in many towns and villages, there will be memorial services to pay homage to one of the greatest revolutionaries this country has ever known. Every service will open a Memorial Book for Freedom, in which all who want peace

In a heartfelt address to the nation on television last night, ANC president Nelson Mandela made a plea to all South Africans to stand together against those who wish to destroy what Chris Hani gave his life for — freedom.

and democracy can pledge their commitment.

Now is the time for all South Africans to stand together against those who, from any quarter, wish to destroy what Chris Hani gave his life for — the freedom of all of us.

Now is the time for our white compatriots, from whom messages of condolence continue to pour in, to reach out with an understanding of the grievous loss

to our nation, to join in the memorial services and the funeral commemorations.

Now is the time for the police to act with sensitivity and restraint, to be real community policemen and women who serve the population as a whole.

There must be no further loss of life at this tragic time. Our decisions and actions will determine whether we use our pain, our grief and our outrage

to move forward to what is the only lasting solution for our country — an elected government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We must not let the men who worship war and who lust after blood, precipitate actions that will plunge our country into another Angola.

Chris Hani was a soldier. He believed in iron discipline. He carried out instructions to the

peace in a fitting manner. Let us rededicate ourselves to bringing about the democracy he fought for all his life, democracy that will bring real, tangible changes in the lives of the working people, the poor, the jobless, the landless.

Chris Hani is irreplaceable in the heart of our nation and people. When he first returned to South Africa after three decades in exile, he said: 'I have

lived with death most of my life. I want to live in a free South Africa even if I have to lay down my life for it.'

The body of Chris Hani will lie in state at the FNB Stadium, Soweto, from 12 noon on Sunday, April 18 until the start of the vigil at 6 pm. The funeral service will commence at 9 am on Monday, April 19. The cortege will leave for Bobsburg cemetery, where the burial is

Let us honour this soldier for

Now is the time for all South Africans to stand together.

(11A)

scheduled for 1 pm. These funeral services and rallies must be conducted with dignity.

We will give disciplined expression to our emotions at our pickets, prayer meetings and gatherings, in our homes, our churches and our schools. We will not be provoked into any rash actions.

We are a nation in mourning. To the youth of South Africa we have a special message: you have lost a great hero. You have repeatedly shown that your love of freedom is greater than that most precious gift, life itself. But you are the leaders of tomorrow. Your country, your people, your organisation need you to act with wisdom. A particular responsibility rests on your shoulders.

We pay tribute to all our people for the courage and restraint they have shown in the face of such extreme provocation. We are sure this same indomitable spirit will carry us through the difficult days ahead.

Chris Hani has made the supreme sacrifice. The greatest tribute we can pay to his life's work is to ensure we win that freedom for all our people.

Star 14/3/93
**Hani burial
in Boksburg
on Monday**

Assassinated South African Communist Party chief and ANC national executive committee member Chris Hani will be buried at the Boksburg cemetery on Monday, the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance said yesterday.

The funeral, to be conducted by church leaders from different denominations, will begin at Hani's Dawn Park, Boksburg, home at 9 am, according to ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa.

He told The Star that Hani's body would lie in state at the First National Bank Stadium near Nasrec, south of Johannesburg, from noon on Sunday. A night-long vigil for the former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff would begin at 6 pm.

Mamoepa said the cortege would leave Hani's home at 2 pm on Monday for the Boksburg cemetery. — Political Correspondent.

ANC leaders call for dignity and restraint

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leaders called repeatedly for restraint as crowds vented their fury over Saturday's slaying of SACP secretary general Chris Hani.

Polish immigrant Janus Jakub Waluz appeared in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court yesterday for the first time in connection with Mr Hani's assassination.

Leaders made repeated calls for restraint as the ANC-/SACP/Cosatu alliance prepared for mass action and today's stayaway to protest against Mr Hani's killing.

ANC NEC member Mr Tokyo Sexwale, a friend of Mr Hani, urged a crowd of about 500 outside the Boksburg Magistrate's Court not to allow Mr Hani's death to spark off a racial war.

"As much as it was the hand of a white man that slaughtered comrade Chris, it was the eyes of a white woman that helped us catch the bastard," he said.

An impeccably dressed Mr Waluz, 40, appeared in court amid stringent security measures. No formal charges were put and he was remanded to May 12.

At an impromptu press conference outside the court building, Witwatersrand police liaison officer Brigadier Frans Malherbe gave some details of a hit-list found in Mr Waluz's Pretoria flat.

He said the list contained nine names and addresses of black and white politicians of the NP, ANC and SACP (including Mr Hani) as well as prominent people with a journalistic background.

Mr Sexwale told the crowd that people should simmer with anger inside at the slaying, but should maintain their dignity and discipline.

But despite repeated calls for discipline and restraint from ANC leaders, violence

Simmer, but be calm, says Hani's friend

flared across the Reef and some Dawn Park homes were damaged.

In a dramatic incident, two armed white men were arrested outside the court in Boksburg. They drove up in a bakkie and one waved a pistol at the crowd. The driver climbed out the vehicle, leading his dog through a police cordon towards the crowd.

He appeared to reach for his pistol and the crowd advanced angrily. ANC marshals dragged the man away and police arrested him and his friend.

The crowd then marched through Boksburg to Mr Hani's home in Dawn Park.

East Rand police liaison officer Major Ida van Zweel said some of the marchers stoned houses and damaged gardens.

She said a group of 40 looted a house, taking R15 000 goods and food. A man was arrested in possession of some of the stolen goods.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela visited the Hani home yesterday to sympathise with the family, including Mr Hani's father Mr Gilbert Hani, who had travelled from Transkei.

Mr Mandela told the 2 500-strong crowd that he was furious that some people had used the occasion to loot and said anyone caught doing so would be "severely dealt with".

While he was berating the crowd, an armoured police vehicle drove around the corner and was chased off by youths hurling mealie cobs.

A food company's truck hijacked in Vosloorus early yesterday was recovered in Dawn Park and three men were arrested, Major Van Zweel said.

Also on the East Rand, a group of 50 youths forced commuters to flee their railway coach at Dunswart station. Police said commuters locked themselves in other coaches.

At Boksburg East station, the youths smashed rail coach windows and slashed seats. Police said no injuries were reported.

In Balfour, 30 pupils at the Vuse Musi School stoned and set a truck on fire.

Youths stoned and threw petrol bombs at a shopping complex in Vosloorus. A bakkie was gutted and a truck damaged.

Also in Vosloorus, a group of about 130 cornered a policeman in his car in a cul de sac. They set his vehicle on fire, but he fled unhurt.

At the Chris Hani squatter camp in Daveyton, shots were fired at a truck transporting softdrinks. Police were called and the gunmen fled.

In Johannesburg, a group of about 100 Hillbrow/Berea ANC members marched on the Rand Supreme Court at lunchtime.

Scuffles between police and the marchers erupted at the court entrance when the crowd threatened to enter the building. One of the marchers drew a hammer and sickle and wrote "Revenge Hani" on the outside wall of the court.

On the West Rand, two bakery trucks were destroyed when youths set them alight in the Doornkop squatter camp. Another truck was attacked and stoned in Kagiso by about 20 youths.

About 70 Pick 'n Pay workers at a Hillbrow shopping centre protested during their lunchtime yesterday. There were numerous placards reading "One Hani, 1000 Boers". The workers dispersed quietly.

Yesterday afternoon, Munsieville police station was stoned and a petrol bomb was thrown at it. The bomb did not explode but a police vehicle was slightly damaged.

1119

APC 14/4/93

Hani bullet 'a lance against struggle'

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE assassin's bullet that killed Chris Hani was like a lance aimed at the heart of the struggle humanity had waged to end apartheid, said ANC foreign affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki.

He said those who had carried out the barbaric act of killing Mr Hani thought they could terrorise blacks into submission.

"They thought they could bring freedom to a halt so

that they could continue enjoying the evil fruits of the apartheid system," he said in an address, read on his behalf in Hout Bay last night by ANC national executive committee member Mr Reggie September, at the 18th general assembly of the Federation of African Medical Students' Associations.

This was a lie, he added.

They nurtured a dangerous fantasy that the gun could postpone Mr Hani's view of justice and peace whose time

had come.

"Thus they managed to convince themselves that a mirage concocted by their minds could be transformed into reality.

"They overestimated their strength and underestimated ours."

He said Mr Hani's death should serve as a signal for rapid movement to one-person-one-vote elections for a constituent assembly and an interim government of national unity.

"Only those opposed to change can oppose this call."

"Only those contemptuous of the fundamental aspirations of the people of South Africa can continue to create obstacles to speedy movement forward to democracy."

He said the ANC was confident voters would sweep aside those still determined to remain rooted to the past.

"Through death Chris Hani will see his vision of a democratic, peaceful and prosperous South Africa realised."

Hani funeral
ARC 11/14/93 (11A)
on Monday

JOHANNESBURG. — Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani would be buried on Monday, which would be a day of mourning, the African National Congress and Congress of South African Trade Unions said in a joint statement here.

Funeral proceedings will begin at 9am at Soweto's FNB Stadium and he will be buried at the Boksburg cemetery at 2pm. — Sapa.

his flat "might be an indication that others were involved".

friend's transport company, the father said.

Sexwale alleges govt was involved in assassination

BIOM 14.4.93.

11A

(Handwritten mark)

ALLEGATIONS of government complicity in the killing of SACP leader Chris Hani were repeated yesterday by ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale.

He said a number of factors pointed to government involvement in the weekend assassination. "It was a government gun that killed Chris Hani - let's not dilly-dally about this. You can't just walk into the air force armoury and steal guns," he said, referring to the fact that the Z88 pistol used by alleged assassin Janus Waluz was among weapons stolen from the air force in 1990.

Sexwale said it was also telling that Waluz was a licenced sub-machinegun owner. "Who licensed him in a country where you need special permission to carry a sub-machinegun?

Those who robbed the armoury must have had inside help or the weapon must have been removed and given to Waluz. "This smashes (Law and Order Minister) Hernus Kriel's one-man theory," he added.

Sexwale accused Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze of "lying through his teeth" to head off a thorough investigation.

"We are told that this man (Waluz) is not co-operating. I've never heard of this in

RAY HARTLEY

this country," he said.

It was ironic that two blacks arrested for the Eikenhof killings recently confessed within 24 hours, while Waluz was being treated "with kid gloves".

He rejected accusations that his comments were inflammatory, adding that the ANC was "trying to channel the anger" generated by the assassination with its protest activities.

He repeated the ANC's demand that international policing experts be involved in the investigation.

UN observer mission in SA spokesman James Kanu said no formal request had been received from the ANC or government for assistance with the investigation or the inquest into the assassination.

Police spokesman Maj Eugene Opperman said yesterday Sexwale's statements linking government to the assassination were "unfortunate".

"Even the top structure of the SACP and ANC has called for peace. It's very unfortunate that he should make statements that will push up tempers. If he has any evidence, he should come forward."

ANC worried about stolen guns

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CAMERA and watches worth R15 000
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ANC worried about stolen guns

CAPE TOWN — The ANC yesterday expressed concern at reports that the firearm used in the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hani had allegedly been stolen from an SADF armoury.

Prof Nick Haysom, appearing for the ANC at a Goldstone commission inquiry into the illegal importation, distribution and use of firearms, asked SADF

counsel Pierre Rabie whether steps had been taken to improve security at SADF arms depots.

Rabie said there had been no further incidents since the burglaries and theft of firearms from a SA Air Force depot in Pretoria in 1990. Strict security measures as stipulated in the Defence Act and the SADF Standing Orders were now applied at all arms depots.

The ANC said it had informed all members that they were permitted to carry only licensed firearms.

But, said Haysom, the ANC had no control over township self-defence units, which fell directly under community, leadership structures.

Haysom said the ANC's proposal for legislation, confining the possession of firearms to sporting activities, was "unrealistic" in SA at present.

He said the ANC's recommendation was for proportionate armament, not disarmament as such. The creation of a climate of disarmament was a long-term goal, however.

The ANC favoured heavy sentences for illegal possession of arms, but believed judicial officers should have discretion when im-

posing sentences in order to avoid injustices. (11A)

The ANC also believed that people who carried firearms in public should be in physical possession of their firearm licences. This provision was similar to legislation introduced last year compelling motorists to carry drivers' licences.

Louis Visser, SC, for Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, said the DF Malan Accord between government and the ANC did not excuse the ANC from explaining its role in illegal importation, distribution and use of firearms.

Inkatha would deal with any evidence of wrongdoing by its members. However, there was no evidence that Inkatha or the KwaZulu government had officially sanctioned illegal activity in respect of firearms, he said.

SA Gunowners' Association spokesman Ian Lear said attempts to "tighten up" the Arms and Ammunition Act would only burden legal gun owners. Criminals would disregard further legislation. Illegal use of firearms had to be combated by more effective law enforcement and stricter sentences.

Lear said the level of criminal violence in many black townships was so high that law-abiding people were prepared to risk prosecution by acquiring an illegal firearm for their own protection. — Sapa.



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'Deplorable' murder — US

KATHRYN STRACHAN

US Secretary of State Warren Christopher yesterday issued a statement condemning the "deplorable and terrible event" of SACP general secretary Chris Hani's assassination. (11A)

"The brutal murder will sadden all who are working for peace, democracy and justice in SA," said Christopher. "It underscores the urgent need to end violence in the country and to push ahead with negotiations."

He added that Hani had actively supported negotiations, and in the past week had called for an end to violence. (B10AM 14/4/93)

In an open letter of condolence to Hani's wife Limpho, Christopher said: "This act of senseless violence cannot dim the memory that the world will carry of him as a man committed to justice and equality."

In a letter to ANC president Nelson Mandela he said he hoped Hani's commitment and dynamism would encourage South Africans to work for peace.

Police 'cannot get Hani murder suspect to talk'

B10AM 14/4/93.
 STEPHANE BOTHMA and LLOYD COUTTS

THE alleged assassin of SACP chief Chris Hani, Janus Waluz, was being uncooperative and refusing to answer questions about the murder, police spokesman Brig Frans Malherbe said yesterday.

Malherbe told journalists outside the Boksburg Magistrate's Court — where Waluz made a brief appearance yesterday — that police were still attempting to establish a motive for the killing, but that Waluz would answer questions only on "circumstantial stuff".

"He has been totally uncooperative up to now. He is answering all questions not about the case. When he is asked questions about the case he shuts up," Malherbe said.

The brigadier said while there was a strong suspicion the murder was politically motivated, the establishment of a motive could "open up" the investigation.

He confirmed police were investigating the possibility that others had been involved in the killing.

Malherbe said police had questioned AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche, who this week said Waluz was a member of his organisation. He refused to answer questions on an alleged "hit list" found by police, but said everyone on the list had been offered police protection.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday the focus of the police investigation was on whether Waluz had acted on his own.

Kotze was unable to say who had been questioned in connection with the killing. It was up to the investigating team to decide who would be questioned, and added that he could not say if right-winger Piet "Skiet" Rudolph would be questioned.

Rudolph was arrested in 1990 in connection with the theft of weapons from SA Air Force headquarters, one of which was allegedly used to shoot

Hani. Rudolph was later released under an amnesty but several of the weapons have not been recovered.

Yesterday police spokesman Capt Nina Barkhuizen declined to comment on rumours that Waluz had bought an overseas airline ticket before his arrest.

The hit list found at Waluz's home, containing the names of eight prominent leaders from the ANC, SACP and NP would not be made available to the media, she said.

Our political staff reports Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe told a Cape Town news conference yesterday that police had "more than sufficient" evidence to convict Waluz for Hani's killing.

But he acknowledged that the assassination could have involved other players and that police had not ruled out the possibility of a conspiracy.

He said the fact that the suspect was in possession of stolen weapons and that a hit list had been found in his flat "might be an indication that others were involved".

been referred to the... and the writing... Sexwale

'Unite in mourning' — PAC

JOHANNESBURG — The Pan Africanist Congress urged people to attend commemoration services in honour of slain South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani.

(11A) ARG 14/4/93

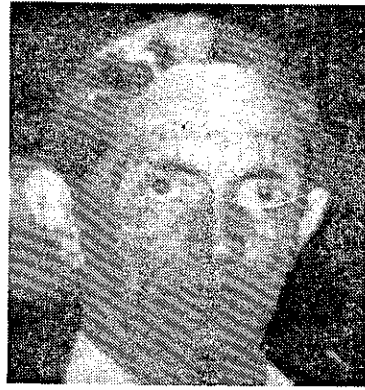
"We are calling for a united front approach to the mourning and anger of our people," the PAC said in a statement.

"We have a common enemy who is bent on striking at all liberation movements and we need to be united in our vigilance."

Mass protests, stay-aways, marches and memorial services in honour of Mr Hani, who was shot dead on Saturday, will take place country-wide today.

The PAC called on all employers to grant workers a paid holiday.

The statement concluded: "The conspiracy to kill liberation leaders — starting with comrade Chris Hani — cannot be left to the regime to investigate." — Sapa.



DAWOOD KHAN

ANC suspends Khan over ^(11A) ~~(15A)~~ insult to Jews

South 10/4-14/4/93.
By Rehana Rossouw

ANC Western Cape regional executive member Mr Dawood Khan has been suspended from the organisation for three months for allegedly making anti-Semitic remarks in public recently.

At a demonstration outside the Israeli embassy last month Khan said in the presence of journalists: "Hitler should have killed all the Jews".

An ANC disciplinary hearing this week found Khan had "violated the principles, norms and morality of the organisation and behaved in a disgraceful way that brought the ANC into disrepute".

Khan was not only suspended from the regional committee but also from his position as Kensington branch chairperson. He was asked to apologise publicly to the Jewish community and to members of the ANC.

The ANC said in a statement that Khan had a "volatile and impetuous temperament and loses his temper easily".

In an open letter of apology Khan said he realised his comment had "caused great offence" both in the ANC and the community.

"I can only say it was said in the heat of the moment and in no way reflects my true feelings," he said.

"I share the view of all democrats that Hitler was one of the worst tyrants in history and that the unspeakable crimes committed against the Jewish people must be condemned as a crime against all humanity."

Mandela calls for calm as protests begin

11A
204

BLOM 14/4/93

RAY HARTLEY

THE biggest peace operation yet in SA will be mounted today, with more than 23 000 troops, police and peace monitors deployed to prevent violence at 84 rallies countrywide for slain SACP general secretary Chris Hani.

Last night ANC president Nelson Mandela issued a passionate appeal for calm, saying the killing had precipitated a watershed moment for the country.

"A white man, full of prejudice and hate, came to our country and committed a deed so foul that our whole nation now teeters on the brink of disaster. A white woman, of Afrikaner origin, risked her life so that we may know and bring to justice, this assassin. We must not let the men who worship war, and who lust after blood, precipitate actions that will plunge our country into another Angola," he said in a televised statement.

Announcing the deployment of police and army personnel, Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said he had acted after consultation with the ANC and peace accord structures.

Acting Law and Order Minister Tertius Delport last night declared Port Elizabeth, Cradock and Uitenhage unrest areas, adding that curfews would be declared in areas "affected or threatened by violence".

Hundreds of thousands of workers are expected to heed a call to stay away today. Cosatu said stayaways had been called for in the PWV, eastern Transvaal, Border and eastern and western Cape, with 84 commemorative services countrywide.

The ANC had sent guidelines to all its regions in an effort to keep mass action peaceful, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said.

The ANC also appealed to its followers to respect the rights of those who opt to work today. Spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC was issuing a "strong message" that those who did work must not be "attacked or intimidated".

BILLY PADDOCK reports that a government spokesman said it was hoped the protests would take place under strong control and not lead to further violence and problems. Another spokesman said that after the death of such a prominent leader, the ANC's supporters could be expected to vent their anger, and mass action was a constructive way of doing so.

UN observer mission spokesman James Kanu said international monitors would be deployed across the country today to monitor memorial services and protests.

National peace committee chairman John Hall was convening the committee's national executive to discuss Hani's killing and its implications.

Mandela announced that Hani would be buried in Boksburg on Monday. The National Soccer League has made available the FNB stadium, where Hani's body will lie in state on Sunday.

ANC and Inkatha spokesmen announced that a joint rally would be held at Mpuma-

To Page 2

Protests

BLOM 14/4/93

11A 274

From Page 1

langa in the Natal Midlands to mourn Hani's death.

Mamoepa said commemorative services would take place in Johannesburg, Soweto, Alexandra, Boksburg, Sebokeng, Krugersdorp and Tembisa in the PWV.

Key streets in Cape Town would be "occupied" by demonstrators during a two-hour work stoppage at lunchtime, while a memorial service would be held at the city's St George's Cathedral, he said.

ERICA JANKOWITZ reports that business leaders have adopted a "wait and see" attitude to today's stayaways and work stoppages, with some suggesting the traditional "no work, no pay, no discipline" policy would be applied.

Sacob appealed for a sympathetic approach by business to those observing the

day of mourning, and the AHI also advised its members to "respond sympathetically" to requests for time off to attend commemorative activities.

Barlow Rand, Saccola and the Chamber of Mines said individual companies within their organisations would have to decide for themselves on policy.

THEO RAWANA reports that National Federated Transport Organisation taxis would not operate today, but SA Black Taxi Association public affairs manager Mike Ntlatleng said Sabta would leave it to affiliate regions to discuss with local civic organisations whether to operate or not.

Putco, which reported a 40% drop in passenger volumes yesterday, said it would play it by ear.

● Comment: Page 6

Affluent blacks start shift to white suburbs

Star 14/4/93

(11A)

Own Correspondents

Black businessmen, executives and politicians are buying homes in white areas at an increasing rate.

This shopping spree for houses is taking place while home-buying among whites is slackening, say experts in the property market.

This is a fair reflection of what is happening politically and economically in South Africa, say the experts, because the average white consumer is being hard hit by inflation, high taxation and poor job prospects.

Many whites vacating their properties out of desperation have settled in smaller dwellings and townhouses, while others have built bigger homes.

Jobless and poorer whites, hard-hit by recession and inflation, often end up homeless, and trudge the city streets in search of food and money.

Some of the previously white Conservative Party-controlled suburbs like Dawn Park and Freeway Park in Boksburg, Leondale and Rondebult in Germiston and Bedworth Park at Vereeniging, have virtually been taken over by blacks.

It is almost a way of life for affluent blacks to settle in the posh suburbs and towns such as Sandton, Bryanston, Randburg, Houghton, Mountainview, Hyde Park and Kelvin.

Top brass

Among top brass known to be living in the suburbs are National Sorghum Breweries chief executive Mohale Mahanye, Anglo American's Don Ncube, businessman Richard Maponya, soccer impresario Kaiser Motaung, businessman Gaby Magomola and SA Black Taxis Association executive and Futurebank chairman Jabu Mabuza.



Leader . . . businessman Richard Maponya.



Enscorced in better suburb . . . Joe Modise.

Politicians living in top suburbs include the ANC's Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, Toyko Sexwale, Pallo Jordan, Penwell Maduna, Joe Modise, Oliver Tambo and the PAC's Willie Seriti.

There are numerous reasons for settling in these areas but the bottom line is that "if you can afford to stay there, why not do so".

Chairman of Johannesburg's Black Management Forum branch Zamanani Jali says many members of his organisation live in the suburbs.

"We do not have a policy regarding where people should live", he said. "It is their democratic right to live where they want."

A black executive and politician argues: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it. We are at liberty even to take our children to schools of our choice."

Many are trying to beat the rush before the possible advent of a new black-dominated government by buying homes in PWV suburbs.

Camdon managing di-



Moving up . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela.



Living in "white" suburb . . . Oliver Tambo

rector Scott McRae says the new market was created by middle-class blacks wanting better housing.

Their security requirements and desire for a pleasant environment were similar to those of their white counterparts.

"I believe that when the country settles down politically and unrest abates, the black market is going to boom to an unprecedented degree," McRae says.

Pitso Mabena of Afri Home says scores of black executives have made inquiries about the prospects of buying property in previously all-white areas.

"With our links to property brokers, we believe we are able to provide vital advice and service to executives investing in these areas," he says.

His firm has cooperated with Comprehensive Property Services, which serves the entire property industry, and he had placed many black executives in previously white suburbs. He did not know the exact numbers.

"But our services are not only directed to executives," he added.

The spectrum of the South African property market changed drastically after President de Klerk scrapped racial restrictions in the title deeds of immovable property.

According to the Deeds Office in Pretoria, there has been an increase of 4,3 percent during 1992 over the previous year of blacks moving into white suburbs.

Chairman of the Estate Agents' Board Eskel Jawitz says it is no longer an exception for blacks to settle in so-called white areas, but it a norm, although no statistics are available.

He says whites previously living in these suburbs are known to be moving into townhouses, smaller houses or much bigger dwellings elsewhere.

The board was prepared to train black estate agents to "educate their own people" as well as to create jobs for them during the transitional period.

Star 14/4/92

Torture inquiry kicks off

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The second ANC-appointed commission of inquiry into allegations of torture in the organisation's prison camps in exile has started gathering evidence in the form of affidavits and will hold hearings next month, according to commission head Dr Sam Motsuenyane.

Motsuenyane said the commission, whose appointment by ANC president Nelson Mandela followed recommendations of the organisation's first commission headed by ANC advocate Louis Skweyiya, had made progress so far.

Advocates Vincent Maleka and Richard Moleko had been gathering evidence.

The former National African Federated Chamber of Commerce leader said the probe — comprising himself, former UK judge Margaret Burnham and Zimbabwe advocate David Zamthiya — would begin holding hearings to test evidence from May 10.

He called on people with any information which might be helpful to his commission to contact him at Khotso House in Johannesburg.

Motsuenyane said that unlike the three others before it, his commission would give people accused of human rights violations an opportunity to respond to the allegations against them.

Motsuenyane said he and his fellow commissioners would visit Tanzania towards the end of May to try to trace missing people who had not yet been accounted for.

The commission would compile its report and submit it to the ANC around the middle of June.

Schwarz defends half-mast flag

STAR 15/4/93

(11/7) (25)

By PETER FABRICIUS

AMBASSADOR Harry Schwarz flew the South African flag half-mast at the Washington embassy yesterday to pay respects to assassinated Communist Party leader Chris Hani "as a leader with a following of millions".

In London too, the flag was flown at half-mast at the SA embassy in Trafalgar Square.

Schwarz said last night that none but a few rightwingers had objected to his gesture, which had received the full support of his embassy staff.

"Chris Hani was a leader with a tremendous following, as we can judge from today's events. Millions paid tribute to him today. I believed I should show respect to him."

● The State President's office suggested the gestures were not consistent with official policy. It said the national flag may be flown half-mast on a nationwide basis only on the day of the funeral of a State President, an acting State President, the Chief Justice of acting Chief Justice, or a former or designate State President. □

focus on Mandela

TONIGHT I am reaching out to every single South African, black and white, from the very depths of my being.

A white man, full of prejudice and hate, came to our country and committed a deed so foul that our whole nation now teeters on the brink of disaster.

A white woman, of Afrikaner origin, risked her life so that we may know, and bring to justice, this alleged assassin.

The cold-blooded murder of Chris Hani has sent shock waves throughout the country and the world. Our grief and anger is tearing us apart.

What has happened is a national tragedy that has touched millions of people across the political and colour divide.

Our shared grief and legitimate anger will find expression in nationwide commemorations that coincide with the funeral service.

Today, in many towns and villages, there will be memorial services to pay homage to one of the greatest revolutionaries this country has ever known.

Every service will open a Memorial Book for Freedom, in which all who want peace and democracy pledge their commitment.

Now is the time for all South Africans to stand together against those who, from any quarter, wish to destroy what Chris Hani gave his life for — the freedom of all of us.

Now is the time for our white compatriots, from whom messages of condolence continue to pour in, to reach out with an understanding of the grievous loss to our nation, to join in the memorial services and the funeral commemorations.

Now is the time for the police to act with sensitivity and restraint, to be real community policemen and women who serve the population as a whole. There must be no further loss of life at this tragic time.

This is a watershed moment for all of us.

Our decisions and actions will determine whether we use our pain, our grief and our outrage to move forward to what is the only lasting solution for our country - an elected government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We must not let the men who worship war, and who lust after blood, precipitate actions that will plunge our country into another Angola.

Chris Hani was a soldier. He believed in iron discipline.

He carried out instructions to the letter.

He practised what he preached.

Any lack of discipline is trampling on the values that Chris Hani stood for. Those who commit such acts serve only the interests of the assassins and desecrate his memory.

When we, as one people, act together decisively, with discipline and determination, nothing can stop us.

Let us honour this soldier for peace in a

This is the full text of ANC president Nelson Mandela's address to the nation following the assassination of SA Communist Party secretary general Chris Hani at his Boksburg home last Saturday: (11A) Soweto 15/4/93.



Nelson Mandela ... country on the brink of disaster.



Chris Hani ... he made a supreme sacrifice

fitting manner. Let us rededicate ourselves to bringing about the democracy he fought for all his life; democracy that will bring real, tangible changes in the lives of the working people, the poor, the jobless, the landless.

Chris Hani is irreplaceable in the heart of our nation and people.

When he first returned to South Africa after three decades in exile, he said: "I have lived with death most of my life. I want to live in a free South Africa even if I have to lay down my life for it."

The body of Chris Hani will lie in state at the FNB Stadium, Soweto, from noon on Sunday April 18 until the start of the vigil at 6pm. The funeral service will commence at 9am on Monday April 19. The cortege will leave for Boksburg Cemetery where the burial is scheduled for 1pm.

The funeral service and rallies must be conducted with dignity.

We will give disciplined expression to our emotions at our pickets, prayer meetings and gatherings, in our homes, our churches and our schools. We will not be provoked into any rash actions.

We are a nation in mourning.

To the youth of South Africa we have a special message: you have lost a great hero. You

have repeatedly shown that your love of freedom is greater than that most precious gift, life itself.

But you are the leaders of tomorrow. Your country, your people, your organisation need you to act with wisdom. A particular responsibility rests on your shoulders.

We pay tribute to all our people for the courage and restraint they have shown in the face of such extreme provocation. We are sure this same indomitable spirit will carry us through the difficult days ahead.

Chris Hani has made the supreme sacrifice. The greatest tribute we can pay to his life's work is to ensure we win that freedom for all our people.

I have lived with death most of my life. I want to live in a free South Africa even if I have to lay down my life for it

Star 15/4/93

MK calls for peaceful transition

Umkhonto we Sizwe, armed wing of the ANC, yesterday reaffirmed its commitment to negotiations and added its voice to calls for the speedy establishment of a transitional executive council (TEC) and the holding of elections as soon as possible.

In its first official comment since the assassination of SA Communist Party and ANC leader Chris Hani, MK said Hani's murder was a "callous deed aimed at undermining negotiations and the process of establishing democracy".

Hani resigned as MK chief of staff when he was elected as SACP general-secretary about 18 months ago. Sphiwe Nyanda took his place.

MK said in a statement that Hani was "the embodiment of the noblest ideals of democracy and liberation", and had stood for both peace and negotiations in the country.

"Umkhonto we Sizwe has always been, and is, guided by the directives of its political leadership. MK has committed itself to ensuring peace and democracy in our country and will continue to conduct itself in a manner which will contribute to the establishment of peace and democracy.

"This is what Chris Hani fought and died for, this is what he would expect of us. MK reiterates the ANC's call on our people to continue with the

peace process and further strengthen it by conducting ourselves in a calm and collected manner," MK said.

The organisation demanded the establishment of a TEC and joint control of all security forces "with all deliberate speed, and that an election date be set without any further delay in order to move speedily to a democratic future".

MK warned, however, that although it remained committed to the negotiations process it would not continue to do so "at the expense of the lives of our people". It added that the murder was part of a greater conspiracy to undermine democracy. — Sapa-Reuter.

Many faces of day of remembrance

Star 15/4/93

Staff Reporters and Sapa

Chris Hani, his brow furrowed, impassioned in speech; Chris Hani, staring straight ahead, lips clamped; Chris Hani, face alight with laughter — down Johannesburg's Claim Street the posters came, carried by a crowd of about 4 000.

The Johannesburg memorial march and service was one of a number which went off without violence. Boksburg, Tembisa, Potchefstroom, Pretoria and Stellenbosch also found that large, disciplined crowds were the order of the day.

The Central Methodist Church was to have been the venue for the Johannesburg gathering. But it soon filled, so about 2 500 people spilt on to the street. The crowd grew restive. A flag pole near the Supreme Court snapped in two as monitors struggled to restrain activists from hoisting the ANC flag. And marshals moved the overflow crowd to the Library Gardens, where speakers made a second appearance.

Speaking before a crowd so

**Stayaway coverage by
Kaizer Nyatumba,
Bronwyn Wilkinson,
Jo-Anne Collinge, Phil
Molefe, Abdul Milazi,
Anna Louw, Helen
Grange, Cyril
Madlala, Montshiwa
Moroke, Thabang
Chiloane, Justice
Malala, Cheryl
Hunter, Lindiwe
Ngakane, Happy
Nkhoma, Dirk Nel,
Gien Elsas, Peter
Fabricius, Esther
Waugh, Peter
Wellman and Mckeed
Kotlolo.**

hushed that the sound of traffic on the distant M2 seemed to interfere, Bishop Peter Storey proclaimed that Easter was a dangerous time to kill, because the message of Eastertide was that "death will not have the last word".

And, in a square suddenly transformed with cries of "One

president, one Mandela!", ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale tried to divine what Hani's message would have been: "He would have continued to speak about stability and peace in this country."

Sexwale said the ANC was "proud to see our people in their anger", but demanded that anger be directed into effective political action. Cheers greeted his mention of the white Dawn Park woman whose information led to the suspect's arrest.

In Boksburg, where about 10 000 people converged on the city hall, ANC marshals controlled the crowd most of the morning, but even so, the windows of several cars and shops were smashed.

Marshals prevented a brief confrontation between protesters and police from spilling into violence.

The crowds sang and chanted in the packed and sweltering hall and more crammed into the gardens outside, watched by hundreds of policemen.

Boksburg traffic officer Dorne Brits, who was sitting in his patrol car, was wounded in the leg when his pistol accidentally went off.

Report upset Poles, says envoy

CAPE TOWN — The Polish ambassador to South Africa, Stanislaw Cieniuch, will try to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

Cieniuch said yesterday that media reports linking Polish-born Janus Waluz to the murder of SACP general-secretary Chris Hanu had upset the Polish community. ~~SECRET~~ (U) STAL 151493

"For almost two days, the media reported his nationality, but not his name. This created the impression that Poland was the enemy."

Cieniuch however praised Mandela's "statesmanship". — Sapa.

Warning Star is 15/4/93 to speed up talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa warned last night that unless negotiations were dramatically speeded up, the country would plunge into chaos which would take "years if not decades" to get out of.

The ANC hoped that the tragic death of Chris Hani would move negotiations forward more purposefully and that a date for the first democratic elections could be set for before the end of the year.

Government Ministers the ANC had spoken to since the assassination realised that momentum should be added to the negotiation process, he said.

Ramaphosa said a number of steps would be taken before Hani's funeral on Monday to ensure that the call for restraint from ANC president Nelson Mandela "sinks deep and begins to take effect".

The violence in Cape Town was outweighed by the discipline elsewhere in the country.

However, he acknowledged that "in a number of areas the situation did get out of control when the grief people are feeling got the better of them".

There were "quite a number of unruly people" but the chaos was not so extensive as to label the day's events "disastrous".

At a press conference in Johannesburg last night, Ramaphosa condemned the "outrageous behaviour" of the police, especially in Soweto, where four people were killed and many injured.

The ANC was in contact with SAP Commissioner-General Johan van der Merwe to get an explanation for the police action after Van der Merwe undertook on Tuesday that police would act with maximum restraint, he said.

Funeral venue changes

Boksburg town clerk Johan Coetzee yesterday said Chris Hani would not be buried in Boksburg but in the Elspark South Cemetery in Germiston because it was nearest to his home in Dawn Park. Germiston City Council Management Committee Chairman Leon Louw said arrangements were being made for Hani to be buried in the cemetery.

Hitman worries local Poles

POLISH ambassador to South Africa Mr Stanislaw Cieniuch will try to meet ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela amid mounting anger and fear among the local Polish community.

Cieniuch said yesterday media reports linking Polish-born Mr Janus Walus to the murder of SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Chris Hani had upset the Polish community. - *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.* *Sowetan 15/4 9.3.*

Star 151493
(11A)

'Golden opportunity for SA'

Staff Reporters and Sapa

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday sent a message of peace and unity to thousands of his supporters at a commemoration service for Chris Hani.

More than 40 000 people squeezed into the tiny Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto to hear Mandela speak.

Mandela said Hani's death, painful as it may have been, was a victory for the people of South Africa because "not a single event in this country has brought about the type of unity we have seen since Saturday".

He said the ANC had received messages of support from various political organisations, including the National Party.

The crowd boomed at the mention of the National Party's message of support, to which Mandela hastily added: "I understand your anger, because there is no party that has been more responsible for the pain and difficulty of our people as the National Party.

"They have committed serious crimes against our people so much that the whole world rejected apartheid as a crime

against humanity," he said.

He added, however, that the past should not stand in the way of peace efforts to build a future South Africa. "We have to work with people we don't like. I don't like the National Party but I am prepared to work with De Klerk for the betterment of the country's future."

He said Hani's death had "opened the golden opportunity to all political leaders to contribute as speedily as possible towards a new South Africa".

Impassioned

Contrary to reports that Mandela was shouted down at times during his speech, the ANC leader made an impassioned plea to supporters to remain calm.

Because of the huge attendance and near breaking point situation, the ANC leader was forced to call for order from time to time.

The service was also attended by leaders from Azapo and the PAC.

The crowd gave PAC leader Clarence Makwetu a standing ovation when he was introduced by Mandela.

As Mandela spoke, tens of thousands of supporters were spilling outside the tiny arena.

"If it had rained, no drop would have reached the ground," remarked an observer.

Before the speeches began, a French Roman Catholic priest, who has worked in Soweto for the past 10 years, led the crowd in prayers expressing anger to God for Hani's killing.

Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo told about 20 000 people in Alexandra that workers would "close down" South Africa's economy on Monday, when Hani is due to be buried.

"We have closed down the economy today, and we will do so again on Monday," he said.

ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki urged 10 000 people at Boksburg City Hall to act like a "disciplined force" and to take up Hani's spear by being "united combatants for peace".

Mbeki added: "The time has come that Nelson Mandela should be the president of this country. We must ensure that, before this year ends, elections must take place."

Star 15/4/93

Sunday Times-PAC talks fail

UMTATA — Talks between Sunday Times newspaper editor Ken Owen and Pan Africanist Congress Transkei officials to head off a boycott of the newspaper in Transkei failed in Umtata on Tuesday. Owen and deputy editor Brian Pottinger invited the PAC to continue discussions or pursue the matter as a public debate through the columns of the Sunday Times. (11A)

Solidarity messages pour in over Hani

■ SACP chief's murder evokes many tough messages:

By Isaac Moledi

MESSAGES of solidarity over Chris Hani's death were still pouring in on the eve of nation-wide memorial services for the slain SACP chief yesterday.

The Pan Africanist Congress said the conspiracy to kill liberation leaders, starting with "Comrade" Hani, could not be left to the regime to investigate.

The Azanian Youth Organisation called on the ANC and the PAC to review their stance on negotiations. It also called on the youth to remain vigilant and intensify the struggle against the Government to ensure that efforts like those of "Comrade" Hani did not go uncomplimented.

The Methodist Church of Southern Africa called for the establishment of a joint peace-keeping force before any

constitutional agreements or interim government could be in place.

The Transvaal region of Cosas called on students to act in a manner that would show that the country had lost "a soldier and a man of peace".

The Farmworkers Support Committee said the death of Hani should serve as an inspiration for his family, friends and organisations "to carry forward the spear of peace and freedom".

The Cape African Teachers Union said it hoped that justice would soon be done and peace prevail.

The Inyandza Youth Congress said the killing of Hani was a loss for South Africa.

The Argentinian embassy in Pretoria condemned the "crime against the South African leader Chris Hani" and decried the violence following the slaying.

NEWS Young ANC members told to channel anger cc

Mandela's plea to youths

Sowetan 15/4/93.

2014 11A

By Mzimkulu Malunga

■ Crowd scorns National Party message:

THE death of Mr Chris Hani would promote a faster pace towards a peaceful future, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing about 30 000 people at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto where a memorial service for the slain South African Communist Party chief was held, Mandela challenged the youth of South Africa to channel their anger at the death of their hero constructively and turn enemies into friends.

"It is not enough to simply shout and say we do not want to work with so and so. I don't like the National Party but I am prepared to work with De Klerk to build a democratic South Africa," Mandela said.

Mandela struggled with an angry crowd to put across his message of peace.

The crowd booed him when he announced he had received a message from the National Party.

"I understand your anger," Mandela said.

"There is no party that has been more responsible for your pain than the National Party."

Mandela repeated calls for calm and peace, saying "the ANC is a government-in-waiting" and urged supporters to conduct themselves with dignity.

Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu entered the stadium during Mandela's speech and briefly

addressed the crowd.

Makwetu was greeted with loud cheers and the sound of firecrackers, set off by people in the stadium.

After the gathering, thousands marched on Protea Police Station about 5km away.

There were tense moments when a police vehicle drove through the crowd and was stoned by a group of youths.

On arrival at the police station, a memorandum was handed to Soweto police commissioner Major-General Braam Strauss.

Minutes later chaos broke out when supporters were shot at by police, leaving four people dead, five critically hurt and 425 less seriously injured.

Polish envoy seeks to meet Mandela

CAPE TOWN — Polish ambassador Stanislaw Cieniuch will try to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela amid mounting anger and fear among the local Polish community.

Cieniuch said yesterday media reports linking Polish-born Janus Waluz to the murder of SACP general secretary Chris Hani had upset the Polish community.

"For almost two days, the media reported his nationality, but not his name. This created the impression that Poland was the enemy. The community feels frustrated and threatened." Cieniuch however praised Mandela's "statesmanship" and said he would try to meet the ANC leader as soon as possible. Cieniuch and the Polish government have issued statements strongly condemning the murder of Hani. The Polish government said in Warsaw it opposed "all forms of extremism and the use of violence to solve political conflicts".

— Sapa.

Border a 'model for peace'

EAST LONDON — Border region police said the area was an example to the rest of the country regarding the peaceful manner in which memorial services passed yesterday.

Liaison officer Lt-Col Christo Louw said: "We can be proud everything went off properly." Among only a few incidents, five shop windows were smashed after a crowd left the Jan Smuts Stadium.

"We are grateful to the organisers and marshals for the way in which they co-operated with the SAP. We thank them for the way they handled the masses. There was very little damage caused by the crowd on the way back to Duncan Village after the rally,"

Own Correspondent

Louw said.

Reuter reports that prominent local businessmen sat alongside ANC leaders on the platform at East London's commemoration service. The delegation included Border Chamber of Business president Errol Spring, Dispatch Media Limited director Terry Briceland and the management of Mercedes-Benz of SA.

However, our Port Elizabeth correspondent reports that groups of marchers broke away from the commemoration service and ran amok in the city.

They were turned back by ANC and PAC leaders and the SAP. ANC eastern

Cape chairman Linda Mti stopped youths looting shops. PAC eastern Cape chairman Knox Tsotsobe, who also helped turn back the crowd, said: "We told them that we, their leaders, were not prepared to lead the people to a massacre."

"I must honestly say that the police were extremely effective and helpful. We succeeded in turning the marchers back to the Dan Qeqe Stadium," Tsotsobe said.

At the stadium there was loud booing when the leaders tried to address them, he said.

"Prayers were shouted down," he said. "The youngsters didn't want prayers, they wanted radical statements."

b10m 13/4/93

(U/A)

(S)

London embassy marks assassination

CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON — In a gesture of reconciliation, the SA embassy flew its flag at half mast yesterday to mark SACP general secretary Chris Hani's death.

The move surprised the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, (AAM), which held an evening protest vigil outside the embassy — but secretary Mike Terry soon recovered to express polite appreciation.

Ambassador Kent Durr said Pretoria had approved the gesture. "As (Hani was) a prominent and important political leader, we thought it would be appropriate to show our sympathy and join in the feeling of remorse and reconciliation so necessary in our country now."

ANC chief for the UK and Ireland Mendi Msimang, who joined AAM chief Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and others for the vigil said the move was "significant".

"It shows that De Klerk is worried by the turn of events and how the assassination is likely to interfere in the process... but one would have loved to see much more expression of urgency regarding an early date for elections".

Ali bemused by chanting crowd

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Militant youth protestors delivered a knockout blow in Cape Town yesterday to an apparently dazed Muhammad Ali when he arrived on the Parade at the height of the demonstrations.

Ali seemed overwhelmed as he stared at the youngsters who crowded around the bus that brought him into the city centre and weakly raised a finger in acknowledgement.

The young demonstrators ignored his subdued response and they shouted "Ali, Ali" progressively louder, with their fists in the air.

When the bus moved after stopping for a brief period to leave the Parade area, the crowd followed him, still chanting and breaking the cordon ANC marshals and the police had thrown around the area.

The almost hysterical response of the crowd yesterday at what should have been a memorial rally for the late Chris Hani must have been one of the most surprising situations Ali has landed in.

Youths damage shops, cars during Maritzburg march

MARITZBURG — Hundreds of youths who broke away from a march of 15 000 people smashed shop windows, torched cars and damaged other vehicles yesterday.

Journalists reported seeing at least three policemen and three civilians injured during a tension-filled day in and around the city.

There were reports of stone throwing and clashes between youths and police in Maritzburg's townships.

Addressing a commemoration service in Market Square, ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala repeated a call for the suspension of constitutional negotiations because of SACP general secretary Chris Hani's assassination.

Both Gwala and Winnie Mandela blamed government for Hani's killing.

Gwala said President F W de Klerk could not escape blame for the murder as he had been urging the ANC to cut its ties with communists and had called for radicals within the ANC to be isolated.

Gwala said the recent branding of Umkhonto we Sizwe members as criminals by Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel had also lead to the murder.

He said the liberation movement had sacrificed so much that it now had to pause in the negotiation process until government acted decisively against violence.

The crowd moved to police headquarters to deliver a memorandum, but marshals struggled to contain groups of angry youths who broke away and vented their fury on vehicles and shops.

At least four vehicles were torched and more than 50 damaged. Almost every street in the CBD had damaged shops and residential buildings.

Midlands ANC secretary Sifiso Nkabinde described the damage as "unfortunate". He said ANC leaders had tried to placate the angry crowd but "one has to consider the anger of the people on the ground... we tried our best but we could not contain their anger".

Another Midlands ANC leader said he believed the groups which ran amok were agents provocateur intent on discrediting the organisation.

Police said patrols in the Edendale Valley were shot at six times by people wielding automatic weapons. Security forces used rubber bullets and teargas in some townships after burning barricades were erected and private vehicles stoned.

In Durban, thousands of people converged on the city centre. Violence erupted when a group broke away from the main body and torched two cars and a motorcycle in West Street. Several shops had windows smashed and looted. — Sapa.

Youths turn to looting as Hani march ends in chaos

6/10am 15/4/93.

(Handwritten initials)

CAPE TOWN — A march to the memorial service in St George's Cathedral for assassinated SACP leader Chris Hani deteriorated into an orgy of looting, stoning and arson as youths rampaged through the city yesterday.

Two people were reported to have died and 150 were injured, including a peace monitor, a policeman and ANC executive member Trevor Manuel, who was assaulted as he tried to stop youths pillaging a clothing store.

Vehicles and several kiosks were set alight on the edge of the Grand Parade, where thousands of people gathered for a rally after the march was abandoned.

As speakers addressed the crowd, youths on the edges of the Parade engaged in running battles with police as they looted and set alight vendors' stalls.

Flashpoints included the city's main bus terminus and the eight kiosks on the western end of the Parade, where police repeatedly fired birdshot and teargas to disperse stone- and bottle-throwing looters.

The crowd, which began assembling in Cape Town's black townships from early yesterday morning, and was transported to the centre by specially arranged trains and buses, was to have marched from the Keizergracht to St George's Cathedral.

But before the march was due to start, several hundred people following PAC banners moved off into the area between Canterbury and Buitenkant streets, smashing car windows while rushing towards Caledon

Square police station.

They then charged down Plein Street, past Parliament, vandalising cars and breaking windows.

The looting spread into St George's Mall and Adderley Street, where police shot two youths with birdshot and evicted looters from the OK Bazaars.

In Stellenbosch, about 50km from Cape Town, a march by about 15 000 people went off peacefully.

Dr Ivan Toms, one of about 10 doctors at a voluntary mobile clinic next to Cape Town's Grand Parade, said he and his first aid teams had treated at least 150 people, many with bird and buckshot wounds.

He said a youth had died from a bullet wound in the back of his neck and, according to unverified reports, another person seen at the first aid post had also died.

Twenty seriously injured people were taken to Somerset and Groote Schuur hospitals by ambulance. Several people were treated after inhaling teargas.

SAP spokesman Col Raymond Dowd later said police had fired birdshot only when teargas and rubber bullets failed to disperse crowds.

A police sergeant suffered a glancing head injury from a gunshot — allegedly shotgun fire, according to police — and peace monitor June Humphrey was admitted to City Park Hospital after being stabbed.

Ten members of the SADF and one member of the public were slightly injured when a handgrenade exploded near the Castle.

"It seems that the march organisers lost all control," Dowd said. "Given the number of criminal deeds — arson, looting and vandalism — there was a large criminal element present." At least one looter was arrested, leading to a confrontation with members of the crowd when an attempt was made to free him.

Damage estimated at R1,6m was caused to Metro trains after thousands of marchers caused havoc en route to Cape Town, the Metro service said last night.

Toyi-toying had caused one train to derail and another to hook and pull the overhead wires down.

"This chaotic behaviour by the ANC marchers, and the destruction caused by them, is inexcusable. Society can no longer absorb such acts of senseless vandalism and violence," the Metro service said.

"The marchers made an absolute mockery of the assurance given by the ANC on the organised manner in which the trains would be used."

About an hour later Nobel laureate and Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu was hustled from the City Hall by aides after police had fired volleys of shots near the building.

Later he condemned the "lunatic fringe" in the crowds. He said it appeared that police at the scene "tried to be relatively restrained", a Church of the Province of SA statement said.

Relative calm returned to the Parade by 4pm. — Sapa.

SABC unbowed over speech

MARIANNE MERTEN

THE SABC would not apologise to the ANC for cutting ANC president Mandela's "appeal to the nation" on Tuesday's main news bulletin, Television News Productions editor-in-chief Johan Pretorius said yesterday.

There had been an arrangement with ANC's Gill Marcus that the contribution would "not be longer than three minutes, at most four minutes", but when the film was received it was eight and a half minutes long.

"We had to shorten it and only use what we thought were the relevant bites," Pretorius said.

The speech was run in full at 7pm on CCV-TV and on TV1 at 11pm.

Comment: Page 8

Outsiders to join SAP probe

PRETORIA — To allay fears of a cover-up, two experts would join SAP investigators probing the murder of SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced yesterday.

Sapa reports that he said the national peace secretariat had been asked to select the two.

Coetsee said Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau had been approached by "various parties with a request to consider the merits of appointing one or two experts to the SAP investigations team into the murder of Mr Chris Hani".

"In the attorney-general's best judgment, such an addition may allay any fears of any cover-up which may exist with the public.

"It also provides a guarantee for the most comprehensive investigation possible with sufficient depth in

these circumstances."

Coetsee said Von Lieres approved the requests. The two would be promoted by Von Lieres "through the normal international channels".

"The attorney-general assures the public that everything is being done to finalise the investigation as soon and as comprehensively as possible."

□ BILLY PADDOCK reports that Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said yesterday government was sticking firmly to its position that the government of the day controlled the security forces.

"When there is a government of national unity then it will control the security forces," he said in response to the ANC's demand for joint control of the forces.

"Regardless of the transitional executive council being implemented, the government will still control the security forces."

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Protest demo ends in deaths

People scatter as police open fire on a crowd that marched to the Protea Police Station from Jabulani in Soweto where a memorial rally was held for slain SACP leader Chris Hani yesterday. At least four people died in the incident. The death toll countrywide stood at 10 last night.

SEE PAGES

2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9

War



and peace

Soweto 15/4/93.

119



Nelson Mandela addresses thousands at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto. He called on the youth to channel their anger and turn enemies into friends. PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

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Silencing of voice of compromise opens way for radical youths to exploit

Star 16/4/93

Hani's death raises US

the vacuum

Fears

GIVEN the rich diet of conspiracy theories on which Americans have been fed since the killings of such leaders as President John Kennedy and the Rev Martin Luther King, it is not surprising that the most persistent question they have asked in the wake of Chris Hani's assassination is whether or not it was part of a conspiracy.

Their question has facilitated a thoughtful answer, provided in one way or another by the leaders of all major parties and extensively quoted in the US media — insofar as there may have been a conspiracy, its objective would have been to disrupt negotiations, and, by quickly reaffirming their commitment to talks, South African leaders have ensured that whatever conspiracy there might have been was a failure.

But many influential Americans are not so sure. They believe that the decision to press on with negotiations notwithstanding the assassination of Hani may have fundamentally changed the nature of the negotiating process and that

even with the best intentions none of the negotiating parties will be able to ignore the fact.

They argue, for instance, that the extent to which Hani's murder has roused the passions of the radical Left may greatly diminish the capacity of the ANC leadership to make major compromises in negotiations. This is not only because compromises would risk alienating the ANC's radical young supporters, but because the man most capable of persuading them to accept compromise is no more.

Many Americans also fear that Hani's death will greatly enhance the influence of radical youths in the townships, who until now have been kept relatively calm by Hani's leadership and his presence at the negotiating table. An incident screened on American television this week was cited as evidence.

An unidentified youth, wearing the uniform of Umkhonto we Sizwe and speaking with the ANC's banner behind him, de-

Hugh Robertson



clared to wild cheers: "It is time we told the leadership that enough is enough and now is the time to hit back so that Chris Hani will not have died in vain." Minutes earlier, Nelson Mandela had appeared on television to appeal for calm.

Whether or not radical youths heed the leadership's appeals this week, and beyond, the vacuum left by Hani's assassination opens the way for the PAC and Apla to strengthen their support at a grassroots level, which in itself is likely to impinge on negotiations. This raises many fears in Washington, chief among them the fear of conspiracy.

It is argued, for instance, that as negotiations proceed those rad-

ical parties which have excluded themselves from the process — radicals of both the Left and the Right, white and black — will be left increasingly with no way of expressing their political presence, or furthering their political goals, except through violence and conspiracy. Chris Hani was in large measure a bulwark against this process and his assassination thus exposes the negotiations to all manner of challenges that were not there before.

While the challenges to negotiations will tend to unify the parties involved in them, some Americans argue that the same unifying process is likely to emerge among the radicals who share an interest in seeing the negotiations fail. Thus among the strange bedfellows of politics, they do not exclude Apla and the AWB either conspiring to defeat the process, or at least capitalising on one another's actions.

The stirring calls from inside the ANC to "hit back" this week are seen as portents of the trouble facing the leadership. There were

other statements from inside the ANC which greatly disturbed Americans and which some pointed to as evidence of how radicals apparently opposed to negotiations could quickly capitalise on the actions by radicals of an entirely different political stripe.

Harry Gwala of the ANC, for example, was quoted in the US media as demanding a cessation of negotiations following Hani's murder — which, as the elder statesman of the Communist Party, Joe Slovo, pointed out, was precisely what the perpetrators of the killing wanted.

Likewise, Tokyo Sexwale of the ANC's national executive told prime-time television viewers in the US that there was "a clear and direct link between the Government and the murderers". If this were true, it would greatly compromise Mandela and other leaders who have insisted on pursuing negotiations with the Government. But since there appears to be no evidence whatsoever that it is true, Americans ask what Sexwale's motives were in making

such a statement and using Hani's death to apparently undermine the negotiations. It is not only the negotiating process which is seen in Washington to have been profoundly changed by Hani's death; it is also the viability of shared power in a government of national unity after the country's first fully democratic elections. Such a government would have to have the support of an overwhelming majority of South Africans to deliver the goods — a tall order without Hani's talent for winning over the radical young. What, then, is the wisest course to follow to ameliorate the huge injury which has been inflicted on South Africa by this assassination? From an American perspective, it is Archbishop Desmond Tutu who has come up with the solution — the conclusion of negotiations in the quickest possible time, which would indicate not only results from the years of talking, but also prove the commitment of all the parties to the process and to real change. □

Need for rapid talks progress

Star 16/4/1993
- Meyer

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Government yesterday warned that violence would delay multiparty negotiations and said it could not unilaterally set a date for the country's historic all-in elections.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told an international press conference in Pretoria it was important that the current wave of violence was brought to an end immediately, and that a multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) be established as soon as possible.

However, Meyer said the Government could not set a date for elections either unilaterally or after bilateral meetings with the ANC. Only a multiparty negotiations forum could do so, he said.

The ANC and its allies have been calling for the immediate installation of a TEC and the setting of a date for elections since SACP chief Chris Hani's assassination on Saturday.

In what could be a major breakthrough in negotiations, Meyer said that, given the need for a TEC to be in place as soon as possible, the Government was prepared to jettison demands that a transitional constitution be agreed upon before a TEC was established.

Agreement

He said if it was not possible to get agreement in the negotiations forum on this, efforts had to be focused on reaching agreement on both the TEC and an interim constitution.

Meyer said details, such as what powers the TEC's sub-councils would have, had yet to be agreed upon by the various parties and organisations.

One of three Ministers to address the conference, Meyer said the negotiations process needed to be accelerated as rapidly as possible and he remained convinced that the timetable for the country's transition — with elections held around April next year — was still attainable.

The leadership of the ANC-led alliance has also called for the negotiations process to be accelerated.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte told the press conference that criminal statutory sanctions should be incorporated into the National Peace Accord's code of conduct.

Schutte said the code for political parties should be given statutory sanction and that, in line with Goldstone Commission proposals, it should be invested with criminal sanctions in certain cases.

The Independent sees a threat of anarchy — and negotiations speeding up

Assassination brings danger, hope

Star 16/4/93 (S.A.) (IIA)

AS WEDNESDAY'S frightening clashes in Soweto and elsewhere demonstrated, South Africa remains in an alarmingly tense state following Saturday's murder of the SACP leader Chris Hani.

There is a danger of the country being plunged into anarchy. The security forces are discredited, demoralised, underpaid and understaffed. Education is in chaos. In parts of the Cape, unemployment is running at 68 percent. With grief over Hani's death stoking up anger over the brutishness and poverty of life, the potential for an already violent country to descend into a form of Lebanisation is frightening.

Yet, for all Wednesday's bloodshed and strikes, Hani's assassination could have a very different effect. There is already in South Africa a widespread desire on all

sides to achieve the swiftest possible progress towards a negotiated settlement.

The envisaged timetable is to set up a (mixed) transitional executive council by June, to pave the way for elections for a constituent assembly. That in turn would draw up a constitution, or more probably give its seal of approval to whatever emerges from the all-party negotiations. These resumed on April 1, having been broken off last May after the Boipatong massacre.

Hani's death was undoubtedly intended to disrupt negotiations. Leaders in all the main camps have urged their followers to do nothing that might help to fulfil that hope. To contain their anger will not be easy: Hani was uniquely well placed to restrain the ANC's most unruly followers. In a

country where life is cheap, to seek revenge is a normal reflex. The best hope for South Africa is that his death will give the negotiators a new sense of urgency.

There are difficulties enough between them on matters of substance. One of the most sensitive, and urgent, concerns the composition and control of the security forces in the transitional period. There are already suspicions that the intelligence services may have been involved in a plot to murder Hani and other senior figures. President F W de Klerk's purge has manifestly not gone far enough.

Further ahead, there is the core question of the extent to which power should be devolved to the regions.

Much has already been achieved — not just in talks be-

tween the ANC and the Government, but in a series of national negotiating forums bringing together interested parties.

For example, an impressive committee has been agreed upon to appoint a new, independent board for the South African Broadcasting Corporation, hitherto by and large a mouthpiece of the Government. A tripartite national economic forum has begun work on a more equitable sharing out of the economic cake. No less important, there has been something of a rapprochement between the ANC and its old adversary, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

South Africans have had enough of violence. They must not allow yet another serious political crime to divert them from the goal of a negotiated settlement. □

(11A)

PAC: 'Not our members'

Staff Reporter

THE PAC denied yesterday that any of its members were involved in Wednesday's violence in the city and described claims that they were as a deliberate attempt to discredit the organisation.

PAC national secretary for relief and aid, Ms Patricia de Lille, said the allegations were an "absolute misrepresentation

of the facts by the media for malicious or other reasons".

This follows reports that ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said some people involved in the violence, identified as PAC members, had threatened marshals with knives.

Ms de Lille said the people responsible were "agents provocateurs" planted by the "racist

regime" to discredit liberation movements.

PAC regional chairman Mr Theo Mabusela said he had not seen any PAC members involved in the looting and burning.

He said they rejected the way Mr Hani's death was brushed to the side in media reports. He said the PAC would not allow friction between the ANC and PAC. CT 16/4/93

NPC meeting call 'insensitive'

JOHANNESBURG. — A suggestion that the National Peace Committee meet on Saturday to discuss political violence has been rejected as insensitive by the South African Communist Party.

In a letter to NPC chairman Mr John Hall, the SACP said the meeting scheduled for Saturday was "both untimely and insensitive" in view of preparations taking place for the funeral of slain

SACP leader Mr Chris Hani.

There was no immediate comment from the NPC.

The letter, signed by senior SACP member Mr Essop Pahad, also said the suggested agenda "smacks of political gamesmanship on the part of the South African government".

The letter requested Mr Hall to call off the meeting but added:

"In our hour of grief, pain and anger we reiterate our deep com-

mitment to peace, the National Peace Committee, as well as the National Peace Accord."

● Earlier, Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte said the government had called for an urgent meeting of the NPC to consider measures to stem the tide of politically-inspired lawlessness, strengthen the National Peace Accord and to convene an urgent meeting of all signatories. — Sapa

CT 16/4/93

Monday will be work as usual



WELCOME ... The wife of the late President Samora Machel of Mozambique, Mrs Graca Machel, yesterday visited the Hani home in Boksburg to express her condolences.

Sowetan 16/4/93.
By **Lulama Luti**

THERE WILL BE NO WORK stayaway on Monday when assassinated SA Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani is buried, the African National Congress said yesterday.

Speaking at a Press briefing in Johannesburg last night, ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan, however, called on employers to respect the right of workers to attend the funeral.

"We call upon employers in both the public and private sectors to respect their workers' right to pay tribute to comrade Chris, particularly on this national day of mourning.

"It would be a further mark of respect if they close their businesses where possible, excluding essential services," he said.

Responding to a question, he said the fact that his organisation had called for the involvement of two independent international investigators to help with investigations into the assassination pointed at their dissatisfaction with the manner in which the police were handling the issue.

Jordan also lashed out at President FW de Klerk's threat to declare more unrest areas and

added that this demonstrated an insensitivity when the country needed statesman-like leadership.

The organisation also strongly condemned the looting and police over-reaction in some centres on Wednesday.

Campaign of mass action

●The ANC and its allies are to embark on a one-month campaign of mass action.

This was announced last night by ANC National Executive Committee member Rocky Malebane-Metsing at a memorial service for Hani held in Pretoria.

Malebane-Metsing said the ANC, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu would focus on control of the South African security forces, "forces outside the State apparatus to be brought under control" and a date for a general election.

He said details of the campaign would be announced on Sunday by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Malebane-Metsing said Mandela had received numerous death threats since Hani's assassination last Saturday.

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Top political leaders to pray for peace

SA's major political leaders would soon come together to pray for peace, Rhema church leader Pastor Ray McCauley said in Johannesburg yesterday.

McCauley said President F W de Klerk, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and PAC president Clarence Makwetu had accepted an invitation to hold a joint prayer meeting in Johannesburg in May. ANC president Nelson Mandela and CP leader Andries Treurnicht were expected to an-

GAVIN DU VENAGE

nounce soon whether they would attend.

Church leaders such as SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, would participate.

McCauley said the idea of the prayer meeting was to bring various political leaders together to publicly show their commitment to peace. (S/A)

SA at a crossroads after Hani assassination

B/DAY 16/4/93.

(11A)

RAY HARTLEY

SA IS at a crossroads following the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hani and the angry protests this generated, say ANC and government leaders.

The coming weeks will be decisive. Either a new urgency to contain violence and advance the transition process will prevail, or those working openly to undermine talks and delay peace will succeed.

At many of Wednesday's demonstrations linked to commemorative activities for the slain leader, the atmosphere was tense and threatening. Many of the protests spilled over into violence, but much of this was criminal.

Of more concern than the incidents of looting in the city centres, is the apparent inability of the ANC to control the militant youth who are veering in the direction of the PAC and Apla.

MK and Apla slogans were shouted with equal vigour by youths at some of yesterday's protests. The process of radicalisation could pose the most serious political threat to the ANC in recent years.

This tendency is not discouraged by the pronouncements of the ANC's more bellicose leaders. ANC Natal

Midlands chairman Harry Gwala and western Cape official Tony Yengeni have called for the suspension of talks.

This was directly contradicted by the organisation's chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa, who said the ANC wanted the negotiation process speeded up. ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa reinforced this, adding that the SACP and Cosatu agreed with this approach. Nonetheless, Gwala has persisted with his call for an end to talks, openly defying the ANC leadership.

Kneejerk accusations of government involvement in the assassination, based more on emotion and circumstantial evidence than hard facts, have not helped either. Instead of recognising that the assassination in no way serves the interests of any of SA's leading political parties, such statements seem to add to the already charged emotions generated by the shocking deed.

The killing of demonstrators by police outside Protea police station in Soweto has helped those who wish to fuel conflict resulting from the assassination.

It is not surprising that ANC president Nelson Mandela should be

jeered in Soweto when he talks of working with President FW de Klerk, when ANC PWV chairman, Tokyo Sexwale says, a few kilometres away in central Johannesburg, that De Klerk is "clearly linked" to the assassination.

The apparent disunity in ANC ranks will not be healed by leadership appeals for peace and calm alone. ANC leaders have pleaded with government for assistance. They have called for the early setting of an election date to restore confidence in negotiations.

This appeal cannot simply be dismissed as "making political capital out of the assassination". On this issue the ANC's interests coincide dramatically with national interest.

Government has said it recognises the need to negotiate with "greater urgency", but this needs to be translated into increased pressure on other parties at the talks themselves to adopt the same attitude.

The trial of Hani's alleged assassin Janus Waluz will have to be a show-

piece of thorough investigation and police efficiency, or questions about Waluz's links with government will linger. Government could have averted much of the speculation about its alleged role in the killing by appointing international police experts to the investigation earlier, establishing the impartiality of the investigation at the outset.

The strength of the forces in the centre that have identified the need for urgency in talks will be sorely tested in the coming weeks. While the ANC battles to reassert control over militant youth which hero-worshipped Hani, government will have to persuade its hawks that the transition process needs to be boosted.

Political players, police and monitors will have to move quickly to turn the tide of anger ahead of Monday's funeral. The efforts of peace monitors on the ground on Wednesday were laudable, but they need to be met by an equal commitment from leaders to give the peace process greater impetus at a national level.

The manner in which Monday's funeral proceeds will tell whether SA has been brought back from the brink.



□ SEXWALE

LETTERS

CHRIS HANI

An injury to all

FM 16/4/93.

An assassination is chilling because it reminds us how vulnerable we all are — and, in particular, how vulnerable are political leaders. When a murdered leader is especially prominent and important and seems to express the aspirations of millions, the brutal intimation of mortality is all the more upsetting; an injury to one is indeed an injury to all.

In the aftermath of the murder of Communist Party chief Chris Hani, there have been intemperate remarks from some of his former colleagues about a lack of protection for him — and the occasional inflammatory allegation of government involvement.

This is bluster. We all know very well that no politician on earth, however powerful, can be guaranteed protection against an assassin — provided that the killer is prepared, for reasons of principle or idiocy, to sacrifice his own liberty and risk his own life. We have no understanding of such a strange animal — and, therefore, have no defence against him. As those who fought the Japanese in World War 2 discovered, the terror induced by the *kamikaze* is that he is incomprehensible.

Think of some of the prominent victims of assassination attempts in modern history — Abraham Lincoln, the Kennedys, Hendrik Verwoerd, Martin Luther King, John Lennon, Ronald Reagan and Pope John Paul II (the last two attempts unsuccessful). In almost every case, the assassin or would-be assassin was caught soon afterwards; in the case of Hani, a man was apprehended within an hour and was later charged with the murder.

But then what? The trouble is that, in the eyes of society, no punishment for an assassin can compensate for the damage and the hurt. In a strange way, the desire for personal vengeance against the assassin fades in proportion to the prominence of the victim. An eye for an eye, the natural Old Testament response to loss on a personal level, seems quite pointless — because the victim and the killer are not equal in stature. Indeed, after the event, the assassin (whatever his motive or sanity) appears steadily more pathetic as the victim becomes more heroic.

It is that sense of impotent rage which lies behind the calls this week for mass action and wilder things. As the week began with emotions running high, it seemed that the rage would have to be left to burn itself out.

It has been a time for commiseration and symbolic gestures. This was understood by individual leaders across the spectrum — and institutions such as the University of Cape Town, which decided to close on Wednesday.

There was also the remarkable gesture by our embassy in Washington to fly the national flag at half-mast. This might not have been a result of a policy statement from the Union Buildings, but it has apparently gone a long way to persuade Americans that Hani's death

is accepted as a tragedy by government. Statements of commiseration alone do not have much symbolic force.

While some white South Africans may — let us be honest — have taken a grim, fleeting satisfaction at the demise of one of the leading figures in their traditional demonology, this was, at best, an insecure and irrational response. The attack on Hani was an attack on the body politic; it imperilled us all and has removed a leading force for reconciliation and unity.

Hani was the only alliance leader, apart from Mandela himself, who could command national support. His departure weakens — though it does not remove — the ANC's capacity to sell a settlement among its supporters.

The irony, of course, is that Hani the hawk had only recently become Hani the dove, preaching conciliation and exposing dangerous flaws in ANC structures. We cannot yet know the precise motive for his killing, or if there was a conspiracy. But the assassination would be even more sinister if it turned out that Hani was killed because his changed stance was perceived to be hastening a settlement.

What has been heartening is the response, by and large, of the ANC leadership. It is to be commended for setting out to channel the impotent rage into controllable public expressions, while trying to douse the rhetoric of its romantic youthful revolutionaries. As the *FM* went to press on Tuesday, it seemed that, while there was nasty violence in many townships, it could have been much worse.

Above all, the ANC has argued that talks must continue. This approach is in sharp contrast to the hysterical way its leaders responded to the Boipatong massacre in June 1992, in which 41 people were killed. The ANC pulled out of talks, Codesa was suspended and the future was desperate.

Now the ANC perceives that there really is no alternative to talks — and argues, quite rightly, that the installation of a Transitional Executive Council and the setting of an election date are more urgent than ever.

Meanwhile, the ANC has to be careful that its "channelling of anger" does not turn into encouragement of violence. It described its Youth League's wild talk of revenge attacks on whites as "unfortunate" — a lukewarm response to outrageous racism. And while it may well have had no option but to condone mass action, it must also have understood the risks of further violence.

The test of a leader is to know when to go with the tide, and when to strike out strongly against it.

The ANC leaders, as yet untempered in the practice of authority and rule, have not yet offered proof that they know the difference. Chris Hani had increasingly been demonstrating that he did. For that alone, he must be mourned. ■



243 11A
**PAC bashes
the media**

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN of
The Argus Political Staff

Aug 16/4/93
CHRIS HANP'S alleged killer was a settler who deserved a bullet, said Mr Theo Mabusela, Western Cape chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress.

At a press conference yesterday, where the media came in for a bashing, he claimed the PAC would triumph if elections were held now.

He said the big welcome given to PAC national president Mr Clarece Makwetu and the jeering of Mr Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg on Wednesday was a classic example of people showing who their true leaders were.

Mr Mabusela accused the media and the SABC of trying to create tension between the PAC and the ANC.

He warned that the PAC was considering taking action against the media.

One step was to label the media as antagonistic to the PAC.

"In a sense the media is constituting itself as an enemy of the PAC, and if it going to be an enemy of PAC it will be an enemy of the oppressed people of Azania."

Mr Mabusela's outburst was caused by an apparent misunderstanding of remarks by ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak about Wednesday's violence in Cape Town.

Dr Boesak blamed groups of youths who refused to listen to ANC marshals and some people who were identified as PAC members.

The PAC strongly condemned allegations that its members were responsible for most of the violence in Cape Town.

"This is an absolute misrepresentation of the facts for malicious or other reasons by the media. The PAC is accountable for its members only and not supporters shouting PAC slogans."

Mr Mabusela said members of the ANC, SA Communist Party, Congress of South African Trade Unions and other organisations had shouted PAC slogans.

He said the PAC had had marshals at Wednesday's gathering, but added that they did not wear distinctive clothing and were therefore not as visible as ANC marshals.

FOCUS *Mandela and Hani — tale of the tortoise and the hare*



focus on **talks**

Nelson Mandela has been given a loud and clear message by South Africa's black youth as they grieve their slain idol Chris Hani: hurry up.

Three years after the patriarch of the struggle against white rule was freed from jail, blacks still do not have the vote — and the kids who made the townships burn to topple apartheid are fed up with waiting.

The loss of the former guerilla commander they idolised, at the hand of a white assassin, has left them bereft and deepened their hatred and distrust of white authority.

Mandela (74) was in jail for 27 years until 1990. The youth, whose township fight against white security forces in the 1980s — as much as sanctions and low-key guerilla war — forced the white rulers to yield, never knew him.

They still find it difficult to relate to the low-key, at times schoolmasterish, rhetoric of the African National Congress leader.

Hani was the fighter wrapped in the saga and song of armed struggle. He was the leader young men left the country to join. When he returned from exile, his fiery speeches and magnetic personality drew the youth to the Communist Party banner, making it the only growing branch of communism in the world.

At a Hani memorial service in Soweto's Jabulani Stadium on Wednesday, Mandela had to struggle to put across a message of peace and reconciliation with whites to an angry and passionate crowd of some 30 000, mostly young men and women.

He was booed when he mentioned President FW de Klerk's National Party, which implemented apartheid in 1948 to entrench 300 years of white supremacy, but is now the ANC's main negotiating partner for a democratic South Africa.

He was rewarded by a sullen silence when he urged the youth to go out and make their former enemies their friends.

After the rally — where militant Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Clarence Makwetu was cheered to the echo — about 15 000 marched on the fortress-like Protea police station nearby to vent their anger on the symbol of apartheid power.

Four people were killed and 245 wounded when police opened fire on crowds outside the police station.

During the trek to Protea along Soweto's dusty streets, several expressed disgust at whites still being in power.

"In these three years we expected something. Now we are going into four years since Mandela was released and still no difference," said Mr Stanley Yakobi.

"Mandela came out of jail and pushed our leaders because they were slow. Now it's our turn to push our leaders because we are the

At Jabulani Stadium on Wednesday the nation's youth, eager to reap the fruits of their constitutional struggle, sent ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela a trenchant message, reports *Sapa-Reuter*

(11A) Sowetan 16/4/93



The youth are getting impatient.



Nelson Mandela ... pace too slow.

leaders of tomorrow," he said.

"We expect him to be president by 1993. We are tired of waiting. Our leaders must lead us quickly."

And he added, almost as an afterthought: "We cannot wait while they kill Mandela too."

Several marchers said they feared the ANC might lose control of the youth if the leadership tarried in protracted negotiations with the government and 24 other parties, all squabbling over the democratic cake.

Political analyst Duncan Innes says Hani, because of his radical past, was the only one of the ANC's top leadership fully trusted by the township kids.

His death "will widen the gap between the moderate leadership and ANC militants on the ground. As a result, the ANC leadership will find it increasingly difficult to discipline its membership, especially if the negotiation process stalls."

As rioting spread across townships this week, the authority over the radicalised youth of Mandela, who had made two unprecedented national television appeals for calm, seemed at least open to question.

‘ We expect him to be president by 1993. We are tired of waiting. Our leaders must lead us quickly ’

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa insisted at a news conference that he understood the youths' anger and was not "overly concerned" about losing their loyalty.

But, he added, leaders had to hurry and set up a multiparty transitional government to end white minority rule "or the country will be plunged into chaos".

Wednesday's violence could have been worse, says Mosala

Sowetan 16/4/93. (11A)

Sowetan & Radio Metro **Talkback**



with **Tim Modise**

By **Sipho Mthembu**

THE assassination of South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani and the events that followed it had adversely affected the multi-party negotiations.

This was said by representatives of the ANC, the PAC, Azapo and the IFP during last night's Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

Most of the leaders said the anger shown by thousands of people who took part in Wednesday's demonstra-

tions and marches was understandable. "It could have been worse. Although we are shocked by some incidents, we should not give them more prominence than the martyrdom of this son of our land," said Azapo president Dr Dumeleng Mosala.

Mr Cas Saloojee of the ANC said the

assassination had even increased doubts that the Government was committed to the negotiation process.

Election date

"However, this has shown that it is vital that an election date for a constituent assembly be agreed upon," he said.

Mosala said Hani's assassination was related to the country's political problems.

"The Government has proved to be very selective to certain private armies like AWB's *Ystergade*.

"I'd not be surprised to find that the killer is being served with champagne for a job well done," Mosala said.

Mr Jaki Seroke of the PAC said although his organisation still believed negotiations should go ahead, Hani's assassination had proved that there was a need for the intensification of the struggle on all fronts, including the armed struggle.

IFP Youth League chairman Mr Themba Khoza said: "The incidents of violence were predictable. It is time that the ANC admit they have lost

control over their supporters.

"The regime is also playing double standards. They are after our Apla comrades but not MK and the AWB's private army."

Responding to Khoza's insistence that the present multi-party forum must draft the constitution, Mosala said there were a lot of shadowy characters who did not have the confidence of the people on the ground.

next **Talkback** topic

The Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show throws open the lines on Monday. Call the Show host Tim Modise between 7pm - 8pm and share your view on any matter on your mind.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

Day of mourning, but ANC cancels call for two-day strike

Chris Hani burial plans take shape

11A ARG 16/4/93

Political Staff

CHURCHES have been asked to hold lunchtime services to coincide with Chris Hani's burial on Monday and special trains and buses leave Cape Town tomorrow to take mourners to Johannesburg to attend the funeral.

Today the ANC in the Western Cape cancelled its call for a two-day strike next week to mark the funeral.

A spokesman said Monday would be a day of mourning, but the movement was not calling for a stayaway.

The Western Cape region and its allies had believed Mr Hani would be buried on Wednesday and had therefore called for a two-day strike, the spokesman said.

But yesterday's announcement by ANC information and publicity head Dr Pallo Jordan that Monday would be a day of mourning had changed the regional office's plans.

The ANC has arranged for five trains and several buses to take mourners to Johannesburg. The trains leave at 3 pm tomorrow and return at 6 pm on Monday.

An ANC spokesman said mourners could also board the train at Paarl, Worcester and Beaufort West.

Tickets costing R87 each are available from the ANC regional office in Woodstock, the Food and Allied Workers Union office in Guguletu and the Katrik office in Khayelitsha.

Buses leave tomorrow night and tickets are R50 each.

The Western Province Council of Churches has appealed for calm and emphasised the need for healing and reconciliation between Cape Town people following Wednesday's violence.

The council's call will be repeated in advertisements in weekend newspapers.

Mourn in dignity

Spokesman the Rev Bennie Witbooi said copies of the statement would also be read in churches on Sunday.

"We are asking local churches to be open on Monday for lunchtime services so that people can mourn in a dignified way."

He said the WPCC felt decentralised services would be much better than one central service.

The Dispensing Family Practitioners' Association, a body of doctors based mainly on the Cape Flats, said members would close their surgeries at 1 pm on Monday "in support of a call to commemorate the death of a truly great South African".

Cape Town Chamber of Commerce president Mr Herbert Hirsch has repeated the chamber's call to employers to respond sympathetically to requests from employees for time off to attend memorial services. He said employees should approach their employers in good time.

Mr Hani's body will lie in state at the FNB Stadium south of Johannesburg from Sunday. There will be a memorial service at the stadium on Monday and he will be buried at Boksburg cemetery.

The ANC National Executive Committee has made no further call for mass action or stayaways beyond declaring Monday a day of mourning.

HANI ASSASSINATION

(11A)

FM 16/4/93.

Counting the cost

Determined not to play into the hands of sinister forces which may be bent on wrecking negotiations, the leadership of the ANC alliance, with Nelson Mandela at the helm, reiterated its commitment to press on with constitutional talks. This followed the tragic assassination of Chris Hani, a key leader, at his Boksburg home last Saturday.

According to President F W de Klerk, who spoke on national TV after an appeal for calm delivered first by Mandela on Sunday night, the risks of the new situation should not be underestimated. However, De Klerk believed Hani's assassination might have shocked recalcitrant parties into taking negotiations more seriously.

De Klerk said that Hani had recently played a constructive role and had gone out of his way to preach peace and warn against the risks of violence.

Hani's predecessor as SACP general secretary, Joe Slovo, called for an election date to be fixed soon and for the process leading to an interim government of national unity

to be speeded up. This demand was likely to be taken up in mass protests which were planned for Wednesday.

But indications from a government spokesman — though he was concerned not to give the insensitive impression of business as usual — are that the transitional government arrangements are a "process" and certain time frames simply must be adhered to.

Government had already said it wants an election as soon as possible. But for this to happen, the political playing field needs to be levelled first and a period of electioneering decided on.

There are also unresolved differences between government and the ANC over the powers of a transitional executive council — specifically, whether the sub-councils (on security matters especially) should have monitoring or executive powers.

Among other outstanding constitutional differences are: an acceptable interim constitution and the principles that will guide it; the inclusion of a charter of fundamental rights and which rights specifically should apply in the interim; and transitional government in the regions. Then there is the position of the Concerned South Africans Group on whether an interim government is neces-

sary in the first place.

The first round of the negotiating council, due to begin yesterday, has been delayed for a week in view of Hani's death.

The ANC had no choice but to call for a day of action. Anything less might have been perceived by its grass roots as under-reaction. It could hardly have carried on with a business-as-usual approach.

However, the programme of "rolling mass action" — which included a national



Hani ... will the good live after him?

stayaway, memorial services and marches in various centres — did not come from the ANC's national executive committee, but from its regional structures, notably the PWV, whose chairman is Tokyo Sexwale. A close friend of the popular Hani, Sexwale also lives in Boksburg's Dawn Park. He was the first ANC official to arrive at the murder scene.

Law & Order spokesman Craig Kotze said ANC threats to embark on a mass action campaign to force the setting of a date for an election and a transitional executive council (TEC) were irresponsible. "This kind of threat is exactly what the country does not need, considering the circumstances in the wake of Mr Hani's murder," he said. "Mass action has in the past led to great violence and loss of life and this should be avoided at all costs."

Sexwale had earlier said any further delay in announcing the election date and the establishment of a TEC would "unleash an unprecedented wave of anger from our people." It remained to be seen whether this was the rhetoric of the moment or a hardening of ANC policy.

After the initial stunned sadness at Hani's death, signs of blind revenge soon emerged

with random attacks on whites, apparently linked to the assassination, and spontaneous township protests. By Monday, there were four reported deaths from violence linked to the slaying. The ANC claimed police shot dead two people in separate clashes in Reef townships where groups had gathered to mark Hani's death.

Even if the ANC leadership's control of its militant supporters is not all it should be, early indications based on the relatively low-intensity of violent protest suggested that its appeals for restraint were being adhered to. The use of Hani's own statements — made weeks before his death — urging an end to violence and supporting negotiations, would have helped to keep the lid on.

It was significant that an Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) member, Siphokwe Mokwena, went out of his way to call for peace, following an announcement by Mamelodi residents who said they would resume the armed struggle.

In a message to Sapa, Mokwena said: "The MK, which takes instructions from the national office of the ANC, distances itself from whatever has been said in Mamelodi. We say we abide by the decision of our national leaders that we must remain calm.

"We are going to honour our former chief of staff, Comrade Chris Hani, in the manner that befits what he has preached — a peaceful approach. He said we must preach peace."

A call by ANC Natal Midlands chief Harry Gwala for negotiations to be suspended in protest seemed to get nowhere in view of the calls by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and others for greater momentum to be given to the transition process.

Commenting on Hani's death, UCT's Robert Schrire pointed to the gulf in white-black perceptions of the slaying. He observes that whereas politicians like De Klerk seemed to imply that it was business as usual, to blacks, Hani's death was the equivalent of one of the NP's top three leaders being assassinated and, therefore, had to be more appropriately observed.

It was interesting that the SA embassy in Washington lowered the flag to half mast "to show respect and a feeling of grief which arises out of Mr Hani's assassination," as ambassador Harry Schwarz put it.

This is the kind of sympathetic gesture government should make more of to staunch the protests and show goodwill. As it is, the ANC's concern now is probably that there should not be another massacre over the next few days of tension.

A Polish-born South African, Janus Waluz, held in connection with the murder, appeared briefly in court on Tuesday. He was not asked to plead. It was at first thought

P.T.O.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 16/4/93 (11A)
that the gunman — who followed Hani into his driveway, got out of his car and fired four shots at his head, acted alone. Police later said the assassin could be part of a wider conspiracy. A so-called hit list of other prominent figures was found at his Pretoria home.

The fact that the alleged killer (who seems to have been on a kamikaze mission) was caught, certainly helps from the point of view of blunting suspicion of covert State involvement in the slaying, as in the Goniwe case. The possibility of including international policemen in the investigation of the murder is a good idea.

The AWB admits Waluz is a member of the ultra-rightwing organisation, adding, however, that he was not part of its commando unit (implying only members of that unit would engage in assassination).

The pistol used to kill Hani was from a consignment stolen (by notorious rightwinger Piet "Skiet" Rudolf) from SA Air Force headquarters in Pretoria in 1990, according to SAP commissioner General Johan van der Merwe.

According to UWC's Peter Vale, it is noteworthy that the two most high-profile political assassinations in SA — that of Hendrik Verwoerd and Hani — were both carried out by non-South Africans. This, he said, indicated "an organic respect for political leaders among South Africans."

Vale says the effect of Hani's death on negotiations depends on how government plays it. If it bends with the ANC's need for mass action and mourning, we could come out of the crisis relatively unscathed and into a speeded-up negotiations process.

Hani was once the most demonised ANC figure among whites because, as MK chief of staff, he symbolised the liberation struggle — terrorism to them. But he knew the ANC wasn't going to win an armed struggle and saw negotiations as the main arena for change, even if he had reservations about certain compromises being struck.

He was also an unrepentant communist, suspicious of capitalism and a champion of the poor, which partly explains his decision to take on the job of general secretary of the SA Communist Party. He was, ironically, gunned down after he had relinquished his MK post and after adding his considerable voice to calling for an end to violence.

More than anyone in the ANC, Hani had the stature and credibility to prevail upon militants and the youth to fall into line with this strategy. To that extent, at least, his death is a national loss.

To the ANC, the loss of Hani ahead of elections is a heavy blow. He was its most effective campaigner, with a populist touch and charisma among the masses that perhaps eclipsed even that of Mandela. It was hardly surprising that he topped the poll when the ANC held its first leadership election two years ago. He would certainly have been the man to beat in any race to succeed Mandela — had he wanted the job. ■

Negotiations under pressure

BIDAN 16/4/93.

11A

~~207A~~

BILLY PADDOCK

tion there was a strong sense of the majority of the country consolidating around the middle ground and expressing fears that the negotiation process might be derailed.

Remarkable noises were coming from all sides. It demonstrated how much change had taken place in three years. Before 1990, the assassination would not have drawn so much common outrage from all sides. Sentiments similar to former Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger's comment on the Steve Biko killing — "It leaves me cold" — could probably have been expected.

Contrast this with the new mood, especially among whites. There has been outrage and sympathy at the death of no less than the former public enemy No 1 — the communist commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe who was leading men to fight and kill the sons, brothers, and fathers of whites in the army and SAP.

Even Wednesday's events, which unleashed anger from Hani support-

ers as well as violence and looting from criminal elements and those radicals intent on disruption, showed the remarkable transformation the country has already undergone.

With more than 250 000 people involved in marches, the deaths, injuries and damage were significantly less than one could have expected three years ago.

The next few days are a big test for the security forces to demonstrate that they can operate with restraint and evenhandedness. They will also be a test of whether the ANC can control its militant supporters.

After the marches the political leaderships chose to attack each other publicly. Loose talk from lower level ANC leadership linked government to Hani's assassination. Strong

criticism from secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC spokesmen that police had acted "outrageously" and with "unprovoked brutality" elicited retorts from Ministers that the ANC could not control their supporters and were naive and responsible for the violence and unrest.

Added to this is the intention of government to clamp down further on marches and declare new unrest areas in the Witwatersrand before the funeral on Monday.

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said Wednesday's marches proved "just how poor stability is in the country". Therefore it was important that two related issues be resolved as soon as possible, he said. These were that the problem of paramilitary units in the country had to be resolved and that agreement be reached on a transitional executive council and its sub-councils to establish credibility of the security forces.

Meyer said the process had to move forward with renewed urgency. The week's delay in the talks would have to be made up or the programme would lag behind the time table for transition and the elections.

Also, the public criticism of the main parties had damaged the "very good spirit and goodwill that we had taken so long to rebuild".

Because setting up a transitional executive council is regarded as a matter of urgency, the issue is to be shifted to the top of the agenda. Government will no longer insist that a transitional constitution be agreed on before the council is set up.

This means the crucial dividing issue between the ANC and government, on the one hand, and Inkatha and its allies on the other, will have to be dealt with right at the start.

Both Meyer and Ramaphosa said the country would hang in the balance for the next week or two.

They said the next week would be a major test for all parties, which could either forge ahead more quickly to a new democratic SA after the Hani assassination or allow the tragic deed and partisan interests to prevail and frustrate the process.

CHRIS Hani's assassination and the subsequent commemoration marches demonstrated three issues: how far SA has come in the past three years; that the middle ground of politics has been enlarged and strengthened; and just how fragile are the negotiation process and the potential for serious civil conflict.

Hani's killing and the political rhetoric following the marches have, however, done substantial harm to the negotiation process and may have jeopardised the progress all parties were expecting in the next few months.

On Saturday, the day of the slaying, political leaders across the spectrum spoke almost with one voice in condemning the killing and urging restraint and an urgency to get on with negotiations.

President F W de Klerk spoke of Hani as a constructive force in the country. And as late as Tuesday night Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe called for calm and promised police would keep a low profile and act with restraint. ANC president Nelson Mandela addressed the nation on television and radio, urging restraint and co-operation.

Until Wednesday's commemora-

BBC grills PAC man over racist murders

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The PAC's Mr Gora Ebrahim was grilled here yesterday over racist murders. (11A)

Interviewed on the BBC's Radio Four, Mr Ebrahim was repeatedly asked what the PAC was doing about Apla's murder of whites before he said that his organisation was prepared to lay down arms — if it applied equally to all sides. He said blacks were as deprived as ever. CT 16/4/93

Govt echoes ANC call for transitional council and election

GOVERNMENT has echoed the ANC's calls for a speedy implementation of a transitional executive council and setting of an election date.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday government was prepared to shift its negotiating position and delink the implementation of the council from agreement on an interim constitution and constitutional principles. This would speed up the process so that the powers of the council could be negotiated and implemented before more time-consuming bargaining over constitutional

principles began, Meyer said.

"Unless an agreement is reached on the transitional executive council, we cannot implement the independent election commission, which means we cannot have elections," he said.

However, the ANC rejected delinking the issues. While negotiator Mathew Phosa welcomed Meyer's sentiments, he said government was trying to spring a trap on the ANC, and that linkage was essential to prevent a prolonged interim stage.

Meyer said he was aware that the ANC could reject the idea, as could Inkatha and

its allies. If these parties could not be persuaded to delink the issues, "we have to get agreement on both in the shortest possible time".

He said government had put this to the ANC in bilateral meetings, but it had been rejected. This was the first time it had been publicly stated.

He disclosed government's bargaining tactic, by saying the issue of the ANC's call for joint control of security forces rested with a transitional executive council and

its subcouncils. They had to resolve the problem of paramilitary units such as Umkhonto we Sizwe and establish security force credibility.

Meyer said the fact that the ANC wanted the transitional executive council to top the negotiations agenda could be difficult because it addressed the fundamental difference between government and the ANC and its allies on the one hand, and Inkatha and its allies on the other.

But the only way forward was to embark on negotiating the council with a view to elections and finding co-operation on se-

curity matters, he said.

He said until a week ago there had been hope of rapid progress in the talks, but these had now suffered a setback because the goodwill and co-operative spirit that had been built up over months had suffered a blow with the ANC and government criticising each other publicly.

"But we must not let the Hani assassination frustrate the process. The only answer to violence, frustration and economic stability is that we reach rapid agreement in negotiations," Meyer said.

● See Pages 3 and 6

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BLOOM 16/4/93 (11A) (11A)

BILLY PADDOCK

Sniffing the wind

The Kei dictators have responded differently to a peculiar history

Though overshadowed by ANC secretary-general Chris Hani's murder, the Transkei crisis simmered on this week, threatening to add yet another obstacle to peace and negotiations. Stung by Pretoria's refusal to lift the security cordon around his homeland, in spite of indications that it would do so before the Easter weekend, Gen Bantu Holomisa lashed out with allegations that Hani's assassination was part of government's continuing dirty tricks conspiracy.

In an apparent fit of pique, probably due as much to the border blockade as to Hani's killing, he cancelled an undertaking given to President F W de Klerk this month to convene a judicial inquiry to work with the Goldstone Commission on investigations into Apla activities in Transkei.

Government responded with accusations of irresponsibility but seemed intent on maintaining the security clamp in what appears to be nothing more than old-style *kragdadigheid*, out of keeping with De Klerk's famed ability to negotiate his way out of difficult corners.

It may be that he underestimates the future role of the eastern Cape homelands. But then again he also may know they are lost to the NP, so why not make life a little uncomfortable in the ANC heartland?

Peter Vale, co-director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, says the eastern Cape is "wall-to-wall" ANC territory and symbolically important to the organisation. It's where many of the ANC's major national leaders come from (including Hani) and where the resistance movement is rooted.

But it is also one of SA's most economically depressed regions, producing only 5% of GDP and suffering from massive unemploy-



Holomisa ... an impact on regional politics

ment and environmental degradation due to drought and overpopulation. This means a future government may have to consider special financial measures, at the very least to stop the slide. Vale says this won't be a popular suggestion in some quarters but politically there may be no choice.

"Apart from spelling disaster for the region, the impact on the national economy and political situation if the eastern Cape collapses could be profound. We would be looking at the development of situations like Mexico City."

This is one of the reasons Holomisa is reluctant to rush into reincorporation. He argues that independence has boosted Trans-

kei's economy, particularly since his coup in December 1987 when he cleaned up the administration.

But the debate on the future of the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) no longer centres on whether they should be reincorporated into SA but when and how.

The unravelling of the complex statutory provisions of nominal independence cannot simply be decreed. It must be negotiated. Once achieved, the states will be incorporated into wider regions currently being determined by negotiators.

Transkei and Ciskei will probably form the bulk of a single region stretching roughly from Knysna in the south to the Natal border in the north, and inland as far as the Free State.

It will contain about 15% of SA's voters and 70% of them will be Xhosa. Only two regions are likely to be more populous: Natal with 25% of voters and the PWV with 20%.

The futures of Holomisa and Brig Oupa Gqozo in Ciskei, who took power in a coup in March 1990, could in the end be in the hands of the voters.

Holomisa denies any political ambition but is well placed to follow a political career if he chooses to do so.

Gqozo, who now heads his own political party, the African Democratic Movement, sees himself as a future leader, but appears to have no real support. Vale says Gqozo is "totally out of his depth" and has no credibility among Xhosas.

Holomisa, on the other hand, is probably destined for bigger things in a new SA. Vale says he is perceived as a "charismatic and talented" soldier whose services are likely to be used in a top slot in the new army. Both soldiers overthrew allegedly corrupt civilian

ANC's mass plan

17/4/93
 204A T1A (EPA)

Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress, the SA Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday announced a six-week campaign of mass action, including marches and demonstrations, to pave the way for an early election.

The organisations said they would defy any unrest curbs the government might institute.

The announcement comes on the eve of the lying in state of assassinated SACP and ANC leader Mr Chris Hani and his funeral on Monday.

President FW de Klerk last night reacted angrily and said the government would "not be blackmailed".

The SA Students' Congress also announced yesterday that university students countrywide would embark on protest action to instil "a spirit of ungovernability and mass defiance within the youth".

The ANC said the first phase of mass action would start on Tuesday and continue until the end of the month. The action would take the form of demonstrations and protest marches. The possibility of work stayaways was still being discussed.

The second phase of mass action would start on May 1 and continue until the end of May "to

assess the extent to which our demands have been met".

The purpose was to pressurise "democracy negotiators" to announce an election date by the end of May.

The alliance will also demand the installation of a transitional executive council and "deep-reaching multi-party control of all armed forces".

**ANC IN
 W CAPE
 JOINS
 STAYAWAY
 CALL**

— PAGE 2

Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said any attempt to prevent people from participating in legal marches, demonstrations and pickets would be defied. He said this included declared unrest areas.

"The rallying call to our people is — be militant, be disciplined," he said.

ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at a news conference in Johannesburg: "We are radicals, we are a radical alliance born out of the situation in the country".

The alliance strongly criticised the government's lack of response to an alleged Wit Wolwe

hit list topped by SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo.

Mr De Klerk said he regarded the decision by the ANC alliance to go ahead with mass action as irresponsible and unjustified.

"The government remains committed to negotiations. It will not, however, be blackmailed.

"The government will take the necessary steps to maintain good order.

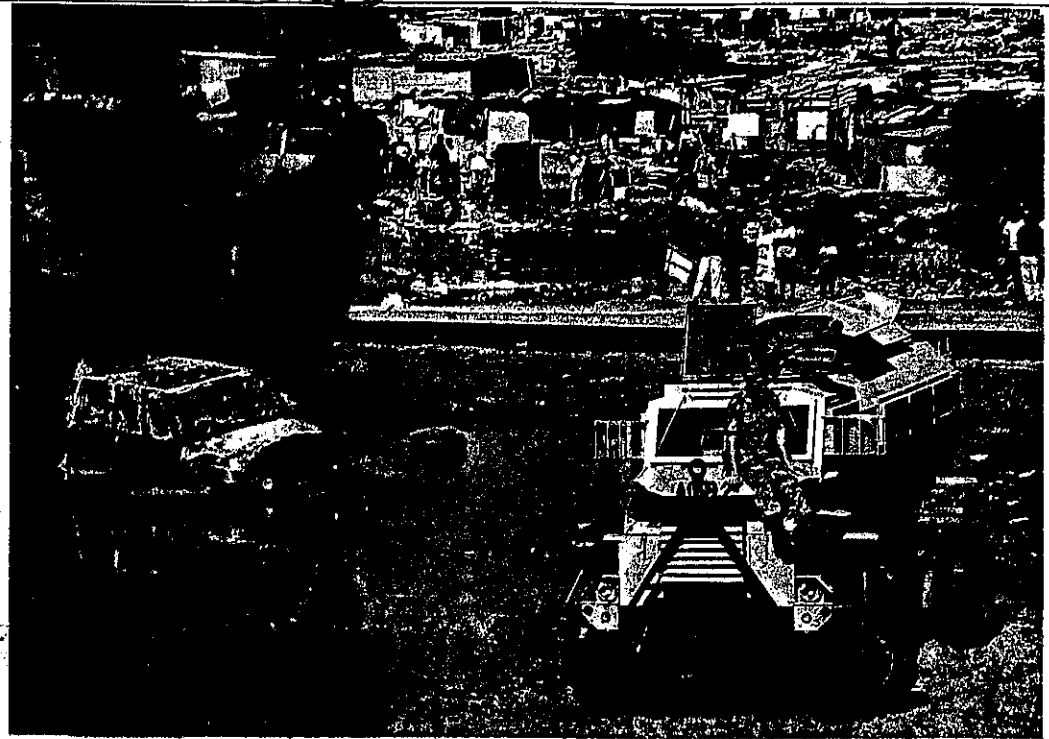
"I want to appeal to everyone to remain calm in spite of the provocative statements of some political spokesmen."

He said Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer would react to the announced mass action and he himself would react more fully within a few days.

Referring to the government's plan to proclaim unrest areas on the Witwatersrand this weekend, Captain Craig Lotze, Law and Order Ministry spokesman, said no promulgation had yet been signed. It is understood the move is opposed by the National Peace Accord.

Democratic Party spokesman on law and order Mr Peter Gastrow said there was a potential for further violence and damage to property and any action which was pursued with direct or indirect intimidation had to be condemned.

"The right to peaceful public protest and expression remains undoubted. I believe the present climate in the country will make it very difficult to hold peaceful protests. The impact on the negotiating process will be a negative one and will cause some of the parties to dig in and polarisation is likely to increase."



N2 BLAZE . . . Police tow a blazing car in Nyanga yesterday after it caught fire on the N2. The fire brigade refused a call to the blaze "because of unrest", the owner of the vehicle, Mr Hennie Badenhorst, claimed. ● Report Page 2 Picture: BENNY GOOL

**'Police
 will use
 force'**

JOHANNESBURG. — The police would use force if necessary to uphold the law if participants in Chris Hani memorial marches placed lives and property in danger, Law and Order Minister Mr Hermus Kriel said last night.

The minister cut short an official visit to eastern Europe and returned to South Africa yesterday in the wake of last Saturday's assassination of the SACP secretary-general.

He said police had received "reliable information" that participants in marches in the PWV today would resort to violence.

"This information was made available to the ANC and an undertaking was agreed to that everything possible would be done to prevent violence." — Sapa

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In a country where words can kill, it's often best to shut up

THERE are many prominent people in this country who should not be sleeping easily this weekend; their consciences should be gnawing at them. They should be thinking about some of the words they have used, and the effects those words might have had — might still have.

Kipling called words "the most powerful drug used by mankind", but here we toss them around like harmless playthings.

Before the assassin made up his mind to take Chris Hani's life, Hernus Kriel, from the platform of Parliament, described Umkhonto we Sizwe as "a bunch of criminals". A powerful newspaper told its readers Hani was mustering a terrifying, vengeful "Black People's Army". Before lawless youths went on their stabbing and stealing spree on Wednesday, ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba told a gathering of youngsters: "The young lions must not only bark and roar, but you must bite." And before this whole sorry saga started, we had Eugene Terre-Blanche exhorting his followers to revolution, "bugger members being encouraged to "bugger p" the ANC, PAC leaders endorsing the slogan "one settler, one bullet". The list goes on.

Every one of these people will today swear they didn't mean what you thought they meant. These were euphemisms, metaphors, allegories, rables ... they didn't really mean it *literally*. Well, it is too late to tell that to the people who listened to, and believed, those words. They missed the subtleties. In our country, not nearly enough people can read. Pitifully few will have been familiar with John Locke's wise observation that "we should have had a great many disputes in the world if words were taken what they are, the signs of our ideas only, not for things themselves".

The National Peace Accord, piously signed by many of these figures, specifically outlaws inflammatory statements. It has been ignored; no one has been locked up for ignoring it. People discovered they could get away

Star 17/4/93.
UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN Johnson



LOOSE, irresponsible words played their part in killing Chris Hani and in stoking the hatred of Natal's warriors and the roadside assassins.

with mocking their undertakings, they did so with impunity. Chilling statements are commonplace in South Africa today. It is fair to ask whether we are not now reaping their mean harvest.

In Boksburg on Wednesday, an SACP speaker bluntly told a crowd that Kriel had issued "an order from Parliament for the assassination of MK leaders". Kriel will of course say he did not mean that at all; and in turn the SACP speaker will insist he was not blaming Kriel specifically for Hani's death. However, there is no guarantee that either original audience will be there to hear the disclaimers. The words come around and around again, leaving a vicious tangled trail behind them.

Loose, irresponsible words played their part in killing Chris Hani, just as they played their part in stoking the hatreds of Natal's warriors and the roadside assassins. We have become so accustomed to intemperate talk that I wonder whether we are still able to listen to quieter, less passionate reason.

I will forever feel dulled and sickened by the terrible waste of Chris Hani's life. There is

never any pleasure — or use — to be derived from saying "I told you so". But I (there were others) did try to warn against the image that was built up of the man in white South Africans' eyes. We demonise each other so unthinkingly, so dangerously.

I got to know him in the course of my work, and I worried about the obvious chasm between his public persona and the human side of this exceptional South African. Hani was a politician, and he rightly came under attack for his views, often. But white South Africa knew nothing of the person away from the podium. He was intellectually razor-sharp, witty, warm, interested, principled, "normal". Once, while watching a soccer match, he asked me with laughter in his eyes: "Why is it that most of our goalkeepers in this country are white?" I replied: "Because we whites are more conservative, and that is a conservative position." He roared in amusement, and said that made perfect sense.

But much more importantly, he convinced me early on that he was truly committed to a peaceful, negotiated settlement, fair to everyone in our country. This talk of his latter-day conversion to peace does not tell the whole story. Two years ago, almost to the day of his death, I wrote in *The Star*, under the headline "Hani — militant or moderate?", that beneath his radical aura lay a firm belief in negotiations.

"In stark contrast to Mr Hani's public image, there is a commitment to the peace process, pragmatism and democratic accountability ... In the current situation, therefore, Mr Hani is clearly on board the negotiations bus being driven by Mr Mandela."

And I warned of the terrible danger of portraying him as a devil: "Mr Hani might become so demonised that when the time comes to convince whites he is 'okay' after all, their fears might be too deeply etched to be removed."

These words were engulfed by all the other words, and disappeared without a trace.

Times they are a'changing on many fronts - including policing

Star 17/4/93

A new South Africa cop

11A

~~Star~~

ANIL SINGH

DURBAN — The ANC and the South African Communist Party this week singled out two senior police officers for praise in their handling of the tens of thousands of people who took part in the procession to commemorate slain Communist Party leader Chris Hani.

The two officers in question were Major-General Johan Meintjies, the acting Regional Commissioner for Natal, and Colonel James Louwrens, the SAP's representative on the Natal-Kwa-Zulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee.

For Louwrens this was not the first time he has come in for praise from the ANC. But the soft-spoken former Security Branch policeman was at pains to point out that he was no glory-hunter: "It is part of my work being a policeman and I cannot see why such a big deal is being made. Let's not forget all the other policemen in the field. They played a big part as well."

He said he was generally pleased with the behaviour of the crowd, which he estimated at between 90 000 and 100 000. "The majority of the crowd was well behaved. It was a just a small band of people that damaged vehicles and smashed windows. Better planning is needed in future and there must be more marshals. I don't think the organisers of this week's procession anticipated such a crowd. I for one did not expect so many people."

Louwrens, who was in the field with senior ANC/SACP officials during the procession, was also full of praise for the organisers. He singled out the

ANC's Jeff Radebe and SACP's Dennis Nkosi, who he said, gave the police "nothing but co-operation". "We worked as a team and were able to iron out quickly any problems that arose."

In the past three years since the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, there has been a great change in the SAP in dealing with mass action.

"The SAP's special training programme in conflict management is really paying dividends. Some of these policemen are hardly out of college and are thrown into the deep end and have to deal with crowd control. They are doing a fantastic job," he said.

Does he see a place for himself in the new South Africa and would he serve in a new police force? "I am not a politician. I am a policeman at heart. It's like serving customers. If they want me I will be glad to help out. It is important for policemen to be impartial, democratic and non-racial. We cannot afford to take sides," said Louwrens.

Once a feared security policeman who had a reputation of being a tough cop, he was responsible for detaining and questioning people in the Durban area during the State of Emergency. But last year Louwrens was named by the Weekly Mail as one of the few good cops in South Africa.

Today with the big changes taking place in the country, he is working with some of the ANC people he once helped-track down, and members of other political parties, in a mutual effort to bring peace.

Regarding the old days, Louwrens is adamant: "It is an era that I would not like to go back to."

Suspicion and new-found closeness in Dawn Park

LOUISE MARSLAND

THE road to Dawn Park is like any other country road — uneven, with potholes and cosmos dotting the surrounding fields. The past week has been as rough for residents, who have lost a friend and good neighbour, and now look at any stranger who lingers too long with suspicion.

There are facebrick, middle-class homes, some with armed-response signs and razor wire, others with low garden walls and open gates. Some have For Sale signs up, but no more than usual in any suburb.

A sign on a vacant plot proclaims: "Dawn Park — The Sunshine Community — now selling!"

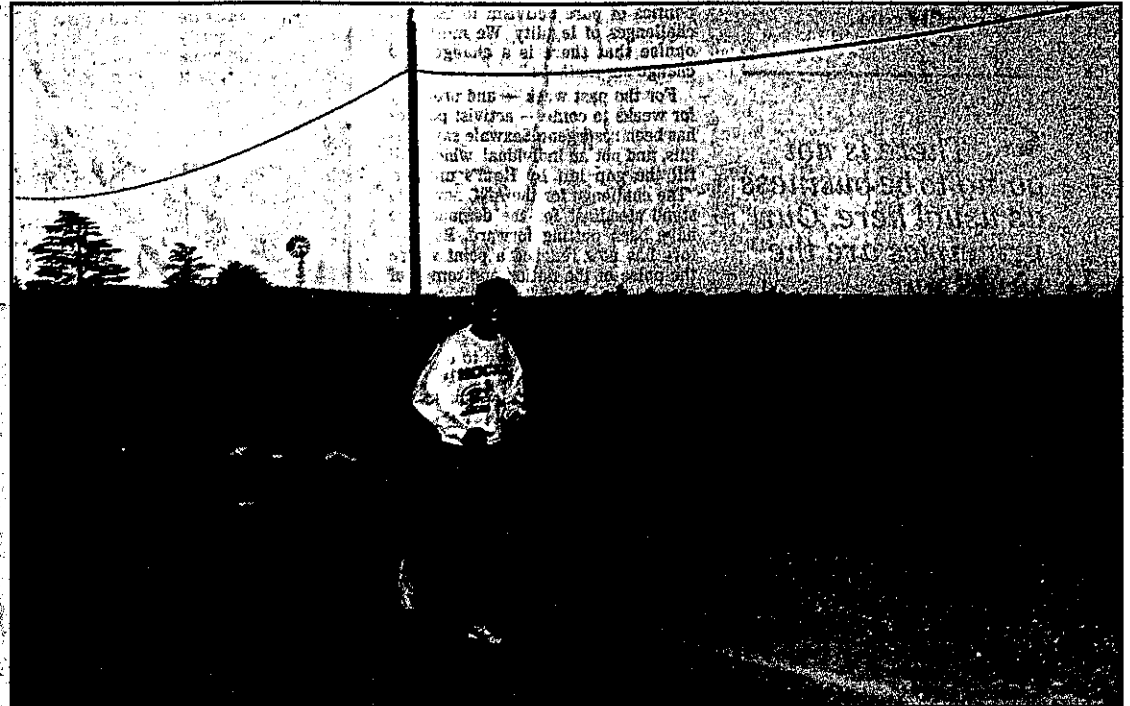
Harmony

Brightly painted jungle gyms and swings stand empty. Apart from a lone soccer player, a couple of joggers and a police patrol van, there is hardly a soul in sight.

But this is normal, say residents of the suburb, which was a model of racial harmony on the conservative East Rand long before it was fashionable, or even legal.

A resident, who did not want to be named for fear of right-wing threats, said the suburb had always been peaceful. Nothing much had changed in the past week.

But brave Reitha Harmse, whose actions led to the alleged assassin being arrested, has fled after death threats. Neighbours did not know when she would return.



EARLY BIRD: Punctual Shangasi lopes through the Boksburg suburb of Dawn Park this week. ● Photograph: MYKEL NICOLACU

Said one: "She didn't suspect she would get threats. But I would have done exactly the same. We are all very disturbed by the assassination. You know, he was staying here more than two years. He came by jogging regularly without bodyguards."

At the home of the late Comrade Chris — as many res-

idents knew him — the vigil continues, with people coming and going at all hours.

Picking his way carefully around smashed glass from Wednesday's marches, jogger Keith said people were more scared to leave their homes.

A family down the road said the tension level in the sub-

urb had gone up earlier in the week, but that things had settled down. Elaine Bigaika said she was very happy in Dawn Park. "It is an exceptionally quiet neighbourhood."

An exception was an immigrant man. Slamming a padlock closed on his driveway gates, he said: "See — I have

never done this before ... I just want to be safe."

Jogging in the sunrise, Punctual Shangasi put it into perspective. "This has brought the community together. Some will feel more fearful, but most are not. We know one another and now we are talking more to each other — much more than before."

Hani's death widens gulf

'He was a leader like no other'

IF 20 000 people had marched on Boksburg eight days ago, Chris Hani would have been at their head. On Wednesday, Hani was everywhere in the East Rand town — a face on hundreds of posters, a word on scores of hand-scrawled cardboard sheets, a name on everybody's lips. And he was, of course, gone forever.

Hani's murder has ripped a massive tear in a fragile cloth.

Big gulf

His death has left a gulf, not just in the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, but in the process of change itself.

The perils of not bridging that gulf were evident throughout a march of many kilometres, from Vosloorus and Kattlehong to Boksburg, on to Hani's home in Dawn Park, and back to the townships again.

"Chris represented an umbilical chord between the ANC leadership and the masses," says Peter Mokaba, president of the ANC Youth League. "It is not just a matter of finding a replacement. There will have to be reorganisation in the ANC. We will have to be on the ground as much as Chris was so that the masses will not miss him so much.

"The youth could see themselves in what Chris



PAYING RESPECTS: Sticks, iron pipes, pangas and assortment of clubs and knobkerries are wielded by this militant group of youths as a demonstration from Sebokeng at this week's commemoration to Chris Hani celebrated in the Vaal Triangle.

JOHN PERLMAN, Chief Reporter

was doing and saying, his hatred of the system which he expressed openly. As a militant he was able to define the limits of that militancy, and when anybody went beyond that he could condemn them and nobody would doubt his credentials," Mokaba says.

The thousands who gathered to honour Hani's memory in Boksburg did little that would have earned his condemnation. But the fact that the day passed in rela-

tive peace made it no less a day of rage.

"They tell us the murderer is refusing to cooperate," said one speaker with derision, to the throng that had packed every corner of the Boksburg Civic Centre. "Shaya" came the cries from the crowd. Beat him.

The walls were papered with printed posters which said: "We demand joint con-

trol of the security forces." In among them was a rough brown sheet: "We shall not bury alone."

Outside the civic centre, an even larger mass of people settled on the ground waiting to be addressed, as one marshal after another tried to keep the crowd going on salutes and "vivas".

A local cleric read a statement and then led a chant of

"we want peace" — some joined in by chanting "we want Kriel".

Then Thabo Mbeki took over the microphone. "The time has come that Nelson Mandela should be the president of this country," he said to ringing cheers. "The only way that will happen is if we act in unison in a disciplined fashion," he said to ringing silence.

And yet in the nearby streets, where fresh arrivals spilled from bursting buses

or celebrated the end of a long walk with a spirited toyi-toyi, many people were trying to do what Mbeki had asked.

A group from Rivonia squatter camp marched in, armed with weapons ranging from the eccentric — a single boxing glove in one hand and an exhaust pipe and a broken umbrella in the other — to the alarming. As they tramped back and forth, waving pangas and axes honed razor sharp,

marshals joined hands to keep them off the pavements and away from the watchful police.

One young marshal wore a shirt which said: "You can't die alone, they must also die", on the back. Tired and a little tense, the marshal — who was 20 and had been involved in politics since he was 12 — said Hani was a leader like no other. But the youth would now look to Mokaba and Tokyo Sexwale to fill the gap.

Twenty metres away, two stout mothers from the ANC Women's League stood glowering at a group of young boys lurking around outside a locked-up chemist's shop. "There is nothing you need here! Move away!" said one. "These boys are so greedy," she said, gesturing over her shoulder.

Major role

"It is the Youth League which is expected to control our militants," says Mokaba. "That task falls on our shoulders." Mokaba himself played a major role in keeping the crowds in check on Monday when the youth marched on Dawn Park.

Now the Youth League is embarking on a campaign which Mokaba insists will be "militant but disciplined. We will not hesitate to act against those who go against this," he says. But there is anger in the air.

Outside the town, it is the youths on the long march to the Hani home who quietly taunt the police and raise their voices to hurl abuse at a group of white kids in dayglo gear, watching from the perch of their BMX bicycles. "Apla will blow your brains out." "One of these days boys, your time will come." "One settler one bul let." Some of those who chant this are wearing ANC colours.

● Photograph: JOE LOUW.

News

Star 17/3/93

Comrade Charisma rose above slander

PETER WELLMAN

THE Government trusted Chris Hani as a peace negotiator in the same way Margaret Thatcher once said she could "do business" with Mikhail Gorbachev.

At the same time, Hani's SACP colleagues believe his massive popularity as a top communist was feared in certain circles, and there was a deliberate campaign to portray him as unremittingly bloodthirsty, anti-white and anti-democratic.

What happened here was not simply more of the tired old "swart gevaar" days. Neither was it more of the equally tired and futile attempt to carve the ANC away from the Communist Party. Instead, it was a deliberate planting of the seeds of hate.

Hani's colleagues believe this campaign amounted to an open invitation to the lunatic Right to feel justified in eliminating him.

Every politician rightly gets some stick, and not all the harsh things said about Hani were part of a campaign. However, it seems there was a sustained smearing of the SACP's general secretary.

The SACP's Jeremy Cronin says: "In a political democracy one expects open and robust criticism among political opponents. But what concerns us has been a disinformation campaign against particular personali-

ties, and none more so than Chris Hani. It has been well orchestrated, coming in waves at particular times.

"After a Markinor opinion poll in January showed Hani to be the second most popular leader after ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Hani was said to be wanting to move the SACP away from the ANC.

"Just before Winnie Mandela's Appeal Court hearing last month against her jail sentence, she and Hani were said to be planning to break away and form a separate political party. And shortly before his death last week he was said to be plotting to

form a 'black people's army'."

The fact is that Hani believed fervently in armed struggle when he saw it was necessary, but would have

● See Undercurrent Affairs — Page 8; Notebook — Page 9 and Telly Tales — Page 12.

preferred negotiating if this had been possible years ago. And when talks later became possible, Hani believed just as fervently in the negotiations process.

And he was never anti-white.

Even his opponents admitted he was immensely likeable and popular. His friends nicknamed him "Comrade Charisma". But politically uninformed members of the public might well have had a different impression of the man. Below are some examples of how he has been portrayed in recent years:

June 1988: Hani wanted to take the armed struggle into white areas — this was broadly interpreted as meaning killing white civilians at random.

January 1990: Hani was an SACP hardliner who reject-

ed negotiations as a way of solving SA's problems.

October 1990: ANC militants, including Hani, had "apparently become increasingly concerned that ... Nelson Mandela appears too soft after every meeting with President F W de Klerk".

January 1991: The Government was to quiz Hani about the ANC's "Operation Prickly Pear", which allegedly included eliminating policemen, and an armed struggle in Bophuthatswana.

January 1992: Hani and MK political commissar Steve Tshwete took the decision to attack soft targets,

and were publicly repudiated by Oliver Tambo.

February 1993: Hani was involved in setting up a military force in Zimbabwe when MK was disbanded.

March 1993: Three men who allegedly stole more than R1 million in armed robberies gave some of it to Hani.

Readers who conclude that these examples portrayed the man as he really was should think about what South Africa's ambassador to Washington, Harry Schwarz, did after Hani was murdered last Saturday: he flew the flag at half mast.

If Schwarz had done that for some sort of monstrous, anti-white, communist thug he would have been sacked on the spot.

Hani's death widens gulf

Star 17/4/93

'He was a leader like no other'

IF 20 000 people had marched on Boksburg eight days ago, Chris Hani would have been at their head. On Wednesday, Hani was everywhere in the East Rand town — a face on hundreds of posters, a word on scores of hand-screwed cardboard sheets, a name on everybody's lips. And he was, of course, gone forever.

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"The youth could see themselves in what Chris

was doing and saying, his hatred of the system which he expressed openly. As a militant he was able to define the limits of that militancy, and when anybody condemned them and nobody would doubt his credentials," Mokaba says.

The thousands who gathered to honour Hani's memory in Boksburg did little that would have earned his condemnation. But the fact that the day passed in rela-

tive peace made it no less a day of rage.

"They tell us the murderer is refusing to cooperate," said one speaker with derision, to the throng that had packed every corner of the Boksburg Civic Centre. "Shaya" came the cries from the crowd. Beat him. The walls were papered with printed posters which said: "We demand joint con-

trol of the security forces." In among them was a rough brown sheet: "We shall not bury alone."

Outside the civic centre, an even larger mass of people settled on the ground waiting to be addressed, as one marshal after another tried to keep the crowd going on salutes and "vivas". A local cleric read a statement and then led a chant of

"we want peace" — some joined in by chanting "we want Kriel".

Then Thabo Mbeki took over the microphone. "The time has come that Nelson Mandela should be the president of this country," he said to ringing cheers. "The only way that will happen is if we act in unison in a disciplined fashion," he said to ringing silence.

And yet in the nearby streets, where fresh arrivals spilled from bursting buses

or celebrated the end of a long walk with a spirited toy-toy, many people were trying to do what Mbeki had asked.

A group from Rivonia squatter camp marched in, armed with weapons ranging from the eccentric — a single boxing glove in one hand and an exhaust pipe and a broken umbrella in the other — to the alarming. As they tramped back and forth, waving pangas and axes honed razor sharp,

marshals joined hands to keep them off the pavements and away from the watchful police.

One young marshal wore a shirt which said: "You can't die alone, they must also die", on the back. Tired and a little tense, the marshal — who was 20 and had been involved in politics since he was 12 — said Hani was a leader like no other. But the youth would now look to Mokaba and Tokyo Sexwale to fill the gap.

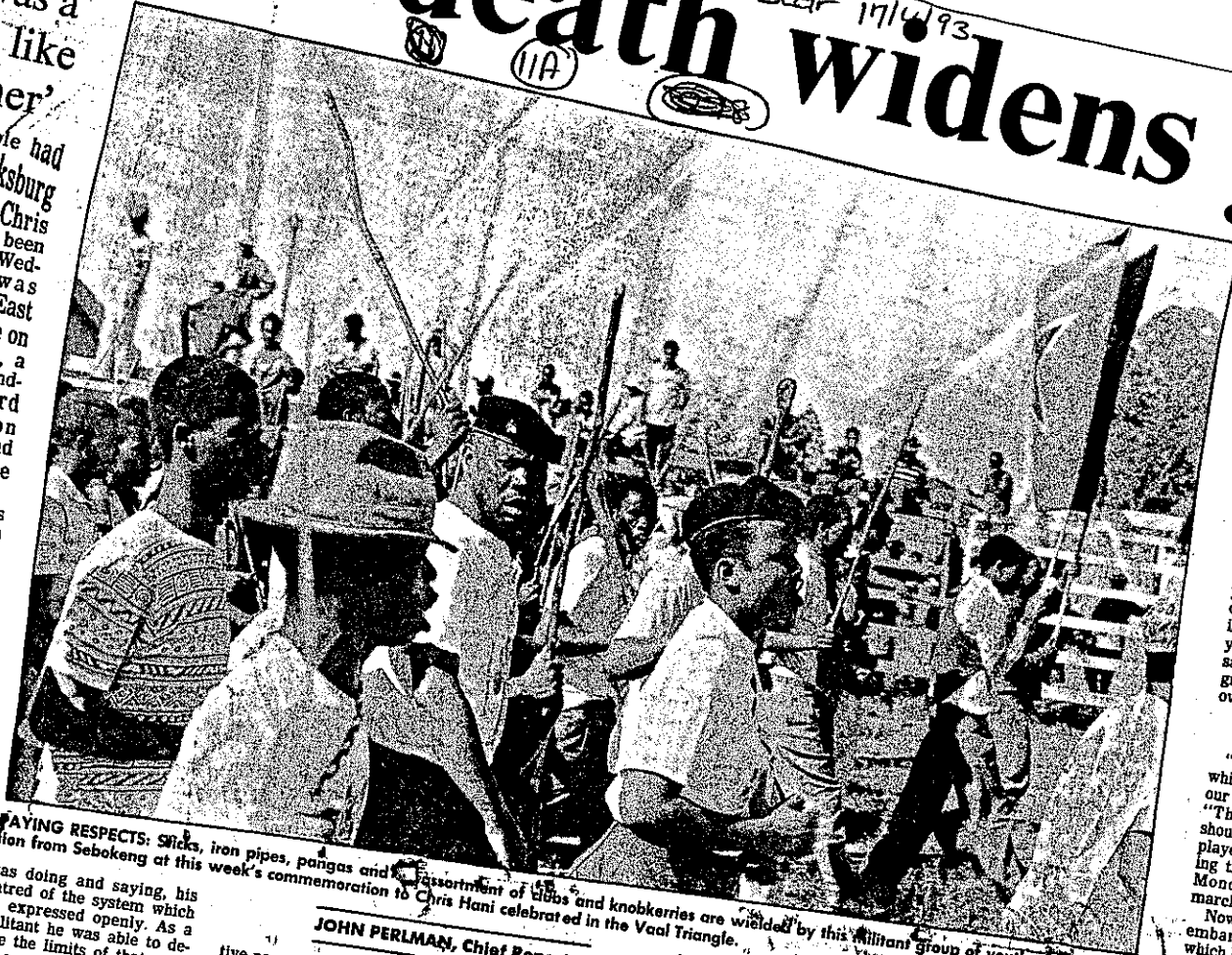
Twenty metres away, two stout mothers from the ANC Women's League stood glowering at a group of young boys lurking around outside a locked-up chemist's shop. "There is nothing you need here! Move away!" said one. "These boys are so greedy," she said, gesturing over her shoulder.

Major role

"It is the Youth League which is expected to control our militants," says Mokaba. "That task falls on our shoulders." Mokaba himself played a major role in keeping the crowds in check on Monday when the youth marched on Dawn Park.

Now the Youth League is embarking on a campaign which Mokaba insists will be militant but disciplined. We will not hesitate to act against those who go against this," he says. But there is anger in the air.

Outside the town, it is the youths on the long march to the Hani home who quietly taunt the police and raise their voices to hurl abuse at a group of white kids in dayglo gear, watching from the perch of their BMX bicycles. "Apla will blow your brains out." "One of these days boys, your time will come." "One settler one bullet." Some of those who chant this are wearing ANC colours.



PAYING RESPECTS: Sticks, iron pipes, pangas and assortment of clubs and knobkerries are wielded by this militant group of youths as Mokaba celebrated in the Vaal Triangle.

JOHN PERLMAN, Chief Reporter

Photograph: JOE LOUW.

Jo'burg steeled for mass march

Star 17/4/93

Star 17/4/93

(IA) (CB)

LOUISE MARSLAND

A GROUND-BREAKING peace agreement was signed at the eleventh hour last night between the police and the African National Congress, South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions regarding the control of marches and gatherings today and next week during Chris Hani's funeral.

The agreement, facilitated by the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat, effectively halted the proposed declaration of the Witwatersrand and Vaal Triangle as unrest areas, thereby allowing massive marches to go ahead in Johannesburg and the Vaal Triangle today.

Sincere endeavour (CB)

The parties involved say the agreement — signed by ANC leader Thabo Mbeki and PWV region police commissioner General Koos Calitz — is a sincere endeavour to facilitate the logistical arrangements associated with the marches and funeral arrangements this weekend and next week, and to create an atmosphere of co-operation so as to ensure the peaceful and dignified passing of these events. The agreement is valid until midnight on Monday.

The organisations have agreed to conducting themselves in a peaceful manner and recognise their accountability in law in respect of any illegal action on the part of their supporters. They also undertake to ensure the safety of individuals as well as property.

The police have committed themselves to maintaining a low profile in relation to law enforcement for the duration of the agreement.

The ANC in turn will ensure that there are sufficient marshals at each venue to ensure the strict control and discipline of members and supporters and that there are sufficient roving and stationary marshals deployed for each section of the crowd or march. In addition, stationary marshals will be deployed along the routes of the marches. The Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat will be informed of numbers of marshals and their deployment.

The ANC has also agreed that no firearms will be carried by any marcher, except for concealed, licensed firearms.

Calitz said he was very glad that agreement had been reached on the contents of the document, as it was very important to maintain law and order during

● TO PAGE 2.



LAST MINUTE ACCORD: ANC national executive member Thabo Mbeki and PWV police commissioner General Koos Calitz after an agreement reached on the mass action planned for this weekend. Photograph: GEORGE MASHININI

Ali parade postponed Hani burial live on TV

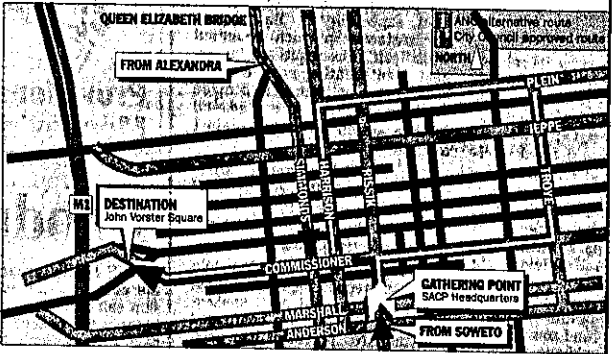
MUHAMMAD Ali's tour of Soweto tomorrow will go ahead as scheduled but today's parade through Johannesburg has been postponed until Wednesday as a mark of respect for Chris Hani.

Ali is expected to visit Hani's Dawn Park home today and attend the funeral on Monday. This morning Ali will be hosted by Johannesburg mayor Les Disby for breakfast.

THE SABC will carry live broadcasts on Monday of the memorial and burial services of Chris Hani.

Both CCV and Radio 2000 will start broadcasting from the FNB stadium at 9.30 am.

The second part of the broadcast will start at about 1 pm from the burial site at the Elsburg South Cemetery in Germiston.



PATH OF PROTEST: The route of today's planned mass protest march through the centre of Johannesburg.

Star 17/4/93

March

● FROM PAGE 1.

such events. He said it was signed in a good spirit on all sides and hoped that it would prevent loss of life.

Calitz, who is in charge of security operations in the region over the next few days, said 1 000 policemen would be deployed, along with 1 000 SADF personnel.

The ANC's Mbeki said the tripartite regional leadership believed the agreement was an important initiative. "We are very determined to ensure that the provisions of the agreement are observed. It is an important pioneering agreement which could set a framework to enable us to deal with similar situations. (11A)

"As a result of this agreement, we have avoided the declaration of unrest areas... which was not the way to resolve the issue, as one would not achieve anything by force. We will achieve more this way."

Mbeki emphasised the need for joint action. "We are trying to protect the right to peaceful demonstrations and the rights of ordinary citizens." (SFB)

The secretariat deputy-chairman, Rupert Lorimar, said a situation had been reached where Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel had not found it necessary to declare the region an unrest area.

Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat director Peter Harris said the document contained novel concepts in dealing with volatile situations. "Since Thursday, when we knew of the possible imposition of the unrest areas, we strove to reach agreement."

The PWV regions of the ANC and the SACP said they expected as many as 150 000 mourners to converge on the city centre from Soweto,

Alexandra and the East Rand today. Officials of the National Peace Accord believe that number could swell to 250 000.

The central business district is likely to be empty of shoppers and shopowners following a warning from Johannesburg traffic chief Mike Davis.

Davis advised businesses to close during the march, due to begin at about 10 am at the SACP headquarters on the corner of Rissik and Anderson streets. Most businesses surveyed in the CBD said they would adopt a "wait and see" attitude and close their doors at the first sign of trouble. (SFB)

Conflict arose earlier between the city council and march organisers over the proposed route. This was resolved by the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat last night and marchers will leave from Rissik and Marshall Streets, wind through the CBD, returning to Commissioner Street and on to John Vorster Square.

Marchers are set to travel along Louis Botha Avenue and the Soweto highway to reach the CBD. Businesses and residents along this route have been warned to take care and avoid becoming involved or provoking incidents.

The city's law firms have been requested to position lawyers in their offices to watch events and report any incidents directly to the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat's 24-hour "peaceline". Anyone wishing to call the line with information on violent incidents or possible confrontations should dial 0800-116555 immediately.

The police and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance have agreed to take joint responsibility for disciplinary procedures, and about 3 000 ANC marshals have been granted extra powers of arrest.

Policemen threatened to kill me - Winnie

Star 17/4/93

"ONS ken nou die kar, en waar ons dit weer sien gaan ons dit skiet. Ons is klaar met Hani, en Mevrou Mandela is die volgende op die lys." Roughly translated these words say: "We now know the car, and when we see it again we will shoot. We are through with Hani; Mrs Mandela is next on the list."

This was allegedly said by a group of "eight to 10" white policemen at the Jabulani police station on Thursday in the presence of Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela. She lodged a formal complaint with the Commissioner of Police yesterday, claiming this was a death threat.



Impounded

In a two-page memorandum, which she made available to Saturday Star, Mandela detailed how a white VW Kombi, registration number KZS673T, which belonged to her was impounded on Tuesday night by policemen stationed at Kliptown. At the time, the vehicle was being driven by Mageu Madikizela, who was subsequently charged with reckless and negligent driving.

It was during attempts to recover the vehicle from the police at Jabulani that the threat was apparently made.

Valentine Senkhane, a representative of Mandela's, accompanied by a staff member of her newly established Co-ordinated Agency Poverty Programme, Vuyisile Mafalala, reported that they were confronted by the group of policemen who refused to release the vehicle, even after Mandela had

JOE LOUW, POLITICAL STAFF and SAPA

obtained permission for its release from two senior police officers, Colonel Tienie Halgryn and a Colonel De Beer of Protea police station.

"The police were dressed in civilian clothes," said Senkhane. "Instead of co-operating, they remarked: 'Ons ken nou die kar, en waar ons dit weer sien gaan ons dit skiet. Ons is klaar met Hani, en Mevrou Mandela is die volgende op die lys.'"

"Thereafter, these police proceeded to make certain threatening gesticulations and sounds with their mouths," Senkhane was reported to have said.

At the time of going to press, the vehicle was still impounded because, Mandela said, "it was discovered that it had been tampered with: the cover of the engine appeared to have been opened and several wires were found to have been pulled".

In her memorandum, Mandela expressed fears for her safety and demanded that the vehicle be thoroughly inspected by both her mechanic and that of the police in each other's presence before it was removed from the Jabulani police station.

Mandela said that since the death of Chris Hani, threatening and abusive phone calls to her from "right-wing elements" had increased. She said that on several occasions "suspicious characters" had been spotted outside or near her Orlando West home.

In her memorandum to the police commissioner, Mandela said

she viewed the remarks made by the policemen in a very serious light, especially in "the present circumstances in which the nation finds itself". She requested "an urgent identification parade to be held so that policemen who made the utterances be identified and further action be taken against them".

Contacted late yesterday afternoon, the SAP's Halgryn declined to comment, except to say he was aware of the case and that police were investigating.

Security around Nelson Mandela has been stepped up after several death threats, said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus. He confirmed that the ANC president had been receiving threats since Hani's assassination.

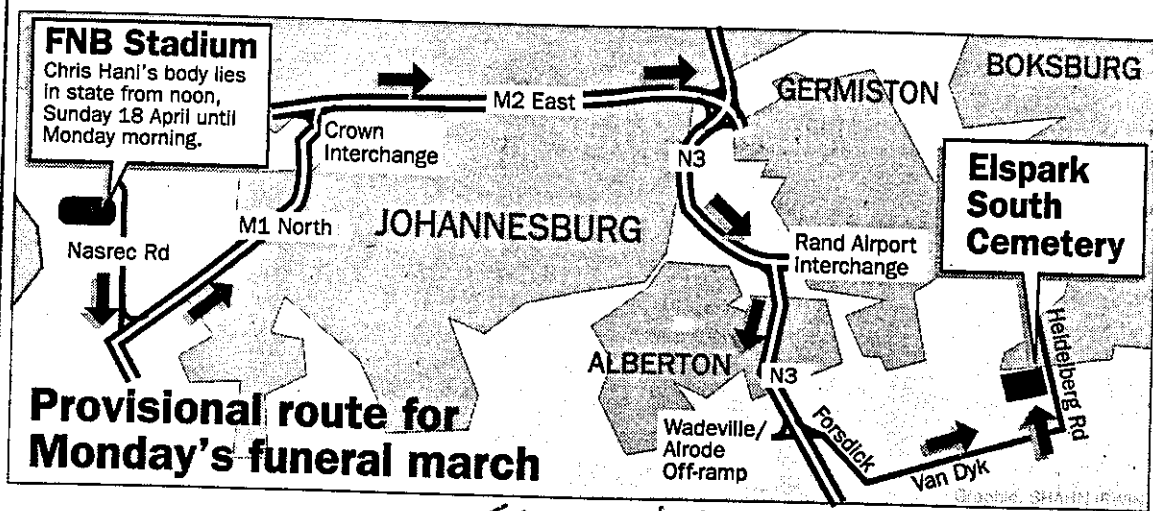
Liquidation

Niehaus would not divulge the extent of the threats for security reasons. The ANC was investigating, he said.

And the Pan Africanist Congress claims its members have received death threats and that the organisation has been informed about a plot to assassinate its leadership.

In a statement yesterday, PAC secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke claimed he had received five telephone calls this week in which callers named PAC leaders earmarked for liquidation.

The PAC said it had names and addresses of members of "hit-squads, askaris, mercenaries and hired killers" and warned them "not to enter the lion's den".



Star 17/4/93

Product of shattered dreams

CHRIS Hani's dream of turning the controversial, militant township self-defence units into "combatants for peace" might, sadly, have reflected only his own idealism and yearning for a more peaceful South Africa.

At a Hani commemoration in Sebokeng, in the Vaal Triangle — one of the country's worst war zones — a 60 000-strong crowd of mostly youths greeted with wild enthusiasm a South African Students' Congress member's call for revenge and renewed armed struggle. It reflected the degree to which the Vaal Triangle's black community had become disillusioned with the message of peace and reconciliation most other speakers preached.

Hani acknowledged that the units were created by communities out of necessity for "ordinary citizens to unite to protect themselves, their families and their property". But not long before his death he called for them to be replaced by brigades modelled on United States former president John Kennedy's Peace Corps.

He envisaged young township



JOE LOUW



people spending two-year stints in a community structure that would fight crime, repair schools and build community facilities.

He called on business and the Government for backing for his scheme, seeking to create a legal status which would include accountability to a recognised structure — something the units could never achieve.

Lawyers for Human Rights, the Centre for the Study of Violence and others considered Hani's scheme feasible. But youths in the Vaal this week appeared far from convinced. "I don't think the Boers will ever let us live in peace," said Chippa Mobelatsi (24).

"They enter our communities and harass people at random — breaking into homes, arresting and assaulting and in some cases shooting and killing... In Small Farms, or Sebokeng, Boipatong, there have been raids and shooting every night for months, and they are worse since Eikenhof.

"No one is on our side — not even the ANC."

There seem to be hundreds like him — products of unemployment and idleness, shattered ambitions, poverty and violence. The speeches of young people at this week's commemorations reflected an acute generation gap.

The self defence units, especially those of the Vaal Triangle, have dreadful reputations: township residents have accused them of gangland-style executions, rape, abduction, necklacings after kangaroo court trials, and hijackings.

Hani was one of the most forthright opponents of the units' involvement in such activities.

Rev Isaac Kolokoto, general secretary of Vaal Churches, a member of the local peace committee, said the peace corps was a "noble" idea. However, it would require thorough research and careful implementation, as anything that smacked even vaguely of government involvement could be interpreted as "derailing the very change that everybody is so much wanting to see — a change in government".

THE shock killing of South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani at the weekend seemed to inspire a tenuous unity among South Africa's power triumvirate — Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr F W de Klerk and Chief Mangusotho Buthelezi.

All three condemned the murder in strong terms and called for calm.

Mandela's "address to the nation" was also the first time (besides his televised speech after his release from prison) that a politician who was not the head of state was allowed this privilege.

The ANC leader's address was first screened on CCV at about 10pm on Saturday night and later on TV1, followed with speeches by De Klerk and Buthelezi.

In the grip of the shock, many might have missed this inversion of protocol: the State President surrendering his place to an opposition leader — and an extra-parliamentary one at that.

This has not happened before, and it gave some indication of the enormity of the event.

Of course, it was probably also the fear of large-scale reprisals across the country

So, Mandela had the first chance to speak about his slain comrade: What did he make of it?

Curiously unemotional in the circumstances, the ageing leader paid tribute to Hani as "a great son of Africa", who had been cut down "in the prime of his life". The murder, he said, was "the heinous crime of evil men".

Then Mandela announced a day of



ON THE BOX
by Shannon Sherry

'The refusal to garner glory for himself from the tragedy is what gave Mandela's speech dignity.'

Soula 17/4-21/4/93.

memorial services and stated, with the most unequivocal air of the entire speech: "We will not tolerate the desecration of

Chris Hani's memory with irresponsible actions."

Lastly, he said: "Hamba Kahle (go well), comrade Chris Hani."

If Winston Churchill and the other great orators of history were watching, they would feel safe. Mandela's was not a speech of heroic proportions.

I must confess to vague disappointment. Hell, I thought, is that all a great leader can offer a brutalised nation?

It was a forgettable speech.

So, why couldn't I forget it?

It would surely have been easy for Mandela to gorge himself on the opportunity to deliver a memorable outpouring of anger and grief (who could have blamed him?) and a stirring demand for justice. It must have been sorely tempting.

Dare one say it, many a lesser person would have taken this path — and appeared greater.

Great words, unfortunately, have more than once been mistaken for great substance.

But South Africa is a country teetering on the brink of tragedy, and a single irresponsible word from Mandela could have meant even more bloodshed and grief.

The refusal to garner cheap glory for himself from the tragedy — to make his emotions the focus of the event — is what gave Mandela's speech dignity, and made his tribute to Hani so resonantly sincere, if disappointing to those of us who waited for sensation and gratification.

The real dignity is what made it strange, given what we are used to from politicians.

11A

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NEWS FOR NEW TIMES

OUT OF CONTROL



Photos: Yunus Mohamed

Also under the Page 6 banner of the main title...

By Sabata Ngcai

MILITANT slogans chanted by the thousands of people who streamed into Cape Town on Wednesday were indicative of the mood — people had come into the CBD to express their outrage at the murder of Chris Hani.

There were no calls for peace. Instead, mourners bayed for blood.

As the procession moved out of Guguletu this morning, the crowd sang praises for PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo, and shouted

'You have killed our leader'

South 1714-2114/93
"One settler, one bullet" while women ululated and danced.

In a train to the city, people chanted songs calling boers "dogs". "Amabhulu azizinja kwaye aya kuhlala ezizinja kuba asibulalele u Chris Hani isoja (The boers are dogs and they will remain dogs. They killed our soldier Chris Hani)."

People who disembarked before

Cape Town station were sworn at by the crowd and told: "Are you going to work you fools, we are going to get you."

The crowd also shouted abuse at the police guarding the stations: "This is the day, tomorrow you'll tell your boss you are resigning."

On the Grand Parade, where the crowd joined other marchers, people

called on former ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, to give them arms.

Cries of "Tambo give us AK47s" rang out.

The mood became more tense when a group of women sang "The AWB killed Chris Hani."

Police vans and Casspirs carry security force members were target-

ted for abuse as well. People called on Apla (the armed wing of the PAC) to "kill them", their mood clearly confrontational.

They refused to disperse when asked to do so by police.

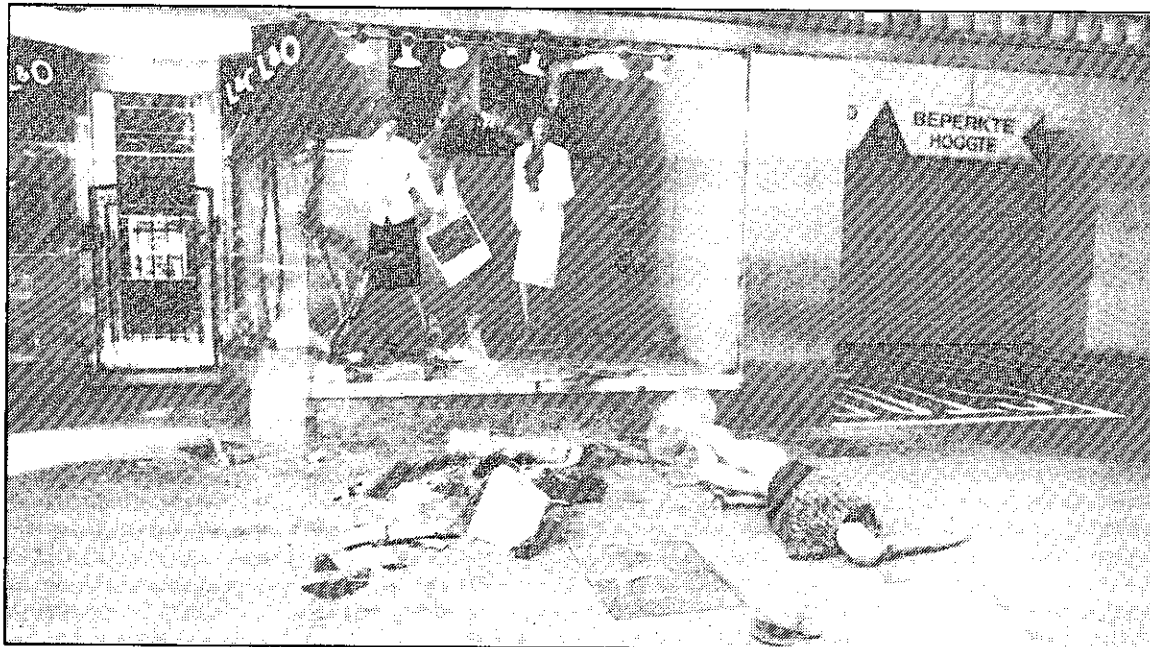
"You have killed our leader and therefore you have declared war on us," said a voice from the crowd.

Even ANC marshalls were verbally attacked when they tried to disperse the crowd by late afternoon.

"We are not moving away, we want to fight," voices in the crowd shouted.



ABOVE: Police move in to curb looting. RIGHT: A marshall watches helplessly as the city burns



MUTILATED MANNEQUIN: City shopfront mannequins were stripped naked by looters who helped themselves to the clothing

Photos: Yunus Mohamed

'No more peace'

South 1714-2114/93
By Justin Pearce

LOOTING and muggings by "have-nots" led to no more than eight arrests on Wednesday

Rather than combatting criminal acts, the police were deployed in a manner reminiscent of the authoritarian crowd-control tactics used during the states of emergency.

They stood in solid phalanxes or roared around in cars and armoured vehicles, providing easy targets for the anger of the crowd.

"No more peace," yelled one young man to the policemen in an

armoured vehicle standing in Darling Street. "Hani is dead and you can shoot me dead too."

They made no attempt to apprehend the looters. Eventually an officer took aim with a shotgun in the general direction of the looting. When a monitor tried to restrain him, he replied angrily: "There's a first-degree crime going on here."

"The police would like to emphasise that were it not for the extreme restraint exercised by members in the face of extreme provocation, much nastier situations could have occurred," Dowd added.

The casualties of a battle

South 1714-2114/93
By Justin Pearce

ON WEDNESDAY afternoon a piece of buckshot entered a young man's flesh and mushroomed on impact.

The pellet which Dr Ivan Toms removed from a mourner was a gruesome part of the Chris Hani memorial rally.

Another youth (pictured on page one) died from a shot in the head before he could be treated.

At the mobile clinic in one corner of the parade, at least 150 people received treatment for injuries. Of these, about 20 were referred to hospital.

One man received more than 40 shot wounds, a member of the first

aid team said.

The vast majority were treated for buckshot and birdshot wounds, after police opened fire on crowds. Video cameraman, Lenny Leon (see picture page one) was one of them. Other patients at the clinic were suffering from asthma after the police fired teargas at the crowd, and still others had been run over by cars.

An elderly man lay covered with blankets on the tarmac, as health workers from St John ambulance and the National Progressive Primary Health Care Network battled to keep up with the seemingly unending flow of injured people.

"The frustrating thing about this is that Metro promised yesterday to supply ambulances and personnel, but today they said it was too dangerous," said Toms.

ANC marshalls formed a human chain around the clinic, as running battles raged beyond the perimeter.

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Hani: Yengeni's brother-in-arms

11A ARC 17/4/93

THE chemistry between Tony Yengeni and Chris Hani was so good that many ANC soldiers were convinced the two were related.

In Lesotho, Mr Yengeni, now secretary of the ANC's Western Cape region, used to double-up as a child-minder to Chris's children while "daddy was away".

The long-standing association was further cemented about three weeks ago when Mr Yengeni was one of the few close friends invited to Chris's wife's birthday party in Boksburg.

Last week, about five days before Chris Hani died, the revolutionary-turned peacemaker had acceded to Tony Yengeni's request to mediate in the current conflict in Crossroads and Brown's Farm.

Politics aside, Tony Yengeni maintained that Mr Hani was more than a leader or comrade to him: He was like a brother.

Tony Yengeni's first encounter with Thembisile Martin Chris Hani began in mountainous Lesotho after the former Fezeka High school matriculant skipped the country to join the ANC's military wing in 1977.

This first meeting signalled what was to be a future bond. Unlike other recruits who were briefed en route to Botswana, Tony ended up spending a year with Chris in Lesotho.

At that time, Mr Hani was a member of the ANC's national executive committee and high commander of the movement's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

During the 12-month spell, Mr Yengeni underwent a basic course in politics and ANC policies under the tutelage of Chris Hani. They also became involved in what

□ Regional commander of Umkhonto weSizwe, Tony Yengeni, right, and assassinated South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani were more than just comrades-in-arms. Weekend Argus Reporter **VUYO BAVUMA** spoke to Tony Yengeni about their 16-year-long relationship.

he describes as "clandestine activities".

In July 1978 Mr Yengeni left Lesotho for Botswana.

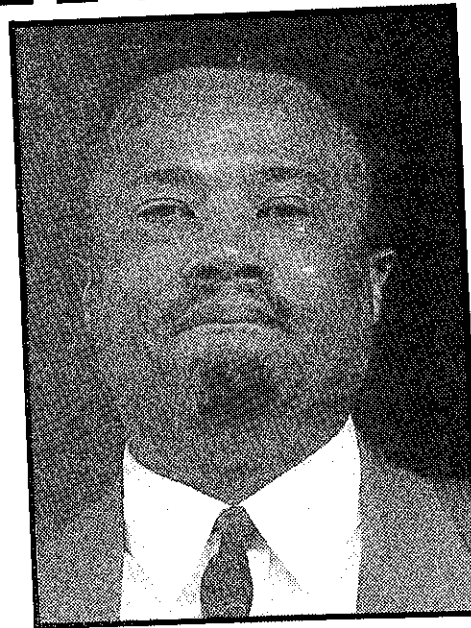
Three years later, Chris visited Tony Yengeni in Moscow where he was being trained in the Russian Communist Party's school, and informed him he was required to work in the ANC's structures in Lesotho.

While in Lesotho, Mr Hani's friendship with Tony Yengeni grew stronger, as he used to accommodate the young Cape Town comrade at his house.

"I did not only relate to Chris as a comrade, but as a brother. Many colleagues were convinced we were related.

"We would laugh and tell them we are just fond of each other," Mr Yengeni said.

Chris was held in deep respect by the ANC's soldiers, and he helped to end the stand-off during the Quatro camp mutiny



in 1984 in which many ANC soldiers died.

Tony Yengeni said: "The mutineers wanted Chris to leave behind his weapons outside the camp. He agreed, but said as a commander of the MK he should carry his pistol at all times.

"Chris told the mutineers that if they still considered themselves soldiers they should stand aside and accept the instructions from the commander to disarm immediately."

The mutineers obeyed Chris's instructions — and the process of resolving the mutiny began.

In December 1984, the two attended the Moscow Communist Party conference, where Chris was re-elected to the politburo of the SACP.

Mr Yengeni said it was unfortunate that the "human aspect" of Chris Hani was unknown to many people.

"He was not only the best revolutionary we ever had but he also loved life in its entirety. He had an amazing sense of humour, he was close and loyal to his colleagues.

"Chris was unsurpassed by his attentiveness and was a good listener. He knew most of the MK cadres by their first names.

"He was very close to his children. He used to scold me if I did not attend to his kids' complaints."

Chris liked a drink after a difficult day's work, but was not a hard drinker.

In 1986 Tony Yengeni slipped into South Africa as an MK cadre, but did not sever his contact with Chris Hani.

He says: "When I was arrested in 1987 for terrorism, my interrogators and torturers were very much interested in Hani — because they knew I was close to him.

"They asked me series of questions about Hani. I discovered they not only feared the man, they hated him."

In 1990, after Chris Hani was granted temporary indemnity, he paid a surprise visit to Tony Yengeni, who was still in Pollsmoor prison.

"It was a very emotional reunion. It was unbelievable. We were very excited.

"When I got bail in the Supreme Court, I used to break my bail restriction by driving to Chris's home in Stellenbosch."

Early in 1991, Chris Hani and Tony Yengeni went on a month-long visit to the United States, at the invitation of an American leftist publication, People's Weekly. Together they shared platforms in cities, including San Francisco and New York, talking about current South African political developments.

Back in South Africa, Tony Yengeni, like his mentor in earlier days, was a firebrand radical. But whether the secretary of the ANC's Western Cape region will, like Chris Hani in his last few months, become more pragmatic, remains to be seen.

'Blacks are ready to vote'

South 17/4-21/4/93.
INTERNATIONAL observers of the South African political process are confident voters will be prepared to vote in an election.

The Zambian minister of legal affairs, Mr Rodger Chongwe, stressed the importance of electoral legislation that would enable competing parties to have equal access to media in the run-up to elections.

Experience had shown there had to be local election monitoring committees to work hand in hand with international election monitoring teams, he said.

"Consultation is a much more effective weapon than bickering through the press," Chongwe told a Johannesburg conference last week.

In situations where many parties had to reach agreement on issues, it was always better for consultations on issues of national concern

to take place privately and agreement reached before any party addressed the media.

This reassured the public as they then feel that whatever the differences that divide parties, they nevertheless all have the national interest at heart, Chongwe said.

Zimbabwean cabinet minister, Mr Swithun Mombeshora, said black South Africans had acquired valuable levels of political experience through extra-parliamentary struggle.

He said it was the struggle of the black South African people which inspired the struggles in other Southern African countries.

"If they could gain their independence despite starting after South African extra-parliamentary organisations, it is a fallacy to say that black South Africans are still not ready for the vote,"

Mombeshora said. (11A) ~~11A~~
"Black South Africans are far better prepared now than white South Africans were when they gained their right to vote."

President Bill Clinton's media advisor, Mr Frank Greer, said the most important thing in an election campaign was to keep the party message simple and co-ordinated at national, regional and local levels.

The Democratic Party's message to its party volunteer workers was to keep the message to constituents simple.

Mr Mark Durkhan of the Social Democratic and Labour Party of Northern Ireland said that a bad candidate often had more impact than a good candidate. People remembered blunders and ill-timed statements more clearly than the deeds of good candidates.

Tribute to a leader

South 17/4 - 21/4/93

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This man, a kind of stranger, held my future path in his hands. I did not know him from a bar of soap nor had I heard his name before. Yet here I was, entrusting my future to him.

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It was in Maputo that I discovered the other side of Comrade Chris. He was very impatient and wanted movement and an action-

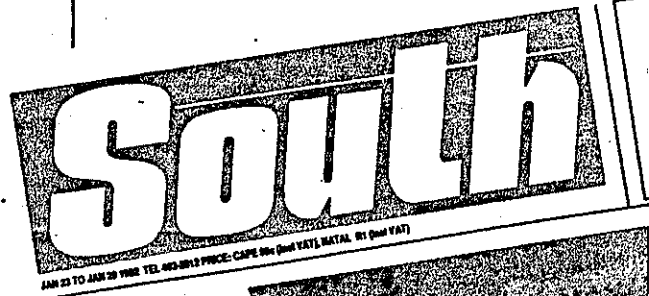
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He hadn't changed his character, was still impatient (actually, he was more impatient), always struggled to find the quickest route to freedom for his people and was extremely concerned about the well-being of the MK comrades.

Since returning home Comrade



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Comrade Chris followed my work very closely and would from time to

time comment on it. Of course, Comrade Chris treated every comrade in a special manner, always making one feel known and valued by him.

This is a very rare thing in our kind of political environment. And I must confess that it does help a lot to have powerful backers such as Comrade Chris in the movement — but, he is gone now...

So here we are. Comrade Chris is gone at the hands of an assassin who has really robbed us of one of the finest and committed political leaders

Hani in his own words

South 17/4 - 21/4/93 (11A)

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I had to walk twenty kilometres to school every five days and then walk the same distance to church every Sunday. At the age of eight I was already an altar boy in the Catholic church and was quite devout. After finishing my primary school education I had a burning desire to become a priest but this was vetoed by my father.

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Whites must be re-educated. They must accept that they can no longer live in an island of prosperity while all around them is a sea of poverty. I have never taken part in an operation that has involved sending people into South Africa to kill white civilians. It is inconceivable

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The armed struggle which we never regarded as exclusive, as we combined it with other forms of struggle, has brought about the present crisis of apartheid.

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QUENTIN PAVITT
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PHOTO: MICHAEL MANNING

ON THE THRESHOLD

One year ago SOUTH pictured Chris Hani poised on the steps of democratic parliament will now convene without him

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They tried in Lesotho more than twice and they also tried here at home.

So, go well brother. You left us too soon.

You will be missed so dearly. However, we will remember you for what you taught some of us in word and deed.

My sincere condolences to Aushi Limpit and the kids.

Your loss is also our loss.

Rest in peace, Comrade Chris Hani.

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14 Voter education

SA's choice: peace or violence

SOUTH Africa is at a crossroads between peace and conflict, a conference on elections was told in Johannesburg last week.

"Our country stands tensely and anxiously at the cross-roads between lasting peace and lasting conflict ... the South African nation is standing at the edge of a cliff," said the Reverend Frank Chikane in his keynote address to the three-day conference, entitled "Competing in Democratic Elections".

The conference was convened by Matla Trust and organised with the Centre for Development Studies, the National Democratic Institute and the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD).

Delegates from parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties and organisations, trade unions, community and civic bodies heard local and international speakers impart their experiences in elections.

Some of the international guests were Mr Frank Greer, media adviser for US President Bill Clinton; Ms Joyce Gould, director of organisation for the Labour Party in the UK; and Mr Mark Durkan, chairman of the Social Democratic and Labour Party of Northern Ireland.

South African speakers included Chikane of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Vincent Maphai of the University of the

Oscar Dhlomo of the IMPD. Chikane emphasised the need for political tolerance and co-existence with representatives of different political and ideological organisations.

Brutal

"The oppressed people of South Africa, having been subjected to brutal forms of state repression and control, have internalised this violence to an extent that it is now bursting out and being inflicted by them on each other," Chikane said.

He mentioned Angola as a lesson to show South Africans what the future could hold if they did not begin to build tolerance now.

The Angolan experience also showed South African the need for a level of international monitoring of elections that made it impossible for any political party to reject the results of a free and fair election.

Professor Willem Kleynhans of Unisa said the political playing fields were "uneven and full of potholes".

"For example, the ANC cannot sign up workers on farms and in small towns. The right wing has

made them no-go areas," he said.

"In Bophuthatswana, when the ANC tried to recruit members, they were chased out by the police and told they were not a registered party in Bophuthatswana.

"So if people can't even recruit members, how are elections going to be free and fair? South Africa is not ready yet," he concluded.

Kleynhans said with 15 million new "third world" voters more time was needed before elections for people to learn how to vote.

Despite years of voting, white South Africans had not mastered it, so it was unlikely the black electorate could be ready for elections in only 12 months.

Maphai, professor of political science at UWC, said organisations and parties "need to change from political enemies to political rivals".

"Enemies are people whom one eliminates or oppresses. Rivals compete with each other," said Maphai.

Ignorant

He warned elections could not be fair if the electorate was choosing on an unformed, ignorant basis.

"People simply do not know what political options they have because they are so ignorant about the various political formations in the country and what they stand for.

"Some of the people considered illiterate in the academic sense often are more politically literate than well-educated South Africans."

Maphai also warned foreign funding could be a double-edged sword. Where it was given to parties with big constituencies but no money, funding could be desirable.

But if funds were given to parties with no constituency, care had to be taken that they were not artificially kept in existence by the funds.

"Without a constituency to which that party must account, it can become a puppet of the foreign funder and used by them to affect democracy in the country.

"It is only if a party has a big constituency that foreign funders cannot manipulate it because office bearers must account to members."

The conference expressed concern about:

- Funding to mount effective election campaigns;
- The need for free and equal access of all parties to the media;
- Who would draft the new electoral act;
- Who would administer and supervise elections;
- Getting access to farm workers;
- Ensuring no-go areas ceased to exist during election campaigns.

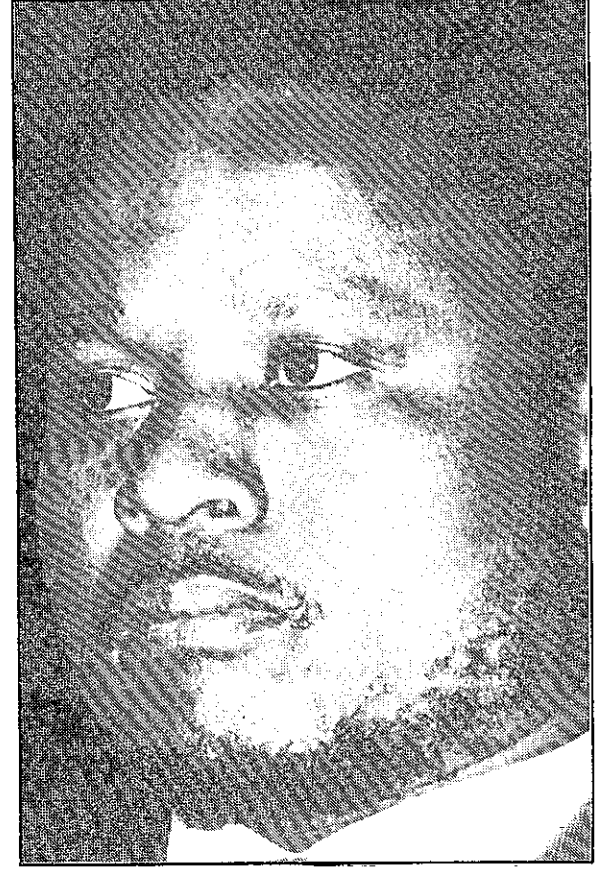


Photo Yunus Mohamed

Billy Modise (left) and Frank Chikane spoke at the conference on democratic elections

'Blacks are ready to vote'

INTERNATIONAL observers of the South African political process are confident voters will be prepared to vote in an election.

The Zambian minister of legal affairs, Mr Rodger Chongwe, stressed the importance of electoral legislation that would enable competing parties to have equal access to media in the run-up to elections.

Experience had shown there had to be local election monitoring committees to work hand in hand with international election monitoring teams, he said.

"Consultation is a much more effective weapon than bickering through the press," Chongwe told a Johannesburg conference last week.

In situations where many parties had to reach agreement on issues, it was always better for consultations on issues of national concern

to take place privately and agreement reached before any party addressed the media.

This reassured the public as they then feel that whatever the differences that divide parties, they nevertheless all have the national interest at heart, Chongwe said.

Zimbabwean cabinet minister, Mr Swithun Mombeshora, said black South Africans had acquired valuable levels of political experience through extra-parliamentary struggle.

He said it was the struggle of the black South African people which inspired the struggles in other Southern African countries.

"If they could gain their independence despite starting after South African extra-parliamentary organisations, it is a fallacy to say that black South Africans are still not ready for the vote,"

Mombeshora said. "Black South Africans are far better prepared now than white South Africans were when they gained their right to vote."

President Bill Clinton's media advisor, Mr Frank Greer, said the most important thing in an election campaign was to keep the party message simple and co-ordinated at national, regional and local levels.

The Democratic Party's message to its party volunteer workers was to keep the message to constituents simple.

Mr Mark Durkan of the Social Democratic and Labour Party of Northern Ireland said that a bad candidate often had more impact than a good candidate. People remembered blunders and ill-timed statements more clearly than the deeds of good candidates.

The strongest concern among delegates, emphasised throughout the conference, was the need to teach people political tolerance.

Mr Billy Modise, Matla's executive director, said strides had been

made towards achieving political tolerance at the conference itself.

"We have been living and working together for the past three days and no-one has been fighting or killing each other like the newspa-

pers say we do," Modise said. He urged participants to encourage people to co-exist and talk as openly and uninhibitedly about their views as delegates had done at the conference.

Lesotho poll was free and fair

LESOTHO'S first general elections in 23 years, in which the former rebel Basotho Congress Party (BCP) won with a convincing majority, were free and fair.

International observers from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), churches and human rights groups agreed the election results reflected the wishes of the majority of the 1.8 million people in Lesotho.

The OAU, through its election observer team, said it was satisfied with the manner in which the elections were conducted.

The team said it was impressed

by the heavy turn-out and the calm and freedom at the polling stations. There was no intimidation and voters showed political maturity.

Twelve political parties contested the 65 constituencies in Lesotho.

The military government of Major Phisoana Ramaema is expected to hand over power to the BCP, a party which went into exile after being robbed of a clear victory in 1970 by the then ruling Basotho National Party (BNP).

The BNP was toppled in 1986 by the military which has ruled since.

"In our experience, the outcome

broadly reflects the will of the people, and the success of the outcome was achieved despite administrative problems," said Ms Sarah Stephens of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) in Geneva.

"Stephens said a decision to extend voting time enabled many to vote.

Hargrit Leueberger of Switzerland, another WARC observer, said she was touched by the way elections were held: "The co-operation was magnificent."

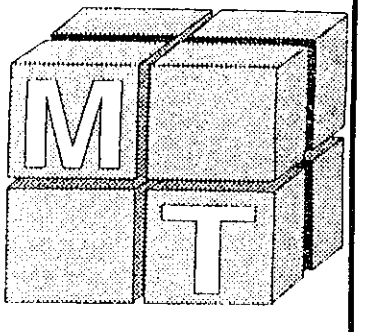
The WARC delegation included Elia Tema from South Africa and Douglas Anglin, a Canadian. The

team visited eight polling stations in Mafeteng, Butha-Butha, and Thaba-Tseka.

The observations of WARC and the OAU are supported by a statement from the International Republican Institute (IRI) which says early results point towards a democratically elected government.

The IRI, based in the US, says it examined the political atmosphere before, during and after the polling day and stayed in Lesotho to hear the final result and witness the transfer of power from the military to a civilian government.

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Widening ripples of a murder

By Hussein Solomon

South 17/4 - 21/4/93

THE ASSASSINATION of SACP Secretary-General Mr Chris Hani will have far-reaching consequences for the negotiation process.

Hani's death could affect almost every political perspective of negotiations.

For the three major power groupings in the country; the government, business and the broad liberation movement, Hani's murder brought home to leaders the fragility of the olive branch of peace.

Fears of country-wide uprisings or violent reprisals may have been at the back of the government's mind when it granted to Mr Nelson Mandela exclusive use of all SABC channels to broadcast his message of peace and restraint.

In this respect, Hani's death could serve as an impetus to negotiations.

It bodes well for the peace process that all major political parties, from the PAC and the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting to the NP and the DP, were unanimous in condemning the assassination and expressing concern that there were groups in South Africa that wanted to disrupt negotiation.

From the perspective of the ANC, Hani's death holds both positive and negative consequences.

On the positive side, the ANC could be the beneficiary of tremendous public sympathy — which could be translated into votes.

Hani's assassination, in other words, could strengthen the hand of the ANC at the negotiating table as it now, more firmly, occupies the

moral high ground as the wronged party.

In this situation the ANC could force several concessions from the government.

On the negative side, Mr Hani's death has robbed both the ANC and the SACP of a popular leader of exceptionally high calibre. A leader who had the mass adulation of young militants within the ranks of the two organisations and who could act as a bulwark to their radicalism.

At the moment it seems unclear who could play this role in both the ANC and SACP.

Unchecked militancy on the part of the "Young Lions" within the ANC could result in the alienation of radical youth from the moderate elders of the movement.

This could pave the way for the PAC to make gains in this former ANC constituency — the youth vacillating towards the more militant rhetoric of the PAC, and specifically its armed wing, Apla.

From the perspective of the far right, Hani's assassination is to be viewed as both a blessing and curse.

Despondent, dispirited and disunited white extremists watched helplessly as they witnessed the old South Africa they knew so well, making its fateful journey to the dustbin of history.

The elimination of their nemesis, that arch-Communist Chris Hani, might serve as a catalyst to remotivate the far-right to unite for the "Common Purpose".

However, whatever short-term gains that may accrue to the right

wing, are negated by the serious drawbacks they may suffer as a direct result of the assassination.

Hani's murder has brought home to the two major parties the fragility of the peace process and has underlined the need in both government and ANC circles to move rapidly towards a peaceful settlement.

This would result in the further marginalisation of the far right. Moreover, the alleged far right-wing ties of the assassin may result in the government undertaking drastic action against right-wing extremists as it takes the right-wing threat more seriously than it ever has.

(Hussein Solomon is a Research Fellow for the Centre for Southern African Studies, University of the Western Cape.)

Neither hawk nor dove, just Hani

By Quentin Wilson

South 17/4 - 21/4/93

A HUGE challenge that faces the ANC-led alliance in the wake of SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani's assassination is the search for a replacement.

The search goes beyond SACP structures as Hani's unique brand of leadership would take some beating. He was neither hawk, nor dove — just uniquely Chris Hani.

As a broad coalition, the ANC/SACP alliance depended on various leadership styles to appeal to diverse constituents.

From Western diplomats to captains of South African industry to the underprivileged and downtrodden — the progressive movement has had to present itself accordingly.

Throughout Hani's political life, his appeal to the ANC's more militant members was immense.

In the ANC leadership spread, it was he who held the unquestionable trust among this vast constituency.

He would not sell them out, nor would he be corrupted by power — for example, his decision to lead the Communist Party instead of establishing himself in the ANC's national executive committee, meant his salary was halved.

His integrity is unquestioned and his role during negotiations could not be underestimated.

Instead of tapping the intense anger of people to consolidate his own power base, Hani chose to convince them of the benefit of negotiation.

His key role was to shepherd a militant constituency along the path of compromise and his killing has created a vacuum which will be hard to fill.

Hani's death has snapped the patience of many who have little to show after three years of negotiating.

Frustration is exploding throughout South Africa's townships. ANC Western Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni summed up the widespread despondency over the weekend.

"We are negotiating ourselves into the grave," he said soon after Hani's assassination.



A MILITANT PEACEMAKER: "I state my views openly. Under normal circumstances, I would never have become a soldier. I want to get out of politics one day and do something else" — Chris Hani



While united in grief, tensions between the strategic approaches of national and regional leadership have surfaced once more.

National leaders were quick to stress that the tragedy should not affect the talks.

On the other hand, both Yengeni and ANC Midlands chairper-

son, Mr Harry Gwala, questioned the gains made at the table.

Yengeni called for two weeks of mass action instead — a view that undoubtedly enjoys more widespread support than allowing negotiations to continue as if nothing has happened.

For the position of the national

leaders to win through in the end, they will need to be helped by the government at the negotiating table.

It is not enough for President FW de Klerk to echo calls for calm — he has not the credibility to do so. The government will have to respond in a way that reaffirms

people's trust in negotiations.

Setting a date for elections and committing themselves to joint control over the security forces would go a long way in building that trust.

While the government cannot escape their hefty share of responsibility in the coming weeks, the task of the ANC leaders is just as great.

Once again, they have to convince their members that negotiations, and not retaliatory violence, is the correct path to take.

After the Boipatong massacre last June and the collapse of Codesa, the mood in the democratic movement was similar to what it is today — the oppressed, the homeless and the youth were all sceptical of whether negotiations could bring them freedom.

At the time, Hani scoffed at any other route.

In an interview with SOUTH, he had the following advice to those who advocated a more militant approach.

"All this talk about going back to the bush and relaunching the armed struggle is quite irritating.

"This is not a time to romanticise about revolution; to get starry-eyed about some kind of glorious insurrection.

"The consequences of returning to arms are serious. And if we were to be honest with ourselves, it would not achieve a longstanding solution to the complexities of the South African politics we face today.

"Choosing the correct revolutionary approach does not always mean opting for the most militant approach. It is a politically immature view (to revert back to arms).

"We have the space to manoeuvre the regime into accepting democratic elections at the table, let us pool all our efforts into achieving that goal."

Coming from someone who led MK for eight fighting years, the point carried a legitimacy far beyond its theoretical weight.

For those who have been at the coalface of political violence for so many years, the same message is being given today.

This time though, there is no Hani to help in the delivery.

ANC signs march pact

ARG 17/4/93

Police and marchers come to agreement

JOHANNESBURG. — Police and the tripartite ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance last night signed an agreement on proceedings for the weekend's demonstrations in honour of murdered South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani.

In terms of the agreement, the Witwatersrand will not be declared an unrest area, security forces will keep a low profile during marches and marchers will not carry firearms.

The pact, brokered by the Witwatersrand/Vaal regional dispute resolution committee (RDRC), was signed by ANC secretary for international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and PWV police commissioner General Koos Calitz.

The agreement states the commitment of the alliance and the police to equal responsibility for the behaviour of their members at the weekend.

Police have committed themselves to keeping a low profile throughout the proceedings and to exercising discre-

tion in the display of their weapons.

The ANC agreed that marchers would not carry illegal firearms.

Joint satellite points will be set up along the routes and will be manned by policemen, National Peace Secretariat monitors and alliance marshals.

Wits/Vaal RDRC vice-president Mr Richard Lirimer said the signing of the agreement, which will end at midnight on Monday, was a historic event and laid a good foundation for future co-operation.

Nineteen magisterial districts on the Witwatersrand were to be declared unrest areas this weekend in a bid to prevent violence seen earlier this week, police confirmed yesterday. However, this is no longer the case.

These areas covered central Johannesburg and its surrounding suburbs.

It is understood the move was opposed by representatives of the National Peace Ac-

The Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat expressed strong opposition to the implementation of unrest regulations, arguing that they would lead to further tension and potential violence.

Meawhile, traffic officials in Johannesburg plan to throw a cordon around a massive tract of the city today, to accommodate thousands of people expected to take part in a march through the central business district to mark the assassination of communist leader Mr Chris Hani.

Traffic Department spokesman Mr Eric Hill said authorities also planned to temporarily close down a main highway leading into town to accommodate marchers from Alexandra township, who will make their way into the city centre.

The highway — the M1, which the marchers will use — was to be closed from 9am from Corlett Drive to the Harrow Road/Houghton offramps.

Police have devised contingency plans to contain any pos-

sible violence which could ensue during today's march.

Witwatersrand police spokesman, Major Eugene Opperman, said in a statement police would maintain a visible presence during the march.

Major Opperman appealed to all people to act responsibly to ensure a calm and peaceful march.

He also urged people not to make unnecessary trips to the city centre.

For the Hani funeral on Monday, the Johannesburg traffic department released details on traffic control plans for cortege routes from the Soccer City stadium, bordering Soweto, to Elspark in Germiston.

At a Press conference, Johannesburg traffic chief Mr Mike Davis said a three-hour memorial service would follow the vigil for Mr Hani at the stadium from noon tomorrow until Monday morning at 9 am.

At about midday the funeral procession is expected to leave the stadium for the Elspark

cemetery near the late Mr Hani's Dawn Park, Boksburg home.

The cortege would be followed by about 300 buses and an unknown number of private cars, Mr Davis said.

The SABC will carry live broadcasts on Monday of the memorial and burial services. Both CCV and Radio 2000 will start broadcasting from the FNB stadium at 9.30 am and will carry the memorial service and messages by the ANC/SACP leadership.

The second part of the broadcast will start at about 1 pm from the burial site at the Elsberg South Cemetery in Germiston.

The SABC has expressed the hope that their decision to broadcast the event live will help to contribute to the peaceful outcome of the day's proceedings.

In Port Elizabeth, a ban has been slapped on all open-air meetings in the magisterial districts of Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Cradock.

The ban, announced yesterday by SAP regional commissioner, Major-General Daan Hugel, comes at the start of the ANC's "Black Weekend", in commemoration of assassinated SA Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani.

The ANC yesterday criticised the curfew, saying it would "spark renewed rage" in the communities. Spokesperson Ms Phila Nkayi vowed that the ban would not hinder the ANC's three-day mass action programme which kicked off yesterday.

The ANC and police were locked in a meeting late yesterday afternoon to discuss the impact of the curfew on the ANC's mass action plans. Earlier, police said the curfew would affect the whole city but discretion will be applied when enforcing it.

A concession had been granted to the organisers of the Duran Duran concert — which will go ahead tonight — but demonstrators who turned up to picket a shopping centre in Port Elizabeth today were turned away by police. — Sapa.

'ANC will trounce the NP in W Cape'

South 17/4 - 21/4/93
IT IS clear the National Party has targeted the Western Cape as the one region where it can win a majority of votes. As a result a significant proportion of its resources will be devoted to achieving this aim.

In addition the NP shamelessly uses state resources for party political propaganda. Mr De Klerk holds an NP meeting in Mitchell's Plain and arrives in an SADF helicopter. Welfare relief, such as food parcels, are distributed among the poor who join the NP.

The question, however, is whether the NP is correct to believe apartheid's victims can be seduced into voting for the NP in the region.

The NP has unleashed a propaganda onslaught to convince the public and even some ANC members it will win the election.

This is obviously demotivating. It has resulted in a considerable debate in ANC circles, both in the press and, increasingly, within ANC structures.

Some of the issues emerging from this debate are as follows:

- First of all, it must be acknowledged the NP strategy of "swart gevaar" has found some resonance in the coloured community.

For a number of reasons, the ANC is perceived as an African organisation, aimed at liberating African people from apartheid. The problem arises from the fact that the ANC, unlike the UDF, is not seen as having risen organically out of struggles in coloured communities.

Its culture and many of its traditions are seen as African, with no cultural or linguistic roots in much of the Western Cape.

- Another issue that has affected confidence in the ANC in this region is violence. The government has been fairly successful in communicating the bloodshed as the result of a battle for power between the ANC and Inkatha.

The result is, of course, a perception of a violent and frightening future, characterised by inexplicable and bloody conflicts.

Another common perception is that the ANC government will benefit only African people, and coloured people will, in fact, be worse off than before.

This impression is exacerbated by the attitude of business which, despite our efforts to the contrary, continues to inform coloured people that the ANC is insisting on the employment of Africans at their expense — an erroneous and extremely damaging distortion of the principle of affirmative action.



SPEAKING OUT

**Ebrahim Rasool,
ANC regional
executive
committee member**

The ANC is also seen as anti-religion. This perception, in communities where faith — whether Christian or Muslim — plays an important role, is extremely damaging.

It is here that one can see some of the most serious results of years of anti-ANC propaganda, and the possibly ineradicable impression that the ANC belongs to communists who are "evil and godless".

Having looked at the down side, it is worth pursuing what we see as some extremely optimistic signs that, despite the problems, we

can still be confident of a majority of votes in the Western Cape. A great deal of work and some good strategising will be required.

- Firstly, we need to root the ANC more firmly in coloured communities. This, we believe, is a question that can be addressed partially by intensifying the work we are already doing.

By actively involving ourselves in grassroots issues and demonstrating in a practical way our commitment to fight for the rights of poor and disadvantaged people, the ANC has already won a great deal of support and will continue to do so.

- The second aspect to be considered is that the ANC, at present, does not reflect the broad make-up and culture of the community of the Western Cape.

Its traditions, language and music are not included in the ANC tradition and, despite the ANC's strong commitment to a non-racial inclusive society, we are not experienced as such by the coloured community.

We therefore need to look hard at the character of the ANC in the Western Cape and find ways to ensure the culture and aspirations of all communities in the region are reflected.

There are plenty of signs that we will succeed. We have had excellent responses to public meetings, especially in the rural areas.

Recently the ANC successfully challenged the NP organising machine twice and proved that our organisational skills and on-the-ground support in coloured areas is far greater than theirs.

The live "Agenda" broadcast a few weeks ago received a clear message of support from the coloured community. In Atlantis, many more people than were inside gathered outside to protest against Mrs De Klerk's visit, despite the fact the NP has some 70 MPs in the region.

It is clear our organising machine is in much better shape than that of the NP. This is borne out by support we receive and even by articles in the NP mouthpiece, "Die Burger", which has recently been in sharp criticism of the NP for allowing itself to be out-manoeuvred by the ANC.

Has the NP been out-manoeuvred or was it simply harbouring an illusion? Time will tell.

We know it is going to be a long and tough battle. But if we do our work and strategise properly, we shall trounce the NP in the election. The bubble about the NP's decisive sway over this region will burst.

Tokyo uneasy in the limelight

STAR 17/4/93.

PEOPLE are talking about Tokyo Sexwale and he doesn't particularly like it. "I think it's unfortunate at this time, when Chris Hani has just died, for people to try and say 'the king is dead, long live the king'."

"We have always said that when one soldier falls, somebody must be there to replace him. But Chris was someone who was irreplaceable. He was a symbol of hope, peace and understanding to our people. I can never be Chris Hani, I can never have the pull that he had on our people."

From the moment Hani was slain, the 40-year-old chairman of the African National Congress's PWV region found himself thrust into the spotlight. A nationwide TV audience saw him break down in tears as he tried to put into words his anger at his friend's murder. Four days later, viewers across the country saw him in calm but dogged debate with the Government's Tertius Delport, insisting that, despite the violence in some places, the ANC had not lost control of his members.

Inevitably, there has been speculation that Sexwale may be the man to fill the gaping hole Hani's death has left in the ANC. One newspaper's front page read: "Tokyo Sexwale, Hani's successor". Sexwale sighs and shakes his head. "I want to say that it's wrong to try and do that," he says. "I am his friend, his comrade; he was my leader and my neighbour at home. It is not long since I have put a flag over my slain friend."

Sexwale has a political past that gave him the credentials for a high-profile role. A son of Dube, Soweto, he left the country in 1974, at the age of 21, and received military training in the Soviet Union. After returning to

THE assassination of Chris Hani has been followed by speculation on his likely successor. Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN talks to Tokyo Sexwale, a man uncomfortable at being cast in this high-profile role.

There is not going to be business as usual here. Our principles are the same, our demands are the same. But there is now a need for urgency.

the country in "the last week of 1976", he was arrested three months later after a grenade attack on two policemen. Sent to Robben Island, he served 13 years of the 18 to which he had been sentenced.

Yet Sexwale's profile in the ANC was, until this week, relatively low key. However, as head of the organisation's biggest region — an area he describes as "the heart of political activity in our country" — his role has been strategically critical.

Last year he made people sit up when he publicly warned that the internal disorganisation of the ANC had

the potential to render it ineffective and inefficient. "It is none but ourselves who have the capacity to weaken the ANC and consequently the democratic movement," he said. Branch level administration was poor, he said. Leadership was not accountable enough and often reluctant to delegate responsibility.

Sexwale, in an interview last October, said the ANC was still grappling with the change from "the exciting politics of pure activism to the new challenges of legality. We must recognise that there is a change, and change our methods."

For the past week — and probably for weeks to come — activist politics has been resurgent. Sexwale says it is this, and not an individual, which will fill the gap left by Hani's murder. "The challenge for the ANC now is to stand steadfast for the demands we have been putting forward. But history has now reached a point where the pulse of the nation and tempo of change is very high."

Negotiations, Sexwale says, will continue. "But if De Klerk is going to foot-drag, there will need to be a rethink. There is not going to be business as usual here. Our principles are the same, our demands are the same. But there is now a need for urgency. And let it not be said that we are exploiting Hani's death by pushing for this. Chris and the ANC had already made a demand for a transitional executive by April."

"We want the people to be angry. If they were not, we would know they had given us up. Now we have to see how we are going to channel this anger properly. But disciplined action does not mean non-militant action."

"We are a militant organisation," Sexwale says. "We are not a docile, feeble, pink-liberal organisation. We are an organisation which declared the armed struggle which Chris led. So when we say 'be disciplined', we don't say be docile and feeble."



TOKYO SEXWALE: The ANC's PWV head believes in action. "We are a militant organisation. We are not a docile, feeble, pink-liberal organisation."

AK-47

macho

men fire

at 'doves'

CP Press 18/4/93
By MOSES MAMAILA

SUPPOSE they called a war and nobody came . . .

This was pretty much the case for trigger-happy people's militia in the Vaal on Wednesday.

Armed youths, visibly disappointed at finding no *boere* to fight, resorted to firing shots into the air — which frightened the hell out of thousands of people attending a memorial service for slain SACP leader, Chris Hani.

Unlike most memorial services for Chris Hani held on the day, police did not monitor the gathering attended by more than 30 000 ANC and PAC supporters.

Despite having nothing to shoot at, Self-Defence Unit cadres were combat-ready, displaying a range of weapons.

"Should a policeman or *boer* set his foot in Zone 7 we will display our military skills on him," boasted an armed youth.

A senior ANC official had to call on the youths to stop firing into the air: it was alarming the crowd and disrupting the speeches.

Frustrated gunmen then picked on unlikely targets: A youth sprayed a white Golf with AK-47 fire.

The occupants were a white priest and an Inkatha official — both invited members of the local peace monitoring committee.

They were not injured but the Inkatha official alleged the ANC youths had tried to kill her moments earlier.

'White cops bragged about list'

By SEKOLA SELLO

A BUNCH of cocksure white cops this week allegedly boasted in their police station about their hit list and, in the wake of Chris Hani's assassination, who would be "next".

So says Winnie Mandela. The estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela said her friends were reportedly told by the group at the Jabulani Police Station in Soweto that, "after Hani", Winnie Mandela was next on "the list".

Her lawyers have written to divisional commis-

sioner of police in Soweto Col Tienie Halgryn about the alleged threats. Mandela is taking the threats seriously. *CIPRESS*

Vuyisile Mafalala said he and a colleague, Valentine Senkhane, had gone to Jabulani to fetch Mandela's combi which was impounded after its driver was arrested for alleged negligent and reckless driving.

Mafalala alleges that the group made wolf-like sounds and threatening motions and passed remarks like "*Ons is klaar met Hani, en Mevrou Mandela is die volgende*

op die lys" (We are through with Hani and Mrs Mandela is next on the list). 18/4/93

He alleged that the cops said in Afrikaans: "Now that we know the car, we are going to shoot it when we see it."

He claimed that the car was tampered with and would not start.

Col Halgryn said police were investigating.

An ANC security official, Madiba Khumalo, also spoke of "inexplicable events" at Winnie Mandela's Orlando West home the day after Chris Hani was assassinated.

Khumalo claims he saw two suspicious-looking white men prowling around her home after midnight.

He said: "I found it strange that these two whites were in the vicinity of the Mandela's home so late at night and a day after the Hani killing."

Referring to a similar sighting around "the old man's" (Nelson Mandela's) house in Lower Houghton, he said: "These things cannot be mere coincidence."

The ANC said Nelson Mandela had received death threats following the Hani assassination.

Gwala changes mind

Fiery chairman's
CIPress 18/4/93
 decision is not
 'peoples will' (11A)

By FRED KHUMALO

NATAL midlands ANC chairman Harry Gwala is not abdicating his seat of power after all - thanks to Winnie Mandela.

Winnie Mandela told Gwala - known as a "hawk" in ANC circles - that his announced resignation from his position as ANC leader at the end of the year was not acceptable "to the people".

The Winnie Mandela statement was made to thunderous applause from about 80 000 people at Market Square in Maritzburg on Wednesday, where the ANC-SACP-Cosatu tripartite alliance staged a protest march in commemoration of slain communist leader Chris Hani.

"Gwala here is having a pipe-dream. He is telling us that he is resigning at the end of the year. We never told him to resign. And now we are telling him: you cannot do that. You taught us how to fight and you always have been and will always be at the forefront of the struggle," Mandela said to deafening howls of appreciation.

'Young Blood'

Gwala told City Press earlier this month he was quitting his position as chairman of the ANC in the Natal midlands in favour of "young blood" which needed to be injected into the ANC leadership.

But on Wednesday Gwala was forced by Winnie to retract his statement.

Speaking after Winnie's address, he told the people gathered at the square that if they wanted him back in the leadership position he had no option but to bow to their demands.

"I am a servant of the people. I do what they command me to do," he said.

Gwala called for the immediate suspension of multi-party talks.

"We are not going cap in hand to the boers. We are talking about a peaceful transfer of power. But if need be, we can wrench the power from them. We are powerful in our own right. We are power personified," he said.

Minutes before the commemoration rally degenerated into a frenzy of looting and smashing of shop windows in central Maritzburg, Gwala said: "We are going to make this country ungovernable if these boers don't keep their dogs - the dogs who killed Chris Hani - on the leash. We will show the anger and the might of the people.

"We are not fighting a racist war. Our war is being waged against the oppressors, irrespective of their race or complexion."

Gwala said that he and other ANC and SACP officials in Maritzburg would make sure that the city observed a week of mourning after Chris Hani's funeral tomorrow.



GOLD FURY ... ANC militants march during the Chris Hani memorial service in Sebokeng this week. ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

Bosses beware! warns ANC

By MOSES MAMAILA

THE ANC and its allies have issued a stern warning, to employers not to victimise their employees

who take part in tomorrow's stayaway which coincides with the burial of SACP chief Chris Hani.

Addressing a media conference in Johannes-

burg called by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, Cosatu's Jay Naidoo said: "Employers who victimise workers will immediately be targeted."

C/Press 18/4/93

THE GRIEF, THE FURY

By ELIAS MALULEKE

HUNDREDS of whites joined blacks in Pretoria on Wednesday and stayed away from work to attend memorial services in honour of assassinated SACP secretary-general Chris Hani.

The massive stayaway by thousands of blacks turned Pretoria and its surrounding areas into virtual ghost towns.

More than 100 000 people, including whites, attended memorial services in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Brits, Soshanguve, Hammanskraal, Winterveld, KwaNdebele and GaRankuwa.

However, many other whites who were given time off "to attend services" instead flocked to holiday and picnic spots in the outskirts of Pretoria where they held braais.

Services were also held at the St Albans Cathedral in Pretoria and at the Seva Samaj Auditorium in Laudium.

Apart from barricades that were erected in townships with burning tyres, old car bodies and rocks, and the burning of two cars in Soshanguve, services were held without further serious incidents.

Police turned out in force, but kept a low profile throughout the day.

The stayaway in Pretoria also saw many firsts in that:

- Most white-owned businesses and industries in the city were shut down for the day in honour of Chris Hani.

- Almost the entire black workforce stayed

Pretoria whites join blacks at memorial services for Chris Hani

away from work.

- Members of the PAC and Azapo participated for the first time in rallies under the banners of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance in all regions of Pretoria.

- Bophuthatswana police turned a blind eye to marchers.

- Trains were, for the first time in the history of Pretoria, withdrawn and no buses or taxis could be seen on the roads.

In all services speakers called for restraint.

The "young lions", in a militant mood, roared their disapproval in the background, calling for arms and revenge.

The main service was in Mamelodi where more than 25 000 people gathered at the Solomon Mahlangu Square to hear SA Civic Association president Moses Mayekiso and ANC speakers condemn the killing and make impassionate pleas for peace.

ANC NEC member Mac Maharaj addressed

about 10 000 people in Atteridgeville; 12 000 people gathered in Soshanguve, and 5 000 marched in Hammanskraal.

Police spokesman Lt Evan Johnson said the services had passed without any serious incident.

In the far-northern Transvaal, similar services attended by thousands of people were also held and there were incidents of violence in Nylstroom when 10 people were shot by police during alleged stone-throwing incidents.

Police spokesman Maj Arno Vogel said one man was admitted to the Pietersburg Hospital in a serious condition and nine others sustained gunshot wounds after police opened fire on a crowd.

Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike was escorted out of a service held in Pietersburg after unruly elements in a 7 000-strong crowd booed him and prevented him from speaking.

PICTURES BY EANIE JASON
in CAPE TOWN, TULANE
SITHOLE in JOHANNESBURG and
RAES MAYE in MARITZBURG



BURN BIKE, BURN... A mangled motorbike in Maritzburg's city centre burns furiously in the road while protestors casually mill about - oblivious to the smoking object of mass outrage.



POLE PUTSCH... SACP supporters took down the republican SA flag outside the Supreme Court in downtown Jo'burg - and raised theirs.

NEW PRESIDENTIAL HONORS



(11)

18/4/43

Martin Thembisile 'Chris' Hani. Born June 28 1942 died April 1997

Years ago

FITZ

DRIVE



HAMBA

KAHLE, QHAWWE



COMRADE'S FAREWELL ... Workers prepare Chris Hani's grave. Pic: MIKE MZILENI

(11A) C/Pres 18/4/93

By SEKOLA SELLO

THOUSANDS of mourners from all corners of South Africa are expected to start converging in Johannesburg today in preparation for the funeral tomorrow of SACP chief Thembisile Martin "Chris" Hani.

The funeral service at the FNB Stadium near Soweto is likely to be the biggest ever seen in this country - an estimated 250 000 people are expected.

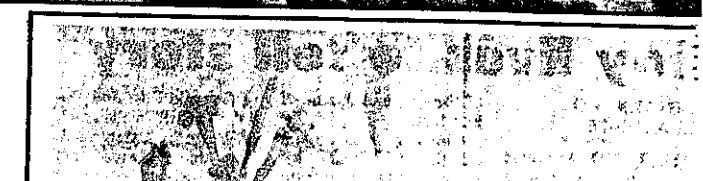
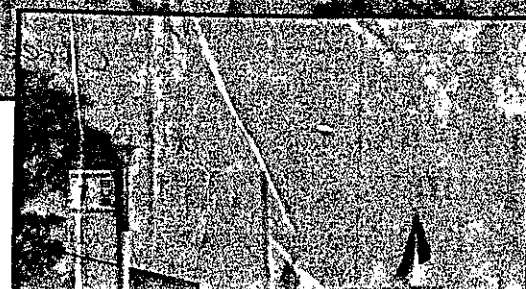
Apart from members of the diplomatic corps, a number of foreign dignitaries - particularly from the Organisation of African Unity - are likely to attend.

The highest number of mourners outside the PWV complex are expected to come from the eastern Cape and Transkei, where the slain SACP leader was born and grew up.

Tens of thousands of ANC-aligned supporters are expected to travel from Natal.

Five special trains have been arranged to take mourners from Cape Town, Paarl, Beaufort West and Worcester.

Traffic department officials said they expected at least three hundred buses to leave from the FNB stadium to travel to the Elsnpark Cemetery in



converging in Johannesburg today in preparation for the funeral tomorrow of SACP chief Thembisile Martin "Chris" Hani.

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ANC president Nelson Mandela will deliver the main address which is expected to take the same theme he has been advocating since Hani was assassinated, appealing for restraint from the angry youth and the speedy resolution of the political impasse.

To keep possible inflammatory speeches to the limit, only one hawk, Peter Mokaba, will address the mourners.

ANC Youth League president Mokaba, who is scheduled to be the first speaker, is unlikely to depart from his by now well-known tradition of spitting fire and brimstone.

Other speakers include SACP chairman Joe Slovo, ANC Women's League president Ruth Mompoti, Cosatu president John Gomo and Umkhonto weSizwe com-

mander Joe Modise.

Although Hani was a communist, the service will also have a Christian flavour. There will be a religious service at his vigil today while his body lies in state at the stadium. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu will deliver the sermon tomorrow

at the funeral service.

ANC leaders from the three regions said they expected "tens of thousands" of mourners to attend today's vigil and Monday's funeral service.

Southern Natal ANC secretary S'bu Ndebele said the SA Railway and Harbours Workers'

Union had negotiated reduced train fares to Johannesburg. A Spoornek spokesman confirmed this and said details would be released later.

Ndebele said trains, buses, minibuses and private vehicles would carry an expected 10 000 people from the region to Jo-

hannesburg over the weekend.

ANC Midlands secretary Sifiso Nkabinde said he expected over 20 000 ANC supporters from the region to attend the funeral.

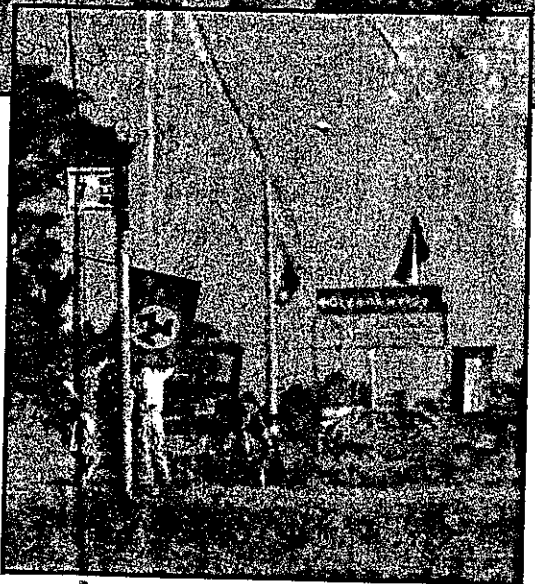
Northern Natal ANC media officer Ziphokhize said thousands

from the region would also travel to Johannesburg.

The ANC is to deploy 12 000 marshalls.

To avoid chaos most mourners will not be allowed into the cemetery.

■ See Pages 2, 4 and 5



TURMOIL AND TRAGEDY . . . Boxing phenomenon Muhammad Ali (left) embraces Hani's daughter, Nomakhwezi, 13, during a visit to the slain hero's home yesterday. Police (above) lead away an AWB member after marchers were shot at in Vanderbijlpark yesterday. Two marchers were killed and two seriously injured. AWB right-wingers (right) flew their neo-Nazi banners at the Elspark Cemetery yesterday. ■ PICS: THULANI SITHOLE, MIKE MZILENI and ANDRIES MCINEKA

THE immigrant who allegedly pulled the trigger on Chris Hani is sitting in jail probably unaware of the massive damage he has caused our beloved but sad and divided SA.

Never in the history of this country has the death of one person – not even the assassination of Hendrik Verwoerd in 1966 – caused such turmoil.

Forget the millions of rands the country has lost so far. This figure will pale into insignificance by the time the situation returns to normal.

The six-week programme of mass action called by the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP will most certainly bring the country's slumbering economy to its knees.

We all know this. The government knows it too. But does Janusz Walusz know it? I doubt it.

When the man pulled the trigger – together with those who may have assisted him – it seems it

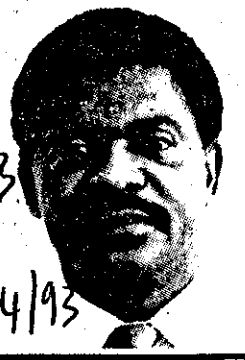
MY WAY
With Khulu Sibiyana

Living in dreamland

(11A)

C/P news 18/4/93

18/4/93



never occurred to him that Hani was not an ordinary politician.

I doubt, indeed, if the alleged killer and his manipulators knew that Hani was the second most popular person after Nelson Mandela to millions of blacks in this country. I also doubt if they ever anticipated the chaos and mayhem that would follow his death.

Those behind the killing of Hani lacked the foresight and intelligence to read the changing signs of the times.

Long gone are the days when they could rally

people around the *rooi-gevaar* banner.

Moderate black and whites alike are politically mature, and are capable of making informed decisions that will determine the future of their country.

It is inevitable that SA's destiny will be decided by the will of the majority.

If the purpose of Hani's killers was to send a signal to the NP government that any form of change would be met with a heavy rightwing backlash, they hopelessly misread the situation.

If anything, the death of Hani will speed up the negotiations process.

Also, Hani's death has reinforced the notion among blacks that only radical means will speed up the process of change.

Whoever thought that one day PAC leader Clarence Makwetu would upstage Mandela until this week that Mandela could be booed and jeered by his supporters.

Mandela had said he had no love for the NP but was nevertheless prepared to work with FW

de Klerk. Under normal circumstances this speech would not have raised eyebrows.

The killing of Hani has widened the rift between moderates and radicals within the liberation movements.

The memorial services held throughout the country by millions of people was testimony to this.

The anger and impatience expressed by the masses of our people this week should send a strong message to his alleged killer and his cohorts that time is fast running out for the moderates and radicals will soon take over.

That, of course, is too ghastly to contemplate. If certain people are not prepared to share the wealth of this country, they must be prepared to lose all they have.

To Chris Hani, we say, "Lala Ngoxolo Qhawe". Your gallant struggle was not in vain.

Carry in the red flag

APress

18/4/93

(1A)



TEARS AND FLAMES . . . As the nation mourns the shock death of Chris Hani, the SACP has to ask itself: can it survive without its secretary-general and its most popular hero?

Picture: FANIE JASON

By SEKOLA SELLO

WHAT is to be done? This is the question that is soon going to confront the SACP following the assassination of its most capable leader, Chris Hani.

For the next couple of weeks, Hani's small and spartan office at National Acceptance House in Risik Street, central Johannesburg, will remain unoccupied.

It is going to take some time before the reality of his absence sinks in among his colleagues like Essop Pahad, Charles Nqakula, Jeremy Cronin and many others at the party headquarters.

In the meantime deputy general-secretary and former journalist, Nqakula, will keep the ship of state going.

But sooner than later, the party leadership will have to confront the harsh reality of Hani's death and the equally painful question of whether it can survive without him.

Were Hani still alive, he would have been the first to dismiss any idea that the SACP could not survive without him. But, such was the personality of the man - too modest to even countenance such a possibility.

The SACP has gone through very difficult times and survived. For four decades it was banned in this country, some of its leaders jailed and several others forced into exile.

Other members - like Ruth First - were assassinated in exile. In spite of these difficulties, it managed to keep the hammer and sickle banner flying underground.

Given its history of resilience, it would of course be premature to write its obituary. In fact, since its banning in 1950, many people have prophesied its demise. To borrow from someone, its death has been exaggerated many times.

There is something peculiar about the SACP and this has baffled many self-styled experts on this ideology. While communism all over the world is on the retreat, the SACP is alive and increasing its membership daily.

Cronin, a member of its politbureau, replying to an article in an influential African magazine which contended that the SACP was on the decline, argued that on the contrary, it was the fastest-growing

Who will fill Hani's shoes as SACP leader?

party in the country.

According to Cronin, six months after its unbanning, it had no more than 2 000 members and two years later this had swollen to slightly over 40 000. The last count was made in December 1992.

No doubt this phenomenal growth had something to do with the persona of Hani. Hard-working, it was not unusual for him to address three rallies in a single day. He was a charming individual and easy to relate to.

A recent poll taken by Markinor found Hani to be the second most popular leader in SA after ANC president Nelson Mandela. Markinor also found that although "only eight percent of blacks would definitely vote for the SACP, 31 percent would perhaps vote for it and a further 14 percent of blacks feel quite good about it".

According to the survey, this indicates that the SACP can claim a positive reaction from some 53 percent of urban blacks - the second-highest rating after the ANC.

Whatever the merits of these figures, there is no denying that unlike communist parties in most parts of the world, here in SA the ideology still has popular appeal - particularly among blacks.

Several reasons for this have been advanced. Among this is the SACP's long-standing opposition to apartheid. Its traditional links with the ANC and more recently the giant labour federation, Cosatu, has no doubt helped to swell its ranks.

Some of its leaders, like former secretary-general Joe Slovo, while they were being demonised by the government in the dark days of apartheid, were assuming a mythical status among blacks. Hani also fell into this category. He became an icon among blacks.

There are several able leaders within the SACP, but none of them have the

stature of Hani. Acting general-secretary Nqakula must be considered among the hot favourites. I always gained the impression that Nqakula was being groomed for bigger things by Hani.

Hani also groomed another young and able leader, Sphiwe Nyanda, now chief of staff of MK and also an SACP member. If history is anything to go by, Nyanda, is in with a chance.

The last two general-secretaries of the SACP, Slovo and Hani, were also former MK chiefs of staff. Could we see history repeating itself with Nyanda, also popular among MK cadres, taking over?

A number of senior officials in the labour movement are also members of the party and could well be in contention for the post. The SACP, it is worth noting, is a worker-based organisation.

Among the potential candidates from the labour movement are Cosatu's president John Gomo and Moses Mayekiso, general-secretary of the largest union in the country, the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa.

However, Mayekiso must be considered a rank outsider. Apart from his union activities, he is already extended as president of the South African National Civic Organisations.

Another potential candidate with roots steeped in the labour movement would be Sydney Mufamadi. The young and capable Mufamadi however, is one of the ANC's chief negotiators and this could rule him out of contention.

When Slovo vacated his post as general-secretary about two years ago - before the SACP was to relaunch itself in the country - it became clear that the party would need a capable leader.

Hani fitted the bill perfectly. Although the SACP has no shortage of efficient men and women, none could be anywhere near Hani in terms of ability and stature.

The SACP might have survived life underground. They might have survived the difficulties of life in exile. But minus Hani, the SACP may be facing its darkest days.

■ Turn to Page 20 for a full-colour tribute to Chris Hani.

Hani was tipped as next ANC president

By **MONWABISI NOMADLO**

Cypress

1814193

SLAIN SACP secretary-general Chris Hani may have been the next ANC president after Nelson Mandela.

(11A)

That's according to the March issue of the authoritative publication *Synopsis of SA Dialogue*, which says the former MK chief of staff enjoyed the most popular support in the ANC after the ageing Mandela, following his election to the ANC's NEC with 95 percent of the vote.

He remains the movement's biggest drawcard to public meetings and rallies," it concluded.

Other contenders for Mandela's seat were cited as the movement's secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, described as a "kingpin" in the organisation and "widely respected for his managerial skills and organisational abilities".

However, the article went on to say Ramaphosa is "despised by radicals because of the decisive disciplinary steps he took against Winnie Mandela and her cohorts".

The publication further identified another contender for the ANC's supreme position as Jacob Zuma, Ramaphosa's deputy.

"However, Zuma remains a highly controversial figure inside the ANC," it argued.

It said Hani rather than Ramaphosa was considered the most likely successor as "Ramaphosa is not a member of the eastern Cape ethnic clan that dominates the ANC".

However, Mandela has repeatedly re-stated the ANC's position as a non-racial organisation

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Since the murder of the leader of the SA Communist Party last weekend, parallels are being drawn between the leadership styles of the two men.

Mr Sexwale, chairman of the ANC PWV region and former head of MK special projects, lives near the Hani home in Boksburg and was, with Mondli Gungubela, the first ANC person on the scene. It was he who closed the eyes of his friend, mentor and hero.

Mr Sexwale rejects comparisons between himself and Mr Hani: "He was a hero and is irreplaceable. It is frustrating that people have these expectations of me."

But Mr Sexwale is also a large man with a booming voice to whom crowds respond and to whom staff are intensely loyal. While Mr Hani was a committed socialist, Mr Sexwale is a devout Catholic.

He also has a quick smile and a rapid, almost lyrical way of talking: "I thought I had humility, but Chris had more. I thought I was accessible and listened to people, but he was better. But I have something more than him — patience. During 13 years in prison I learnt to wait for letters, for food.

"But Chris taught me something else: that principled approaches are important and that tactics must never become the principle; don't transform a detail to strategy. We might argue about whether to go to Lusaka, as an example. Chris would argue the principle and, once he had won, would sit back and let others argue the tactics, of how, for example, to get there."

Both cared little about upsetting political norms. Mr Hani criticised violence among the PAC and self-defence units, calling for a peace corps in the days before his death. In 1991, Mr Hani criticised the leadership of the ANC and Inkatha for not doing more to end violence, saying "ego's must be buried".

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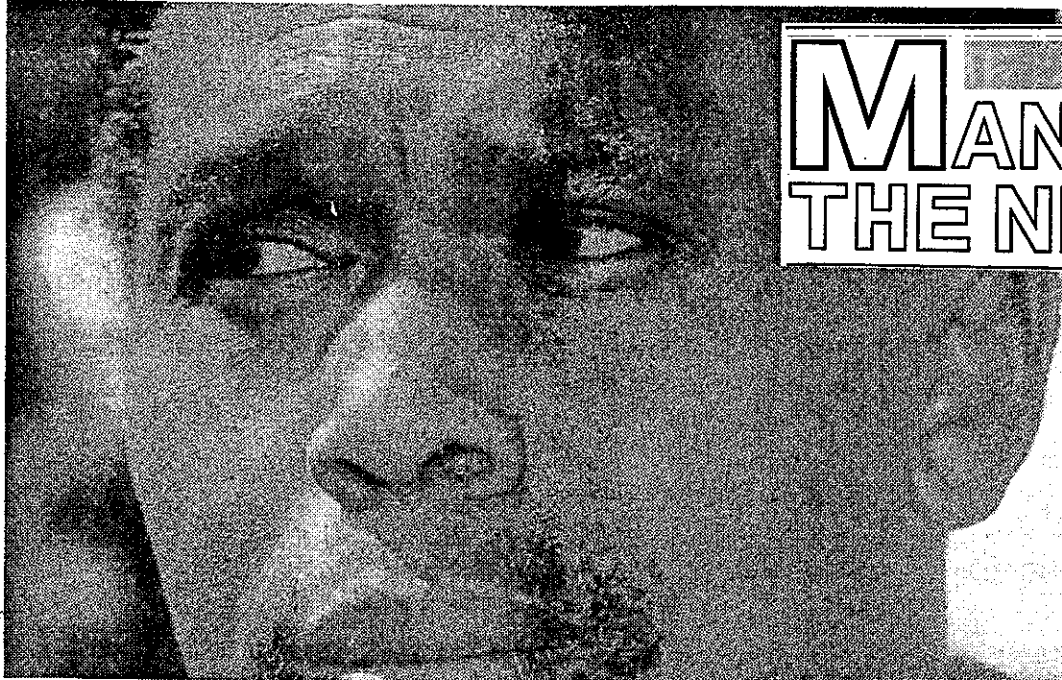
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Mr Sexwale was rapidly promoted to head of special projects under Mr Hani, who was MK chief-of-staff. Their offices at ANC headquarters were only a few doors apart. "He admired my skills, I admired his command and the fact that, at home, he was concerned less with militarisation than with squatter camps, the unemployed and the poor."

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Tokyo Sexwale: A leader reluctant to walk in his hero's footsteps

S/Times 18/4/93



many serious crimes against people since Stalin brought in a communist party dictatorship instead of a workers' dictatorship. "Chris was dangerous because he made communism acceptable, even loveable."

Indeed, the weekend before his death, the SACP delegation to the Patriotic Conference in Lenasia — which included Mr Hani — was notable for ensuring that delegates from religious groups were elected to committees.

As for the future, Mr Sexwale says: "We who are left have to realise that in the history of a people there comes a time when the music stays the same but the tempo changes. Our approach to and strategy for negotiations must remain the same, but we must realign our tactics.

"De Klerk has failed a man (Nelson Mandela) who called him a man of integrity."

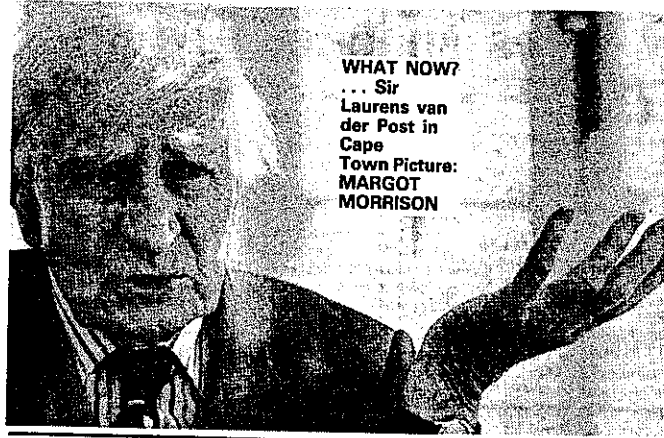
two sometimes argued vigorously. After the Bisho massacre last year they had a serious altercation because Mr Hani wanted people to spend that night on the hill where the massacre occurred. Mr Sexwale disagreed. Mr Hani won. "You could disagree very strongly with Chris and five minutes later you were laughing together."

They debated everything, including religion: "We both had problems with the anti-communist stance of the present Pope.

"I belong to an alliance with communists who have always had a principled approach against apartheid. However, abroad, communists committed

Sir Laurens van der Post mourns optimism in SA

By EVE VOSLOO



WHAT NOW?
... Sir
Laurens van
der Post in
Cape
Town Picture:
MARGOT
MORRISON

THE spirit of optimism among South Africans three years ago when the current political changes started was no longer there, world-renowned author and philosopher Sir Laurens van der Post said in Cape Town this week.

Sir Laurens was speaking at a black-tie dinner at Mortons on the Wharf at the Waterfront on Wednesday night, just after violence had erupted during the march and memorial service for slain SACP leader Chris Hani.

From the sale of tickets to the dinner R20 000 is to be donated to a charity of Sir Laurens' choice.

"Three or four years ago something tremendous happened in this country when South Africa broke out of the terrible trap, the horror, of apartheid — which not only hurt deeply and

profoundly our black and coloured countrymen, but also ourselves," he said. "We are only discovering today the extent of corruption that it caused in the Afrikaner soul."

This had left a tremendous task of rebuilding at which South Africa dared not fail.

Sir Laurens said the country had started on this difficult road — "but I am not certain that we are going the right way".

He said ordinary people did not feel involved in the restructuring of their country. There was a feeling that transfer of power meant whoever had power next would decide everything.

"What is demanded is a great dia-

logue between the people and their rulers. We should all be in on it, we should all have our say."

There was a sense that "all the old politics" were prevailing and that none was providing a vision for the future.

Sir Laurens said South Africa had enormous problems like the pressure of population and unequal distribution of education and that here, like elsewhere in the world, the earth itself was being destroyed.

"These things are urgent, yet we don't talk about them. We talk about political systems," he said.

"The human elements must be put right and the rest will follow."

Sir Laurens said that if he could suggest two vital aspects of a future constitution, they would concern the

ecology and the role of women.

The Afrikaans word for constitution was *grondwet*, he said. "Our constitution should begin with the *grond*, the earth."

"It should lay down that the greatest and most important and abiding commitment of every citizen of the future South Africa is the love and care and maintenance of our seriously wounded mother earth."

South Africa's constitution should also be the first in the world to lay down that the voice of women "will count as much in the political life of the country as the voice of men has counted in the past".

"If we don't do these two things we will not get our country right," Sir Laurens said.

Appeal to torture victims

By CHARLENE SMITH

THE fifth commission of inquiry into alleged torture in ANC camps in Angola has appealed to any victims to come forward and give evidence. (SIP)

Dr Sam Motsuenyane, chairman of the commission, said that he, a Canadian associate justice, Margaret Burnham, and Zimbabwean David Zamchiya would try to find out what abuses were perpetrated in ANC camps and what action should be taken against either those who perpetrated abuses or those who failed to take action to stop torture.

The commission was appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela as a follow-on to the ANC's last commission in August last year, which was accused of not being impartial because two of the three members belonged to the ANC.

The Motsuenyane commission has its offices at the SA Council of Churches, Khotso House, Johannesburg. Dr Motsuneyane has appealed to those who wish to give evidence to visit the offices, phone 832-1182 or fax 832-1236.

EDYTH BULBRING says that after the slaying of Communist Party leader Chris Hani both the ANC and the government have no alternative but to force through a political settlement

THE flagpole bearing the South African flag outside the Johannesburg Supreme Court snapped in two with a sharp crack, walloping a couple of heads as it crashed down.

A peace monitor in the middle of an excited crowd assisted the comrades in bending the remaining half safely to the ground.

ANC colours, hoisted minutes before, fluttered their defiance a metre away. And the crowd roared with delight and approval. Policemen standing behind cordons looked on stoically.

This was one of the more peaceful scenes witnessed throughout the country on Wednesday as hundreds of thousands of people attended marches, rallies and church services to mark SACP chief Chris Hani's death.

Since the assassination of Mr Hani last Saturday morning, the primary concern of the majority of political groupings was the impact his death could have on negotiations.

Their concern was politically pragmatic, but hardly representative of thousands of people who would have liked nothing better than to take the far-seeing pragmatism and smash it to pulp — a reaction Mr Hani's killers probably had in mind when they assassinated him.

The possibility that the ANC would suspend talks in protest was dispelled by ANC president Nelson Mandela last Saturday night. But all were concerned that reactive violence, anarchy and re-criminations would render the talks impossible.

It was the task of both the ANC and the government to see their constituencies through the tragedy and back to the safety of the World Trade Centre.

For the government, the death of Mr Hani brought home all too clearly that it has neither the legitimacy nor the ability to govern the country alone, let alone deal with this crisis.

IT was clear to President de Klerk that his pleas for calm would be scorned by the black community. He tried nevertheless.

Declaring a day of mourning — the statesmanlike thing to do by any country's standards in the face of such a national tragedy — would be dismissed with contempt. He did not try it.

Using strong-arm tactics, like declaring a state of emergency — so easy several years ago under different political circumstances — would merely have further incensed those seeking retribution for Mr Hani's killing and jeopardised talks.

The president of the country, faced with a national crisis, was powerless to do anything at all — except retreat into the background and hand the responsibility for tempering the anger of the vast majority of people in South Africa to the ANC.

The ANC leadership, in turn, could not allow the tragic death of Mr Hani to destroy the prospective political settlement arrived at after months of negotiations, the first phase of which — the appointment of a transitional



RESTING PLACE ... the grave prepared for Chris Hani in the South Park cemetery in Germiston Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

Past the grave, a test for the living

S/ Times 18/4/93

IIA

executive council — was just six weeks away.

Their task was to persuade their constituency to act peacefully and to convince them that a return to armed struggle and breaking off negotiations was not an option.

The dilemma facing the ANC was that after three years of negotiations, the only tangible results were violence, escalating poverty and unemployment.

The ANC's approach to the crisis was to cater for the anger of their constituency through structured events and, in the process, win their support for a peaceful return to negotiations.

On Tuesday night, Nelson Mandela appeared on national television appealing for calm and restraint. He had done so at the request of Mr de Klerk, who cleared the timeslots with the SABC.

ANC alliance leaders repeatedly stressed that the intention of Mr Hani's assassin was to cause chaos and disrupt negotiations. Those that valued the contribution Mr Hani made to the struggle could not allow his life's work

to be undermined. The ANC also had to counter opposition among its own leadership ranks that negotiations were the only course of action. The militant Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala was one of few who called for the suspension of talks — an option attractive to those who would find power-sharing with the NP government, which it held indirectly responsible for the death of Mr Hani, untenable.

THE protest action in downtown Johannesburg on Wednesday was one of the ANC's success stories. It was an example of how it should have been in every city. And part of this success should be attributed to the police, who behaved impeccably.

The event had been billed as a march to culminate in a service at the Methodist Church. But it soon became clear that the church could not hold the 5 000 people who turned out.

Police cordoned off the

square, ANC marshals were put on alert and peace monitors, with their bright identification arm-and-waistbands, bustled about.

Once the ANC flag was raised, and the South African flag brought to the ground, an ANC marshal, anticipating that the crowd would then become restless and seek other diversions — like trying to vandalise the Supreme Court — announced, with the help of a police public address system, that the crowd would move to the nearby Library Gardens.

Here the crowd, still 5 000-strong, was addressed by church leaders and then by the dynamic PWV region leader, Tokyo Sexwale.

Mr Sexwale harnessed the energy of the crowd. He eloquently articulated their grief and confusion and then channelled it into demanding an election date and the immediate establishment of the transitional executive council.

Crucial to this is the sub-council on defence and law and order, which would place all armies and police forces

under multi-party control. It was a theme that all leaders emphasised throughout the day.

The crowd dispersed peacefully. In other parts of the country, however, violence marred the day. But, given the number of people attending the events, the criminal elements present at every gathering and the angry energy of the crowd, the mourners were, on the whole, restrained.

And the police, with the exception of those who lost their cool and mowed down protesters outside Soweto's Protea police station, acted with restraint — the government's contribution to dealing with the crisis.

But, appreciating the fear and confusion of their own electorate, the next day the government announced that it would impose unrest areas where necessary, impose conditions on marches and even throw in several more thousand troops for extra control.

These measures are designed more for the peace of mind of its constituency than for their practical effect. As acting Law and Order Minister Tertius Delport stressed on television on Wednesday night, peace depended on the co-operation of the other parties.

For the government and the ANC, the outstanding hurdle is the day of mourning tomorrow and the funeral of Mr Hani (although threatened rolling mass action, if it materialises, constitutes problems of its own).

But assuming the two major parties can keep the lid on the violence — the ANC through active leadership and the government through sensitive restraint and back-room support — the parties will return to multi-party talks.

BUT when they do, the atmosphere at the World Trade Centre will be completely different.

The negotiation process has, in the past months, slowed to a crawl as the government and the ANC struggled to draw in parties on the extreme left and right. This inevitably has been a time-consuming process which has involved much petty squabbling.

But the murder of Mr Hani and the killings of whites in the Vaal Triangle in the past six weeks has signalled to the major parties that time is running out.

They might have succeeded in drawing in the Conservative Party on the right and the PAC on the left, but both the Eikenhof killings and the slaying of Mr Hani are proof that these parties no longer have control of extremists on either side.

To cope with this threat, a representative government is needed urgently — the demand for order now outweighs that of pandering to the smaller parties.

The target date for the first phase of joint government is June 1. The pressure to meet that deadline is now enormous.

It will mean both sides compromising on matters which have bedevilled talks for years, such as joint control of the security forces, and, if necessary, steamrolling through agreements against the opposition of other parties.

It is not the most desirable course, but in the wake of the assassination of Mr Hani, the only solution is to reach a negotiated settlement fast, so together they can control the lunatics.

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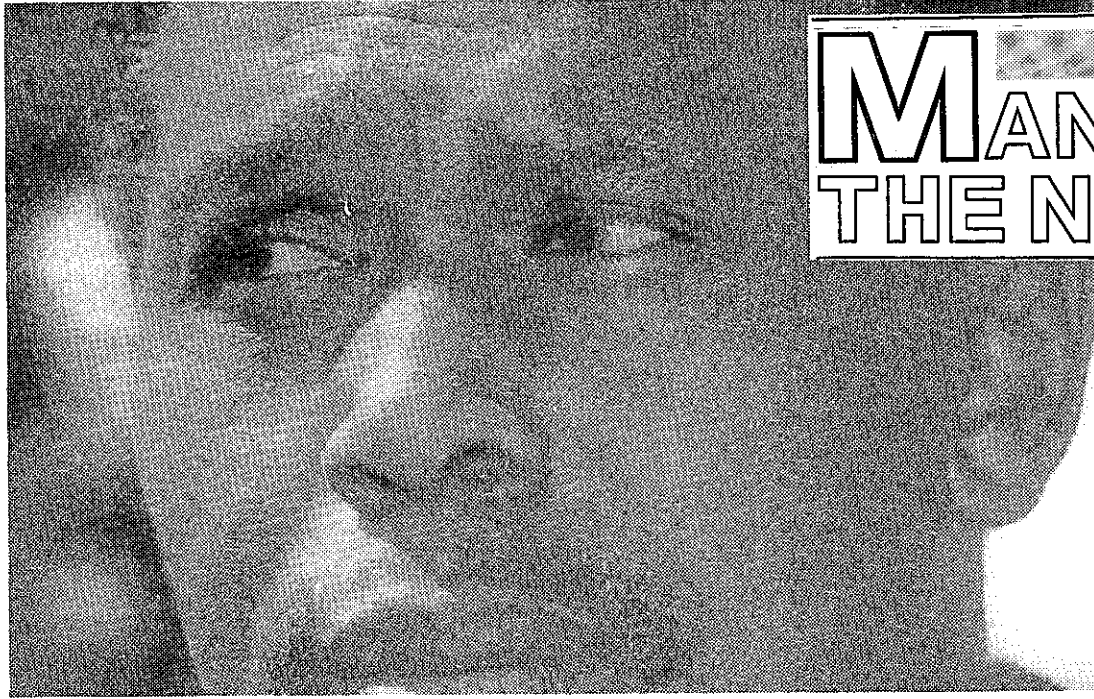
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many serious crimes against people since Stalin brought in a communist party dictatorship instead of a workers' dictatorship.

"Chris was dangerous because he made communism acceptable, even loveable."

Indeed, the weekend before his death, the SACP delegation to the Patriotic Conference in Lenasia — which included Mr Hani — was notable for ensuring that delegates from religious groups were elected to committees.

As for the future, Mr Sexwale says: "We who are left have to realise that in the history of a people there comes a time when the music stays the same but the tempo changes. Our approach to and strategy for negotiations must remain the same, but we must realign our tactics.

"De Klerk has failed a man (Nelson Mandela) who called him a man of integrity."

SITimes 18/4/93



Where, at this time of crisis, are our leaders?

SI Times 18/4/93

III

THE police officer's voice on the telephone was reassuringly matter-of-fact: my name appeared, along with Chris Hani's and eight others, on a list — a "hit list", he called it — which was found in Mr Janus Waluz's flat after his arrest in connection with Hani's assassination.

The first impulse was to laugh. The last time I was seriously threatened with assassination was by Hani's party, the SACP, which added an exquisite dimension to the threat by dropping a warning note through my front door.

To have gone from being an enemy of Hani's friends to being an enemy of Hani's enemies demonstrates, I suppose, the folly in these turbulent times of clinging to the extreme centre. The balance of political forces in this country is tipping, ever more swiftly, and those who stand stubbornly in one place are likely to find themselves in odd surroundings.

Assassination, after all, is the weapon of political weakness. When President Botha bestrode our little world like a colossus, the threats came from the left; now, as President de Klerk's power drains away, they come from the right. Those who have no hope of political victory reach for the gun.

The killers, whether their victim is Gandhi, or Kennedy, or Martin Luther King, or Chris Hani, seldom understand what they are doing: the assassination of a popular leader unleashes unstoppable forces of martyrdom. And so it has been this week with the assassination of Hani.

For this was the week when moral authority passed visibly from the government to the ANC. It was to Mr Nelson Mandela that the country turned after the killing, clearing all channels of the SABC so that he could calm the populace. President de Klerk issued a statement from Hermanus, via his press officer at Plettenberg Bay, but was nowhere to be seen.

For the next few days, the ANC leaders took on the burden of channeling the passions of millions of people into marches and demonstrations, hoping to contain what everybody knew to be a terrible propensity for violence: Tokyo Sexwale, Thabo Mbeki, Cyril Ra-

maphosa, Mr Mandela himself, worked ceaselessly from Saturday to Wednesday to rescue us, and our country, from the looming threat of mass violence.

On the whole, they succeeded commendably. Mr Sexwale and Mr Mandela extracted the racial sting from the assassination by pointing out, to immense crowds of angry black people, that if it was a white man who did the killing, it was a white woman who sounded the alarm. Often, on Wednesday, ANC leaders dealt directly and constructively with the police, and ANC marshals sweated, sometimes desperately, to hold back mobs.

The ANC's problem was plain. The powerful forces on its radical wing — the township youths, Mrs Winnie Mandela's angry following, the PAC, Apla and its following among black intellectuals — saw in the assassination of Chris Hani an opportunity to undermine both the ANC and its strategy of negotiation. Even Mr Joe Slovo, I thought, was milking the situation for political gain.

These radical forces, allied with the criminal underclass (which is especially strong in Cape Town), were spoiling for a fight, and since the government was powerless to control them, except perhaps by brute means that would have inflamed even the peaceful mourners, it fell to the ANC leaders to maintain control.

Where, then, at this time of national crisis, was the government?

PRESIDENT DE KLERK, invisible in the fastnesses of his office, faced a problem similar to the ANC's, but on his right wing; unhappily, in addressing the crisis on television, he chose to pander to right-wing prejudice. The Acting Minister of Law and Order, Mr Tertius Delpoort, chose to bluster, issuing empty threats, and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, resorted to a cheap-shooting diatribe about "mob rule".

This week, as never before, the Nationalist government stood revealed as both impotent and politically inept. Power slipped visibly from the limp hands at Groote Schuur to the stronger hands at Shell House.

Add to this a lamentable loss of perspective created by most news media, which concentrated in their usual fashion on the episodes of violence without reporting in much detail the vast extent of peaceful mourning and dignified behaviour. The effect on whites, especially of the violence in Cape Town and the isolated racial pogroms, some of them horrible, was to terrify.

White South Africans are being asked to contemplate a future as a powerless minority, under the ANC, yet when the ANC leaders try to deal with a national crisis which is beyond the power of government to control, the white politicians snipe viciously from the sidelines, and bluster, and try to save themselves by attacking the ANC moderates.

THE result, I fear, is a rising desperation among whites. Throughout the week I have been hectorated by people who see conspiracy and betrayal everywhere, who rant at the Nationalists and the ANC leaders, who denounce President de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha as communists, or who complain that this truth or that truth is being suppressed. They are frightened, and very angry.

Just as black people identify with Chris Hani, so whites identify with the white victims of the pogroms, and seeing neither victory nor safety, they reach for millenarian solutions, and for the gun. The assassin's hour has come.

Tension is now very high. In the coming weeks, if the tenuous hold of a handful of over-worked ANC leaders is broken, or if the discipline of a thin line of over-worked policemen gives way, matters may get much worse.

The assassination of Chris Hani has brought us to the crisis of the transition, but where are our leaders? We see only smoke signals, sent via television from well-guarded bunkers and holiday resorts; our fate lies in the unlikely combination of weary police officers and weary ANC moderates who, drawn together by this crisis, struggle to direct and control the mobs.

KEN OWEN

Poll gives coloured support to the NP

S/Times CC (Metro)
18/4/93

THE National Party will win more coloured support than the African National Congress if a general election is held tomorrow, a nationwide poll has shown.

Commissioned by the democratic-movement aligned Centre for Development Studies (CDS) and undertaken by the Human Sciences Research Council, the poll revealed that 61,9% of the 1 500 people polled would vote for the NP, while a mere nine percent supported the ANC.

The findings have serious implications for the ANC in the Western Cape where coloureds constitute more than 50% of the region's population.

The Labour Party, which has been badly hit by defections from its ranks — mainly to the NP — received the support of about seven percent of those polled.

Added to the support the new-look NP and the DP can expect from whites, the ANC will have to consider a more targeted election strategy for the region.

However, warns Omar Valley, who undertook the survey on behalf of the HSRC, voter support for different political parties remains fluid. The ANC has made significant gains in the rural areas, he said.

Commenting on the poll, CDS director Randi Erentzen said the results confirmed what was already known.

"What we really wanted to know was why people would support the NP. In that regard the results were fascinating."

Mr Erentzen said 70% of those polled were politically unaffiliated.

"What this means for the electoral process is that between 30-40% of the coloured electorate will only decide on election day whom to support. Until then they could swing either way," he said.

By NAZEEM HOWA

This could mean that after the assassination of SACP secretary-general Chris Hani, the swing voters may have favoured the ANC, but Wednesday's incidents of looting would have pushed them to the NP.

On the question of South Africa having a black president, 37% favoured the idea, while 39% were opposed to the notion. Only seven percent were against a white president. President F W de Klerk attracted an overwhelming 74% support of those polled on the question of whom they would support as president, while Nelson Mandela ended a distant second on five percent.

These results fly in the face of recent polls which showed support within the coloured community for the NP to be on the decline.

The age analysis revealed that the ANC enjoys most of its support in the 18-30 age group, while the NP support comes from older people.

Forty-one percent of those polled awaited majority rule with mixed feelings, while 22,5% thought it was a bad idea.

In some of the surprising results, the survey found that less than one in five respondents would feel uncomfortable living next to an African family.

Respondents also seemed to have a strong group identity, but an aversion to political organisations that stressed group interests over national ones.

BOY

Hani's death and the aftermath — how the chaos in Cape Town could have been avoided

Chris Hani's assassination deals body-blow to ANC

By NAZEEM HOWA

THE past 10 days have been the worst for the ANC/SACP alliance in a long time.

Not only did the organisation lose one of the few national leaders able to keep the movement's angry young lions in check, but it also lost considerable support in the coloured, white, and Indian communities in the Western Cape following Wednesday's memorial activities in the city centre.

But the full extent of Chris Hani's loss has not yet been felt. It was Mr Hani who tempered the radicalism of the youth as the site of struggle moved from the street to the negotiating table.

Now the major challenge facing the alliance is to find someone who can command the same kind of respect Mr Hani had within more left-wing circles of the alliance.

The vacuum left by his death was highlighted shortly after the news broke when differing responses were suggested in the Western Cape. Less than an hour after his murder regional secretary Tony Yengeni called for the ANC to halt negotiations — a position which was out of line with the majority of the regional and national leadership.



BURNING BIKES ... Three youths set fire to a delivery motorcycle. Pictures: CLINTON ASARY

King. On Wednesday only six of 100 marches turned ugly — and even then only a small portion of those participating were involved in looting, assaults and robbery.

Newspaper, radio and television reports have lambasted the ANC, but should all the blame for Wednesday's events be laid at the door of the organisation?

Maybe not. While the ANC certainly is not blameless, perhaps some questions about the handling of

Even some highly-placed ANC sources are now admitting privately that using St George's Cathedral as a venue was a major error.

To make matters worse the regional leadership decided to continue the service while diverting the many thousands outside the cathedral to the Parade which had clearly not been prepared as an alternative venue. This poor decision was further exacerbated by the fact that most of the local leaders who may have been able to influence the people behind at the service, the claim that ANC chairperson Dr Allan Boesak was unable to play too much of a public role due to his life being threatened is not a good enough excuse for the absence of leadership at the Parade.

Ironically, in some respects Wednesday's events have been good for the nation. It now seems that there is a common agreement amongst most groupings that the country needs to move rapidly towards a political settlement if we are to start the process of healing the deep wounds in our society.

Monday to march from the townships to the Athlone Police Station, it seemed clear that there would be a record turnout on Wednesday. What made matters worse in the Western Cape was the fact that Mr Hani's shooting came one day after police had shot dead another MK soldier, Mr Chris "Khaya" Simane.

Why is the ANC now saying they had not anticipated the numbers?

And then in the worst storms that lashed the Cape in at least two decades, 10 000 mourners braved the elements on

secretary-general while ANC supporters in the Western Cape were burying Mr Thabo Nete, an ANC member who had been a victim of the violence in Natal. The reaction of the crowd on being told the news by ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala was one of anger.

And then in the worst storms that lashed the Cape in at least two decades, 10 000 mourners braved the elements on

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Why is the ANC now saying they had not anticipated the numbers?

And then in the worst storms that lashed the Cape in at least two decades, 10 000 mourners braved the elements on

On Wednesday, the deep anger among the young lions was highlighted by the booting of Nelson Mandela at the Johannesburg memorial service when he mentioned condolences sent to the ANC by the NP.

While not condoning the anarchy which occurred on the fringes of some of Wednesday's marches, seen in total perspective perhaps South Africa came off lightly.

Almost 40 cities in the United States exploded following the assassination of Martin Luther King.

Another question that begs asking is why did the government wait until after Wednesday's shooting on Saturday — and the unrest and burning barricades that went up within hours in some parts of the Peninsula — to call in the assistance of international investigators? Would they have called in the assistance of international investigators?

Questions from many sources have been asked about the role of the discredited Colonel Dolf Odendaal as a commander on Saturday to say that the alleged gunman acted alone, but did not self a contributory factor for what was to follow?

On Tuesday to charge him? The ANC, too, have a lot to answer for.

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PANICKED ... A young white passerby tried to flee from a group of angry youths but was surrounded. One hurled a brick at him as he tried to escape. He was pulled back and assaulted as he shouted for help — but no-one came. He eventually broke free and ran around a corner bleeding from facial injuries.

For some, it just seemed to be business as usual . . .

IN the thick of Wednesday's chaos in central Cape Town, some citizens seemed oblivious of what was going on around them.

BEN MacLENNAN reports that a lady in high heels, hand-and-shopping bag on her arm, seemed blissfully unaware of the line of riot police advancing behind her, guns cocked, as she minced along the edge of Cape Town's Grand Parade.

"Aren't the buses running today?" she asked. After nearly being hit in the crossfire, GLENDA NEVILL and PETA KROST came across a young blonde and a brunette dressed in microscopic denim shorts strolling through the midst of the havoc.

When they passed a bunch of angry youths, who whistled and shouted sexually-loaded comments, they were unflazed.

An American dressed in trendy cycling gear toured the trouble-spots on a racing bike. As he wove through the frightened mob, he asked "Do you come here often?" and laughed as he rode on. While EYE VOSILOO was watching the stream of people moving up Adderley Street and the Mall towards the cathedral, two women, each clutching a perfectly groomed poodle, sauntered up Church



OLD ADVERSARIES . . . Colonel Dolf Odendal and ANC MP Jan van Eck in an angry exchange over police action on Wednesday
Picture: CLINTON ASARY

Van Eck slams presence of notorious cop at protest

BY DIANA STREAK

THE presence of "notorious" riot police officer Colonel Dolf Odendal at Wednesday's protest march was severely criticised by ANC MP Jan van Eck this week, but police have failed to comment on his role in the day's activities. Dubbed "Major Conflict" during the 1986/87

unrest when he was reportedly responsible for several killings — and before he was promoted to colonel — Odendal was both feared and hated by township residents.

Mr Van Eck, who has had several clashes with Col Odendal in the past, said he had had a "stand-up fight" with him on Wednesday when he wanted to open fire on looters.

"People started recognising him, which incited that section of the crowd and we had to fend them off," said Mr Van Eck.

One eyewitness said Col Odendal had shouted "Skiet, skiet, skiet!"

At one stage on Wednesday after police opened fire, ANC marshals and Mr Van Eck tried to remonstrate with Col Odendal, but he dismissed their calls for police restraint and walked away, witnesses said.

Despite two sets of faxed questions to the SAP liaison office about Col Odendal's current position and his role and presence at Wednesday's violent protests on the Grand Parade, police have so far failed to reply.

Police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Ray-

mond Dowd said the questions were being sent to Col Odendal's superior, a General De la Rosa in Pretoria, and would not be answered before next week.

Earlier he had insisted on reasons for the questions before responding "as this office wishes to avoid being involved in any possible defamatory consequences emanating therefrom."

"He has mellowed. I know that, he has cooled off and gone through all the testing, but I still believe he has the wrong temperament for crowd control," said Mr Van Eck who, in Parliament in 1987, criticised Col Odendal's behaviour and called for his transfer from the riot unit.

"Colonel Odendal gets very excitable and doesn't think rationally and clearly in a crowd situation. I'm sure he's a good crime policeman, but he shouldn't be in internal stability."

Mr Van Eck said Col Odendal, who ordered police to fire teargas at 17 top clergymen at the funeral of ANC activist Ashley Kriel in 1987, had to realise the political situation had changed since then.

"Police policy has changed and the ANC is not banned. He can't, under provocation, fall back on old methods. His

mere presence is an incitement to people in the Western Cape."

Mr Van Eck said that although he had known Col Odendal was back in the Cape, Wednesday was the first time he had seen him in a command situation.

He said other policemen in charge in the Internal Stability Unit had handled previous situations "with great ability and restraint."

Colonel Odendal featured prominently in a 1992 UCT Institute of Criminology study which reported that he was involved in seven fatal shootings between 1984 to 1986 when he was second in command of the Western Province police unrest unit.

Warrant Officer Hendrik "Barrie" Barnard, who died in a shootout in Fishhoek five years ago, was involved in 17 fatal shootings, 24% of the shootings in the period studied.

"After Barnard he was the most hated policeman in the Western Cape and to use him in a volatile situation like Wednesday was asking for trouble," said Mr Van Eck.

Colonel Odendal was transferred in 1987 as station commander to Randburg on the Witwatersrand where, said Mr Van Eck, he believed he should have stayed.



APPEAL FOR CALM . . . A priest tries to stop a group of youths from looting

SITIMES 181493

Filling the gaps with wild rhetoric

ONLY the speeches, which were inflammatory and defamatory, fulfilled expectations.

In the end, about 30 000 people set off through the almost deserted streets of Johannesburg, an hour late, from the Communist Party headquarters at National Acceptance House.

Early arrivals from Alexandra and Soweto toyed under placards, ANC colours and red banners hanging from SACP windows.

But without SACP leader

It was billed as the start of the ANC alliance's rolling mass action campaign, but, in the end, the crowd was small and the marshalling tentative. **BILL KRIGE** reports

Chris Han, the rhetoric lacked fizz. Only Ronnie Kasrils, his powerful voice booming through a bullhorn, ignited a spark.

With an ANC necktie like a noose round his neck, he had the crowd revelling in his slogans, some a city block long. Sample: "Viva the memory of comrade Chris Han, the son of the soil, viva!"

And when he contemptu-

ously dismissed Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo as "that stupid little monkey, that donkey from Ciskei", they roared their approval.

The same applied to Buthelezi and Mangope, puppets both, and to President de Klerk, written off as a dog.

The crowd loved Mr Kasrils when he said that if the apartheid government had

not given way to an interim arrangement by the end of May, the rolling mass action would continue "until we have swept them, the bastards, the puppets, away".

From the start, down empty and cavernous streets, there were marshalling problems, wrong turnings being made and marchers bursting from the security cordons and into side roads.

Scores openly flaunted weapons — sticks, axes, iron bars — which were waved with enthusiasm but not used.

Ugly scenes erupted near the Kine Entertainment Centre, where the parade, singing lustily, ground to a halt. Several youths were punched and had their clothing ripped by marshals.

It was Mr Kasrils who got the caravan moving again behind its guardian Casspir. Leaving his place at the head of the march, he commandeered a car, pressed the hooter and got everyone moving.

In Twist Street, black flat dwellers hung over balconies dripping with laundry, ululating and whistling support.

Two young and nervous whites, armed with pump-action guns, guarded a hotel cordoned off with razor wire. The march rolled past with jeers, but without incident.

Before reaching police headquarters at John Vorster Square, the crowd disintegrated, with thousands taking their own routes to the hated square;

5 Times 12/4/93

Winnie tells youth to take over

By AYESHA ISMAIL

(11A)

THE ANC youth should take over the leadership of the organisation as they did in 1957, Winnie Mandela told a rally at Khayelitsha near Cape Town yesterday.

It was the most direct attack made yet on the organisation's leadership by the estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Mrs Mandela, dressed in full MK combat gear, said: "Now is the time to give the struggle to the youth to take over this country."

She added the youth had to take the streets by storm and remain there until

"the fascist government is removed".

ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, speaking at the same rally, urged young people to arm themselves and take to the streets to overthrow the government.

"We have been hit very hard by the Boers," said Mr Mokaba, referring to the murder of Communist Party leader Chris Hani.

"We must hit back."

He added the youth were going to "act whether De Klerk likes it or not".

"We are tired of talking. We want a revolution, and do not apologise to anyone."

Disillusioned ANC cadres want election promise now

EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

THE World Trade Centre constitutional talks have come under enormous pressure to produce results before the end of May following the announcement by the ANC of mass action for the next six weeks until its demands are met.

The ANC and its alliance partners announced on Friday that they would embark on two phases of mass action — the first from April 20 for 10 days and then for a month from May 1.

During this time it would demand a date for elections and the installation of a transitional executive council — the first phase of joint rule — which would also include multi-party control over all armed forces.

Negotiations

The ANC, Cosatu and the SACP want these demands met before the end of May.

The ANC would continue to take part in multi-party negotiations which begin next week, after a week's delay due to SACP leader Chris Hani's killing, spokesmen said.

Ironically, the ANC's deadline for agreement on these constitutional issues is the same set by the government when it published its timetable for negotiations last year.

At a press conference in Pretoria on Thursday, chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer reiterated that the government would like an agreement on the establishment of a transitional executive council by June 1.

He said the government also wanted the talks to focus first on reaching agreement on the transitional executive council. An election date could be determined as soon as agreements on the TEC and an interim constitution had been reached, he said.

The insistence of both the government and the ANC on swift agreement on the first phase of negotiations will place pressure on smaller parties, which have different constitutional agendas, to toe the line or drop out of talks.

In a statement this weekend, Mr Meyer said mass action at this stage of negotiations was totally unnecessary.

He said the ANC and its allies should not endanger the talks process by making irresponsible demands.

"The politics of negotiation is the only winning recipe," he said.

State President F W de Klerk said on Friday that the ANC alliance's decision to go ahead with mass action was irresponsible and unjustified.

Support

However, members of the ANC's national executive committee, which met this week to decide on its course of action in the wake of Mr Hani's murder, said mass action was aimed at speeding up talks and winning support for negotiations.

Mr Hani's assassination had caused much anger and disillusionment among its members over the talks process, which had so far achieved no tangible agreements.

Fearing that it could lose its constituency to more radical parties like the PAC, the ANC was under pressure to draw its constituency behind it to endorse its constitutional demands.

Laurens van der Post mourns optimism in SA

By EVE VOSLOO

it of optimism among South three years ago when the political changes started was there, world-renowned author and philosopher Sir Laurens van der Post said in Cape Town this week.

Laurens was speaking at a black-race rally at Mortons on the Wharf at the front on Wednesday night, when violence had erupted during a funeral and memorial service for CP leader Chris Hani.

The sale of tickets to the dinner is to be donated to a charity of Laurens' choice.

For four years ago something unusual happened in this country when South Africa broke out of the trap, the horror, of apartheid and not only hurt deeply and

profoundly our black and coloured countrymen, but also ourselves," he said. "We are only discovering today the extent of corruption that it caused in the Afrikaner soul."

This had left a tremendous task of rebuilding at which South Africa dared not fail.

Sir Laurens said the country had started on this difficult road — "but I am not certain that we are going the right way".

He said ordinary people did not feel involved in the restructuring of their country. There was a feeling that transfer of power meant whoever had power next would decide everything.

"What is demanded is a great dia-

logue between the people and their rulers. We should all be in on it, we should all have our say."

There was a sense that "all the old politics" were prevailing and that no one was providing a vision for the future.

Sir Laurens said South Africa had enormous problems like the pressure of population and unequal distribution of education and that here, like elsewhere in the world, the earth itself was being destroyed.

"These things are urgent, yet we don't talk about them. We talk about political systems," he said.

"The human elements must be put right and the rest will follow."

Sir Laurens said that if he could suggest two vital aspects of a future constitution, they would concern the

ecology and the role of women.

The Afrikaans word for constitution was *grondwet*, he said. "Our constitution should begin with the *grond*, the earth."

"It should lay down that the greatest and most important and abiding commitment of every citizen of the future South Africa is the love and care and maintenance of our seriously wounded mother earth."

South Africa's constitution should also be the first in the world to lay down that the voice of women "will count as much in the political life of the country as the voice of men has counted in the past".

"If we don't do these two things we will not get our country right," Sir Laurens said.

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Grin or groan, send your letters to Gwen Gill, Box 1090, Jhb 2 000. Names and addresses please, even if a pen-name is used. Letters may be shortened.

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Hani's death and the aftermath — how the chaos in Cape Town could have been avoided

Chris Hani's assassination deals body-blow to ANC

S Times CC (Metro) 18/4/93
(TIF) (2)

By NAZEEM HOWA
THE past 10 days have been the worst for the ANC/SACP alliance in a long time.

Not only did the organisation lose one of the few national leaders able to keep the movement's angry young lions in check, but it also lost considerable support in the coloured, white, and Indian communities in the Western Cape following Wednesday's memorial activities in the city centre.

But the full extent of Chris Hani's loss has not yet been felt. It was Mr Hani who tempered the radicalism of the youth as the site of struggle moved from the street to the negotiating table.

Now the major challenge facing the alliance is to find someone who can command the same kind of respect Mr Hani had within more left-wing circles of the alliance.

The vacuum left by his death was highlighted shortly after the news broke when differing responses were suggested in the Western Cape. Less than an hour after his murder regional secretary Tony Yengeni called for the ANC to halt negotiations — a position which was out of line with the majority of the regional and national leadership.

Booing

On Wednesday, the deep anger among the young lions was highlighted by the booing of Nelson Mandela at the Johannesburg memorial service when he mentioned condolences sent to the ANC by the NP.

Wednesday in Cape Town started out peacefully, but quickly turned ugly after small groups of youths took advantage of the inability of ANC marshals to control the huge crowd that converged on the city centre to go on a looting spree which resulted in R4 million damage and mil-



BURNING BIKES ... Three youths set fire to a delivery motorcycle

Pictures: CLINTON ASARY

King. On Wednesday only six of 100 marches turned ugly — and even then only a small portion of those participating were involved in looting, assaults and robbery.

Newspaper, radio and television reports have lambasted the ANC, but should all the blame for Wednesday's events be laid at the door of the organisation?

Maybe not. While the ANC certainly is not blameless, perhaps some questions about the handling of the murder investigation — and the effect this had on young militants already impatient with the slow pace to elections — needs to be considered.

For instance, why was the person suspected of shooting Mr Hani arraigned outside of normal office hours. Would it not have been better to allow justice to be seen to be done?

Still on the subject of the hearing, an explanation is needed on why police were in a position on Saturday to say that the alleged gunman acted alone, but did not have enough evidence to charge

deeply critical of the police whom they claim were less than co-operative once things started to go wrong, although in Cape Town police say they allowed senior ANC officials to sit in on their planning sessions.

Monitors have also accused the police of responding poorly to the criminal elements by not acting more quickly in arresting looters. Particular anger was aimed at the manner in which police opened fire on the crowd when only a small portion were responsible for the looting.

To their credit, some members of the security forces on duty on Wednesday acted very responsibly under the most extreme provocation. But is it not time that our security forces are trained in the handling of protest marches?

Questions from many sources have been asked about the role of the discredited Colonel Dolf Odendal as a commanding officer on Wednesday. Was that not in itself a contributory factor for what was to follow? The ANC too, have a

secretary-general while ANC supporters in the Western Cape were burying Mr Thabo Ntsele, an ANC member who had been a victim of the violence in Natal. The reaction of the crowd on Wednesday, what made matters worse in the Western Cape was the fact that Mr Hani's shooting came one day after police had shot dead another MK soldier, Mr Chris "Khaya" Simane.

And then in the worst storms that lashed the Cape in at least two decades, 10 000 mourners braved the elements on

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Ironically, in some respects Wednesday's events have been good for the nation.

It now seems that there is a common agreement amongst most groupings that the country needs to move rapidly towards a political settlement if we are to start the process of healing the deep wounds in our society.



OLD ADVERSARIES ... Colonel Dolf Odendal and ANC MP Jan van Eck in an angry exchange over police action on Wednesday
Picture: CLINTON ASARY

Van Eck slams presence of 'notorious' cop at protest

S Times CC (Metro)
(TIF) (2)

By DIANA STREAK

THE presence of "notorious" riot police officer Colonel Dolf Odendal at Wednesday's protest march was severely criticised by ANC MP Jan van Eck this week, but police have failed to comment on his role in the day's activities.

Dubbed "Major Conflict" during the 1986/87

unrest when he was reportedly responsible for several killings — and before he was promoted to colonel — Odendal was both feared and hated by township residents.

Mr Van Eck, who has had several clashes with Col Odendal in the past, said he had had a "stand-up fight" with him on Wednesday when he wanted to open fire on looters.

"People started recognising him, which incited that section of the crowd and we had to fend them off," said Mr Van Eck.

One eyewitness said Col Odendal had shouted "Skiet, skiet, skiet!" At one stage on Wednesday after police opened fire, ANC marshals and Mr Van Eck tried to remonstrate with Col Odendal, but he dismissed their calls for police restraint and walked away, witnesses

mond Dowd said the questions were being sent to Col Odendal's superior, a General De la Rosa in Pretoria, and would not be answered before next week. Earlier he had insisted on reasons for the questions before responding "as this office wishes to avoid being involved in any possible defamatory consequences emanating therefrom".

"He has mellowed, I know that, he has cooled off and gone through all the testing, but I still believe he has the wrong temperament for crowd control," said Mr Van Eck who, in Parliament in 1987, criticised Col Odendal's behaviour and called for his transfer from the riot unit.

"Colonel Odendal gets very excitable and doesn't think rationally and clearly in a crowd situation. I'm sure he's a good crime policeman, but he shouldn't be in internal stability."

Mr Van Eck said Col

mere presence is an incitement to people in the Western Cape."

Mr Van Eck said that although he had known Col Odendal was back in the Cape, Wednesday was the first time he had seen him in a command situation.

He said other policemen in charge in the Internal Stability Unit had handled previous situations "with great ability and restraint".

Colonel Odendal featured prominently in a 1992 UCT Institute of Criminology study which reported that he was involved in seven fatal shootings between 1984 to 1986 when he was second in command of the Western Province police unrest unit.

Warrant Officer Hendrik "Barrie" Barnard, who died in a shootout in Fishhoek five years ago, was involved in 17 fatal shootings, 24% of the shootings in the period studied.

"After Barnard he was the most hated police-



in the Western Cape. Less than an hour after his murder regional secretary Tony Yengeni called for the ANC to halt negotiations — a position which was out of line with the majority of the regional and national leadership.

Booing

On Wednesday, the deep anger among the young lions was highlighted by the booing of Nelson Mandela at the Johannesburg memorial service when he mentioned condolences sent to the ANC by the NP.

Wednesday in Cape Town started out peacefully, but quickly turned ugly after small groups of youths took advantage of the inability of ANC marshals to control the huge crowd that converged on the city centre to go on a looting spree which resulted in R4 million damage and millions more in lost business.

While not condoning the anarchy which occurred on the fringes of some of Wednesday's marches, seen in total perspective perhaps South Africa came off lightly.

Almost 40 cities in the United States exploded following the assassination of Martin Luther

King. Monitors were also accused the police of responding poorly to the criminal elements by not acting more quickly in arresting looters. Particular anger was aimed at the manner in which police opened fired on the crowd when only a small portion were responsible for the looting.

To their credit, some members of the security forces on duty on Wednesday acted very responsibly under the most extreme provocation. But is it not time that our security forces are trained in the handling of protest marches?

Questions from many sources have been asked about the role of the discredited Colonel Dolf Odendal as a commanding officer on Wednesday. Was that not in itself a contributory factor for what was to follow?

The ANC, too, have a lot to answer for. Surely, since the shooting on Saturday — and the unrest and burning barricades that went up within hours in some townships on the Peninsula — the signs were always there that many thousands would come to the city centre.

Another question that begs asking is why did the government wait until after Wednesday to agree to call in the assistance of international investigators? Would earlier agreement not have calmed things down somewhat?

Sources within the ANC, too, have been

And then in the worst storms that lashed the Cape in at least two decades, 10 000 mourners braved the elements on

ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala was one of anger.

Mr Hani's shooting came one day after police had shot dead another MK soldier, Mr Chris "Khaya" Simane.

Why is the ANC now saying they had not anticipated the numbers?

Why is the ANC now saying they had not anticipated the numbers?

Why is the ANC now saying they had not anticipated the numbers?

News broke of the murder of the SACP

ment amongst most groupings that the country needs to move rapidly towards a political settlement if we are to start the process of healing the deep wounds in our society.

Dubbed "Major Conflict" during the 1986/87



PANICKED . . . A young white passerby tried to flee from a group of angry youths but was surrounded. One hurled a brick at him as he tried to escape. He was pulled back and assaulted as he shouted for help — but no-one came. He eventually broke free and ran around a corner bleeding from facial injuries

For some, it just seemed to be business as usual . . .

IN the thick of Wednesday's chaos in central Cape Town, some citizens seemed oblivious of what was going on around them.

BEN MacLENNAN reports that a lady in high heels, hand-and-shopping bag on her arm, seemed blissfully unaware of the line of riot police advancing behind her, guns cocked, as she minced along the edge of Cape Town's Grand Parade.

"Aren't the buses running today?" she asked. After nearly being hit in the crossfire, **GLENDIA NEVILL** and **PETA KROST** came across a young blonde and a brunette dressed in microscopic denim shorts strolling through the midst of the havoc. When they passed a bunch of angry youths, who whistled and shouted sexually-loaded comments, they were unfazed.

An American dressed in trendy cycling gear toured the trouble-spots on a racing bike. As he wove through the frightened mob, he asked "Do you come here often?" and laughed as he rode on. While **EVE VOSLOO** was watching the stream of people moving up Adderley Street and the Mall towards the cathedral, two women, each clutching a perfectly groomed poodle, sauntered up Church

Street apparently oblivious to the bands of youths running around them in the opposite direction on a looting spree. As he watched youths plundering stalls on the edge of the Parade and then torching them, **RAYMOND JOSEPH** pressed into a doorway with several young Cape Flats lads. Turning to his friend one said in awe: "I thought we guys on the Flats are wild, but these okes are really heavy!"



APPEAL FOR CALM . . . A priest tries to stop a group of youths from looting

Millions mourn

MILLIONS of people will pay their last respects today to assassinated SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani, who will be buried in the Elspark cemetery in Germiston this afternoon.

The South African government, however, will not send an official representative to the funeral, a spokesman for President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Mourners began gathering in Johannesburg yesterday and about 60 000 people, including ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, honoured Mr Hani where he was lying in state at the FNB Stadium.

Today's funeral also marks the beginning of the six-week campaign of mass action called by the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance.

Two of Johannesburg's major highways will be sealed off for the funeral, which will be broadcast on CCV-TV.

In Cape Town a rally will be held at a Fish Hoek sportsfield at 1pm. It will be addressed by MP Mr Jannie Momborg.

Other activities in Cape Town include the formation of a human chain along Liesbeeck Parkway and a Black Sash candlelight vigil before dawn this morning. A picket will be held outside the Guguletu police barracks in Section 3 and a march will be held in Tulbagh.

Township monitors

The ANC in the Western Cape said yesterday an extensive monitoring system in the townships today would ensure that memorial proceedings were peaceful.

ANC deputy regional secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said 100 monitors would be deployed at transport points to ensure that people were not intimidated.

Cape Town business and professional organisations have called on their members and other employers to close businesses today.

Black schools in the Cape will also be closed following the extension of the Easter holidays to include today's funeral.

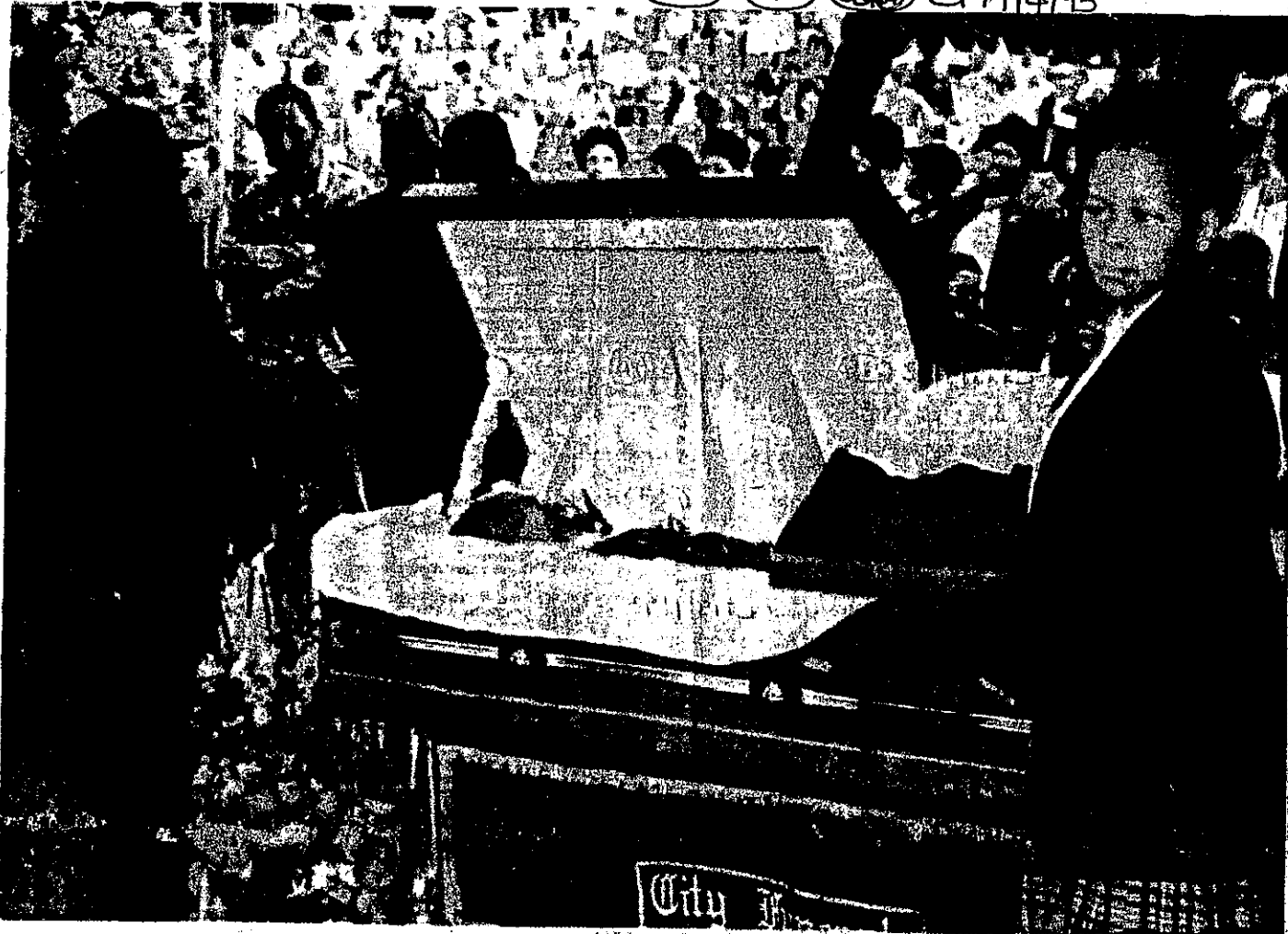
At the FNB Stadium yesterday, the crowd went wild when the ANC's national executive committee and the SACP's central committee arrived.

The biggest applause was saved for ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, who arrived in a motor cavalcade about 6.30pm.

Other dignitaries present included Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, ANC Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala and former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

The estranged wife of Mr Mandela, Mrs Winnie Mandela, arrived at the stadium with Mr Gwala and was immediately allowed on to the stage, where she was wildly cheered.

Police presence at the stadium was low-key with a few vehicles patrolling the perimeter. A police helicopter occasionally circled over the stadium. — Own Correspondents, Staff Reporter and Sapa



DAUGHTER'S VIGIL . . . Normakhwezi Hani keeps watch beside the coffin of her father, slain SA Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani, as he lies in state at the FNB Stadium in Soweto where about 60 000 people, including ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa and former president of Zambia Dr Kenneth Kaunda, gathered yesterday for an all-night vigil. Picture: AP

IFP rejects call for an immediate elections

Sowetan 19/4/93. (11A) (11A) (11A)

By Kenosi Modisane

■ Multi-party negotiations are being held to ransom, claim:

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has rejected a call by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance for the immediate holding of elections for a constituent assembly and establishment of a Transitional Executive Council.

In a statement at the weekend, the IFP's Central Committee accused the tripartite alliance of attempting to hold the multi-party negotiations process to ransom.

"We find it unacceptable that the forthcoming negotiations designed to determine the essential structure of the future South Africa should be conducted under threats of blackmail and intimidation," the statement said.

Condemning mass action

Condemning the ANC/SACP/Cosatu method of mass action, the IFP said: "The assassination of SACP secretary general Mr Chris Hani is a product of a climate of violence which has already claimed the lives of more than 250 IFP leaders.

"This climate will be exacerbated by resorting to mass action which the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance has planned for the next two

weeks."

The statement said the IFP had resolved to "reject the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance plan to use violence and mass action to hijack the negotiation process and unilaterally impose a Constituent Assembly and make demands which will prevent the establishment of true federalism in South Africa.

Critical process

"We are determined not to allow the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance to cynically manipulate this critical process for its own ends at this juncture," the statement said.

The IFP said it committed itself to protecting the rights of all South Africans to dissociate themselves from mass action and their right to continue with their daily lives, including their jobs, education and the right of free movement throughout the country.

It demanded that the Government should take adequate measures for the protection of all citizens and their property and ensure that the daily lives of people were not hindered.

No political talk ^{club} club

Pretoria's German Club — officially known as Pretoria Deutsche Verein Ltd — has reacted angrily to claims that the assassination of Chris Hani may have been discussed there by people said to be neo-Nazis. ^{11A}

The club said in a statement it did not tolerate political statements being made on its property, and was at pains to distance itself from the Hani killing.

"We do not allow political discussions, and if anyone is found to be discussing politics, they are asked to leave the premises."

Staff Reporter.

Star 19/4/93.



Major-General Bantu Holomisa

Echo of gunfire at night vigil

■ Gwala, Holomisa make militant calls:

By Abbey Makoe and Kenosi Modisane

GUNFIRE echoed at the jam-packed FNB Stadium last night when Transkei military leader General Bantu Holomisa called on people to arm themselves.

Speaking to a crowd that swelled from R60 000 to more than 100 000, ANC Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala called on the ANC-led tripartite alliance to act decisively.

"The people who plotted comrade Chris' assassination signed their own death warrant," said Gwala in an emotion-charged address.

He and Holomisa contrasted sharply with earlier calls by other ANC leaders for calm and restraint.

"When we say people should not go to work and they choose to go they are not disciplined.

Demise of apartheid

"When we say people should not buy because there is a consumer boycott and they buy, then they are not disciplined," Gwala said to chants of "Gwala, Gwala" and "The Lion of Natal".

He appealed to supporters to channel their anger at Hani's death towards the demise of apartheid.

Gwala lashed out at the Government and said it was President FW de Klerk who had called on communists to be isolated and radicals sidelined.

On the hit list found at the house of Hani's alleged assassin, Gwala said: "They are saying they will kill us one by one but we will bury them with apartheid."

He said people had not come to the stadium to mourn Hani but to take a vow to defeat apartheid.

"If we go back they kill us, if we stand still they still kill us, so let's go forward," Gwala said.

Singer Rebecca Malope sang some of her popular gospel hit songs at the night vigil.

Star 19/4/93

Hani's last journey

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Staff Reporters

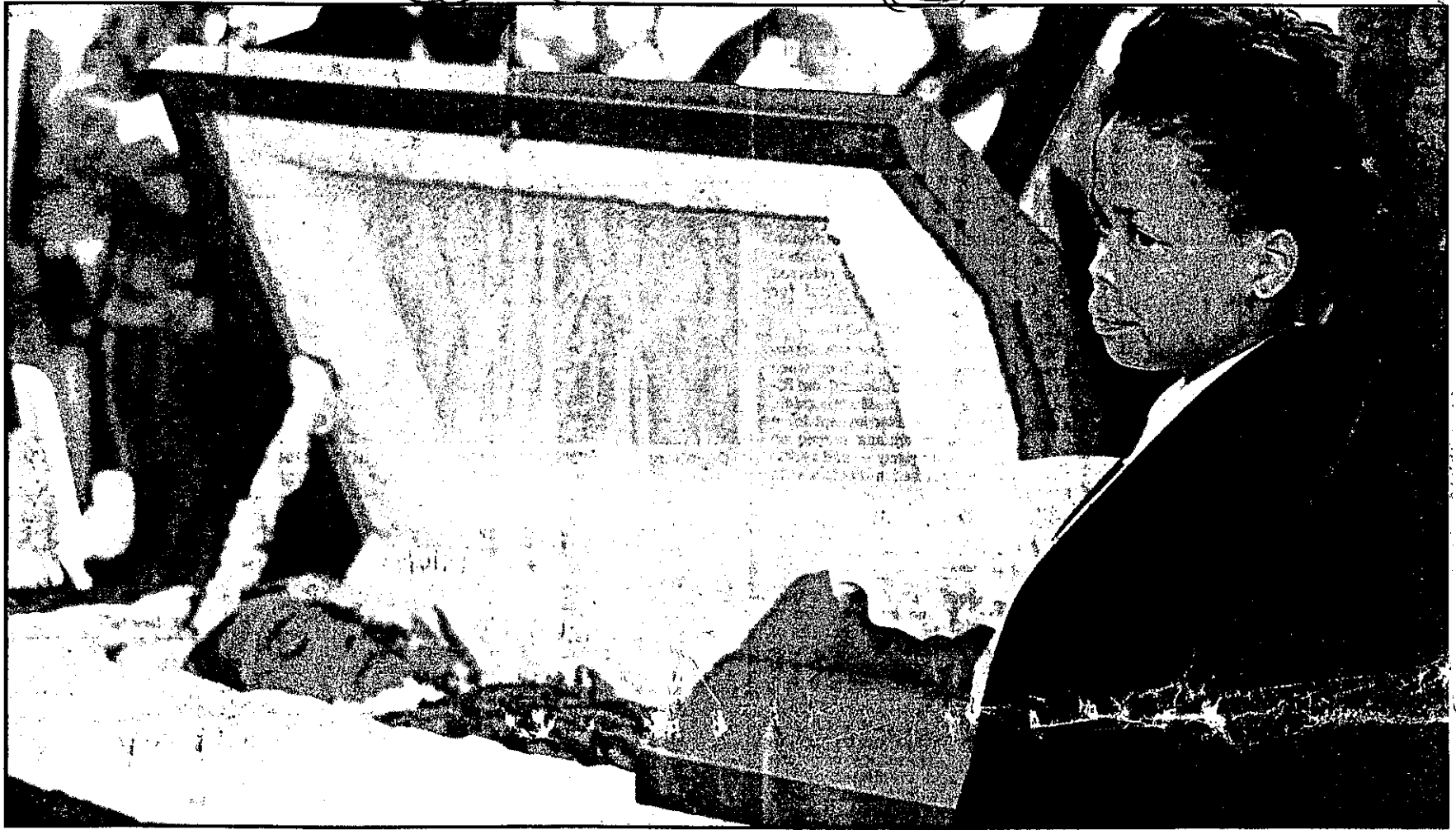
Tens of thousands of people filed past the body of slain SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani as he lay in state near Sweto yesterday while the Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat worked non-stop to prepare for today's expected massive funeral turnout.

Last night ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said co-operation between the security forces and the ANC at memorial marches last week had been the beginning of joint control of the security establishment, while Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel accused the ANC of misusing Hani's death for political propaganda purposes.

But peacekeepers — elated by successes at the weekend when mass marches went off largely peacefully — are set to swing the peacekeeping mechanism back into place today to prevent the funeral marches from degenerating into violence.

The peace secretariat expects a huge response to the funeral, which has been accompanied by a call from the ANC alliance for businesses to close down during a "national day of mourning".

With weekend marches in



Last look . . . Chris Hani's daughter Nomakhwezi beside his coffin at the FNB Stadium yesterday.

Picture: Ken Oosterbroek

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Johannesburg, the Vaal Triangle and Pretoria marred only by the killing of two people by an alleged rightwinger, and isolated incidents of trouble in the Johannesburg CBD, the ANC will have between 12 000 and 16 000 marshals in action to control the funeral crowd. Coming from across the Reef, crowds are to converge on South Park cemetery in Germiston and on the Boksburg suburb of Dawn Park, where Hani lived.

Police have warned motorists to avoid the funeral route. Witwatersrand police spokes-

star 19/4/93

Peacekeepers prepare for final journey

man Colonel Dave Bruce said the procession was likely to be emotionally charged, "so the fewer outsiders, the better".

The route will start at the First National Bank Stadium near Nasrec and move down the M1 to the Westgate interchange. It will then follow the M2 East and move on to the N3 through to South Park cemetery.

The procession is expected to start at about noon, although it could be delayed by proceedings at the stadium. The burial is expected to be at 2 pm.

The Government, after wide consultation, will not send a representative to Hani's funeral, President de Klerk's office said last night.

"The Government has already expressed its condolences in an appropriate manner during the past week," it said in a statement.

Kriel said action would be taken against anyone who broke the law.

"We will know tomorrow evening whether the leaders are in control of their supporters," he said. "The attitude of the police

(11A) (22A)
will be 'if you act within the law you do not have to fear the security forces, but if you transgress the law, force will be used to maintain law and order'."

Kriel, who cut short a visit to eastern Europe on Friday, said Hani's death was tragic, but that it was shocking how the ANC "was misusing it for political propaganda".

Speaking on SABC-TV, Ramaphosa said the high level of co-operation between the ANC and police last week had been the beginning of joint control of the security forces, reports

Sapa.

Ramaphosa said the co-operation had been particularly successful during Saturday's memorial marches.

His organisation and the SAP had also been in constant communication in preparation for today's funeral.

"What has been played out is instructive... This is the embryonic stages of joint control of the security forces," he said.

Although the immediate peacekeeping challenge abates with today's burial, the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance on Friday announced a six-week programme of rolling mass action, to start from tomorrow.

Power tussle behind killing

— Winnie (11A)

LONDON — A power struggle within the ANC may have been behind the killing of Chris Hani, Winnie Mandela has claimed.

The London Sunday Times quotes her as claiming a leadership clash has flared because Nelson Mandela, her estranged husband and ANC president, is "very sick" and might not have long to live.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus dismissed the claims as untrue "in their entirety and bordering on the ridiculous".

He added that Nelson Mandela was "in fine fettle".

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the report was in the same spirit as previous scurrilous reports from that paper on the ANC and Winnie Mandela.

Mrs Mandela's dramatic allegation was made to unnamed confidants who were told she suspects moderate ANC elements conspired with the Government to eliminate Hani.

But Mrs Mandela has produced no evidence for her allegations and the newspaper says her claim will be seen as part of her continuing attack on the ANC leadership. — Star Bureau.

Vengeance call

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The national peace committee was taking very seriously ANC national executive committee member Peter Moka-ba's call to the youth to avenge Chris Hani's death, and would meet the ANC as a matter of urgency, peace committee chairman John Hall said yesterday.

Sapa reports that Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer urged all farmers' associations to activate their security committees. ANC Youth League threats to kill farmers were seen in a serious light.

6/10/87 19/10/87

Big farewell for Hani

■ HAMBALAH KAHLE

11A

Dignitaries pay last

respects at vigil:

Soweto 19/4/93.

By Luluma Luti and Themba Molefe

THE BIGGEST FUNERAL in the political history of South Africa takes place today when slain SACP chief Chris Hani is buried in Boksburg.

The funeral coincides with the arrest of Conservative Party member Mr Clive Derby-Lewis in connection with Hani's assassination.

Last week leaders called on employers to close shop and allow workers to attend the funeral. This was tantamount to calling for a stayaway, they explained yesterday.

Police at the weekend said Derby-Lewis was arrested after intensive interrogation of alleged assassin Janusz Walus.

The CP leader, who is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, will appear in court today.

Hani was killed at his house on April 10.

Thousands of ANC and SACP members and supporters are expected at the funeral service which is due to begin at 9am at the FNB Stadium outside Johannesburg today.

This follows an eventful vigil which began at noon at the stadium yesterday.

Scores of mourners began converging on the stadium from all over the country as early as Friday afternoon for the funeral.

Tumultuous welcome

Also expected to attend the funeral were members of the diplomatic corps.

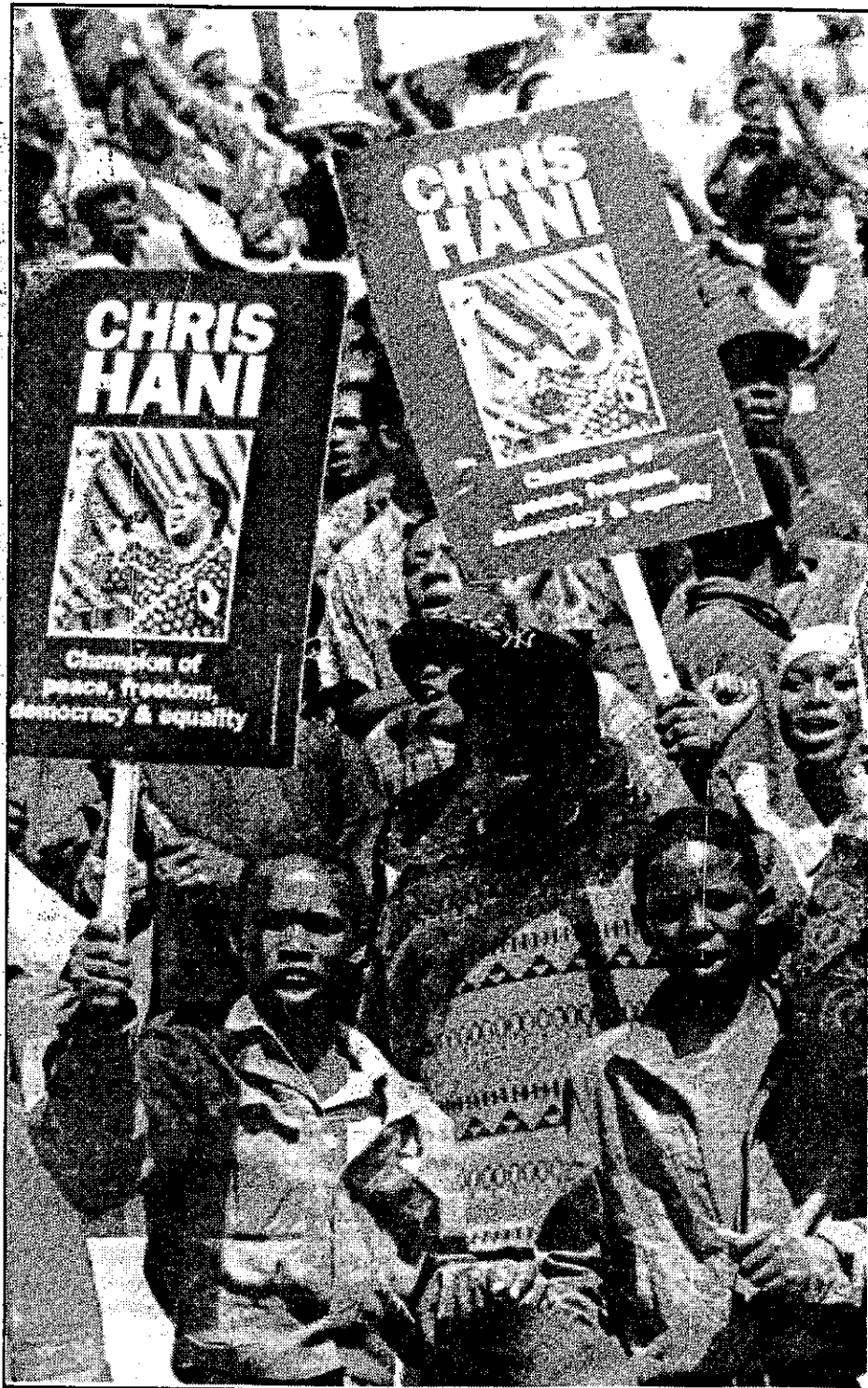
ANC Natal Midlands chairman Mr Harry Gwala, Mrs Winnie Mandela and Major-General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei received a tumultuous welcome as they arrived to view Hani's body.

Several foreign dignitaries, including former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Organisation of African Unity chief Brigadier Hassim Mbita, were among those introduced to the more than 60 000 mourners.

At the FNB this morning, ANC president Nelson Mandela is expected to give the main address following tributes by Hani's comrades, including SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo, MK commander Mr Joe Modise, ANC NEC member Mrs Ruth Mompati and ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba.

After a sermon conducted by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the cortege is due to wind its way along a 47km route to the Elspark Cemetery in Boksburg for a private family burial.

Hani's burial will be a culmination of a series of events since his assassination.



LAST FAREWELL ... Thousands of mourners yesterday converged on the FNB Stadium, near Soweto, to pay homage to slain ANC and SACP leader Mr Chris Hani. His body lay in state at the soccer field where a funeral service will be held today.

Last Wednesday the country was brought to a standstill when workers stayed away to attend memorial services in his honour.

Incidents of looting

The nationwide stayaway was marred by incidents of looting and vandalism in various parts of the country.

Five people were killed and more than 200

injured when police opened fire on marchers outside the Protea police station in Soweto following a service addressed by Mandela at the Jabulani Amphitheatre where he appealed for peace and calm.

Mandela was among ANC and SACP leaders who viewed Hani's body during a solemn moment of silence at last night's vigil as more and more people arrived at the stadium.

THE NATION MOURNS - Thousands observe service with dignity, solemnity

60 000 join hands at stadium

Sowetan 19/4/93

(S) *(11A)*

By Lulama Luti and Themba Molefe

A CROWD of about 60 000 people went silent as a solemn convoy of cars led by the hearse carrying the body of Mr Chris Hani entered FNB Stadium yesterday afternoon.

Only a police helicopter hovering above the stadium shattered the dignified silence.

Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres in their green military uniform formed a guard of honour to let the body of their hero and leader pass on to the pitch.

Behind them were leaders of the SACP/ANC/Cosatu alliance. These included SA Communist Party chairman

Attention also focuses on grieving widow and daughters:

Mr Joe Slovo, ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo.

Wearing white gloves, eight MK cadres carried the steel-gold coffin to a marquee where Hani's body lay in state from about 1pm.

The MK procession was followed by the chairman of the ANC PWV region, Mr Tokyo Sexwale.

An array of colour around the marquee was formed against the background of a clear blue sky.

Dressed in purple and black, the Catholic Mothers Union formed their own line around the tent.

From the hearse a group of clergymen led by a procession followed the MK cadres bearing the coffin. Behind them was Sexwale.

He had in his hand a white quilted pillow with Hani's characteristic green military cap propped on top.

Directly behind Sexwale were the Hani children - Neo (20) and Khwezi (15) who flanked their youngest sister Lindiwe (8). They all looked calm.

Attention also focused on a very collected Limpho Hani, the widow, who had been protected from the spotlight for the past 10 days by the ANC leadership. Chris Hani, former MK chief of staff,

SACP general-secretary and ANC NEC member, at last lay in state. By 2pm the viewing of his body had begun.

First came the family, the church women, the alliance's leadership, the MK combatants and a single file of the 60 000-strong crowd.

The vigil had begun and it had its highlights.

Chairman of the Natal Midlands region of the ANC Mr Harry Gwala was given a roar of approval and cheers when he strolled into the marquee, surrounded by his executive members and bodyguards.

He viewed the body after former Zambian president and ANC friend Dr Kenneth Kaunda had done so.

Eight MK cadres carried the coffin to a marquee where Hani's body lay in state

At 3.30pm Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa came through to the stadium and was applauded when he came to the marquee.

At 4pm ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo and deputy-president Mr Walter Sisulu arrived amid roars of applause from the huge crowd.

NEWS Vanderbijlpark shooting mars marches ● Patriotic Front may form election bloc

LP to fly ANC flag during polls

■ Bilateral talks lead to agreement on election strategy:

Sowetan 19/4/93

*SAPA
11A*

THE Labour Party's national executive committee decision to fight the general election under the banner of the African National Congress was an endorsement of a unanimous decision taken by the LP's national congress in December, the party's media spokesman, Mr Peter Hendrickse, said yesterday.

He said Mr Popo Molefe, a member of the ANC's election commission, addressed the quarterly LP's NEC meeting held in Cape Town on Saturday.

"We have been involved in bilateral discussions with the ANC for some time on this matter. Our national congress unanimously decided to enter into alliance talks with the ANC and report back to our NEC, which is what we did.

"At the last Patriotic Front conference in Lenasia there was a proposal from the ANC that we enter the election under their colours," Mr Hendrickse said.

"We had a meeting with the ANC last Tuesday and had discussions with Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, deputy President Mr Walter Sisulu, general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and deputy general secretary Mr Jacob Zuma where we discussed the logistics."

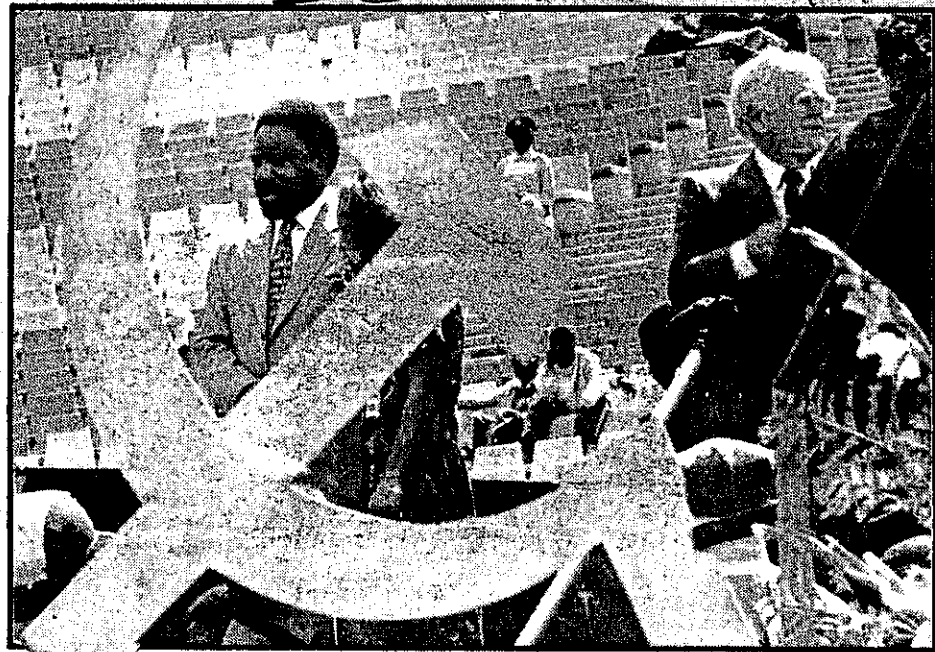
The fact that Molefe had flown to Cape Town to address the NEC meeting showed the importance the ANC attached to its relationship with the LP.

"Every region of the party participated fully in the debate at our congress and the decision was unanimously supported by all 11 regions of the LP. We therefore do not foresee any split in our party.

"What we do now have is direction because the uncertainty is gone. We will now start setting up contact with other organisations in the Patriotic Front in preparation for the election." - *Sapa*.

A nation mourns as the body of Chris Hani is brought onto the pitch at the FNB Stadium to lie in state. More than 60 000 mourners later filed past the casket to pay their last respects to the slain general secretary of the SACP.

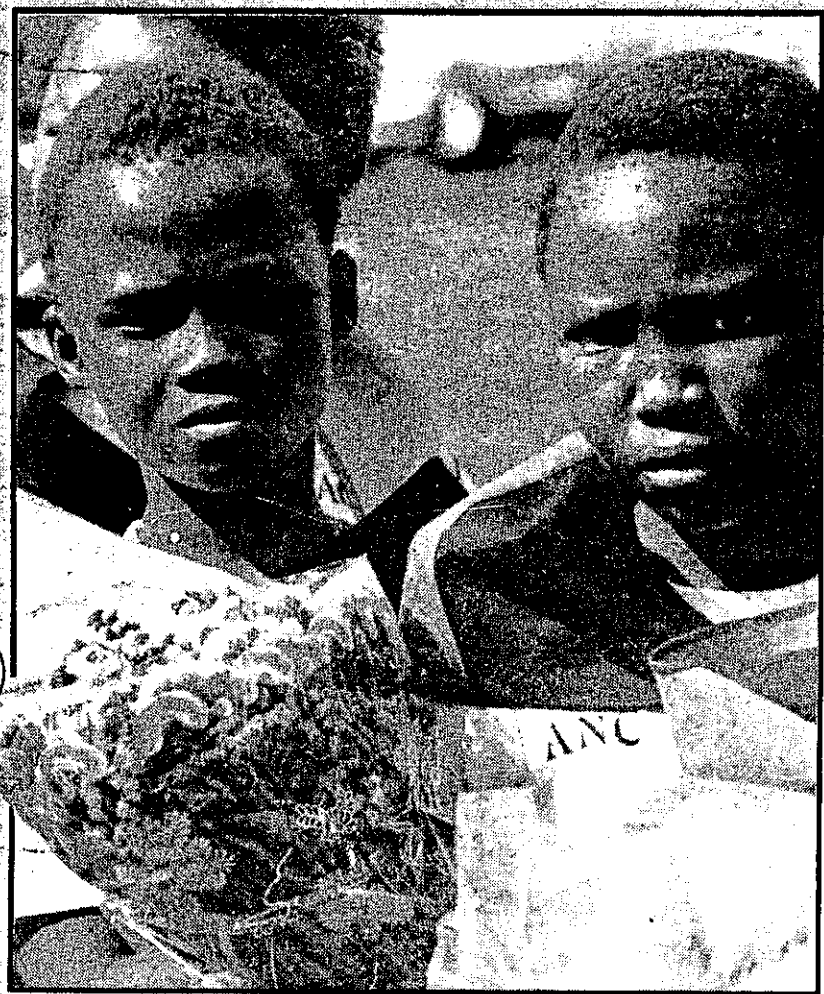
Sowetan 19/4/93



(Above) ANC leaders Cyril Ramaphosa and Chris Hani framed by a large insignia of the SACP.



(Right) Members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto weSizwe in formation at the FNB Stadium yesterday.



11A

Young mourners line up at the FNB Stadium to lay wreaths at the coffin bearing the body of Chris Hani.

Stories in this supplement by Themba Molefe and Joshua Raboroko and graphics and design by John Tsatsi and Morero Nkhomo

CHRIS HANI

Thousands pay their respects

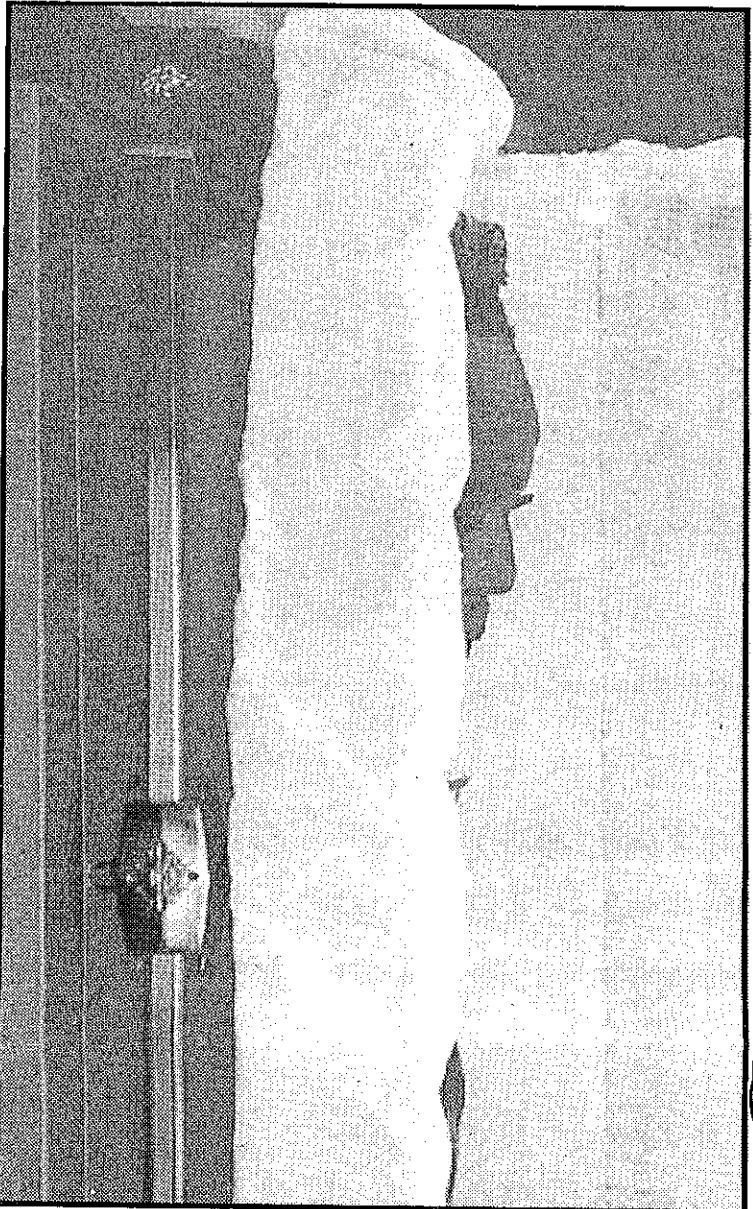
Argus Correspondents in Johannesburg

TENS of thousands of people filed past the body of slain SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani as he lay in state near Soweto, while the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat worked non-stop to prepare for today's massive funeral turnout.

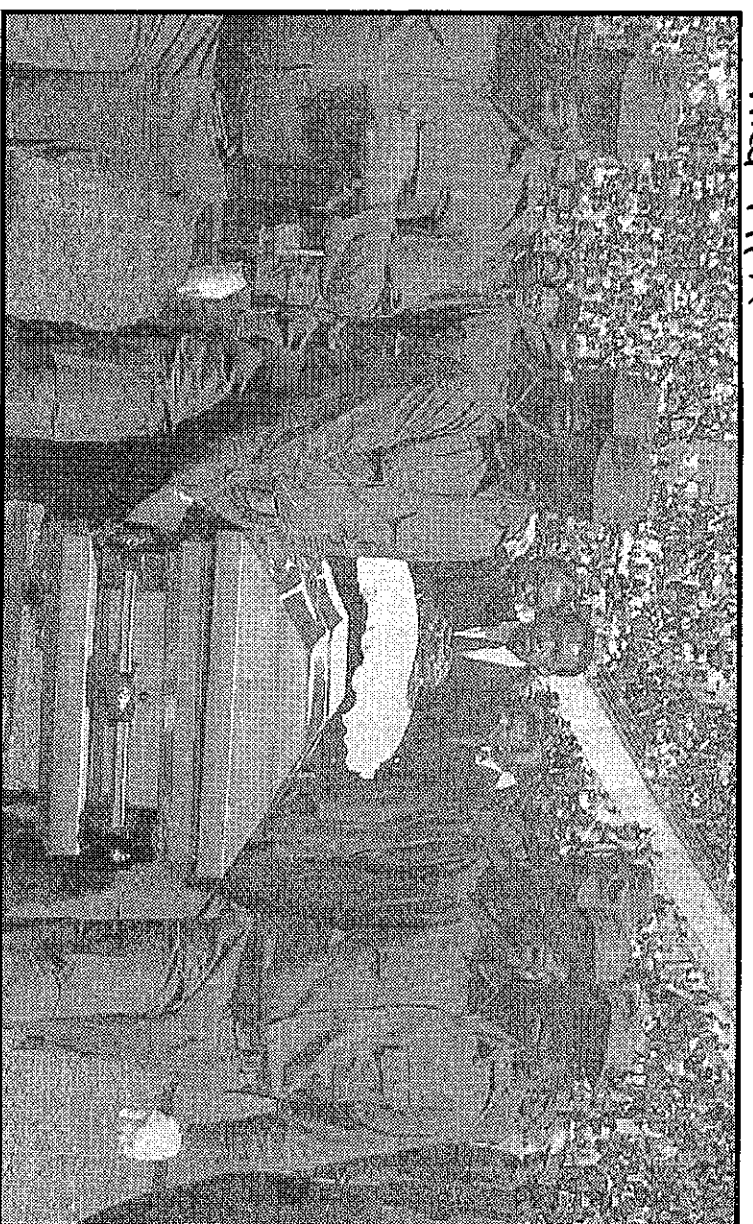
Elated by successes at the weekend when mass marches went off largely peacefully, peace workers, ANC officials and the police worked today to prevent the funeral from degenerating into violence.

Yesterday the FNB stadium ceremony drew tens of thousands who passed silently by the bronze coffin where Mr Hani lay, dressed in his camouflage uniform.

When the bronze coffin arrived at the stadium just after noon, there was silence from 20 000 people for more than 20 minutes. An MK guard of honour carried the body from a cream hearse to an open marquee in front of the main stand.



SLAIN LEADER: Assassinated Communist Party leader Chris Hani lies in state at the FNB stadium in Soweto. Thousands of mourners filed past to pay their respects.



BEARING THE CHIEF: Members of Mkhonto we Sizwe carry the coffin of their leader into the stadium. A vigil for Mr Hani was kept throughout last night.

11A

ARG 19/4/93

A police spotter plane circled overhead.

An SAP helicopter occasionally came over as well, but otherwise there were no signs of security forces.

Mr Hanzi's peaked MK cap was carried on an enormous silk cushion and placed beside his coffin.

Mr Hanzi was former chief-of-staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and MK cadres were the first to view the body after his family.

An hour before the body arrived, ANC president Nelson Mandela and MK leader Joe Modise had inspected the arrangements on the field while marshals kept journalists back.

Wearing a blue tracksuit, Mr Mandela stood with Mr Modise to take the salute as successive groups of MK cadres marched past in slow-time: a rehearsal for the funeral.

About 70 international and local diplomats and VIPs viewed the body. The National Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party were absent.

So was the Angolan government, host to MK training camps for years.

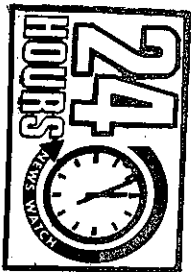
The endless procession past the body was punctuated by emotional welcomes for figures such as former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, Zimbabwean Minister of Home Affairs Dumisa Dabengwa and Transkeian military leader Bantu Holomisa. ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo and deputy president Walter Sisulu arrived at the stadium and made their way slowly to the centre of the field to pause by the coffin.

They were accompanied by members of the National Executive Committee.

When ANC president Nelson Mandela arrived later in the afternoon he had been greeted with a standing ovation and screaming cheers.

Several religious leaders said that for the youth of South Africa, Mr Hanzi's death had to be compared to that of Jesus Christ.

Catholic priest Father Michael Lepelly, Mr Hanzi's minister in exile, told the solemn crowd that Mr Hanzi was being mourned by millions because he had never lost touch with the grass roots and he was "the bravest of the brave".



After the ceremony the stadium erupted into cheering and singing as Mandela and his entourage left, then the crowd settled down to enjoy the 100 000 packages of fruit and sandwiches distributed by Freedom Caterers.

By nightfall, more than 50 000 people had been to the stadium. In Soweto, groups of youths still waited along the streets for transport to the stadium. A few walked the 5 km.

After Mr Mandela had viewed Mr Hanzi's body about 6.45 last night, the religious night vigil began and the stadium fell silent.

With huge weekend marches in Johannesburg, the Vaal and Pretoria marred only by the shooting of two people by an alleged rightwinger, and isolated incidents of trouble in the Johannesburg CBD, the focus was on keeping today's funeral an orderly event of respect.

The ANC had between 12 000 and 16 000 marshals in action to control the funeral crowd, as it poured across the Reef, converging on South Park cemetery in Germiston and on the Boksburg suburb of Dawn Park, where Mr Hanzi lived.

Police warned motorists to avoid the funeral route.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Dave Bruce said the procession was likely to be an emotionally charged, "so the fewer outsiders, the better".

The procession was expected to start about noon, although it could be delayed by proceedings at the stadium.

Last night Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said the funeral would mark "a decisive day", reports Sapa.

"We will know tonight whether the leaders are in control of their supporters," Mr Kriel said.

"The attitude of the police will be 'if you act within the law you do not have to fear the security forces, but if you transgress the law, force will be used to maintain law and order'."



IN STEP: Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo and ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa dance during the vigil for Mr Hanzi in Soweto.

Work for peace 'to honour Hani'

Political Staff

DR ALLAN Boesak has called on South Africans to honour Mr Chris Hani by continuing to work for democracy and peace.

In an open letter to the nation, the Western Cape ANC chairman said the waves of division, anger, retribution, fear, intolerance and uncertainty were engulfing the country again.

"People are calling for revenge and others are rejoicing in the success of the violence they have triggered. Some are pleading for calm and dignity and others are prompting war."

He said the architects of apartheid were feigning shock and surprise at

the anger sweeping through the nation, but they were reaping the harvest of their inhuman reign.

The majority of South Africans would mourn the loss of a comrade and friend today, Dr Boesak said.

"The majority of our people will cry for the pain of decades gone by and our pleas for justice and peace that fell on deaf ears."

South Africans should in the midst of their anger and impatience again fall to their knees before the God of Justice and Peace, as they had in the past, and pray for grace to regain their humanity.

South Africans should view "these days not as days of mourning only, but also as days of hope and responsibility to secure freedom, seemingly so far, but yet so near," Dr Boesak said.

"We have expressed our anger and given vent to our sense of loss and tragedy. Let us now honour Chris Hani by continuing to work for democracy and peace for South Africa and all who live in her."

Meanwhile, the ANC (Western Cape) has given its support to calls for a national stayaway today. On Friday it said today would be a national day of mourning.

BUSINESS — P2 LETTERS — P11 RACING — P14 SPORT — P15 P16

Thousands gather to mourn Hani

BIDAM 19/4/93

11A

SA IS poised on a knife edge as the funeral today of slain SACP general secretary Chris Hani will be marked by a nationwide stayaway and the start of a new campaign of political pressure.

The ANC and its Cosatu and SACP allies have called for a total stayaway today, and while thousands will attend the funeral services, millions more are expected to watch its broadcast on CCV-TV from 1pm.

The alliance has also announced a six-week programme of mass action, to begin tomorrow.

Sapa reports that more than 75 000 people gathered at the FNB Stadium near Soweto yesterday to pay homage to Hani.

The coffin was met at the stadium by a platoon of about 70 uniformed Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, SACP chairman Joe Slovo and Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo. Behind the coffin were Hani's wife, Limpho, and their children.

Family members fought back their tears as the coffin was opened for viewing and a massive contingent of international and local journalists crowded around.

Sapa reports that among the thousands who filed slowly past the coffin were local and foreign dignitaries such as former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and ANC Natal Midlands firebrand Harry Gwala.

While the crowd ululated, sang songs, toyi-toyed in the stands and chanted slogans throughout the day, the biggest applause was saved for ANC president Nelson Mandela, who arrived in a motor

RAY HARTLEY

cavalcade shortly after 6.30pm.

Mandela said the huge turnout showed the people held their future in their own hands. "As one man has said, it is true Chris Hani is not dead. There are many men and women throughout the world who have fallen, but whose works and achievements still inspire us."

With mourners still arriving in their thousands from as far afield as Transkei and Cape Town, officials decided to extend the period Hani would lie in state until 11pm. An all-night vigil followed.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu will deliver the sermon at the funeral service.

Police kept a low profile at the stadium, with few vehicles patrolling the perimeter and a police helicopter circling occasionally overhead. But the area teemed with ANC marshals who displayed the same firm hand they had the day before.

The office of the Witwatersrand Vaal peace secretariat has been turned into a 24-hour operations centre co-ordinating the monitoring of protests and demonstrations related to the funeral.

Monitors are expecting about 250 000 people to attend ceremonies at Southpark cemetery in Germiston and the stadium.

Between 150 and 200 monitors would be operating throughout the day and night at any given time, a peace official said.

Peace officials had reached an agreement with Witwatersrand police on the use of "three lines of defence" in crowd control. The peace official said the ANC's marshals would act first to control the

To Page 2

Hani

BIDAM 19/4/93

11A

From Page 1

situation, but if they failed, international and local peace monitors would intervene. Police would act as a last resort.

Hundreds of traffic officers from Johannesburg, Boksburg and Germiston will monitor the cortege of mourners from the stadium to the graveside.

The mourners, using 300 buses and a convoy of private cars, will travel on the M1 north between Nasrec and town, and the M2 east between town and Boksburg. Both highways will be sealed to all other traffic from 1pm.

Johannesburg traffic chief Mike Davis said the extreme traffic measures were decided on because of concerns for the safety of the mourners and in the interests of minimising traffic disruption.

The Johannesburg traffic department would be responsible for the procession from Nasrec to the Geldenhuys inter-

change on the M2 east, where its Germiston and Boksburg counterparts would take over, he said.

Germiston traffic chief Tokkie Steyn said an operation involving about 150 traffic officers would then escort the cortege to a field near Hani's Dawn Park home, and the cemetery.

Traffic officials would be out in full force until tomorrow morning to deal with the dispersal of vehicles and pedestrians after the funeral, Davis said.

The traffic operation was working in close consultation with the SACP, ANC and Cosatu as well as with medical operations, Davis added.

A spokesman for the President's office said last night that after wide consultation, it had been decided not to send an official government representative to the funeral.

Picture: Page 3

OBITUARY Dr Pallo Jordan, executive member of the ANC, pays tribute to a fallen hero

MARTIN Thembisile Hani, general secretary of the South African Communist Party (SACP), was brutally assassinated on Saturday, April 10 1993 in the drive-

way of his garage in Dawn Park, a suburb of Boksburg.

Born of peasant stock in Cofimvaba, Transkei, in July 1942 of a migrant worker father and a mother who never learnt to read, Hani prided himself in his origins and never lost touch with them.

His father's wages and his mother's devotion saw their son through the Catholic mission school where he received his primary education, then Lovedale and Fort Hare.

Growing up during the highly-politicised fifties, Hani was attracted first to the ideas of the Unity Movement, then well-represented among teachers in the Cape.

By the time he left Lovedale in 1958, he had transferred his allegiance to the ANC Youth League.

Articled clerk

He joined the underground SACP in Cape Town where he was attached to an attorney's firm as an articled clerk. During the course of that same year, he was recruited into the fledgling cells of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

On joining MK he adopted a nom de guerre, "Chris Nkosana". Nkosana was shed somewhere along the way, but Chris stuck to him as if it had always been there.

Few could have guessed then what an indelible mark this young man would make on the politics of his country.

Chris topped the poll at the ANC's national conference in July 1991. In November 1992 the Makinor Opinion Survey found that next to Mandela, he was the second most popular politician in South Africa.

A man of rare quality and varied talents, he could strike a chord with aged peasants in the homelands, workers in the factories and mines, squatters in the teeming informal settlements and with the youth of the urban areas.

Yet he was easily at home among the learned.

His knowledge of classical Greek and Latin literature was legendary and surprised Dr Gerrit Viljoen during a brief encounter at the DF Malan talks in 1991. He could hold his own among businessmen and diplomats.

Top South African journalists and editors first found him aloof and enigmatic when they first met him at Zambia's Luangwa Valley in 1986. In time they were to discover an easy-going, jocular and extremely charming person behind the media-created image of the "arch terrorist".

Among his colleagues on the leading bodies of the ANC, Hani was known for his vigour and honesty. He did not suffer fools gladly and would push an unpopular cause if he felt it was right.

ANC supporters saw him as an implacable

Hani has left a yawning gap

■ **EASY GOING** *A man of rare quality, he struck*

a chord with people in all walks of life:

and consistently militant opponent of racism and economic exploitation.

Hani was the first man across the Zambezi when MK joined the fighters of Zapu in the Wankie Campaign. When the ANC leadership saw the need to systematically rebuild its organisational underground inside South Africa, he was the first member of its NEC to enter the country on that mission.

He earned the respect and love of the rank-and-file fighters of MK as a leader who led from the front. He once again displayed his military prowess in the campaigns waged in Angola in 1983 and 1984.

Passionate man

Chris Hani's courage was one dimension of this highly-talented person. An extremely passionate man who held very strong convictions, he often had occasion to tell MK trainees that passion in a revolutionary struggle was not out of place provided it was guided by the compass of reason.

Consequently, he emphasised a thorough knowledge of the ANC's programme, Strategy and Tactics, while he was MK commissar, ensuring that the training camps were well provided with reading materials, educational programmes and a literacy programme for those denied a basic education.

Hani was recognised as a military and political strategist in both the ANC and SACP.

He personally attributed this to his intellectual outlook to which he also traced his hatred of tyranny.

He had few pretensions as a Marxist theoretician and saw his commitment to socialism as consistent with his passion for freedom.

The sense of urgency with which he pushed for economic programmes that would uplift the poorest and most exploited derived more from his personal experience and knowledge of the realities of poverty than dogma.

To friend and foe he came to personify a commitment to those who were poor.

A life-long communist, Hani nonetheless rejected the Stalinist practices to which the party

he led had in the past fallen prey.

He respected the rights of political minorities in both the SACP and the ANC and was never tempted into condemning those who held heterodox views. Though his name became closely associated with the suppression of the mutinies in 1984, he was among the first to call for an amnesty for those implicated in it.

He was always strict with himself, remaining physically fit and maintaining a punishing schedule till the last. Hani, however, never became the stern "Prussian" military man. He was a man who loved life, warm, generous, extremely humane with a great sense of humour.

"My life could be very short," he used to joke. "I have to pack into it as much joy as is possible."

A sharp intellect gave him the ability to cut through a lot of the humbug that usually goes with politics. He was also a very modest and caring human being.

Accessible to all

In both the Luthuli Detachment of MK veterans and among the members of more recent detachments established after 1976, Hani was known for his ability to relate to all. As a commissar of long standing, he was accessible to all and had the unique ability to listen to and take seriously the views of others, especially juniors in rank.

Oliver Tambo once told us that a combatant in the liberation army was a soldier of a special kind. She/he must have a strong sense of responsibility towards the people in whose name she/he is fighting; must be animated by patriotism and partisanship to the ideals of democracy and freedom.

A soldier of the revolution is disciplined not of fear of the commanders but has a discipline that derives from a deep commitment to values, principles and ideals of the revolution.

She/he must feel rooted in the people and their struggles, large and small. She/he is first a political activist and only secondly a soldier.

Hani tried to live his life by these norms. His assassination leaves a yawning gap in the ranks of the ANC's leading bodies.

He will be sorely missed.



Dr Pallo Jordan

Hani was the first man across the Zambezi when MK joined the fighters of Zapu in the Wankie Campaign. When the ANC leadership saw the need to systematically rebuild its organisation underground inside South Africa, he was the first member of its NEC to enter the country on that mission

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FOCUS *Armed struggle, political tolerance and Government 'deceit'*



Hani's last words

THE QUESTION OF peace is not a new question for our ANC-led alliance. All along, we have understood that the struggle for democracy and national liberation was also a struggle for peace in our country.

The very things we were fighting against - colonial occupation and dispossession, white minority rule, and a brutal capitalism - were, and remain, the seed-bed of the violence our people are suffering.

When we finally launched an armed struggle, we were not abandoning our quest for peace, we were pursuing that quest in the most effective way left to us by a brutal regime.

Over the decades, deploying mass struggle, armed struggle, underground work and building international solidarity, we finally forced the white minority regime to negotiate with our liberation movement. This was our victory.

Negotiations process

In the interest of speeding up the negotiations process, in August 1990 we announced the suspension of armed struggle. Our strategic deployment of violence was put on hold.

The regime did not suspend its own strategic use of violence. Since 1990, it has pursued a twin-track strategy: it negotiates with our forces but, at the same time, it has also deployed, often with devastating effects, something else.

In the words of the ancient Chinese philosopher, Confucius: "The beginning of wisdom is calling things by their right names."

In 1990 and for much of 1991 we were slow to recognise and call this second leg of the regime's strategy, by its right name. We sometimes called it the "Third Force", as if the First Force had nothing to do with it. We sometimes called it Inkatha, or war lords, or whatever.

We were slow to recognise it for what it really was - a systematic strategy of Low Intensity Warfare. This LIW was not opposed to their negotiations strategy, it was part and parcel of it. It was not a military strategy, but a political strategy with a military component. Its mode of functioning is:

- To sow terror and confusion in ANC-supporting communities;
- To assassinate key ANC and alliance second and third layer leaders;
- To disguise the controlling hand using a series of proxy forces - Askaris, Inkathas, Renamos, CCBs, KZPs, CDFs, and even ANC factions; and
- To project the violence as "ethnic", as mindless ANC-Inkatha violence, as faction fighting, etcetera, etcetera.

The aim of all this is:

- To discredit the ANC and its allies and leaders;
- To confuse and demoralise our support

This an edited version of the last major speech delivered by South African Communist Party chief Chris Hani on the East Rand on April 2, a few days before he was assassinated at his Dawn Park, Boksburg, home:

● To portray blacks as "incapable of ruling the country"; and

- To enable the NP to control the process of transition on its own terms.

LIW is essentially a political strategy. Our counter-strategy has, therefore, also to be essentially political. The key to countering LIW in our specific situation is to uncover it publicly, to smoke it out, and in so doing raise the political price the regime pays for deploying this strategy.

Since the Inkathagate scandal and the Boipatong massacre we have started to reverse De Klerk's earlier successes with LIW. More and more Low Intensity Warfare has moved from low cost to high cost, politically, for De Klerk.

It is in this context that we need to understand the National Peace Accord.

There is a tendency among some comrades to dismiss the National Peace Accord on the grounds that it has not brought peace. To expect peace to emerge from the signing of a document and from solemn declarations made by politicians was never a scientific expectation.

Political cost

With all its limitations, the NPA and the structures that have emerged from it, have played a role in escalating the political cost of LIW. The NPA and associated structures have opened a few windows on SADF and SAP actions. And that has been crucially important.

It is imperative that the ANC and its allies become even bolder and more creative in building a major momentum for peace. We must draw in new forces, across the political spectrum and in every sector into the process. We must relate energetically to Inkatha members on the ground. We must spearhead the peace process, and we must ensure that no momentum is lost.

Does our peace campaign mean that we renounce the need to defend our communities? Of course not. We negotiated hard to ensure that the right to form Self Defence (or Protection) Units was enshrined within the Peace Accord itself.

In many areas SDUs have played a critical role. But the record of SDUs has been uneven. It is essential here too that the ANC and its allies take the lead. It is we who must take the lead in critically examining the track-record of SDUs.



Chris Hani

It is imperative that we learn from our weaknesses, and that we take steps to expel undisciplined elements.

We also need to think creatively about the future of SDUs. We have never seen SDUs as private armies for the ANC and its allies, nor have we thought of them as a cover for maintaining and building MK. SDUs were conceived in response to the desperate pleas of township dwellers. All along we said they should be non-partisan, community-based, not politically affiliated. At the same time we, as political formations, in the face of the massive escalation of violence, were duty-bound to assume responsibility for their organisation.

Peace structures

We need now to debate the merits and possible problems of formally locating township SDUs within the structures of the National Peace Accord. In this way we might be able to make both the SDUs and the NPA more effective. The SDUs might be able to receive proper training and equipment, the NPA might increasingly be able to move away from an over reliance on the SAP at the ground level. We need, at least, to think and debate this possibility.

Finally, I have not said anything about political tolerance. We as the ANC-led alliance have nothing to fear, and everything to gain from a climate of political tolerance. Our track-record of struggle and our vision of national democratic Reconstruction is what has won for us the high moral ground.

THE NATION MOURNS Suburb reflects w

Celebrities drive crowds wild

100 of Sowetan 19/4/93. 11A
■ Festive mood as ANC supporters pay homage to Hani:

By Ruth Bhengu

THE mood was festive when thousands of ANC supporters from all over the country gathered at FNB Stadium last night for a vigil for assassinated South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani.

The mourners, estimated at about 20 000 around midday, had swelled to more than 60 000 at 4pm yesterday and more people were streaming in.

The stadium reverberated with cheers and whistles when ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo arrived to view the body of Hani, who was slain nine days ago.

Tambo was accompanied by a large contingent of the ANC's tripartite alliance, among them ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Jay Naidoo of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the ANC's Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing and Miss Thenji Mtintso of the SACP.

Former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda was among the dignitaries.

Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa and Natal Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala drew loud cheers and applause when they entered the stadium.

The first people to view the body were

Hani's family followed by ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Cosatu's Naidoo and SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo.

A cross-section of people filed through the marquee to pay their last respects to Hani as they sang revolutionary songs including "Hamba kahle Mkhonto".

The irony was apparent when Mr Carl Niehaus, who is an Afrikaner, sang "Thina aboMkhonto sizimisele ukubulala amabhunu" (We of Umkhonto are prepared to kill the boers).

A lone demonstrator was draped in chains and wore a pair of khaki pants.

"I want to show the leaders that black people are still in bondage despite the negotiations taking place," said Mr Golden Miles Bhudu, an executive member of the South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights.

"These chains that I have been wearing for the past two years are meant to symbolise slavery and the hardship that our people have had to endure in this so-called new South Africa," he said.

Poet Mzwakhe Mbuli took the stage and introduced the "young lions", among them Mr Peter Mokaba, the president of the ANC Youth League - and the crowd went wild.

Sorrow of a widow

Chris Hani's grieving widow, Limpho, with Mrs Adelaide Tambo at her side, arrives at the FNB Stadium where her husband was lying in state yesterday.



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TEARS FOR CHRIS

*11A
Sowetan
19/4/93*

A SOLEMN crowd of about 60 000 paid their last respects to slain SACP general secretary Chris Hani at the FNB Stadium yesterday. Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres in their green military uniform formed a guard of honour to let the body of their hero and leader pass on to the pitch. More than 100 000 people are expected to attend the funeral service which starts at 9 am at the FNB Stadium today.

See stories pages 2, 4, 5, 6 & 7



'Chris Hani was a people's hero'

Sowetan 19/4/93

11A



Chris was a radical. There are those who want to make the word radical into a swear word. They want to divide the forces of democracy into moderates and radicals. Let me make it clear that I have always been a radical. To be radical in South Africa simply means to understand the roots of apartheid oppression and to be unshakably committed to its elimination. Chris' commitment to democracy was neither formal nor abstract. He fought for a democracy which entailed empowerment of each and everyone of us. He wanted the people to be shapers of their own destiny. He wanted people to determine the quality of their lives. He wanted their lives to actually and fundamentally change in material and spiritual terms. That is why the hostel and shack dwellers, the landless peasant, the exploited worker and the jobless were the focus of his life. Chris was a soldier of the liberation struggle. Chris' understanding of oppression and exploitation enabled him to grasp the special character of the oppression of women in our country. He understood their relationship to the building of a democratic future. For him, unless the question of the liberation of women was seen as integral part of the democratic process, that democracy would be deformed. All his activities were therefore guided by the need to empower the women of our country. Chris was a revolutionary. As a revolutionary, his vision was not simply confined to the present. It was anchored in the future. He understood more than many of us that the youth are our future, our chief investment.

■ AN EXTRACT FROM MANDELA'S FUNERAL ORATION TODAY:

He understood that the quality of the youth we produce will be a key factor in determining the character of future life in our country, the nature of the democracy that arises from our efforts. In addressing this task, Comrade Chris did not run away from or discourage the passion of our young people. He sought to harness it towards constructive tasks. That is why he constantly sought ways to get the youth of today to organise themselves as forces for peace and reconstruction. Chris was a leading figure in the building of Umkhonto weSizwe, but his commitment to MK was rooted in his politics. That is why he understood the need to use the right weapon for the right moment or terrain. Without wavering in his commitment to MK, he was able to see and communicate the changed character of the political terrain. Comrade Chris was above all a soldier for peace. Throughout his life, whether as an MK combatant in the field, his chief of staff of the MK or in political office, peace was a continuous thread in Chris' vision. In keeping with this understanding and his commitment to the organisation, he was ready to serve wherever the organisation deployed him and in whatever capacity. Comrade Chris was himself a brave soldier. He fought in the Wankie Campaign. He entered the country in 1974 at great risk to himself. This was a crucial step in the rebuilding of the liberation movement's presence in the country. This was a time when our organisation had all but been smashed. To be captured would most likely have meant torture and death.



FUNERAL



PROGRAMME

Sowetan 19/4/93

The day's proceedings will be chaired by Mr Raymond Mhlaba, National Executive Committee member of the ANC, Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the ANC.

- 9 am: Cultural tributes
- 9.30 am: Drill by cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing
- 10am: Singing of the national anthem, Nkosi Sikelele iAfrika, and the Communist anthem, the Internationale
- Opening prayer
- Messages of support: Baleka Kgositsile and Nombeko Lumka of the SACP
- Speakers: Mr Peter Mokaba, president of the ANC Youth League
- Mrs Ruth Mompoti, president of the ANC Women's League
- Mr John Gomomo, president Of the Congress of South African Trade unions

- Mr Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe
- Mr Joe Slovo, chairman SACP
- Main address: Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC
- Sermon: The Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu
- Closing prayer
- Internationale and National Anthem
- Cortege leaves for burial service at Elspark Cemetery, Boksburg
- 2pm: The burial service at the cemetery is limited to family members only

A daughter mourns

ARC 19/4/93

III A

Nomakhwesi Hani's quiet courage a tribute to her slain father

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Nomakhwesi Hani looked younger than 15 as she leaned wearily on the end of her father's coffin while dignitaries filed past to pay their last respects.

She bit her lower lip and silently acknowledged a gentle touch from ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa as he passed Chris Hani's burnished coffin to say farewell to a fallen hero.

Nomakhwesi, wearing a tartan skirt, embroidered white blouse and navy jacket, looked alone and lonely, although she was surrounded by more than 35 000 people.

Nine days ago she saw her father gunned down outside their Boksburg home.

Yesterday, she stared ahead, averting her huge eyes from her father's putty-coloured face in the open, satin-lined casket.

At her elbow was her father's MK combat cap resting on a white satin pillow.

His body was in full combat uniform.

After Joe Slovo, Mr Ramaphosa and Cosatu Chief Jay Naidoo had paid their respects, Nomakhwesi slowly moved from her father's side to join her family.

She and her sisters Lindiwe, 8, and Neo, 20, gently supported their mother, Mrs Limpho Hani, and their grandparents.

They had supported each other as they followed the casket into the FNB Stadium, standing quietly aside while MK pallbearers carried the coffin under an open canopy.

None of the girls cried, but they stared numbly at the enormous crowd come to view their father as he lay in state.

Tears filled the eyes of tough, uniformed MK members as they left their slain leader.

But, for now, Nomakhwesi, her sisters and their mother had done their crying.

The stoic dignity was more powerful in its silence than even the songs of the crowd or the tears of the leaders.

● A potential clash between hundreds of youths and the police developed early today on the Soweto Highway near the stadium.

Youths running on to the highway were pelting police parked near the freeway with rocks and stones.

ANC marshals were initially unable to contain the hundreds of youths but reinforcements were sent from the stadium.

Police fired teargas. There were no reports of injuries.

A car was set alight by mourners, prompting police to call on people to stay away from the stadium if they did not have business there.

Police also reported isolated stone-throwing. The targets appeared to be cars on the highway outside the stadium.

— Sapa.



MOURNING: Nomakhwesi Hani, 15, stands at the foot of her father's coffin as he lies in state before today's funeral at the FNB Stadium.

ANC power
rift behind
Hani killing,
says Winnie

GARNER THOMSON
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Mrs Winnie Mandela claims a power struggle within the ANC may have been behind the assassination of Chris Hani.

The London Sunday Times quotes her as claiming a leadership clash has flared within the movement because Mr Nelson Mandela, her estranged husband and ANC president, is "very sick" and might not have long to live.

Mrs Mandela's dramatic allegation — dismissed as "nonsense" by the ANC — was made to unnamed confidants who were told that she suspected moderate elements within the ANC conspired with President De Klerk's government to eliminate Mr Hani.

"The hands of certain people in the ANC are not clean. They wanted to stop Chris at any cost," she is reported as saying.

Mrs Mandela, who is said to have named two senior ANC officials as being involved in the conspiracy, claimed details of Mr Hani's movements — including details of the movement of his bodyguards — were passed to government security agents, who in turn made them known to Mr Janusz Walus.

The paper said her comments "have struck a chord among some of Mr Hani's closest supporters, who say they have not yet had "satisfactory answers" to key questions about his death.

In Pretoria, ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus denied any split and said the assassination lay "at the door of the regime".

Focus on transitional council

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were in agreement on establishing a transitional executive council before the end of May and deciding on an election date, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He said they had discussed the issues at length and had suggested the transitional council be the first item on the negotiations agenda.

However, government could not set an election date and establish the council by acting unilaterally or bilaterally with the ANC as it had to be negotiated in multiparty talks, Meyer said.

The ANC's decision to embark on mass action was going to put unnecessary pressure on the talks which were already set to proceed at top

gear on Thursday following the ANC's delay of a week.

Meyer said government was prepared to delink negotiations on the council from that of constitutional principles and an interim constitution but the ANC and Inkatha had rejected this.

However, it was a critical issue as it would establish the way forward for the talks.

The ANC and government agreed on a two-phase transitional process but other parties such as Inkatha and its allies wanted the final constitution to be negotiated in the forum with there being no interim government.

Should the forum agree to the process as outlined by government and the ANC with some amendments then the talks would be on track for elections to be held around April next year with the council and its sub-councils in place by June this year.

It was possible that the talks could move forward fast in the next six weeks, Meyer said, and a date for the elections could then be estimated more accurately.

Meyer said there was an urgency on government's part that the talks proceed as fast as possible because it would contribute significantly to improving stability in the country and improving the economy.

He was sure other parties were also anxious to see the process move forward swiftly.

Shooting of marchers slated

THE ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance yesterday condemned the shooting on Saturday of marchers protesting in Vanderbijlpark against SACP leader Chris Hani's killing.

Sapa reports that a white man in a bakkie allegedly opened fire on the crowd, killing two people and wounding two others. The man was arrested soon afterwards.

ANC PWV region deputy chairman Mathole Motshekga said police had allowed rightwingers to get close enough to the crowd to open fire.

The alliance demanded an independent inquiry into the killings; that police question the suspect "in the

same manner they deal with our people"; and that government impose the same restrictions on rightwingers attending marches as were imposed on alliance organisations.

DIRK VAN EEDEN reports that police spokesman Maj Joseph Ngo-beni said the 52-year-old suspect was still being questioned. Witwatersrand police spokesman Capt Wikus Weber said he was being held under Section 29 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

It was confirmed at the weekend that the man was a CP member. AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said although the man had attended AWB meetings, he had declined to join.

Vengeance call

CAPE TOWN — The national peace committee was taking very seriously ANC national executive committee member Peter Mokaba's call to the youth to avenge Chris Hani's death, and would meet the ANC as a matter of urgency, peace committee chairman John Hall said yesterday.

Sapa reports that Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer urged all farmers' associations to activate their security committees. ANC Youth League threats to kill farmers were seen in a serious light.

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Jittery Germiston prepares for burial

GERMISTON residents were yesterday battenng down the hatches in preparation for the burial today of SACP leader Chris Hani in the town's Southpark cemetery.

Residents said yesterday the SAP had done little to reassure them that events would not become violent. Leaflets had been issued advising them to stay calm.

A large contingent of troops took up positions on the outskirts of Dawn Park, the suburb in which Hani lived, yesterday evening. Troop carriers, jeeps and casspirs were spotted about 3km from the cemetery in which Hani will be buried.

An all-night vigil was planned at the Hani house to coincide with the vigil being held at the FNB Stadium in Soweto.

DIRK VAN EEDEN reports that AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said yesterday he had given orders to the two AWB commandos in Johannesburg, which he claimed to be 20 000 strong, to line the route from the FNB Stadium to Germiston. The men would not be in uniform and would stay inside houses along the route. They would be armed, but would only act if lives were endangered or property damaged, Terre'Blanche said.

Among residents visiting family grave plots at the cemetery yesterday, the mood was fearful. "Can you imagine thousands of blacks coming in here?" said one woman. "They might as well herd in cattle."

The cemetery is split into several sections: Greek, Catholic, Dutch Reformed. The plot chosen for Hani is away from the

**ANDY DUFFY and
MARIANNE MERTEN**

main graves in the "general" section.

A black Spruitview resident said the funeral would be peaceful unless the AWB used the funeral to provoke confrontation.

"I know the AWB is going to be here in heavy numbers," said Henry Scholz, who lives across the road from the cemetery. "If there is a confrontation between left and right then anything can happen." Scholz would not be going to work today for fear of damage to his property, while others were preparing to leave for the day.

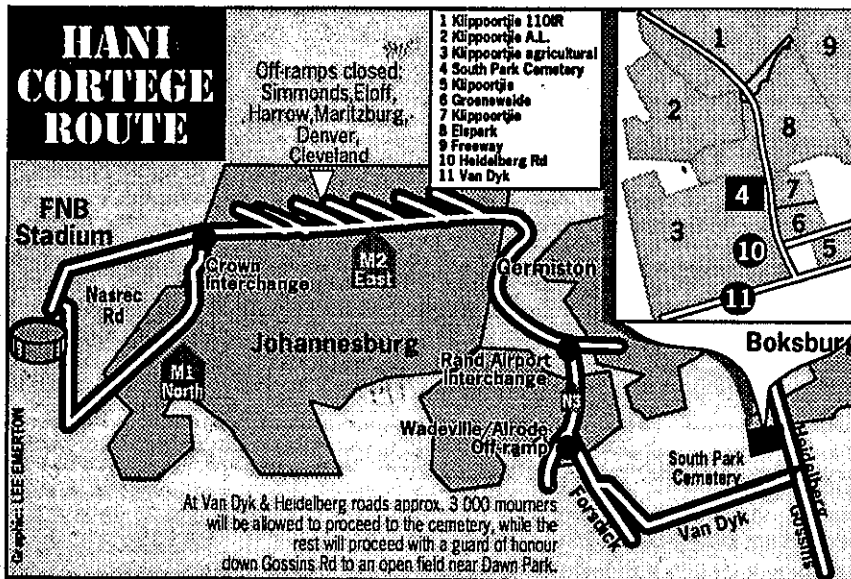
Terre'Blanche said the AWB was ready for war and the ball was in the court of Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla. "If they continue to kill people, only because they are white, we will hit them hard."

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said the right wing was forced to act as it was clear that government was no longer in control.

Koos Vermeulen of the World Apartheid Movement and the Afrikaner National Socialists said they did not want war. However, if any lives were lost today at Hani's funeral they were ready to fight.

Wit Wolf Barend Strydom said his organisation would definitely take certain actions, but would not give further details.

The CP and right-wing organisation Volksmobilisasie have offered to help the SAP protect the people living around the cemetery. The SAP declined the offers.



The route to be followed by a convoy of 300 buses and numerous private cars from the FNB Stadium to the Southpark cemetery where Chris Hani will be buried this afternoon.

Hani refused police protection — Kriel

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel last night hit out at the ANC alliance for making political propaganda out of Chris Hani's death.

"It is disturbing to see that government is blamed for Mr Hani's death, that after we offered him protection which he refused," Kriel said SAP members had gone to Hani's home after a complaint by ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu that Hani was in danger. Hani refused protection and this was reported to Sisulu.

Kriel said some leaders had said they would defy the law. But government and the security forces would not allow law and order to break down.

Kriel said it was "absolutely shocking" to see Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba shouting "kill the Boers, kill the farmers" at a Cape Town rally on Saturday. (11A) (25)

"One thing that is terrible in this country is black violence, but there is one thing that can be worse and that is white violence. If leaders do not act decisively now, a racial war is not out of the question. Whites cannot kill black leaders and shoot indiscriminately at blacks in crowds. Organisations cannot carry on killing the police, farmers and old people. These actions form a recipe for a radical confrontation in this country and this we cannot afford." — Sapa.

'Spirit of peace lives'

By EUNICE RIDER

ELSIE'S RIVER residents and Christian and Muslim priests held a memorial service for Mr Chris Hani at the local Anglican church yesterday.

And Wynberg ANC branch members held a candlelight march last night.

The priests called for renewed commitment to peace and democracy.

They said Mr Hani's spirit of peace, love, democracy and freedom lived on and should serve as a light to those fighting oppression.

The Rev Chris Nissen, a regional

representative of the ANC, said people were angry at the death of their leader and had the right to take revenge, but they should not use violence or "spill blood".

"We will take our revenge the day we go to the polls and ensure a democratic South Africa by destroying the National Party," he said.

Mr Prexy Nesbitt of the United States Anti-Apartheid Movement in Chicago said about 600 people had marched on the South African consulate in Chicago earlier this week in memory of Mr Hani.

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CT 19/4/93

Patrick Laurence assesses the political situation after the murder of Chris Hani

Negotiations are the lifeline

Star 19/4/93

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold. Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world...

SOUTH Africans have cause to contemplate W B Yeats's powerful words as they take stock of the situation after the momentous events of the past few days.

The word "anarchy" and its synonyms — chaos, confusion, disorder — have become part of our everyday vocabulary as the country reels after the assassination of communist leader Chris Hani.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, looking sombre, says in a nationwide television address in the wake of the Easter Saturday killing of Hani: "Our whole nation teeters on the brink of disaster."

President de Klerk, looking grey and worried, says on television after memorial services for Hani have degenerated into looting, arson and bloody clashes with police: "There is a lawless group of radicals who are not interested in peaceful solutions... they (want) to loose a plague of violence to block negotiations."

De Klerk's phraseology recalls Yeats when the Irish poet speaks in *The Second Coming* of the loosening of the "blood-dimmed

tide" and the drowning of "the ceremony of innocence."

The threat to the political centre, consisting, at its core, of De Klerk's National Party and Mandela's ANC, is starkly symbolised in the events surrounding Hani's death.

Janus Waluz, the Polish-born man arrested on suspicion of killing Hani, has been a member of the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) since 1986.

Barend Strydom, the murderer who killed eight blacks in a shooting spree in November 1988 and who was released from prison last year under an indemnity agreement, boasts that the blue-eyed Waluz is a member of the Wit Wolwe, a fanatical political sect to the right of the AWP.

According to the Police Commissioner, Johan van der Merwe, the murder weapon, a 9mm Z88 pistol, allegedly found in Waluz's possession, is part of a consignment of weapons stolen from an Air Force armoury in 1990.

The man responsible for the heist is Piet Rudolph, leader of another rabid right-wing organisation, the Orde Boerevolk (Order of the Boer Nation). Freed under the same indemnity agreement in 1991, Rudolph is unrepentant: the weapons, he asserts defiantly, were given to the "unarmed

Boerevolk" to defend themselves against those plotting to destroy them.

Waluz emerges as a fanatical rightist, driven by a virulent hatred of communism and communists. His shadowy presence — he has appeared briefly in court — raises a pivotal question: how many men like him lurk in the tangled web linking right-wing organisations and ANC leaders and renegade elements of the security forces?

At the opposite end of the political continuum are the alienated black youngsters who turned the April 14 memorial services for the murdered Hani into an excuse to loot, burn and destroy.

Half the black population, estimated to number 28.2 million in 1990, is under 20; many of the teenagers are school dropouts, young people who are unemployed and who are estranged from society, their own as well as that of their relatively privileged white compatriots.

The black education system is in a state of collapse, due largely to the political crisis which has led, successively, to student revolt, clashes for control of schools between rival political forces in the black community and, most recently, strikes by black teachers.

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They are the "street children," who often exist in a twilight zone between political zealotry and plain banditry. Sensing that they are regarded as outlaws, they frequently behave like brigands.

These are the people who see a memorial service for Hani and a call for militant action by black radicals as an invitation to loot and burn. Their political identity is shallow, a camouflage for banditry and a rationalisation for theft.

They are the youths who ran down the streets of Cape Town on April 14 shouting "No peace! No peace! War! War!" They are the youths who taunted black policemen the day before, pretending to shoot them, labeling them "traitors" and "collaborators" and insulting them and their mothers in obscene language.

Mandela's grave eloquence when he appeals to all South Africans to honour Hani in a dignified manner makes little or no impact on them. They jeer when he calls on them to join him in working with President de Klerk "to build a new South Africa."

If De Klerk faces a challenge to control his security forces, as the ANC insists, the ANC is confronted with the task of reining in its radical fringe, and containing the hangers-on who join its protest

marches and rallies.

As Mandela and De Klerk survey the damage around them in the aftermath of Hani's murder, they agree on one central point: the negotiation process, successfully revived on April 1 after a hiatus of 10 months, must continue.

Negotiations are South Africa's lifeline, its best and its only hope of ensuring that the centre holds against the centrifugal forces of anarchy. Mandela and De Klerk agree on that, whatever else they disagree on. It is as if they want to prove that "the best" do not lack conviction.

The ANC, believing that time is of the essence, is pressing hard for rapid progress to the next stage: the formation of a transitional executive council which will serve as a stepping stone to a transitional government of national unity after non-racial elections.

As a corollary, the ANC is campaigning for another demand: setting a date for non-racial elections for a transitional parliament-cum-constituent assembly.

The ANC's position is summarised in a slogan which it is energetically popularising: "Now is the time." South Africans know already that the ANC's latest shibboleth is a prefix to which the following suffixes can be attached interchangeably: "for elections,"

"for a constituent assembly," and — in Mandela's words — "for a government by the people, for the people, and of the people."

If, as many observers think, the roots of the present crisis lie in the unrepresentative and therefore illegitimate nature of the Government, the ANC's prescription is that there must be rapid movement towards a popularly elected government.

De Klerk agrees on the importance of negotiations: "Only through negotiations can we ensure a peaceful future for South Africa and all its people."

His chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Roelf Meyer, believes that it is possible to meet the May deadline for agreement on a transitional executive council.

Beyond that, however, lie further tricky negotiations on the future paramilitary forces, including the ANC's guerrilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and joint control of De Klerk's security forces.

If there is a need for rapid progress towards democratic government, there is an equal need for patience, wisdom and ingenuity. Without them the centre will collapse amid acrimony between the negotiators and to the chortled delight of their anarchist foes. □

DAY OF SORROW

ET 20/4/93 (111) (113)

Nine die as SACP leader laid to rest

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa was tense last night as millions of mourners returned home from the mammoth and emotion-charged funeral of slain Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani.

Fearing racial clashes between rightwing extremists and the estimated 100 000 mourners on the Reef were averted.

But the largely peaceful and dignified proceedings were marred by reports of at least nine people being killed and scores injured in sporadic incidents of violence.

While the assassinated leader's funeral — the biggest in SA's history — was taking place, President F W de Klerk warned that the crisis could spark a "destructive conflict".

"We must not allow the crisis of the moment to force us off course," he told Parliament.

Mr de Klerk went on to slam the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance call for sustained mass action over the next six weeks.

"Mass action can set the stage for further violence, looting, and disorder," he said.

Violence began early yesterday morning with running battles between police and groups of youths outside the FNB Stadium, and was characterised by stone-throwing and police retaliation with birdshot and teargas.

Several nearby homes were torched, the Nasrec railway station, also nearby, was vandalised and the police helicopter was reportedly fired at.

Late yesterday, the charred bodies of two white men were found in houses burnt down at Nasrec.

Inside the stadium, about 80 000 people heard ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela call for senior CP leader Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, who is being held in

connection with Mr Hani's assassination, to be brought to court immediately.

Mr Hani was laid to rest at Elspark Cemetery at 2.50pm to a 21-gun salute. As the official salute began, a number of mourners in the thousands-strong crowd took out their own firearms and fired their own tribute.

The ANC's Mr Tokyo Sexwale appealed to the crowd to stop over a public address system.

Mr Hani's grave will be covered with cement to prevent its desecration.

Members of the Hani family released a number of white doves as a symbol of peace. Two of the birds landed inside the grave, but were rescued by a marshal, and they flew away.

Mr Hani's family and the ANC leadership, including Mr Mandela, then filed passed the graveside to pay their last respects.

Near the cemetery, incidents of looting and arson by fanpageing youths were reported.

A large crowd of the mourners and rightwing supporters, many of them armed, faced each other across razor wire around gardens near the cemetery.

When mourners visited Mr Hani's home in Dawn Park after the funeral, one man died and at least 10 people were injured in incidents in the suburb, a Red Cross official said.

The dead man, who was apparently acting as a caterer at the Hani home, was shot in the head about a block away from the Hani house. He was allegedly shot by police while he was throwing stones, but this could not be confirmed.

A number of private homes were ransacked and a maize field was stripped. Reporters saw the thieves lighting fires in the veld to toast their booty.

Stayaway

At least one ANC marshal tried desperately to stop the looting and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa urged mourners to go home and to avoid white suburbs.

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Gert Myburgh, said policemen had exercised commendable restraint despite provocation by protesters.

A huge countrywide stayaway was reported yesterday. The SA Labour Bulletin reported an average stayaway figure of 92% for black workers.

The Bulletin, which surveyed 44 companies employing 25 460 black workers, said the stayaway seemed to be the biggest ever in the PWV area and possibly the biggest countrywide.

In related unrest, three ANC supporters were shot dead in Vosloorus. Peace monitors said the three were apparently shot from a hostel dominated by IFP supporters while on their way to the funeral. SABC TV said last night another three had been killed in Kaitshong.

At least 10 people were admitted to Baragwanath Hospital.

Red Cross officials also reported that about 10 people were treated for injuries near the cemetery.

© Firrand, gifts take knock — Page 8



LAST RITE . . . Mr Nelson Mandela sprinkles sand into Mr Chris Hani's grave during the funeral at the Southpark cemetery in Germiston yesterday afternoon as the Slain SA Communist Party leader's family watches. Mr Joe Slovo, at Mr Mandela's shoulder, waits his turn to make his last farewell gesture.

Funeral was not snubbed
ET 20/4/93
Political Correspondent

THE government did not snub yesterday's funeral of slain SA Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani.

The decision not to send an official government representative to the funeral followed wide-ranging consultations with political parties, including the ANC.

A spokesman from the State President's Fynhubs office said the government had already expressed its condolences "in an appropriate manner" during the past week.

DP walk-out over request

Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC PARTY MPs walked out of Parliament yesterday after the party request that the sitting be suspended until the end of Mr Chris Hani's funeral was turned down.

President F W de Klerk was about to introduce his budget debate on his vote when DP whip Ms Dene Smuts asked that the sitting be "interrupted or suspended in sympathy or solidarity".

Solidarity Party MP's joined the DP MP's in the walk-out.

CALL FOR PEACE CORPS



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FWS PLEA FOR CALM



— PAGE 4

MINES PAY FUNERAL BILL

— PAGE 2

SERVICE AT SA EMBASSY

— PAGE 2

CITY GUN SALES SOAR

— PAGE 2

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Funeral was
(NA) not snubbed'
27/10/14/93

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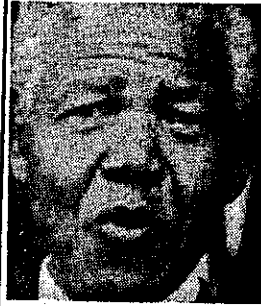
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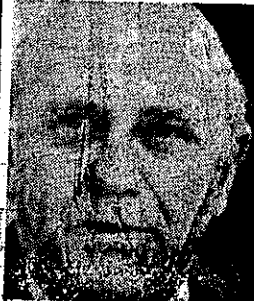
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CALL FOR
PEACE CORPS



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FW'S PLEA
FOR CALM



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MINES PAY
FUNERAL BILL

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SERVICE AT
SA EMBASSY

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CITY GUN
SALES SOAR

— PAGE 2

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Moving, in more ways than one



BRONWYN WILKINSON spent 30 hours at the FNB stadium while Chris Hani's body lay in state. Here she recounts the sometimes poignant, sometimes violent proceedings.



Bidding farewell . . . members of the ANC leadership — Oliver Tambo (left), Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu — and former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda stand to attention before the coffin of Chris Hani at the FNB Stadium yesterday.

Picture: AP

Sunday, 10 am: About 5 000 people are scattered around the stadium, toyi-toying and singing freedom songs. The mood is friendly and vibrant.

1 pm: The ivory-coloured hearse bearing Chris Hani's body arrives. MK cadres in olive-green uniform carry the coffin towards the black-and-yellow marquee on the halfway line under the main grandstand.

Behind the pall-bearers, a lone MK soldier carries a white satin cushion on which lies Hani's MK camouflage cap.

Hani's three daughters file through the MK guard of honour behind the coffin. The girls are smartly dressed and their faces composed. Immediately behind them is their mother, Limphe, and their grandparents.

The silence in the stadium is

unbearable.

1.25 pm: The family files past the open coffin and all except 15-year-old Nomakhwesi sit down. The young girl who saw her father shot dead outside their Boksburg home last weekend stands at the foot of the burnished coffin while the leaders and churchmen pay their last respects.

She leans wearily on the coffin and — with huge eyes — acknowledges the gentle touch of Cyril Ramaphosa.

2 pm: "Hamba Kahle Umkhonto" echoes around the stadium as MK combatants take their turn in the file-past. Several wipe their eyes or sob openly.

The composure of Nomakhwesi, her sisters and mother is overwhelming.

2.22 pm: I join the queue of journalists filing towards the coffin. Although I have told my-

self I won't look at Chris' face, I am compelled to. The fact that Chris Hani really is dead hits me like a body blow.

11 pm: The coffin is taken back to the hearse. A stretch limousine carrying the immediate family follows. The rest of the family are in two minibuses. One minibus has to wait for an hour on the field until its driver is found.

Monday: Just after midnight: The toyi-toying crowd is literally rocking the stadium in its enthusiasm. I am alarmed to note bits of plaster coming off the walls of the Argus suite. The built-in cupboards are quivering. An ANC official tells the crowd that the "stadium can collapse at any moment".

1 am: I gather some small cushions into a makeshift bed on the floor of the suite and tell myself not to be paranoid about

the building collapsing. It is solid concrete and was only built a few years ago. But the cupboards continue to rattle and the floor keeps up its vibrations.

3.30 am: I finally drift off to an uneasy sleep to the sound of gunshots ringing round the stadium in response to another belated speech.

6 am: After a fitful, cold and uncomfortable night, I'm woken up in the same manner in which I fell asleep — by the sound of gunfire.

7 am: The crowds have thinned out and only about 20 000 chilled, sleepy people are scattered through the stadium. But there are more outside, mostly youths doing battle with police. The stadium is soon packed.

9 am: Houses are on fire outside and I run to the scene, arriving at the same time as police. I

watch in horror as they open fire with handguns, despite the presence of several peace monitors. I then move to another battle scene at the entrance to Nasrec where two young teenagers attack a building with a massive sledgehammer. Others pelt police with bricks and petrol bombs and the police return fire with teargas and what I hope is birdshot.

Six people collapse to the ground near me and two of them are bleeding profusely. I call the emergency workers and decide I am safer inside the stadium.

On my way back, a group of youths in PAC T-shirts confronts me. "Hey, Settler," they yell, "We've got your bullet here." I decide it is wise not to reply and take to watching the battles from a ramp leading up to the stadium.

Several international diplomats are ushered past me. Taking in the burning houses, pall of smoke and teargas and muted explosions, they look as if they are being led into a lions' den.

The scene from the ramp is surreal. Crowds pound up the hill at Nasrec and across the Soweto Highway to Shareworld, only to be driven back by police. It takes them only a few minutes to regroup, recover from the teargas and take their wounded away before going back into battle.

12.30 pm: I finally leave the embattled stadium for Dawn Park and get some light relief watching people dancing on the tops of speeding buses. Much later, when a man dies falling off a bus just in front of my car, I no longer find the innovative mode of transport so amusing.

STAR 2014/13.

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Star 20/4/93

An 'army for democracy'

Mass action has assumed a new face following the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hanl. JO-ANNE COLLINGE reflects on the mood at the funeral service.

tion on the action around the yellow canopy which sheltered the coffin of Hanl.

Every speech made by leaders of the ANC-led alliance brimmed with a consciousness of the clout which their remobilised supporters carried.

"From now on we are going to be masters of our own destiny," Congress of South African Trade Unions president John Gomo said.

President de Klerk, he warned, should give up on attempting to determine the course of mass action.

"You are not our leader. We have not elected you. We will

not listen to you. We are going to defy on a scale never seen by you and your surrogates."

There was also palpable uncertainty as to whether this huge human phalanx would hold together in peaceful observance of the funeral, or shatter into myriad protests, panic and violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa in no uncertain terms distanced the tripartite alliance from acts of stoning and arson around the stadium.

Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo announced that it had been decided to tighten the programme because of the restive atmosphere outside.

On the perimeter of FNB's grounds, police and a tiny fraction of the crowd had fought running battles since 8.30 am.

Ambulances ferried people hurt by birdshot and rubber bullets to the first aid tents. And throughout the morning, rising white plumes of teargas indicated where the action had moved.

Referring to the funeral attendance — about 90 000 in the stadium and thousands more outside — the nationwide stayaways and huge protest marches of the last week, SACP chairman Joe Slovo observed that Hanl's assassins had unintentionally "mobilised the greatest army our country

has every seen — an army for democracy".

He made a powerful plea for this popular force to avoid playing into the hands of those who wanted Hanl's death to result in a race war, a "massive spilling of blood, leading to an end to negotiations".

Hani, Slovo stressed, had resorted to armed force when it was necessary, but he hated cruelty and needless violence.

"Those who see killing as the only answer can never step into Hanl's shoes."

If the crowd seemed somewhat subdued after a sleepless night in the stands or on buses from the

rural areas, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba dispelled this mood.

Choristers hitched up their flowing robes to join the toyitoyi which shook the stadium after Mokaba exclaimed: "Viva the president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela!"

As if to dispel any thoughts that he might be leading a youth takeover, Mokaba responded to the roar which greeted him with the announcement that he would not be making any speech. "Our president-general will give the orders, and we will act," he said.

On the ground, thousands of khaki-clad marshals sweated to

give effect to the militancy-without-bloodshed directive of the leaders. They worked ceaselessly, easing the crushes at the entrances, redirecting sudden influxes of mourners, escorting dignitaries and media workers, rushing to flashpoints.

The marshals were bolstered by about 200 members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, distinct in their dark green battledress, as they prepared for the easterly surge of mourners to the South Park cemetery on the Boksburg-Germiston boundary.

For many marshals, it was not their first experience of keeping an FNB crowd in hand. There had

been the homecoming of the Rivonia trial accused and Nelson Mandela, the return of the exiled movement, the "coming out" of the SACP. But these had been occasions to celebrate.

Yesterday was, more than anything, a day of defiance and muscle-flexing. The note of mourning was often drowned in the din.

But it found its way out: in the frequency with which Hanl's comrades imagined his reaction to the crisis his death had provoked; in poet Mzwakhe Mbuli's invoking of the dove of peace in the South; in the cheers and ululations that hardened to a single keening note. □

THE FUNERAL service for slain revolutionary Chris Hanl began with huge and harmonious singing of 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, while smoke swelled ominously to the west of the First National Bank Stadium and at least 10 people lay bleeding beside the overflowing first aid tents.

Inside the stadium, packed solid with people, order reigned as mourners focused their atten-



Last respects . . . veterans Govan Mbeki (left), Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda at the FNB Stadium yesterday. Picture: Ken Oosterbroek



The final journey . . . members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe carry Chris Hanl's body from the FNB stadium towards the hearse yesterday. Picture: Jonas Mankga

Cosatu's leader defiant

JOHANNESBURG. — The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) approves of the call for peace by employers "but it is not enough", says its president, Mr John Gomomo.

Speaking at the Hani funeral yesterday, he said: "We are not going to listen to you (President F W de Klerk). We are going to defy you."

The first of ANC-alliance leaders to speak at the funeral, Mr Gomomo delivered an impassioned speech.

Addressing about 80 000 people, he said: "We are ready for mass action to start tomorrow."

South African Communist Party

chairman Mr Joe Slovo said Mr Hani's assassin "and those behind him" thought they had killed a man and the ideals he stood for.

"Instead they had mobilised the biggest army South Africa had ever seen."

Mr Hani had been killed by a "crazy right-wing... but they represent a dying cause", Mr Slovo said.

"We want an end to the security forces as (President) De Klerk's private armies and they must come under joint control," Mr Slovo said.

"Hani was killed by a system that turned people into animals."

An 'army for democracy'

Mass action has assumed the face following the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani. JO-ANNE COLLINGE reflects on the mood at the funeral service.

THE FUNERAL service for slain revolutionary Chris Hani began with huge and harmonious singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, while smoke swelled ominously to the west of the First National Bank Stadium and at least 10 people lay bleeding beside the overflowing first aid tents.

Inside the stadium, packed solid with people, order reigned as mourners focused their attention on the action around the yellow canopy which sheltered the coffin of Hani.

Every speech made by leaders of the ANC-led alliance brimmed with a consciousness of the clout which their remobilised supporters carried.

From now on we are going to be masters of our own destiny," Congress of South African Trade Unions president John Gomo said.

President de Klerk, he warned, should give up on attempting to determine the course of mass action.

"You are not our leader. We have not elected you. We will not listen to you. We are going to defy on a scale never seen by you and your surrogates."

There was also palpable uncertainty as to whether this huge human phalanx would hold together in peaceful observance of the funeral, or shatter into myriad protests, panic and violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa in no uncertain terms distanced the tripartite alliance from acts of stoning and arson around the stadium.

Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo announced that it had been decided to tighten the programme because of the restive atmosphere outside.

On the perimeter of FNB's grounds, police and a tiny fraction of the crowd had fought running battles since 8.30 am.

Ambulances ferried people hurt by gunshot and rubber bullets to the first aid tents. And throughout the morning, rising white plumes of teargas indicated where the action had moved.

Referring to the funeral attendance — about 90 000 in the stadium and thousands more outside — the nationwide stayaways and huge protest marches of the last week, SACP chairman Joe Slovo observed that Hani's assassins had unintentionally "mobilised the greatest army our country

has ever seen — an army for democracy".

He made a powerful plea for this popular force to avoid playing into the hands of those who wanted Hani's death to result in a race war, a "massive spilling of blood, leading to an end to negotiations".

Hani, Slovo stressed, had resorted to armed force when it was necessary, but he hated cruelty and needless violence.

"Those who see killing as the only answer can never step into Hani's shoes."

If the crowd seemed somewhat subdued after a sleepless night in the stands or on buses from the

rural areas, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba dispelled this mood.

Choristers hitched up their flowing robes to join the toyi-toyi which shook the stadium after Mokaba exclaimed: "Viva the president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela!"

As if to dispel any thoughts that he might be leading a youth takeover, Mokaba responded to the roar which greeted him with the announcement that he would not be making any speech. "Our president-general will give the orders, and we will act," he said.

On the ground, thousands of khaki-clad marshals sweated to

give effect to the militancy-without-bloodshed directive of the leaders. They worked ceaselessly, easing the crushes at the entrances, redirecting sudden influxes of mourners, escorting dignitaries and media workers, rushing to flashpoints.

The marshals were bolstered by about 200 members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, distinct in their dark green battledress, as they prepared for the easterly surge of mourners to the South Park cemetery on the Boksburg-Germiston boundary.

For many marshals, it was not their first experience of keeping an FNB crowd in hand. There had

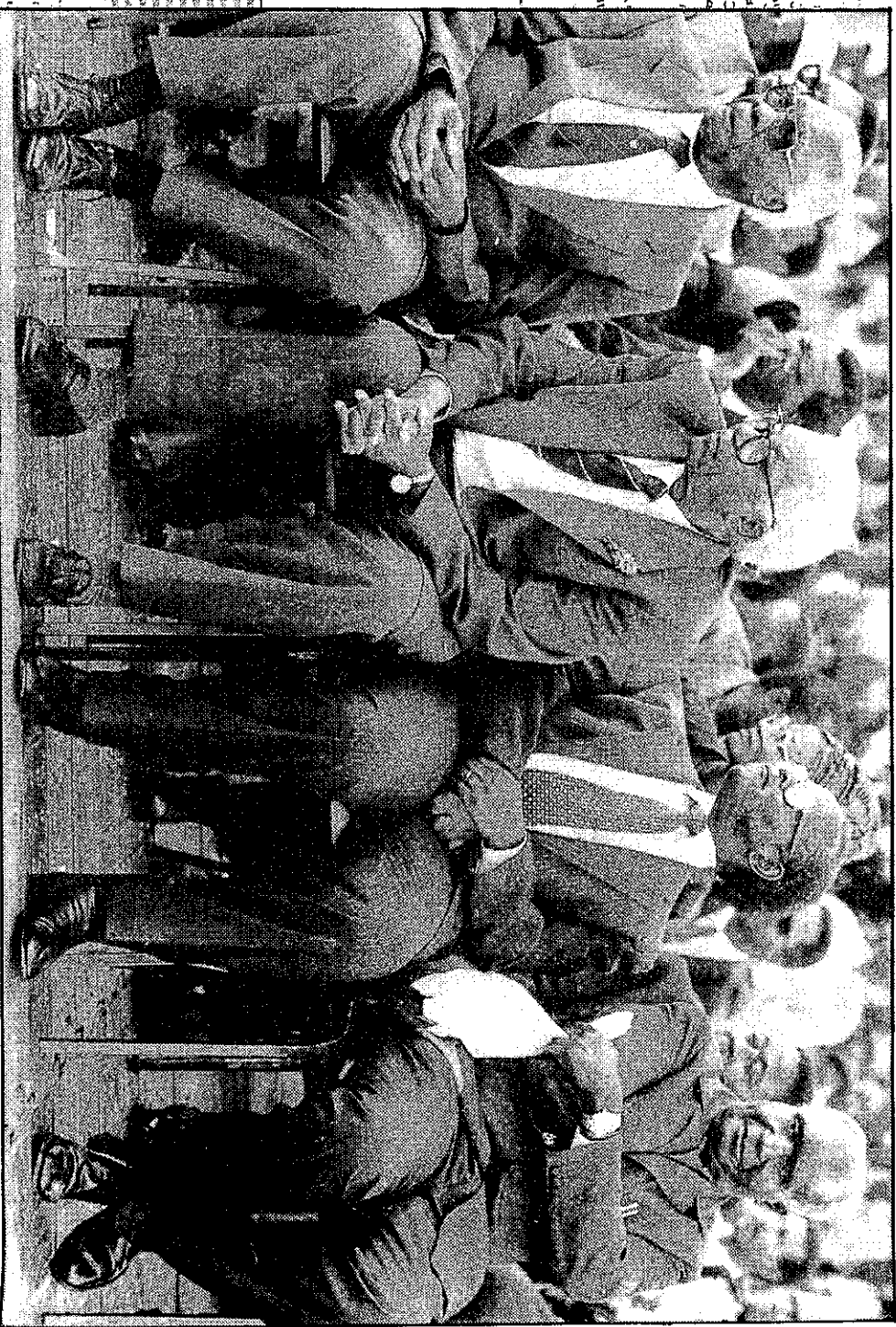
been the homecoming of the Rivonia trial accused and Nelson Mandela, the return of the exiled movement, the "coming out" of the SACP. But these had been occasions to celebrate.

Yesterday was, more than anything, a day of defiance and music-flexing. The note of mourning

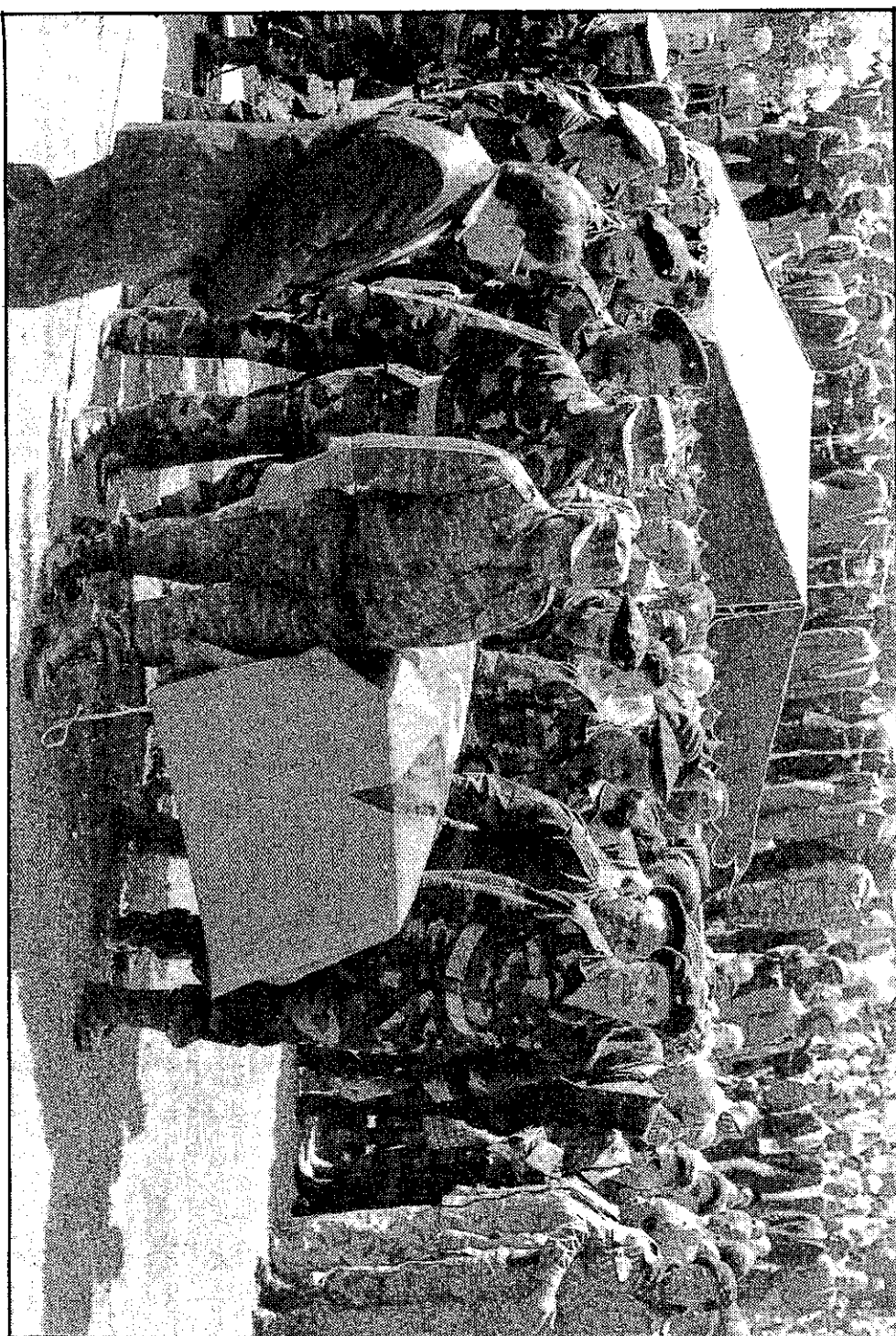
was often drowned in the din.

But it found its way out: in the frequency with which Hani's comrades imagined his reaction to the crisis his death had provoked, in poet Mzwakhe Mbuli's invoking of the dove of peace in the South, in the cheers and ululations that hardened to a single

keening note. □



Last respects . . . veterans Govan Mbeki (left), Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda at the FNB Stadium yesterday.



The final journey . . . members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe carry Chris Hani's body from the FNB Stadium towards the hearse yesterday.

Picture: Jonas Mankga

White doves for a former guerilla

Star 20/4/93.

THE YOUNG white woman asked incredulously: "Are you going to watch the little devils?" Her mother intoned a prayer to protect us.

We had interrupted their stroll yesterday in Elspark, Germiston, to ask for directions to South Park cemetery, where murdered communist leader Chris Hani was due to be buried a few hours later.

They were proselytising Christians who saw Hani and the thousands of blacks who were descending on their suburb to pay their respects to him as men possessed by the devil.

They at least were friendly, concerned to ensure that our bodies and souls were protected from evil. The white men glowering behind a garden wall closer to the cemetery were hostile and suspicious.

"What do you want?" one man snarled when I tried to talk to him. He glared sullenly when I identified myself and explained that I wanted to talk to him about the funeral. His friend, however, replied when my colleague asked how they felt.

"We are prepared at

least," he said.

He did not elaborate. But he left the impression that they were armed.

Three men sat on the roof of the house next door. The silhouette of a rifle was visible from the street.

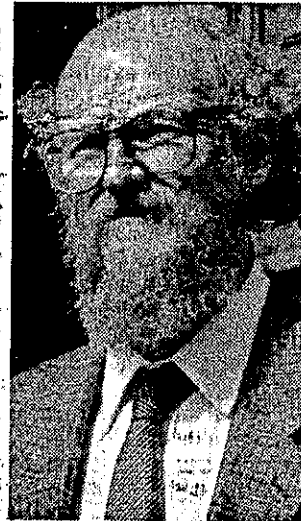
Another man, wearing a felt hunting hat and a cartridge belt filled with ammunition, walked down the road carrying a shotgun. "We are not here to make trouble," he said. "We are here to defend our people."

Soldiers, presumably part of the reserve forces called up by President FW de Klerk, were aloof. They stared ahead, pretending not to notice us when we approached the armoured vehicle on which they were perched.

"Say as little as possible," a soldier advised his comrades in Afrikaans when we attempted to draw them into conversation. On the road a few metres away, people from the townships were marching to the cemetery, wave after a wave of them, like phalanxes of soldiers. They sang and chanted as they tramped rhythmically down the road and into the cemetery.



PATRICK LAURENCE (right), who attended the funeral of slain SACP leader Chris Hani, describes the worlds apart which were drawn together by the funeral of a guerilla-turned soldier of peace: armed right-wing whites, sullen white soldiers and militant black youths who shouted, "one settler, one bullet".



Inside the cemetery grounds, African National Congress marshals — men and women — lined the way to the graveside. An empty grave waited to receive Hani's body. A mound of reddish coloured sand was next to it, a red flag flew over it, marking it as Hani's grave.

At the entrance gate, small armies of men and women, carrying banners proclaim-

ing where they came from, ran into the cemetery grounds. They had come to bury Hani but at the same time wanted to demonstrate their power.

Many came from the squatter camps on the East Rand, where repeated battles have been fought in the past 18 months, mainly between ANC members and loyalists of the Inkatha Freedom

Party.

Even if squatter camp mourners had not carried banners they would have been easy to identify: they wielded an awesome array of weapons — battle axes, spears, sharpened rods of iron and knobkerries — as they surged forward into the cemetery.

Even ANC bands chanted the Pan Africanist Congress shibboleth: "One settler, one bullet." In some cases, however, it was shortened to: "Bullet! Bullet! Settler! Settler!"

The same militancy was shown earlier at the funeral ceremony at the soccer stadium near Soweto. There bands of angry youths fought running battles with police and soldiers and set fire to some houses near the stadium.

When we arrived at the stadium black smoke was billowing into the air. Flames were clearly visible, even in the bright morning sun, as they consumed wooden doors, window frames and roof beams and licked menacingly at nearby gum trees.

A black photographer warned: "Be careful. Those people there have gone mad."

Repeated thuds, sounding like gunfire, came from the burning houses. It was the sound of the iron roofs expanding in the extreme heat.

The smell of smoke mixed with the whiff of teargas — caused by soldiers firing teargas canisters to repel young blacks trying to get into the nearby show grounds — to create an acrid smell.

Later we drove past the scene of an earlier battle en route to Elspark cemetery.

A member of the Peace Secretariat warned: "Be careful. PAC youths are making petrol bombs. God knows how they will control it today."

We were waved through by marshals, who signalled us to wind up our windows. But no stones or petrol bombs were hurled at us.

When Hani's body was lowered into the grave, shots were fired into the air by soldiers of the ANC army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, as four white doves were released into the air by his wife and daughters.

The symbolism was appropriate. It evoked memories of two aspects of Hani's life: the guerilla who fought against apartheid and, later, the soldier of peace. □

Star 20/4/93

Protest campaign all set to roll

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The tripartite alliance's two-phased programme of mass action starts today. Its demands include the setting of an election date and the installation of a transitional executive council before the end of May.

The programme was announced on Friday in protest against Chris Hani's murder. (11A)

The first phase will run until the end of the month and will focus on regional initiatives. The second phase will be launched on May 1, May Day.

The demands were reiterated at Hani's funeral by Cosatu president John Gomo, SACP chairman Joe Slovo and ANC president Nelson Mandela. Gomo said negotiations were another terrain of struggle and not an end in themselves.

The alliance would not rely on negotiating skills alone, but mass action as well, to achieve a democratic country.

Nothing prevented the alliance from marching on the World Trade Centre every time negotiators met there, Gomo said.

Mandela greeted with stomping cheers

By Peter Wellman

11A

More than 80 000 people at the FNB stadium yesterday gave the ANC's answer to Winnie Mandela's call for the youth to take over the leadership of the ANC: they greeted ANC President Nelson Mandela with rapturous, stomping applause.

Mandela got a far more enthusiastic welcome than ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba.

The applause was loudest when Mandela said: "The present Government is illegitimate, unrepresentative, corrupt, and unfit to govern."

In a strong and confident voice, he said: "A Transitional Executive Council must be convened immediately, for one purpose: free and fair elections in the shortest possible time."

He demanded multiparty control now of the security forces, Budget, foreign relations and local government and an electoral commission.

Saying the murder of Hani was part of a consistent pattern of political assassinations, Mandela added: "The criminals are investigating themselves." The crowd roared.

"When we spoke of a Third

Force we were ridiculed. Now South Africa and the world recognise the extent of this force. Retired generals were paid off with golden handshakes, but we never knew for what activities they were dismissed.

"When Chris Hani said weapons stolen from an armoury would be used for covert operations, he, too, was ridiculed. But those guns killed him."

His central message was the need for disciplined, peaceful action by ANC members.

In an earlier speech, SACP chairman Joe Slovo said Hani would have spoken out against the burning of shops and motor cars: "He would say we were doing the work of the enemy."

And when Cosatu president John Gomomo called for employers to be "targeted for mass action" if they deducted pay from people attending the Hani funeral ceremonies, he made it clear he did not want violence.

But he also said President de Klerk had "appointed himself commander-in-chief of mass action, deciding what we should do. We will defy him."

Youth leader Mokaba made no speech, saying time was short. But he got the crowd going in a toyi-toyi.

HANI FUNERAL Chris Hani was a soldier who embraced peace and lost his life for his country

Sowetan 20/4/93 (11A)

From previous page

South Africans. Only then can we begin to change the culture so prevalent in the police force and army that the people are the enemy.

And nowhere has this attitude of seeing us as the enemy been more clearly demonstrated than in President de Klerk's actions since the assassination of Chris Hani.

His first response was to call a meeting of the State Security Council. His second response was to deploy 23 000 more troops, telling white South Africans that they had enough troops for them to feel secure. But why deploy troops against mourners?

They say we cannot control our forces. We are not cattle to be controlled. And we say to De Klerk: it is your forces that lost control and, completely unprovoked, shot innocent marchers in Protea.

Bully boy tactics

It is you who have allowed the bully boy tactics of the AWB to go unchallenged. We, the victims of violence, have been blamed for the very acts that take our lives. Yet you treat the far right with kid gloves, allowing them to publish hit lists when it is a crime to do so. Your police do not protect marchers from gunmen who mow them down, as in Vanderbijlpark.

Black lives are cheap and will remain so as long as apartheid continues to exist. And let there be no mistake: there have been many changes and negotiations have started, but for the ordinary black person of this country apartheid is alive and well.

Thousands of us die from TB every year, our children still play in open sewers and die from preventable diseases. Education is still a privilege. Our homes remain the tin shacks and overcrowded townships. And no black South African has the vote.

Pacifism

They talk of peace as if wanting peace is pacifism. They paint a picture of us as militant youth or mindless radicals. They want to present the ANC as the other half of the National Party.

We want peace but we are not pacifists. We are all militants.

We are all radicals. That is the very essence of the ANC, for it is a liberation movement fighting for freedom for all our people. It is our unceasing struggles — in the prisons, in mass campaigns, through the armed struggle — that has brought the regime to the negotiating table. And those negotiations are themselves a site of struggle.

It is not a question of armed struggle or negotiations. Armed struggle brought about negotiations. It is precisely because negotiations will force them to relinquish power that certain elements are resorting to the cowardly tactics

In our heart, as in the heart of all our people, you are irreplaceable.

We have been struck a blow that wounds so deeply that the scars will remain forever. You laid down your life so that we may know freedom. No greater sacrifice is possible.

We lay you to rest with the pledge that the day of

freedom you lived and died for will dawn. We all owe you a debt that can only be repaid through the achievement of the liberation of our people, which was the passion of your life.

Fighter, revolutionary, soldier for peace, we mourn deeply for you. You will remain in our hearts forever.

Amanda!

mittee of the ANC.

We had vigorous debates and an intense exchange of ideas. You were completely unafraid. No task was too small for you to perform.

Your ready smile and warm friendship was a source of strength and companionship. You lived in my home and I loved you like the true son you were.

such areas as the security forces, the budget, foreign relations, local government. An Independent Electoral Commission must be established.

I would also like to address a final word to Chris himself — comrade, friend and confidant.

We worked together in the National Executive Com-

of assassinations. This Government is illegitimate, unrepresentative, corrupt and unfit to govern.

We want the immediate installation of a Transitional Executive Council with one purpose: to ensure that free and fair elections are held in the shortest possible time.

This TEC must put in place multiparty control of



Nelson Mandela ... paid tribute to Chris Hani.

Hani: Callers slam looting, violence

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Lulama Luti

CALLS for peace, restraint and reconciliation dominated the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Most of the callers praised thousands of mourners who attended the funeral of assassinated South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani.

They praised them for acting with the utmost respect during the period of mourning and the funeral.

They, however, condemned incidents of looting and damage to property reported during and after the funeral.

In an inset played earlier in the programme, SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo lashed out at State President FW de Klerk and the Government.

He said apartheid was a system that had turned people into animals, made them foreigners in "our own land" and opened its arms to thugs from Eastern Europe.

"The killer and those who are behind him thought by killing Chris Hani they had killed the man and what he stood for. But without intending to, they have succeeded in mobilising the greatest army that this country has ever seen," Slovo said.

Radio Metro reporter Stan Bodibe said the calls for calm and restraint from leaders of the ANC alliance could have led to the relatively peaceful manner in which the funeral went yesterday.

This is the time when all people must unite against De Klerk racist's regime. For over 48 years now they have been ruling through the barrel of the gun."

Mandla, Soweto

"There's no other way now other than negotiations."

Ronnie, Durban

"I think the (ANC) leaders could have told their followers that Chris Hani might have been killed but that we do not necessarily have to

die with him." *Sowetan*
20/4/93 James

"I was disappointed by what happened in Dawn Park. The looting of people's property is not right."

Sinky, Tembisa

"The killing of 19 people in Sebokeng clearly shows that we cannot expect to be protected by De Klerk's government."

Mandla, Embalenhle

South Africa struggles with a deeply depressed economy yet it will increase its aid to Zambia to help improve health and water services, the South African Government said at the weekend. South African representative to Zambia Sam Sternban said: "South African aid to Zambia last year totalled R1,3 million and this will be increased in the current fiscal year to improve health services." — Sapa.

Treurnicht heart bypass

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht (left), underwent a heart by-pass on Sunday afternoon, said a statement released by his wife Engela. "I am thankful to announce that he is very well this morning," she said yesterday. — Sapa.



Vandalism in Volksrust

A man was killed, several people injured and homes were burnt in Vukuzakhe township near Volksrust yesterday. The SAP's General Chris Smith said petrol bombs were hurled at the police, who retaliated with teargas. A policeman, whose house had come under attack, shot a rioter dead. — Lowveld Bureau.

Three held in drugs snatch

Narcotics detectives from Cape Town and Wynberg arrested two men and a woman and seized cocaine with a street value of more than R1 million at D F Malan Airport yesterday. Police said a 29-year-old woman from Hillbrow and a 28-year-old man from Sierra Leone were arrested when they arrived in Cape Town on a flight from Rio de Janeiro. — Sapa.

Aussie held in Harare raid

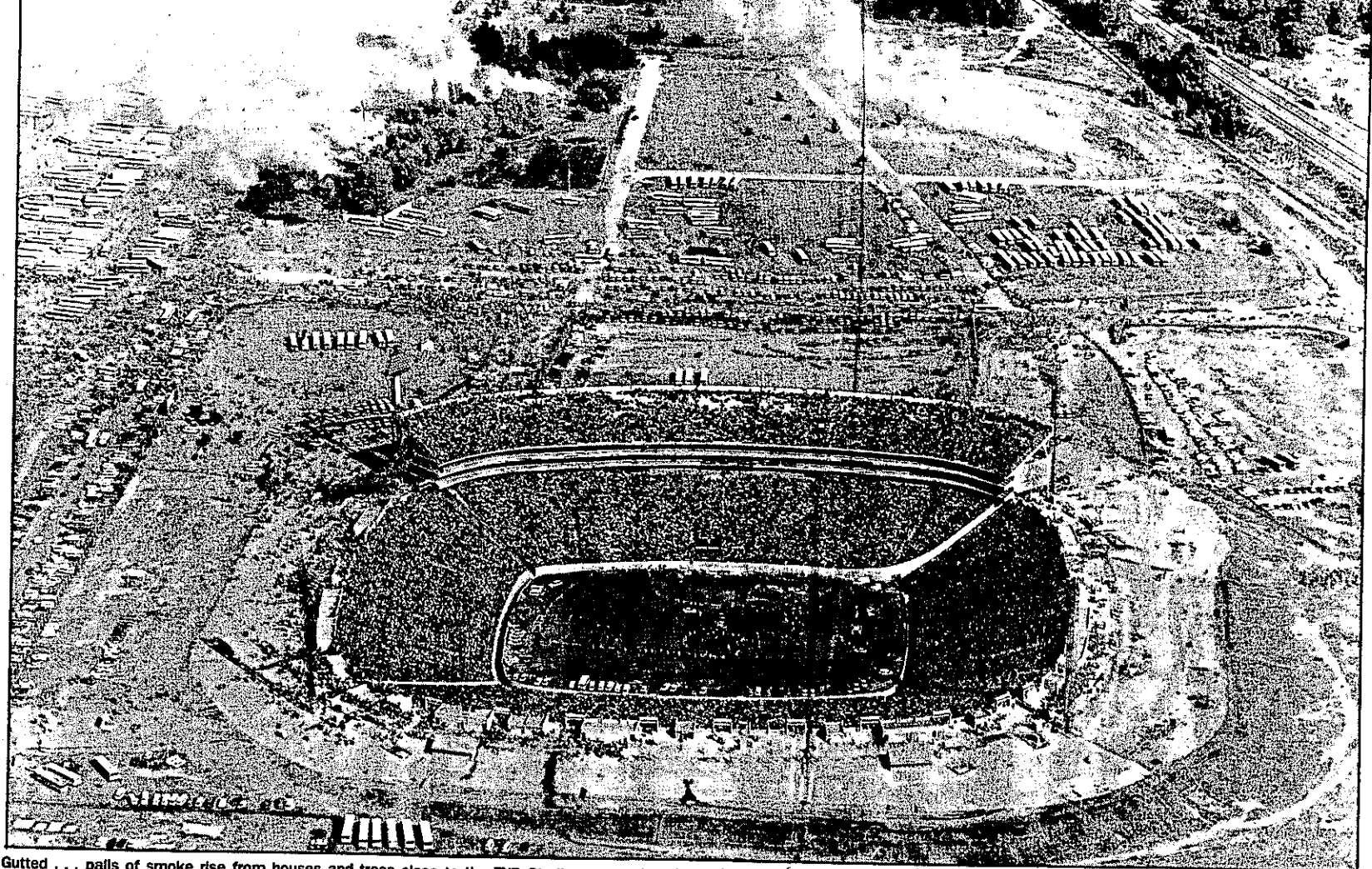
An Australian tourist was arrested when law enforcement officers raided his Harare hotel room and seized cocaine, police said yesterday. Ian Kevin Howard Norman (38) of Sydney has been in custody since his arrest on April 13 after drug squad officers received a tipoff, according to police. — Sapa-AP.

'Playboy' replaces Strydom

A television feature including freed killer Barend Strydom, scheduled for broadcast on M-Net's 60 Minutes programme at 8.20 pm tomorrow, has been dropped because of its sensitive nature. M-Net said yesterday. Instead *The Prince of Playboy* will be screened. — Sapa.

Killings: four plead not guilty

Four men appeared briefly in the Meyerton Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with last month's Eikenhof shooting attack in which three people died and two were wounded. James Sithube, Ekhola (24), Samuel Siphos "Fish" Gavin (29), Piti Nkwini (19) and Davis Mokoena (18) are facing three charges of murder and six of attempted murder. They pleaded not guilty to all the charges. The case was postponed to April 27 for further investigation. The four will remain in



Gutted . . . palls of smoke rise from houses and trees close to the FNB Stadium yesterday. A number of homes of stadium employees were gutted when mobs rampaged through the area during the funeral of Chris Hani. Picture: Stephen Davimes, from the Radio 702 traffic helicopter

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Glowing tributes to Hani

Moving tributes were paid by some of SACP general-secretary Chris Hani's closest friends and colleagues yesterday at one of the largest funerals in South Africa's history.

ANC president Nelson Mandela called him "one of the greatest revolutionaries this country has ever known".

Sabalele, in Transkei's Coimvaba district, had "produced Chris Hani, whose life shook the whole country and impacted on the world's stage".

Mandela added: "Chris

Hani's passion for justice, for addressing the problems that plague the rural poor, were rooted in his childhood in Sabalele. His roots were so deep, so true, that he never lost them.

"Through three decades of exile Chris Hani remained steadfast in his commitment to free our people from bondage. Feted in many capitals of the world, he never succumbed to the glamour and glitter that was offered him.

"He was taken to our hearts, as a people, as a nation, because he lived so that

we may be free.

"Chris Hani touched the very heart of millions of us because he knew our pain, and eased it by giving us hope, giving us courage, giving us a way forward.

"Chris Hani loved life, and lived it to the full. But he loved freedom more.

"Chris Hani loved our people, our organisations, our South African nation, and for that love he was brutally murdered.

"Yesterday, thousands of you filed past his coffin to pay your last respects. Like

me, I am sure that upon leaving you had difficulty holding back the tears."

Ending his address, Mandela said: "I would also like to address a final word to Chris himself — comrade, friend and confidant.

"We worked together in the national executive committee of the ANC.

"We had vigorous debates and an intense exchange of ideas. You were completely unafraid. No task was too small for you to perform. Your ready smile and warm friendship was a source of

strength and companionship. You lived in my home, and I loved you like the true son you were.

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"We lay you to rest with the pledge that the day of freedom you lived and died for will dawn. We all owe

member to infiltrate South Africa working underground.

His death had left a gap which would be difficult to fill. Hani was not in the liberation struggle to promote his personal career, but for democracy. He always led from the front. "For him, revolution was not just noise," Slovo said.

Hani would have told those joining the mass action in order to loot "that they are doing the work of the enemy".

Although he was an MK member, Hani had the courage to propagate peace when the option presented itself. "Those who see killing as the only answer can never step into Hani's shoes . . . he hated unnecessary violence and cruelty," Slovo said.

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"Fighter, revolutionary, soldier for peace, we mourn deeply for you. You will remain in our hearts forever."

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said South Africa had lost "one of the greatest liberation fighters in our history".

Hani was "one of the best-loved leaders" in the country. Hani was the first ANC national executive committee

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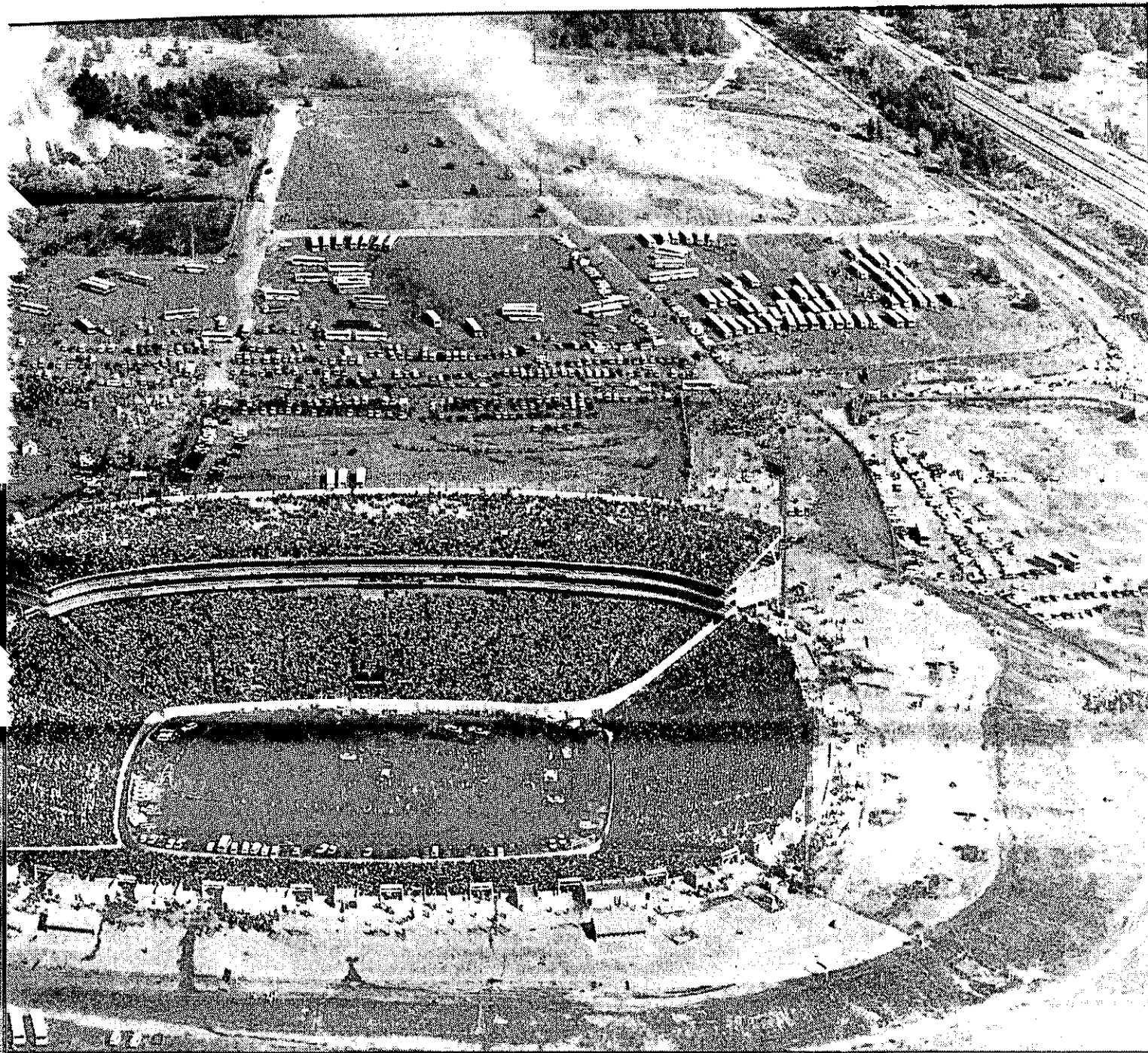
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Picture: Stephen Davimes, from the Radio 702 traffic helicopter

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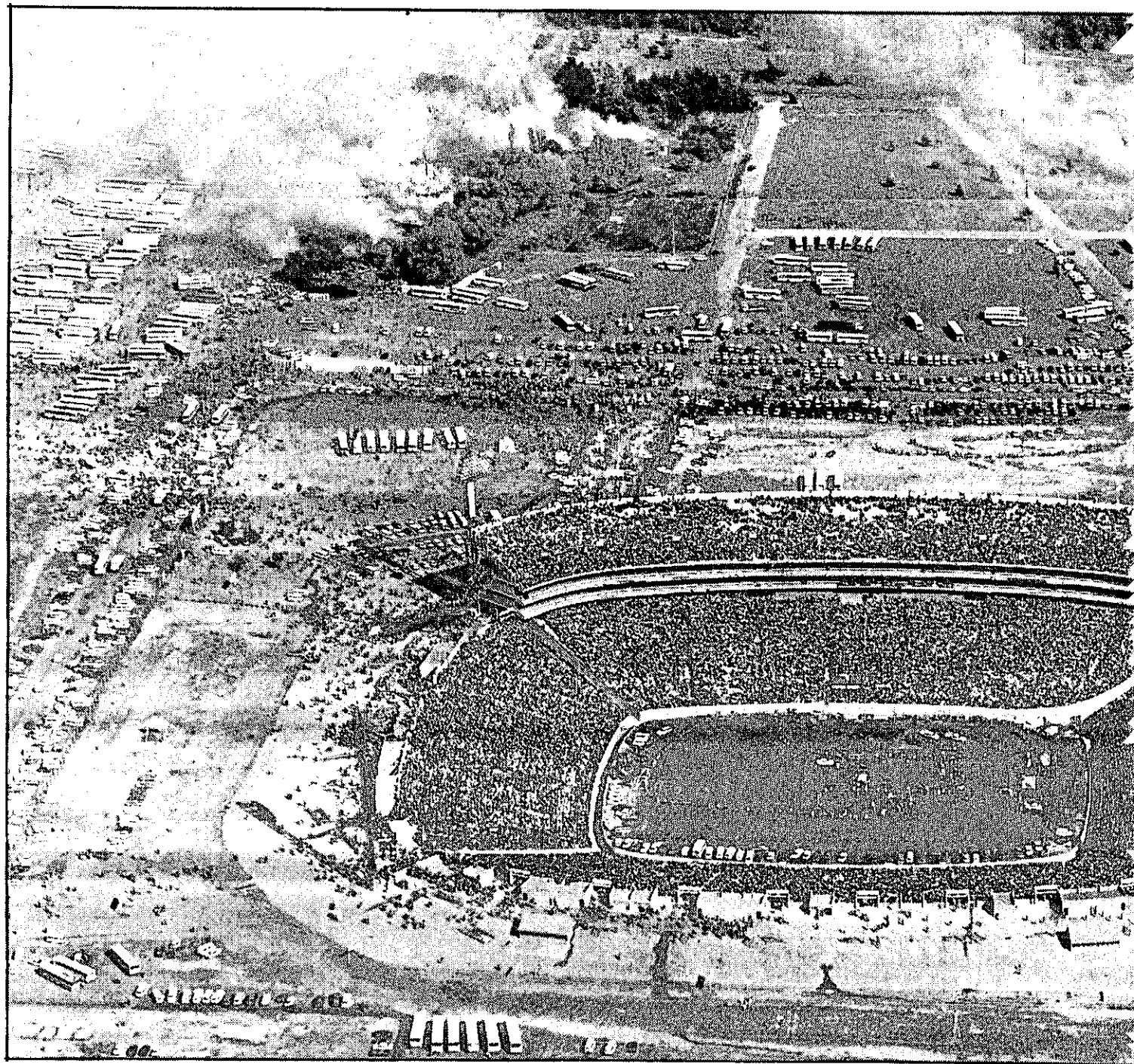
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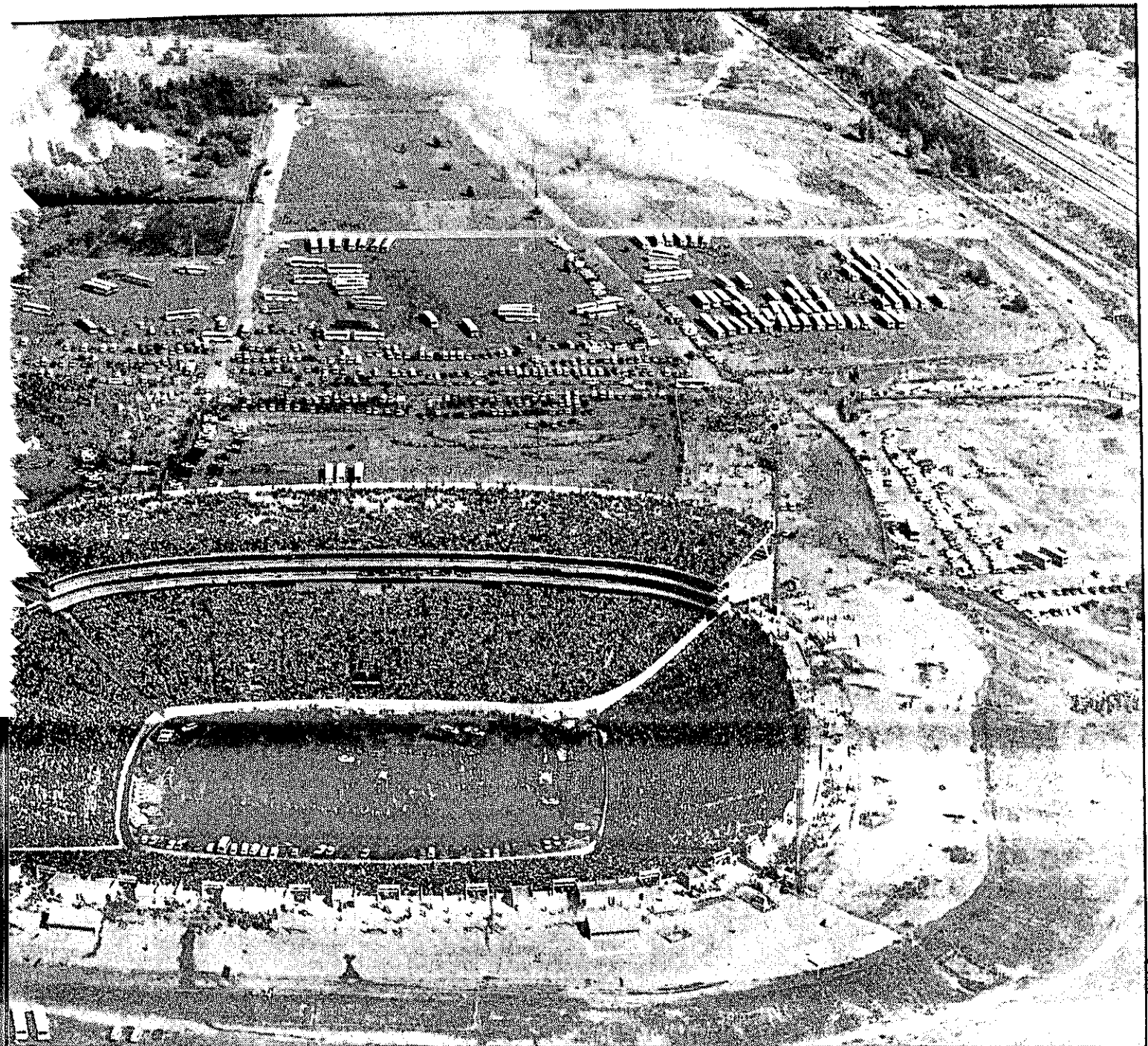
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Picture: Stephen Davimes, from the Radio 702 traffic helicopter

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"Fighter, revolutionary, soldier for peace, we mourn deeply for you. You will remain in our hearts forever."

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said South Africa had lost "one of the greatest liberation fighters in our history."

Hani was "one of the best-loved leaders" in the country. Hani was the first ANC national executive committee

member to infiltrate South Africa working underground.

His death had left a gap which would be difficult to fill. Hani was not in the liberation struggle to promote his personal career, but for democracy. He always led from the front. "For him, revolution was not just noise," Slovo said.

Hani would have told those joining the mass action in order to loot "that they are doing the work of the enemy".

Although he was an MK member, Hani had the courage to propagate peace when the option presented itself. "Those who see killing as the only answer can never step into Hani's shoes . . . he hated unnecessary violence and cruelty," Slovo said.

South Africa struggles to deeply repressed economy yet increase its aid to Zambia to help improve health and water services, the South African Government said at the weekend. South African representative to Zambia Sam Sternban said: "South African aid to Zambia last year totalled R1,3 million and this will be increased in the current fiscal year to improve health services." — Sapa.

Treurnicht heart bypass

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht (left), underwent a heart by-pass on Sunday afternoon, said a statement released by his wife Engela. "I am thankful to announce that he is very well this morning," she said yesterday. — Sapa.



Vandalism in Volksrust

A man was killed, several people injured and homes were burnt in Vukuzakhe township near Volksrust yesterday. The SAP's General Chris Smith said petrol bombs were hurled at the police, who retaliated with teargas. A policeman, whose house had come under attack, shot a rioter dead. — Lowveld Bureau.

Three held in drugs snatch

Narcotics detectives from Cape Town and Wynberg arrested two men and a woman and seized cocaine with a street value of more than R1 million at D F Malan Airport yesterday. Police said a 29-year-old woman from Hillbrow and a 28-year-old man from Sierra Leone were arrested when they arrived in Cape Town on a flight from Rio de Janeiro. — Sapa.

Aussie held in Harare raid

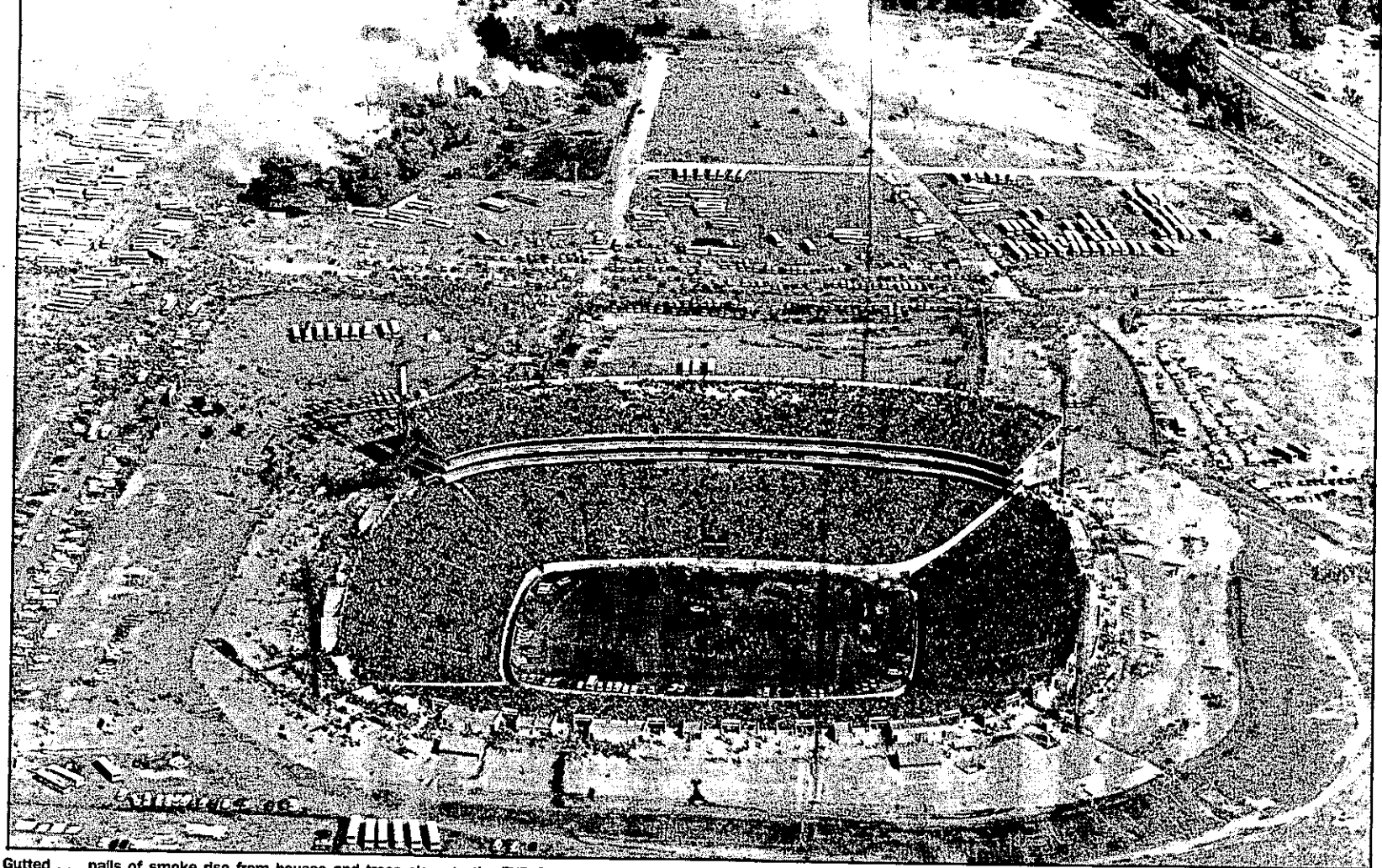
An Australian tourist was arrested when law enforcement officers raided his Harare hotel room and seized cocaine, police said yesterday. Ian Kevin Howard Norman (38) of Sydney has been in custody since his arrest on April 13 after drug squad officers received a tipoff, according to police. — Sapa-AP.

'Playboy' replaces Strydom

A television feature including freed killer Barend Strydom, scheduled for broadcast on M-Net's 60 Minutes programme at 8.20 pm tomorrow, has been dropped because of its sensitive nature, M-Net said yesterday. Instead The Prince of Playboy will be screened. — Sapa.

Killings: four plead not guilty

Four men appeared briefly in the Meyerton Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with last month's Elkenhof shooting attack in which three people died and two were wounded. James Sithube, Ehoia (24), Samuel Siphos "Fish" Gavia (29), Piti Nkwenti (19) and Davis Mokoena (18) are facing three charges of murder and six of attempted murder. They pleaded not guilty to all the charges. The case was postponed to April 27 for further investigation. The four will remain in



Gutted . . . palls of smoke rise from houses and trees close to the FNB Stadium yesterday. A number of homes of stadium employees were gutted when mobs rampaged through the area during the funeral of Chris Hani. Picture: Stephen Davimes, from the Radio 702 traffic helicopter

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Glowing tributes to Hani

Moving tributes were paid by some of SACP general-secretary Chris Hani's closest friends and colleagues yesterday at one of the largest funerals in South Africa's history.

ANC president Nelson Mandela called him "one of the greatest revolutionaries this country has ever known".

Sabalele, in Transkei's Coimvaba district, had "produced Chris Hani, whose life shook the whole country and impacted on the world's stage".

Mandela added: "Chris

Hani's passion for justice, for addressing the problems that plague the rural poor, were rooted in his childhood in Sabalele. His roots were so deep, so true, that he never lost them.

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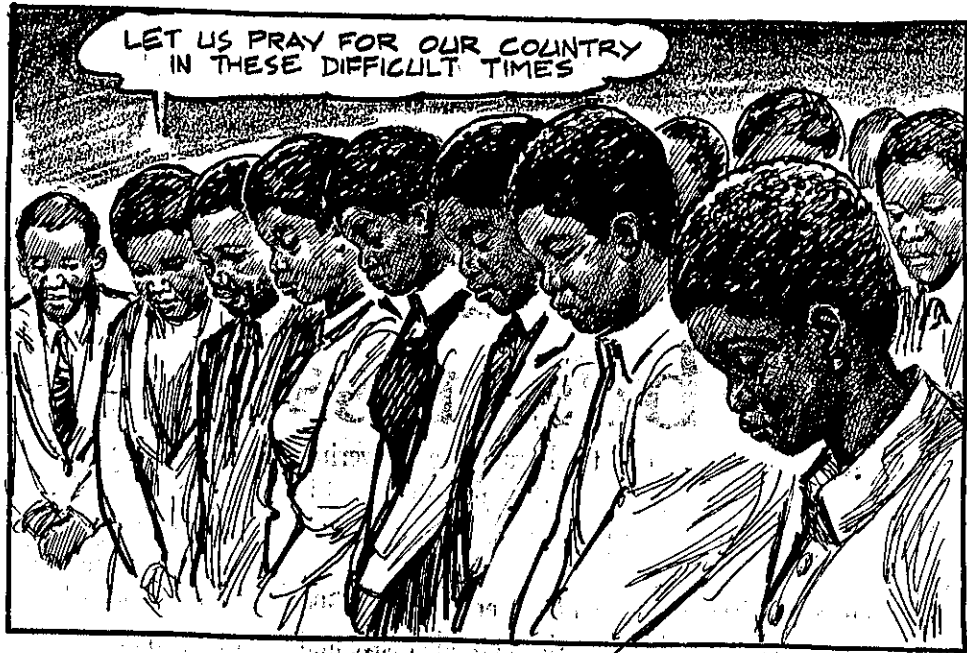
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(11A)

FOCUS Nelson Mandela pays tribute to a colleague and son of Africa



focus on Hani funeral

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Assassination

Chris Hani's murder was no aberration. It was consistent with the patterns of the past. Scores of assassinations remain "unsolved". Rick Turner, Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, David Webster, Ruth First and Dulcie September are but a few. Their killers remain unnamed because the criminals investigate themselves.

By killing Chris Hani the murderers made a fatal error, for he will not become just another statistic.

The regime has announced the arrest of a leading member of the Conservative Party, Clive Derby-Lewis, in connection with this murder. We insist he be brought before the courts without delay. We demand to know what he did, who he worked with, and above all we demand justice. We do not want to see a situation where those arrested for such heinous crimes simply go free once the hue and cry dies down, as has happened in the past.

In 1991, when we spoke of a Third Force being responsible for the violence, we were ridiculed and criticised by everyone. Now both South Africa and the world recognise not only the existence of that same Third Force but also the extent of its activities.

This is the address given by ANC president Nelson Mandela at the funeral of Martin Thembisile "Chris" Hani at the FNB Stadium yesterday: *Sowetan 20/4/93 (11A)*



Chris Hani ... had a passion for justice.

That is why De Klerk retired army and police generals with golden handshakes — but neither we nor the country know what activities they were dismissed for.

Criticised

When Chris Hani criticised the theft of weapons from the Air Force Base and said those weapons were not stolen, but were taken to be used in covert operations, he too was ridiculed. Guns from those same stolen weapons were used to kill him.

This secret web of hitmen and covert operations is funded by our taxes. While we remain without homes, without food, without education, almost nine billion rands was spent in the last two years on these secret operations.

But we, the taxpayers, do not know what it was spent on. We only know that our people continue to die in violence on the trains, in massacres and by assassination.

The killing must stop!

A major initiative Chris Hani proposed shortly before his death was that peace brigades be established under the National Peace Accord.

Let us pay tribute to his memory by forming such Peace Brigades throughout the country.

Let them be part of the reconstruction of our country, ravaged by the war waged against us over 45 years of apartheid rule.

There has been a deliberate and massive propaganda offensive against Umkhonto we Sizwe, its cadres and leadership. No effort has been spared to criminalise both MK and Chris Hani. This has deliberately created a climate of acceptance when an MK cadre is assassinated, as dozens have been over the past months.

To criminalise is to outlaw and the hunting down of an outlaw is regarded as legitimate. That is why, although millions of people have been outraged at the murder of Chris Hani, few were really surprised.

Those who have deliberately created this climate that legitimates political assassinations are as much responsible for the death of Chris Hani as the man who pulled the trigger, and the conspiracy that plotted his murder.

In this regard, the Minister of Law and Order and the Chief of the Army both have a great deal to answer for.

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We say to them, loud and clear, that we do not recognise such indemnity. We will not accept that a murder can be committed and the assassin plead political indemnity. Justice must be carried out to the full extent of the law.

We want a police force that is there to serve our communities, to protect our lives and property, to respect us as citizens. That is our right.

We want an army that is professional, that does not regard us as the enemy.

The only way to get this is by bringing all security forces and armed formations under multiparty control with immediate effect.

This should include the SADF, the South African Police, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the KwaZulu police, the Transkei defence force, the Bophuthatswana police force and any other such formations.

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To next page

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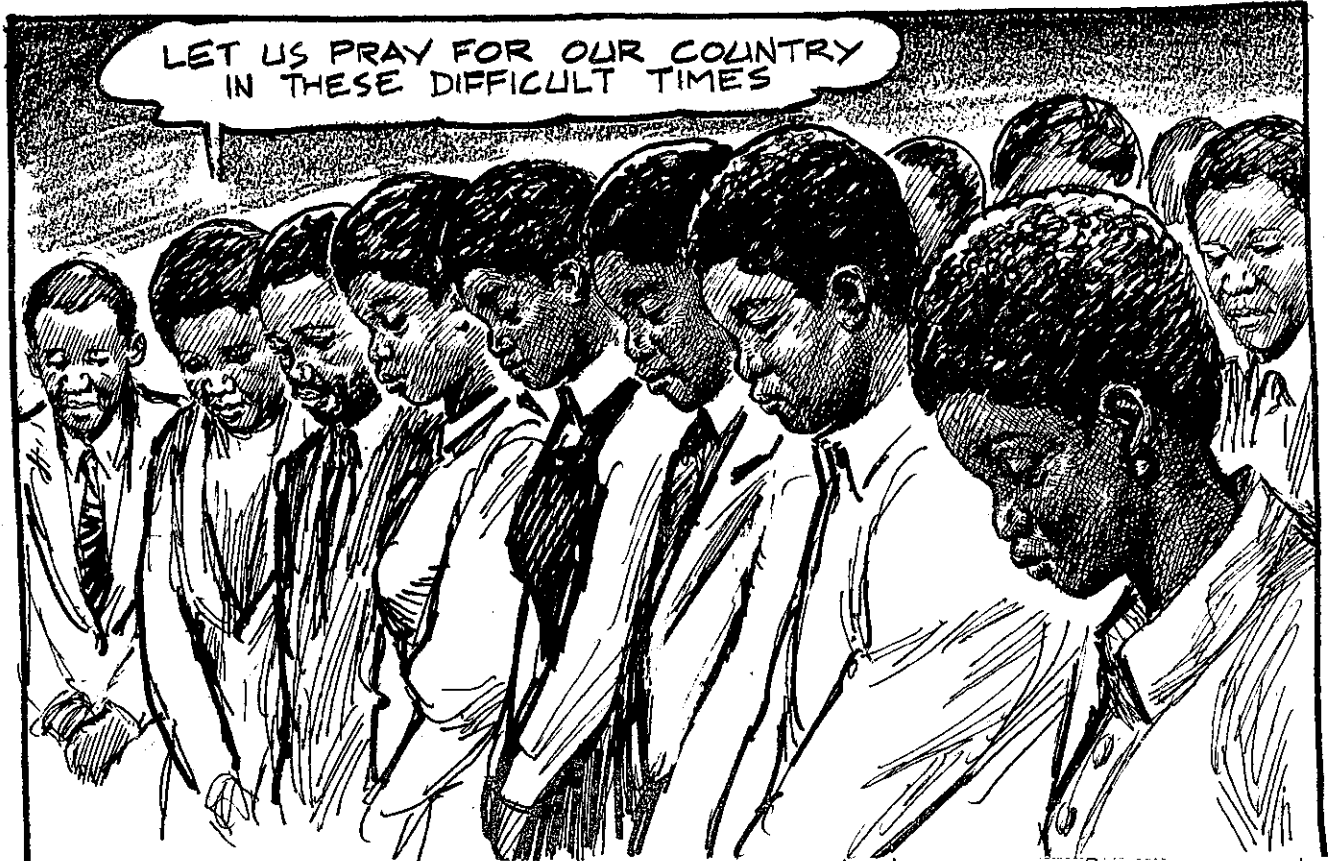
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Western Cape mass action 'towards weekend' — Cosatu

SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter

117 276
ARC-20/4/92

ROLLING mass action by the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance — set to start today — is expected to gain momentum in the Western Cape only towards the weekend.

Cosatu regional secretary Mr Jonathan Arendse said the alliance in the Western Cape still had to work out a programme of action.

"Most of the regional executive members of Cosatu, the ANC and the Youth League are still on their way back from Chris Hani's funeral in Johannesburg and the first meetings on mass action will probably take place tonight or tomorrow," he said.

Mr Arendse expected action to get off the ground "close to the weekend" and next week.

He expected the action to continue for the next five weeks, after which

the position would be assessed.

A monthly meeting of Cosatu's regional executive, drawn from its 14 affiliates, would take place at the weekend and the "first phase of rolling mass action" would also be on the agenda, he said.

The second phase of the mass action campaign was set to start on May 1 and would continue until the end of the month.

The action is expected to take the form of demonstrations and protest marches. The possibility of work stayaways is being discussed.

The alliance called for rolling mass action last weekend in a bid to further pressurise the government to announce an election date by the end of May.

The alliance was also demanding the installation of a transitional executive as well as "deep-reaching multiparty control of all armed forces".

Two-phased mass action campaign kicks off today

Political Staff

(11A)

THE tripartite alliance's two-phased programme of mass action kicks off today in demand for the setting of an election date and the installation of a transitional executive council (TEC) before the end of May.

ARCT 22/4/93
The alliance — ANC, SA Communist Party and Cosatu — announced its programme on Friday in protest against the assassination of Chris Hani.

The first phase will run until the end of the month and will focus on regional initiatives. The next phase will be launched on May Day.

No details have yet been released.

The demands by the ANC-led alliance are not new and reaffirm its commitment to negotiations.

The two demands were reiterated by keynote speakers at Mr Hani's funeral — Cosatu president Mr John Gomomo, SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Gomomo said negotiation was another terrain of struggle and not an end in itself but a means to an end.

The alliance would not only rely on its negotiating skills alone but mass action as well to achieve a democratic country, he said.

Nothing prevented the alliance from marching on the World Trade Centre every time negotiators met there.

He warned employers who took action against workers for attending the funeral or arriving late for work today after travelling long distances, they would be targeted for mass action.

● Pictures, reports, page 4.

Hani gets a soldier's funeral

MK top brass, led by commander Joe Modise and chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda, carry the coffin of Chris Hani on to the pitch at FNB Stadium yesterday.



Famous for their unwavering quality

CONSULATE
FILTER CORK TIPPED VIRGINIA
Robinsons of P.O. Box London

Final salute

SLAIN SACP general secretary Chris Hani was laid to rest yesterday with full MK military honours, a 21-gun salute and peace doves.

More than 100 000 people packed FNB Stadium for an emotional and highly-charged funeral service which was followed by Hani's burial at the Elspark Cemetery in Boksburg.

As the coffin was lowered and the official salute began, a number of mourners in the thousands-strong crowd took out their own firearms — AK47 rifles, pump-action shotguns and handguns — and fired their own tribute.

Hani's family and the ANC leadership, including president Nelson Mandela, filed past the grave to pay their last respects.

The funeral was, however, marred by several incidents in which 10 people died:

- Two people were burnt to death near FNB Stadium when rampaging youths set fire to nearby houses;

- Three people died in Vosloorus and three in Kaitlhong when gunmen opened fire from hostels on people on their way to the Hani funeral;

- Police shot and killed a youth who was allegedly looting a house in Boksburg;

- A man was killed when he fell off an overcrowded bus in Boksburg;

- At least 10 people were admitted to Baragwanath Hospital with injuries.

Sowetan 20/4/93 (117)

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There has been a deliberate and massive propaganda offensive

Let us build a new nation as a tribute to Chris Hani

B/DPM 20/4/93.

(11A)

NELSON MANDELA

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Only then will we be able to begin the task of training, upgrading and developing an SA army and police force that serves all South Africans. Only then can we begin to change the culture so prevalent in the police force and army that the people are the enemy.



□ MANDELA

And nowhere has this attitude of seeing us as the enemy been more clearly demonstrated than in President de Klerk's actions since Chris Hani's assassination. His first response was to call a meeting of the State Security Council. His second response was to deploy 23 000 more troops, telling white South Africans that they had enough troops for them to feel secure. But why deploy troops against mourners?

They say we cannot control our forces. We are not cattle to be controlled. And we say to De Klerk: it is your forces that lost control and, completely unprovoked, shot innocent marchers in Protea. It is you

who have allowed the bully boy tactics of the AWB to go unchallenged. We, the victims of violence, have been blamed for the very acts that take our lives. Yet you treat the far right with kid gloves by allowing them to publish hit lists. Your police do not protect marchers from gunmen who mow them down, as in Vanderbijlpark.

Black lives are cheap, and will remain so as long as apartheid continues to exist. And let there be no mistake: there have been many changes, and negotiations have started, but for the ordinary black person apartheid is alive and well.

They talk of peace as if wanting peace is pacifism. They paint a picture of us as militant youth, or mindless radicals. They want to present the ANC as the other half of the NP. We want peace, but we are not pacifists. We are all militants. We are all radicals. That is the very essence of the ANC.

It is not a question of armed struggle or negotiations. Armed struggle brought about negotiations. It is precisely because negotiations will force them to relinquish power that certain elements are resorting to the cowardly tactics of assassinations.

This government is illegitimate, unrepresentative, corrupt and unfit to govern. We want the immediate installation of a transitional executive council with one purpose: to ensure that free and fair elections are held in the shortest possible time.

Above all, we want an agreed election date to be announced. Such an election will produce a government that represents the democratic wishes of all South Africans.

That government will face tremendous challenges. Of the highest priority will be the issues that were

closest to the heart of Chris Hani: the reconstruction of SA so as to ensure that apartheid is not reformed, but uprooted in its entirety.

In the interests of all our people we will build national unity, drawing on the wealth of our human resources, the courage and strength of all our people. We want to build a nation free from hunger, disease and poverty, free from ignorance, homelessness and humiliation, a country in which there is peace, security and jobs.

These achievements will be living monuments to the heroes like Chris Hani, who died fighting for such a vision.

Speed is of the essence. We want an end to white minority rule now. Forward movement can no longer be held hostage to narrow party political or even individual interests. Freedom, peace and stability can no longer be postponed because of selfish and sectarian goals.

We warn all who seek to impose endless negotiations that any further delay will discredit the negotiation process itself and place on the national agenda the need for change by other means. We take this solemn occasion to make an earnest appeal to all political leaders and organisations to recognise the urgency and gravity of the situation.

Minister Kriel blusters on and says that today's proceedings are a test of our political leadership. We say to him: he has tested our patience too long. Where were the police during the four hours when gunmen rampaged through Sebokeng last night leaving over 15 people dead? Where was his political leadership exercised in decisive action against those who opened fire in Protea? In this situation, it is the government and its Ministers who have been found to be sadly lacking in both leadership, vision and ability.

Chris Hani has a very special place in our hearts. But each and every one of you is precious to us. You are our people, our pride and joy, our future. We love you all. And we want all of you to reach home safely. When we leave here, let us do so with the pride and dignity of our nation. Let us not be provoked.

To the Hani family, you have suffered a loss that no amount of tears can replace. The ANC and SACP have lost a giant of the struggle. But perhaps the greatest loss is to SA as a whole, now and in the future, for our country has been deprived of the wisdom, courage and insight that was unique to Chris Hani.

□ This is an edited version of Mandela's address at the FNB Stadium yesterday.

Cosatu ready to begin mass action campaign

11A
BIDM 2014/93

MARIANNE MERTEN

COSATU was prepared to begin the rolling mass action campaign today to give impetus to the tripartite alliance's demand for a constituent assembly election date to be set soon, Cosatu president John Gomomo said in his address at the FNB Stadium yesterday.

Gomomo said political reforms without economic changes were meaningless.

SACP general secretary Chris Hani had played a leadership role in the mass action last year and understood that negotiations were not an end but a means to an end.

Nothing would stop workers from marching to the World Trade Centre every time negotiations took place, he said.

On behalf of Cosatu, Gomomo warned President F W de Klerk: "You are not our leader, we have not elected you, we do not listen to you. We are going to defy you on a scale never seen before."

Gomomo rejected employers' peace calls as hollow because they "did not materialise into programmes on the floor". He also warned employers victimising workers who heeded the call for a stayaway that they would be targeted for action.

Cosatu wanted businesses to agree to a living wage, an end to retrenchments, centralised bargaining, job creation schemes, parental rights and childcare facilities.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo told mourners at the stadium Hani's death had mobilised the greatest army for democracy ever seen in the country.

An emotion-charged Slovo said, however, that those who sought killing as the only

answer to the assassination could not step into the slain SACP secretary general's shoes.

"Chris was neither a hawk nor a dove. When the time came to fight, he fought like a tiger, and when a peaceful way became possible, he fought like a tiger to say so," Slovo said.

Slovo urged government to "negotiate rapidly" and agree on an election date.

Hani had left a legacy which would "help speed us on the way to a society he lived and died for".

In an appeal for calm, Slovo said violence would play into the hands of those who assassinated Hani.

Slovo also called for the setting up of joint control of the armed forces within weeks. "We want to put an end to the SAP and SADF as De Klerk's private army."

Slovo said Hani was killed by "a system which opened its arms to thugs from eastern Europe".

The timing of Hani's death was not accidental, but calculated by those who wanted a "return to the days of white baasskap".

Slovo described Hani as "a man who knew how to lead, but also knew how to follow".

Sapa reports that Archbishop Desmond Tutu said at the stadium that no guns could stop South Africans on their march to victory.

"God is on our side. . . . We are marching to freedom, all of us black and white," he said.

Monitors 'keep violence in check'

Monitors 'keep violence in check'

BIDM 20/4/93

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE presence of monitors had contributed significantly to preventing violence during the mourning period for Chris Hani, Witwatersrand/Vaal national peace committee vice-chairman Rupert Lorimer said yesterday.

Lorimer said monitors had succeeded in defusing tense situations that arose from misunderstandings, and had averted potential clashes between various factions over the past few days.

He said although the small number of deaths that did occur were to be regretted, he was "infinitely relieved" at the low incidence of violence.

"Given the number of people involved (in the mourning) it could have been much, much worse," he said. And in spite of the incidents at Dawn Park and Nasrec, the day passed peacefully.

Co-operation between the police, peace committee members and march organisers was good, he said.

The peace committee had more than 200 people deployed yesterday. The monitors reported to the control room in Braamfontein, where decisions were taken.

Lorimer said that as the monitors were drawn from many different organisations, they were largely accepted by the communities in which they operated.

He said this made them effective in dealing with tense situations. People tended to calm down when they realised that a neutral party was monitoring them.

Although the peace structures had not always been able to prevent bloodshed, Lorimer said they had achieved "admirable success" in keeping the death toll down.

One of the most important functions of the committee was stopping rumours that could increase tension, he said.

He blamed police for starting some of these rumours. In one instance during the protest march on Saturday, police reported that ANC supporters were unloading weapons from a truck in Johannesburg. Monitors rushed to the scene and discovered the "weapons" were sound equipment, he said.

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London embassy service

CHRIS BATEMAN (IA)

LONDON — The entire staff of the SA embassy yesterday attended a service of intercession to pray for peace and remember the bereaved relatives of SACP general secretary Chris Hani. BIDM 20/4/93

Resident pastor Ds Dirk Oosthuizen, who led the service, reminded staff Hani's life was "a gift from God... and nobody had the right to take it from him".

The congregation stood for a moment's silence to remember Hani's wife and children, after which the pastor led prayers for reconciliation which he said was essential to keep constitutional negotiations on track.

An embassy spokesman said ambassador Kent Durr had decided on the service.

Durr was deluged by media interview requests yesterday as images of violence in Sebokeng and Soweto featured prominently on television and in newspapers.

He told BBC TV's Channel One that violence was "the handmaiden of poverty" and said it would not contribute to the constitutional process. "One hopes that it will not go on and we will return to negotiation."

He emphasised the co-operation between ANC marshals and the police in controlling unruly mobs and said police had offered the maximum legal reward for information leading to the arrest of the Sebokeng killers.

SABALELE, in Cofimvaba district, is a place well known to me. Not for its beauty, but for its harshness. No running water. No electricity. No decent housing. Inadequate health care. Little formal education. Yet this small, virtually unknown village produced a Chris Hani, whose life shook the whole country.

Chris Hani's passion for justice, for addressing the problems that plague the rural poor, were rooted in his childhood in Sabalele.

Chris Hani touched the very hearts of millions of us because he knew our pain, and eased it by giving us hope, giving us courage, giving us a way forward.

Chris Hani's murder was no aberration. It was consistent with the patterns of the past. Scores of assassinations remain "unsolved", because the criminals investigate themselves.

The regime has announced the arrest of a leading member of the CP, Clive Derby-Lewis, in connection with this murder. We insist he be brought before the courts without delay. We demand to know what he did, who he worked with, and above all we demand justice.

In 1991, when we spoke of a "third force" being responsible for the violence, we were ridiculed and criticised by everyone. Now both SA and the world recognise not only the existence of that same "third force", but also the extent of its activities.

That is why De Klerk retired army and police generals with golden handshakes, but neither we nor the country know what activities they were dismissed for. When Chris Hani criticised the theft of weapons from the Air Force base, and said those weapons were not stolen, but were taken to be used in covert operations, he too was ridiculed. One of the guns from those same stolen weapons was used to kill him.

This secret web of hit men and covert operations is funded by our taxes. But we, the taxpayers, do not know what it was spent on. We only know that our people continue to die in violence on the trains, in massacres, and by assassination.

The killing must stop! A major initiative that Chris Hani proposed shortly before his death was that peace brigades be established under the national peace accord. Let us pay tribute to his memory by forming such peace brigades throughout the country. Let them be part of the reconstruction of our country.

There has been a deliberate and massive propaganda offensive

Let us build a new nation as a tribute to Chris Hani

Blom 20/4/93

11 (40)

NELSON MANDELA

against Umkhonto we Sizwe, its cadres and leadership. No effort has been spared to criminalise both MK and Chris Hani. This has deliberately created a climate of acceptance when an MK cadre is assassinated, as dozens have been over the past months. Those who have deliberately created this climate that legitimises political assassinations are as much responsible for the death of Chris Hani as the man who pulled the trigger, and the conspiracy that plotted his murder.

In this regard, the Law and Order Minister and the Chief of the Army both have a great deal to answer for. But culpability does not stop there. The indecent haste with which Minister Kobie Coetsee pushed the Indemnity Bill through the President's Council granted a licence to kill to the men who wish to plunge this country into a racial war. Through this legislation, they were told that they could murder without fear of punishment. We say to them, loud and clear, that we do not recognise such indemnity. Justice must be carried out to the full extent of the law.

We want a police force that is there to serve our communities, to protect our lives and property, to respect us as citizens. We want an army that is professional, that does not regard us as the enemy. The only way to get this is by bringing all security forces and armed formations under multiparty control with immediate effect.

Only then will we be able to begin the task of training, upgrading and developing an SA army and police force that serves all South Africans. Only then can we begin to change the culture so prevalent in the police force and army that the people are the enemy.



□ MANDELA

And nowhere has this attitude of seeing us as the enemy been more clearly demonstrated than in President de Klerk's actions since Chris Hani's assassination. His first response was to call a meeting of the State Security Council. His second response was to deploy 23 000 more troops, telling white South Africans that they had enough troops for them to feel secure. But why deploy troops against mourners?

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To the Hani family, you have suffered a loss that no amount of tears can replace. The ANC and SACP have lost a giant of the struggle. But perhaps the greatest loss is to SA as a whole, now and in the future, for our country has been deprived of the wisdom, courage and insight that was unique to Chris Hani.

□ This is an edited version of Mandela's address at the FNB Stadium yesterday.

21-gun salute at graveside

Calm prevails at emotional Hani funeral

B/Dm 20/4/93

(11A) (11)

ASSASSINATED SACP general secretary Chris Hani was laid to rest yesterday in a ceremony at Germiston's Southpark cemetery attended by tens of thousands of mourners.

Eight uniformed Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers bore the coffin draped with the green, black and gold ANC flag and the SACP's hammer-and-sickle banner.

Two green-bereted MK women guerrillas handed over the two flags and Hani's combat cap to Hani's grieving widow, Limpho. ANC president Nelson Mandela was at her side, Reuter reports.

Hani's family, including his three daughters, clutched white doves which they released moments before the coffin was lowered to the chanting of a lament.

The children threw handfuls of earth and flowers into the grave. Mandela and SACP chairman Joe Slovo each threw a single red carnation and a handful of earth.

A 21-gun salute of AK-47, Makharov and pistol shots sounded as the coffin was lowered. When shots rang out from the ranks of the huge crowd, ANC official Tokyo Sexwale appealed for the firing to stop.

The largely peaceful ceremony was marred by reports of deaths and injuries in several incidents of violence on the Reef.

Earlier in the day, the solemnity of proceedings at the FNB Stadium was disturbed only by the sound of three helicop-

RAY HARTLEY and LLOYD COUTTS

ters hovering overhead. Intermittent clashes between police and stone-throwing mourners outside the stadium did not disrupt events inside.

Before a capacity crowd of about 80 000, an MK band played the hymn Abide with Me, while several uniformed platoons of MK cadres stood to attention.

Brief sermons were given by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other religious leaders, and speeches by Slovo, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Mandela.

- De Klerk's appeal: Page 2
- Pictures: Pages 2, 3 & 4
- Mandela's speech: Page 8
- Comment: Page 8

ANC leaders called for a quick end to white minority rule.

"Speed is of the essence. We want an end to white minority rule now, we want an election date now," said Mandela, whose call was echoed by Tutu.

Mandela and Slovo appealed for restraint, with Slovo saying: "Those who see killing as the only answer cannot step into Hani's shoes. He hated unnecessary violence and cruelty, and he hated most of all

□ To Page 2

Hani

B/Dm 20/4/93

(11A) (11)

□ From Page 1

racist violence, whether black or white."

ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba had been scheduled to speak but instead led the crowd in an impassioned toyi-toyi. An ANC spokesman said last night it was unnecessary for Mokaba to speak as he had delivered a speech in Cape Town the day before.

Proceedings inside the stadium were calm and orderly, and the violence outside was blamed by Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo and Ramaphosa on agents provocateurs. Ramaphosa appealed to the crowd for calm, saying the tripartite alliance dissociated itself from violence.

The crowd was also asked not to proceed to the cemetery at the family's request. Although the ANC said last night the deci-

sion had been taken some time ago, all the transport arrangements to ferry mourners to the cemetery were still in place and the request led to some confusion in the crowd.

Thousands of mourners made their way to Elspark near the cemetery, some perched perilously on the roofs of the approximately 600 buses in the procession.

An expected confrontation with hundreds of armed and uniformed AWB members, who occupied houses adjacent to the cemetery in the deserted suburbs of Elspark, Dawn Park and Rondebult, did not materialise. The members and ANC supporters were separated by police who set up a razor wire cordon between houses and the cemetery. Police maintained a strong presence in the area.

All sides make calls for peace

Star 20/4/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Key tripartite alliance speakers at Chris Hani's funeral launched attacks on the Government but coupled these with messages of peace, reconciliation and commitment to negotiations.

In Parliament yesterday, President de Klerk urged South Africans to co-operate in creating peace.

African National Congress president Nelson Mandela said the ANC wanted peace, and reiterated its commitment to negotiations.

These sentiments were echoed in speeches by South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo and Cosatu president John Gomo.

However, Mandela attacked the Government — and specifically Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel and army chief Georg Meiring — for creating a climate that legitimised political assassinations, leading to Hani's killing.

Referring to the arrest of Conservative Party member of the President's Council Clive Derby-Lewis, Mandela said: "We insist he be brought before the courts without delay. We demand to know what he did, who he worked with, and above all we demand justice.

"We do not want to see a situation where those arrested for such heinous crimes simply go free once the hue and cry dies down, as has happened in the past."

Slovo said Hani's killers thought they had killed a man and his beliefs, but they had inadvertently mobilised "the greatest army for democracy".

He said the "indecent haste" with which Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had pushed the

Political analysis by Shaun Johnson

The covering of Chris Hani's coffin yesterday afternoon signalled the beginning of the end of South Africa's latest political crisis, although the potential for violence and social ferment remains extremely high.

By the time Hani was laid in his final resting place, both ANC leader Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk had made decisive interventions to channel the formal politics of the country in the same direction: Back to the negotiating table, and back to the timetable for transition.

While the ANC and its allies are still preparing to implement an as-yet undefined programme of mass action, it is clear that the major differences with the government are over timing and implementation, not principle.

This differs starkly from the position following the Boipatong massacre, when the negotiating process itself collapsed.

Both Mandela and De Klerk invoked the memory of Hani as a powerful factor to support underlying agreement on how to move beyond the crisis sparked by the assassination.

Indemnity Bill through the President's Council had granted "a licence to kill to the men who wish to plunge this country into a racial war".

Mandela said: "We say to them, loud and clear, that we do not recognise such indemnity. We will not accept that a murder can be committed and the assassin pleads political indemnity. Justice must be carried out to the full extent of the law."

Speaking in Parliament in Cape Town yesterday, De Klerk said that negotiations and the economy were "in the firing line".

"Emotions which vary from anger to fear, from aggression to despair, are threatening to destroy the hopes of all peace-loving South Africans. We dare not allow that," he said.

De Klerk said the Government would be making proposals to the National Peace Committee on creating peace. One of them was to declare a moment's silence on a specific day in remembrance of the victims of violence.

De Klerk said the ANC-led alliance's programme of mass action could lead to further violence. The killing of political opponents had the potential to unleash a race war.

Hani's death had unleashed "radical forces" at both ends of the political spectrum, the President said.

"Two weeks ago our country was characterised by hope and good expectations. That hope and those expectations are being overshadowed today by concern among some and anger among others."

De Klerk urged South Africans not to be carried away by "devouring emotion" and to support security forces in maintaining law and order.

In contrast to his reported fiery statements made in Cape Town at the weekend, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba did not address the crowd but led them in singing and toyi-toying.

Mokaba said Youth League members were prepared to implement instructions from the ANC leadership.

Winnie, Mokaba, may face charges

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE police are investigating possible criminal proceedings against Mrs Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba, Deputy-Minister of Law and Order, Mr Gert Myburgh, told Parliament yesterday.

The inflammatory remarks in

Knayelitsha at the weekend by the two prominent ANC members — including Mr Mokaba's chants of "kill the boer" and Mrs Mandela's call for revenge — were condemned by a wide range of political parties yesterday.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has dismissed the remarks as not ANC policy and said

they should not be taken seriously.

But Democratic Party law and order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said yesterday the remarks by the two ANC members "constitute dangerous and reckless incitement to violence".

Inkatha's Western Cape chairman, Mr Nicholas Myburgh, said the inflammatory speeches were not con-

ducive to maintaining peace in the Western Cape and demanded the ANC in the region publicly apologise for and distance itself from the remarks. *CT 20/4/93 (11A)*

The Conservative MP for Parys and president of the Free State Agricultural Union, Dr Pieter Gous, said the ANC would pay a high price for its "kill a boer, kill a farmer" remarks.

Mass action set for next month — ANC alliance

By Kaizer Nyatumba
and Esther Waugh

11A

A national mass action campaign will begin next month to support demands for rapid movement to a transitional executive council (TEC) with effective control over the security forces, the ANC alliance announced yesterday.

Organised business urged the alliance to steer clear of actions that could further harm the economy and urged it to solve differences around the negotiating table.

The alliance also said it insisted on "legitimate, effective and thorough-going" joint control of security forces.

"From May 1 our national programme will unfold," SACP national chairman Joe Slovo said at a press conference.

Last week, the alliance said it would begin a six-week, two-phase mass action campaign yesterday to enforce its demands.

"Should the process not produce results by the end of May, our programme of rolling mass action will enter a new phase,"

Slovo said.

The alliance will meet on April 27 to finalise its plans. In the meantime, the alliance's 14 regions will decide on their own regional programmes of action.

Slovo — flanked by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Cosatu deputy general secretary Sam Shilowa — said details of the new phase had still to be worked out.

The alliance denied its campaign would raise political temperatures or fan intolerance. It said disciplined mass action was necessary to contain its supporters' anger and frustration.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday the ANC's demands were in line with the Government's timetable.

But while some joint control over security and "paramilitary" forces during the transitional process was desirable, day-to-day joint control was out of the question.

He also said a date for TEC elections could be decided only by multiparty agreement.

Ramaphosa said free and fair elections were not possible until the Government met the demands.

"We cannot go into an election with the NP having its security forces using State resources," he said.

He also rejected Meyer's statement in Pretoria last week that the Government was prepared to de-link agreement on a TEC with consensus on an interim constitution.

Meyer told The Star yesterday that, in terms of the Government's timetable, agreement had to be reached on the first phase of the transition process — the installation of a TEC, an independent media commission and an independent electoral commission — before the end of May.

These goals were still attainable, he said.

In terms of Codesa agreements, once a TEC had been elected, a sub-council on security would "level the playing field" with regard to security forces. This did not imply joint control, he said.

In a joint statement yesterday, the South African Chamber of Business and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut called on the alliance to act with restraint. They said the productive sector had already suffered enormous financial loss.

Don't stray from middle ground, FW urges ANC

ja Ljubisa

Star 2114193

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has called on the ANC not to stray from the broad centre where it had been positioning itself over a period of time.

Speaking on the second day of the debate on his vote in Parliament, he said this was where the great majority of South Africans found themselves.

"They long for peaceful negotiations leading rapidly to a new constitutional dispensation which will be acceptable to all of our communities.

"If this is to be achieved, the parties to negotiation, including the National Party and the ANC, will have to stop

shouting at one another, will have to stop sowing the seeds of anger, suspicion and dissent, will have to excel in being constructive and co-operative".

De Klerk accused Nelson Mandela of misrepresentations and making unfair remarks in his speech at Chris Hani's funeral.

He had not, as Mandela had alleged, first of all called a meeting of the State Security Council.

Steps

After it became clear that the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance planned mass action, the State Security Council had met. The purpose was to consider steps to be taken to prevent this from resulting in unrest and conflict.

Mandela had created the impression that the

Government itself had been implicated in Hani's death.

Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said the most important requisite for peace was that the centre in politics should hold.

"What is needed now is a positive ideal — true national unity — enabling us and inspiring us to work for a better life for all our people."

Conservative Party MP Daan van der Merwe said De Klerk had become estranged from the Afrikaner nation.

Dave Dalling, the ANC-aligned MP for Sandton, said De Klerk should give the assurance he would do all that was humanly possible to ensure a transitional executive council was installed speedily. An election date must be finalised by end-May.

Mob victim 'called police for help'

By Julienne du Toit and Bronwyn Wilkinson

Rudolf Botes, who burnt to death when rampaging youths set his house alight outside the FNB stadium on Monday, had called the police for help shortly before his house was set alight, his angry wife Marilyn said yesterday.

"The police were there, the army was there and nobody went to help him," she said.

She said when she went to the Joosens police station on Monday night, police had confirmed they had received the call and that her husband had told them he was trapped by a group of rampaging youths and was seeking refuge in the roof. The fire then went dead.

Mrs Botes said her husband had told her earlier that the youths had torn down the gates of the house and he had barricaded himself inside.

"That was when we told him to call the police and he did, at

about 8.45 am," she said.

Mrs Botes had taken the couple's 2½-year-old twins to her mother's house in Kensington, but her husband, who was recently retrenched, stayed at home, believing no one would harm him.

She said her husband had died in vain, particularly since he had "been very well liked by black people" and had tried so desperately to get help.

SAP liaison officer Major Eugene Opperman said police would investigate the allegations fully.

Rudolf Botes's brother, Bokkie, and his wife, Suzette, who lived two houses away in the Crown Mines village, picked through the ashes of their home yesterday. They found one of their dogs and a kitten alive.

Their chickens, pigeons, budgie and dog were burnt to death. The dog, a bull terrier, was lying chained to a tree, his body charred. A fire had been made on top of his body.

Suzette, weeping, said she had left her wedding rings inside the house, as well as the pictures of

her wedding and of her one-year-old child.

"We've got nothing left. All the babies' clothes are also gone," she sobbed.

Suzette said she had called the police on Monday when she heard there was trouble. They called back three times saying they were unable to get to the houses because of stone-throwing youths.

Gert Botes, father of Rudolf, was told by Suzette when he arrived at the scene that his son was dead.

Bokkie took pictures of his dead dog and of his burnt out house. Asked why, he said "I must do it. I want to."

In a garage was the charred body of a Staffordshire bull terrier with a gearbox on top of it.

In front of one of the charred houses the words "Boere, ons is nie bang nie" (Afrikaners, we are not scared) had been painted on the ground. Beside it was a sign reading "ANC".

● The second victim of the rampage has not yet been identified. His charred body was found in the vicinity of Botes's corpse.



The ruins . . . Suzette Botes and her mother-in-law, Coral Botes, pick their way through the devastation wrought in the tiny Crown Mines village behind the FNB stadium where they lived. Pictures: Jacob Rykliff



Free funeral but top publicity

STAR 21/4/93
By Julianne du Toit

One of the best-known undertakers in the world must be City Funerals, which undertook, without charge, the burial of slain Communist Party leader Chris Hani.

The name of the company was displayed beneath the imported steel coffin, on the yellow canopy overhead, on the podium, on the custom-made hearse, and screened on television around the world.

Owner Tony Guinness refused to say whether he had offered the free funeral to the ANC.

He also refused to disclose how much the funeral had cost the company, except to say it was very expensive.

"I don't want to put a monetary value on such a thing," he said.

● The Chamber of Mines and other large companies were approached by the ANC for help to cover the costs of the funeral. This money was put into a trust account. The amount is said to be hundreds of thousands of rands.

A Chamber of Mines spokesman said the donation "should not be construed as an indication of mining industry support for the views of the late Chris Hani or the policies of any of the organisations of which he was a member".

"The donation was made as a gesture to mark the tragic death of a political leader in violent circumstances which the members of the chamber abhor."

Star 21/4/93

Hani investigators named

By Michael Sparks

(11A)

Two top European experts were named yesterday to assist in the investigation into the assassination of Chris Hani. They are the former head of Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist branch, Commander George Churchill-Coleman and Dr Ralf Krüger, who has taught at Germany's top police college.

Churchill-Coleman was due to arrive today, according to Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau SC, while the German Embassy announced that Krüger would fly in on Friday.

Churchill-Coleman was head of the UK anti-terrorist branch until October last year, co-ordinating the response by police to all acts of terrorism in Britain.

Krüger served as the president of the State Office for the

Protection of the Constitution, which provides protection against extremist activities which pose a threat to state security.

Legal expert Professor Fink Haysom, representing the ANC, said last night that he understood the two men were top-level investigators who would enhance the status and credibility of the investigation into Hani's death.

Haysom said the ANC wanted the two investigators to be appointed by a neutral body, which is why the National Peace Committee had become involved in the process.

Meanwhile, police yesterday denied reports they are planning to arrest more Conservative Party members, in addition to President's Council member Clive Derby-Lewis, who was taken into custody in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

NEWS State President replies to ANC leader's attack

(11A)

FW fires broadside at Nelson Mandela

Sowetan 21/4/93.

■ **Government won't indemnify Hani's alleged murderer:**

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE alleged murderer of SACP chief Mr Chris Hani would not qualify for indemnity, President FW de Klerk said in Parliament last night.

In a stinging attack on ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, De Klerk said the ANC leader had misrepresented the facts at FNB Stadium on Monday when he said his (De Klerk's) first reaction to Hani's assassination was to call a State Security Council meeting and then to deploy 23 000 troops.

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been to send a message of condolence to Hani's family in which he had expressed his shock.

He also said when Mandela questioned the Further Indemnity Act, he (the ANC leader) forgot that it was in terms of this law that ANC members were indemnified.

"There is, therefore, no question of the murderer of Mr Hani being considered for indemnity. The same applies to the many other atrocious murders committed recently," De Klerk said.

De Klerk said the National Party was not to blame for the fact that black people did not have the vote.

Azapo holds congress

Sowetan 21/4/93

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation is to hold its special national congress in Johannesburg on May 8 and May 9.

Azapo deputy president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe yesterday said the congress would focus on negotiations, the armed struggle and Azapo's programme of action for the year. - Sapa.

Crucial SACP indaba delayed

Star 21/4/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

(11A)

The SA Communist Party's special conference to discuss its role in the transition process has been postponed by a month as a result of Chris Hani's killing.

The crucial conference was set to take place this weekend, but has been moved to May 20.

The SACP central committee is meeting on Saturday to take stock of the political situation since the assassination.

Central committee member Jeremy Cronin said yesterday the implications for the leadership of Hani's murder would also be discussed.

The issue of a successor for Hani has not been discussed during the period of mourning.

It is regarded as cer-

tain the SACP will not turn its back on negotiations when it does reconvene the policy meeting.

This is backed by the contents of a previously unpublished speech by Hani to the SACP PWV regional council on April 4. In the speech, a copy of which is in The Star's possession, Hani said: "We as a party and a component of the alliance are pushing at the negotiation table for the implementation of the Codesa decisions, in particular the installation of the transitional executive council, in order to facilitate the holding of elections for a constituent assembly."

Arguing for growth of the SACP during and after the first elections, Hani questioned whether the elections would not "sideline" the SACP.

ANC will repair gravestones

START 2/14/93
11A

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Several angry and emotional visitors to Germiston's South Park Cemetery yesterday stared in disbelief at the desecrated graves of their relatives and friends.

Headstones were pushed over or smashed by unruly members of the crowd that poured into the cemetery to watch Chris Hani buried there on Monday.

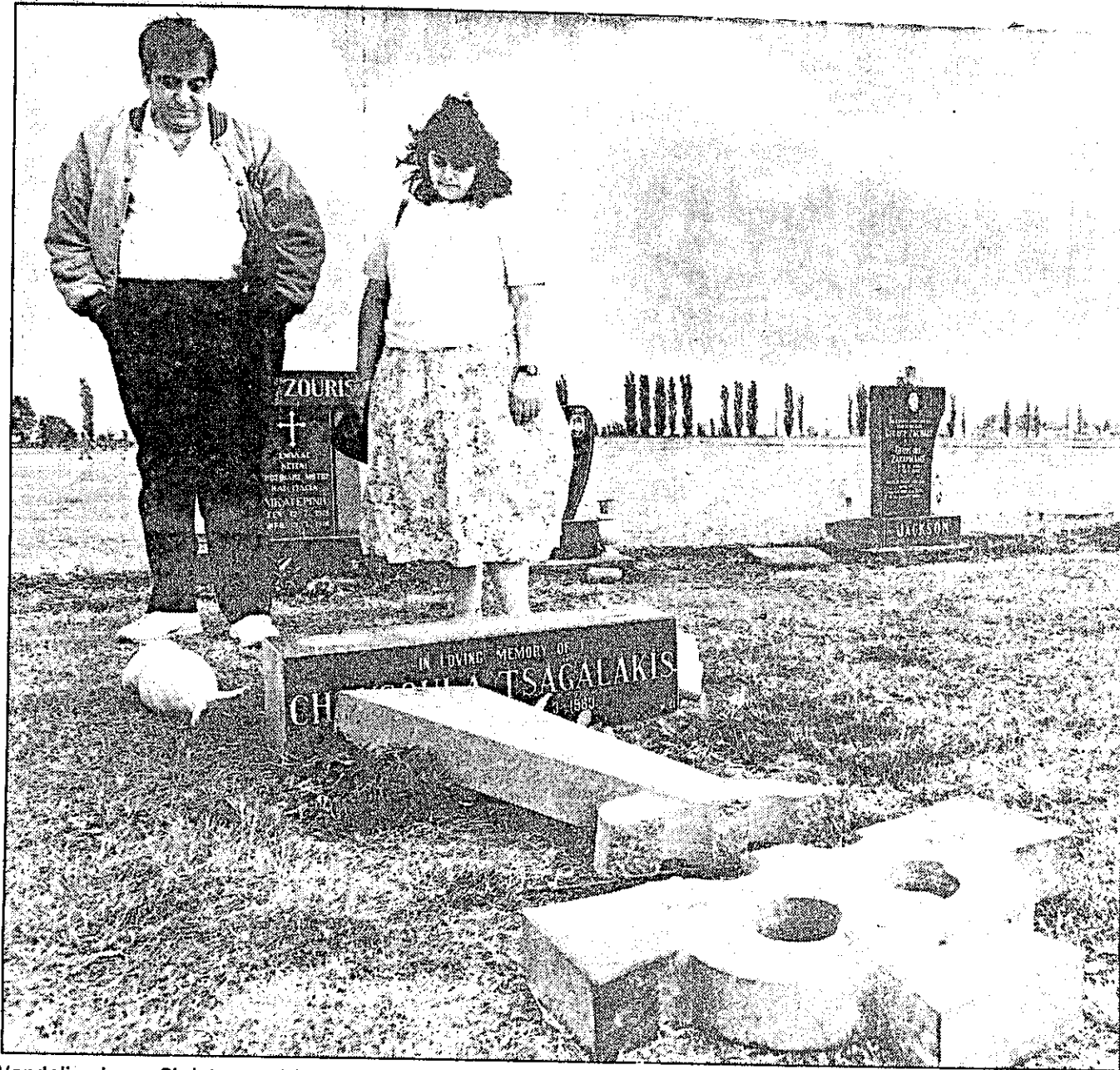
Damage was worst in the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic sections which were closest to the open space where Hani was buried. But several more — mostly bearing Afrikaans names — were battered in the general section about 200 m away.

The ANC has expressed its deep concern at the desecration and sent a delegation to the cemetery yesterday to assess the damage. The organisation said the tripartite alliance would repair the damage, which police estimated to be about R100 000.

Two more young men, who said they supported the AWB, warned that "the AWB is going to dig up that communist's body (and) hang it by the neck from a tree".

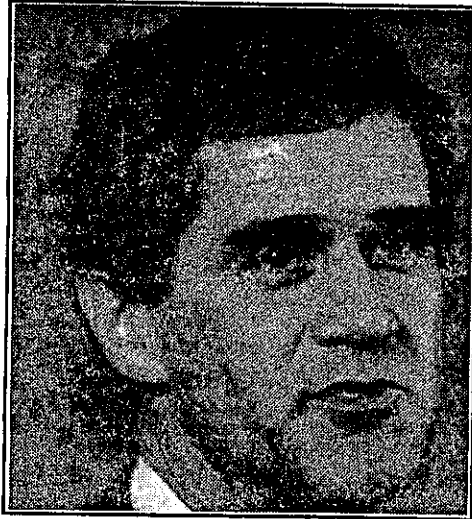
But an ANC spokesman said last night the casket had been lowered and covered in wet concrete to prevent just such an act.

Cemetery officials and the ANC had agreed on an isolated plot to prevent the crowds trampling over the other graves. Sadly, the measure failed.

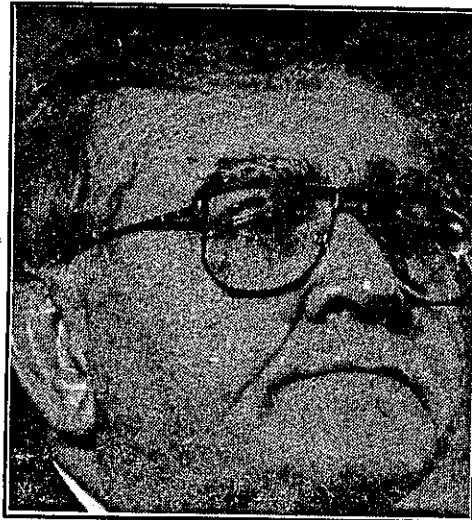


Vandalised . . . Christos and Xenia Touraplis at the grave of Christos's sister. The tombstone was smashed by crowds attending the Chris Hani burial on Monday.
Picture: Joao Silva

NEWS Blacks and whites saw the tragedy of Hani's assassination through different eyes



Roelf Meyer ... opposed Hani.



Hernus Kriel ... force.



FW de Klerk ... Initiatives cold.



Desmond Tutu ... lack of progress.

Viewpoints were totally different

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

CHRIS Hani was laid to rest on Monday, nine days after he was murdered outside his home in Boksburg's Dawn Park, allegedly by Mr Janus Walus, a Polish immigrant.

Between the days of his assassination and his burial, South Africa was plunged into chaos and mayhem which, ironically, produced the only clear message yet that relatively little progress has been made between blacks

Sowetan 21/4/93
■ WRONG FOCUS *The Nats haven't*

changed approach to black people:

Blacks mourned loss of a leader ... whites counted loss of revenue

the vast extent of peaceful mourning and dignified behaviour.

"The effect on whites, especially of the violence in Cape Town and the isolated racial pogroms, some of them horrible, was to terrify," Owen wrote in his influential Sunday column.

De Klerk and his Cabinet's responses were, at best, sardonic.

11A
21/4/93
20/4/93

totally different

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Between the days of his assassination and his burial, South Africa was plunged into chaos and mayhem which, ironically, produced the only clear message yet that relatively little progress has been made between black and white in South Africa in spite of almost three years of détente and rapprochement.

Horrific detail

The white media and the Government reacted primarily and in horrific detail to the sporadic violence, looting and destruction which characterised last week's commemoration services, processions and gatherings, with very little emphasis on what it actually meant to black people to lose a powerful political leader in these times of change.

The most important message for black South Africans during these dark days was that after all these weeks and months, even years, of protestations by the ruling National Party, they have not changed a bit in their approach to black people.

While black people over the past nine days mourned the loss of a leader and expressed their anger, white people counted the loss of revenue.

The Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Chris Stals, described the events after Hani's assassination as a major setback for the country after foreign investors had shown renewed interest in the country after the political developments of the preceding days and weeks.

"Following latest events, however, foreign investors have expressed their extreme disappointment with the turn of events. We are effectively back to square one," Stals said.

After the ANC announced its mass action programme, apparently "to positively channel the anger" whipped up by Hani's assassination, the monied class in South Africa spoke of the economy in apocalyptic terms.

Stals, a National Party appointee, said of the planned six weeks of mass action: "I doubt it will have any immediate effect on the financial markets but the secondary effects are likely to be felt once the campaign starts."

This is indicative of the mindset of the people who govern South Africa; they cannot see beyond rands and cents.

Southern 21/4/93
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De Klerk and his Cabinet's responses were, at best, sardonic.

The deep and dangerous chasm between black and white people, which negotiations and the prospect of a peaceful settlement had conveniently circumvented (not filled), revealed itself.

Pathos of the killer

Last week's anger was arguably and perhaps understandably aimed at whites; for Hani's death, because it was one of them who killed him; for apartheid, because it was this society that created the pathos of the killer; for the continued hegemony by whites, because it was the fear of losing this which probably inspired the assassination and ultimately for the absence of tangible or measurable developments resulting from negotiations.

Cape Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu noted early in his address on Wednesday that ordinary black people were frustrated with the absence of measurable progress resulting from negotiations and said that it was time that these talks were seen to bear some results.

"It was crucial," Tutu said, "that a date for elections be set as quickly as possible."

The crisis precipitated by Hani's assassination is one for De Klerk as it is for the ANC. There are people who, in the wake of Hani's death, have questioned the feasibility of continued negotiations.

In all the responses from the Government, most especially in the response of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, it was evident that the National Party had no response other than to meet the aftermath of Hani's assassination with security force action.

When he was asked on Sunday's *Agenda* what exactly the Government's response was to the week that was, De Klerk could only recall security measures, "*kragdadigheid*".

The difference (or similarity) between De Klerk and Mr PW Botha or even Mr John Vorster was there for everyone to see...

This brings credence to the theory that President FW de Klerk's reform initiatives are cold-hearted accounting moves and bear no signals, even, of any humanitarian considerations.

It was in the Government's responses, first to Hani's assassination and then to the failed commemoration service in Cape Town and subsequent mayhem, that nonetheless drove home the fundamental indifference prevalent in the white community and leadership in South Africa towards black aspirations, expectations and sensibilities.

It is interesting to note, incidentally, that only three people bothered on April 10 to express their political opposition to Hani, one of whom chose to kill him.

Machiavellian

In the responses from De Klerk and his Machiavellian protege, Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, it was emphasised how the Government opposed Hani politically.

Mr Ken Owen, the classic liberal editor of the *Sunday Times* and a man whose name, according to the police, was on the same hit list, found in the home of the alleged killer, on which Hani's featured, summed it up succinctly in his column this past weekend.

"This week (after Hani's assassination) as never before, the Nationalist Government stood revealed as both impotent and politically inept.

"Power slipped visibly from the limp hands at Groote Schuur (De Klerk's residence) to the stronger hands at Shell House (ANC headquarters).

"Add to this a lamentable loss of perspective created by moist news media, which concentrated in their usual fashion on the episodes of violence without reporting in much detail



Mr Joseph Mthembu escaped death in a burning house near FNB Stadium in Johannesburg when youths attending Chris Hani's funeral attacked houses and cars in the area. Mthembu (40) has been living there for 16 years. The owner of the property, Mr Geoffrey Howes (36), lost everything he owned. Mthembu explained to the police how he jumped out of a window to escape the fire.

Mass action begins to roll on May Day

Sowetan 21/4/93
■ Government accused of vacillating:

By Themba Molele

THE African National Congress mass action programme to speed up the negotiations process will unfold on May 1 (Workers' Day), it was announced yesterday.

The tripartite alliance of the ANC, SA Communist Party and the Congress of SA Trade Unions said the programme would be launched if "the Government continues to sit on its hands".

A statement by the alliance said: "Where action is required, the De Klerk Government is inactive."

Addressing a Press conference yesterday, SACP national chairman Mr Joe Slovo said the events of the past 10 days since the assassination of Mr Chris Hani had underlined that joint multiparty control over armed forces could "not be a formalistic and bureaucratic arrangement".

Responding to a statement by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that mass action would derail negotiations, Cosatu deputy general secretary Mr Sam Shilowa said mass action was demanded by the people on the ground who needed results and was not a question for negotiators.

NEWS Warning that campaign could hamper negotiatio

Action a setback — IFP

Sowetan 21/4/93, (11A) (12)
■ Chief Buthelezi opposes rolling pickets and demos:

THE ANC-led alliance's call for a "rolling mass action" campaign was a major setback to negotiations, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Buthelezi was speaking on his return from Rome where he and Bophuthatswana leader Chief Lucas Mangope met United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali to discuss South Africa.

The IFP leader also condemned remarks made about him by an ANC official at a memorial service for SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani.

ANC southern Natal regional executive member Mr Jeff Radebe reportedly said the congress should rid the country of white supremacists, adding "phansi, Gatsha, phansi (down, Gatsha, down)".

Buthelezi said Radebe's comment was provocative and "people had been angered by it".

"We are seeking peace and reconciliation and to use the occasion, the tragic killing of Mr Hani, to attack me is despicable. We expect the ANC and SACP to clarify this. It is not good for the country."

Regarding the mass action campaign, Buthelezi said the ANC was following the same strategy as last year when negotiations were delayed.

"It is ridiculous. The delay in negotiations was caused by them and as at Codesa they are doing the same again."

The ANC "cannot ram their demands down the throats of the other parties".

Buthelezi said statements by ANC

officials at memorial services for Mr Hani were not the first time the congress had claimed it was the "government in waiting".

If the ANC felt that way "why are they then talking at the multiparty negotiation forum?" Buthelezi asked.

The Zulu nation would have to be part of a negotiated solution in South Africa, he warned.

The arrest of senior Conservative Party member Mr Clive Derby-Lewis at the weekend in connection with Hani's murder would not affect the IFP's position in the Concerned South Africans Group, of which the CP, IFP and the Bophuthatswana government were principal members, the party said.—SA Press Association.

No indemnity for assassin

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday specified a new and final cutoff date for criminal indemnity which would bar SACP leader Chris Hani's murderer from escaping liability.

De Klerk told Parliament there was no question that Hani's murderer would be considered for indemnity. Government was resolutely against indemnity for crimes committed after October 1992.

In terms of the Indemnity Act, the cutoff date for indemnity for political crimes was October 8 1990. The Further Indemnity Act made provision for further indemnity, without specifying a date.

Responding to ANC president Nelson Mandela's speech at Hani's funeral, De Klerk said he was against shifting this date to beyond October 1992 — when the Further Indemnity Act was promulgated. He said Mandela's criticism of the Further Indemnity Act was misplaced, as Mandela's own followers had been far and away the biggest beneficiaries of the Act.

The Act was at no stage intended to offer a licence to kill; it was intended to close the book on SA's violent past, he said.

De Klerk denied Mandela's claim that

TIM COHEN

his first action in response to Hani's death was to call a meeting of the State Security Council. He said his first response was to issue a statement which expressed condolences to the family and friends of Hani and to call for maximum restraint.

De Klerk said he had spoken on the phone to Mandela and had assured him of the full co-operation of government and police. It was only when it became clear that the ANC planned massive mass action that the State Security Council had met.

Only after the ANC failed to control its followers in three cities did he announce further steps to protect the public.

"Did the ANC expect the government to stand idly by and watch with its arms folded while riotous behaviour led to destruction and killing and filled so many of our people ... with despair?"

Responding to Mandela's call for a date for a democratic election, De Klerk said government was also filled with a sense of urgency regarding the installation of transitional executive councils and a government of national unity.

BIDAS 21/4/93

(2/30)

NEWS State President replies to ANC leader's attack ● News in brief

(11A)

FW fires broadside at Nelson Mandela

Sowetan 21/4/93.

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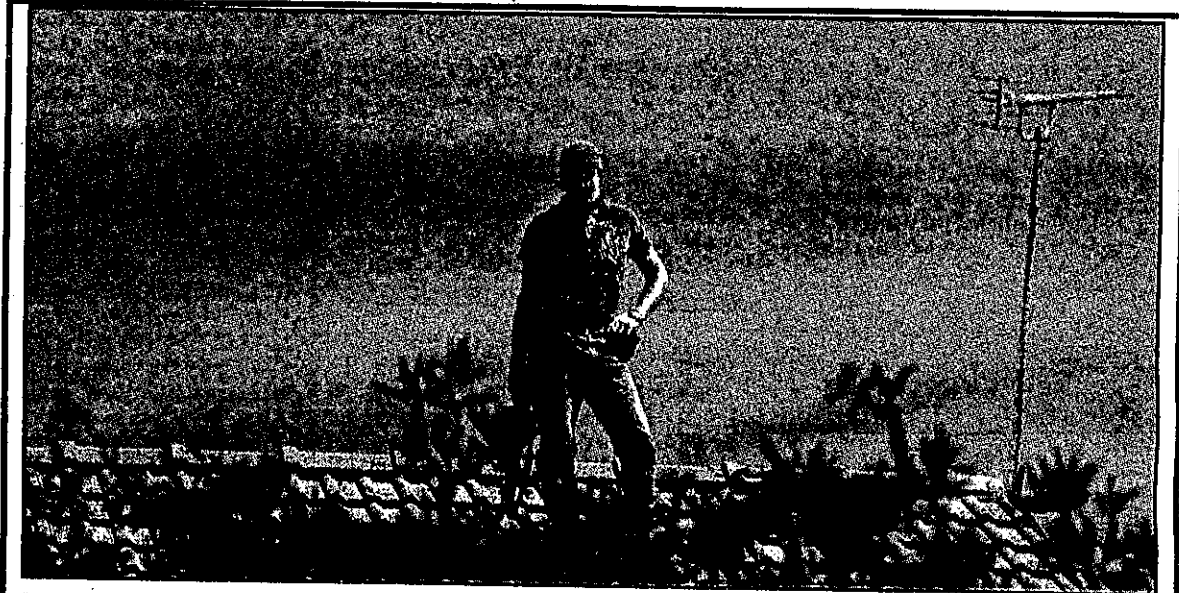
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"There is, therefore, no question of the murderer of Mr Hani being considered for indemnity. The same applies to the many other atrocious murders committed recently," De Klerk said.

De Klerk said the National Party was not to blame for the fact that black people did not have the vote.



Try next door if you value your life. This seems to be the clear message from this masked and armed Elspark resident to passing mourners near the South Park Cemetery where SA Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani was buried on Monday.

PIC: JOE MOLEFE





focus on Hani

THE assassination of Chris Hani may prove in the long run to have been the death of more than just one individual. We may be witnessing the start of the actual demise of the Nationalist Government.

Events of the past few days show clearly that its grip on power is beginning to weaken.

In its hour of need, it was not FW de Klerk the country turned to for solace. He was either not there or his response was so off-key it rankled.

It was the elderly shoulder of Nelson Mandela which stepped into the breach. He was available right from the beginning, tending to the wounds, gently and gingerly chiding and admonishing those who stepped out of line.

De Klerk completely misread the situation from the moment Hani was cruelly cut down by the assassin's bullet. His half-hearted, grudging response to the murder and his conditional condolences simply inflamed passions.

Was it necessary, for instance, for De Klerk to preface his response to the murder with the fact he and Hani were at opposite ends of the political spectrum?

The fact that Hani was a communist was neither here nor there. The overriding fact is that there were millions out there who looked on this man as the only one who could express and help achieve their aspirations, as their only hope for the future. Now that hope was snuffed out in a violent fashion.

The assassination was one of those watershed events, like Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976, capable of changing the compass and direction of the politics of a nation. De Klerk failed to grasp that fact.

What people at least expected was for De Klerk to say: "I understand your pain. I feel it too. I will do everything in my power to ameliorate it." Instead he rubbed salt into their wounds.

Waves of emotions

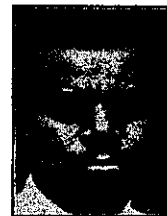
Hani's murder unleashed waves of emotions. Even men and women who did not care two hoots for Hani and what he stood for were forced to stop and think. Is this the country they want to live in, where leaders of Hani's stature could be mowed down like dogs?

De Klerk failed to embrace these emotions. Instead he clumsily distanced himself from them, thereby making it a black-or-white issue; instead of mourning it as a national tragedy.

To compound the situation, a junior minister, Mr Gert Myburgh, and the indelicate police Captain Craig Coetzee issued a statement minutes after the arrest of the alleged assassin claiming the man was acting on his own.

As the day progressed even these two gentlemen must have realised how absurd that statement was. But the damage had already been

Sowetan 21/4/93.
In its hour of need, it was not FW de Klerk but Nelson Mandela that the country turned to for assurances and explanations. *ANC* *IFA* *ANC* *ANC*
Sowetan's Day Editor **Barney Mthombothi** asks whether this marks the start of the National Party's demise:



Chris Hani

done. Suspicions had been confirmed.

In the townships the explanation for that statement was quite simple: a white rightwinger had killed a revered black leader (confirming yet again the existence of a Third Force) and the Government was now involved in a damage limitation exercise to protect its brothers on the Right. It inflamed passions even further.

The Government came into its element after the looting during last Wednesday's stayaway. This was a terrain they know very well, back-passing and talking tough. It was *kragdadigheid* all over again.

Mr Tertius Delport, the hero of Operation Katzen who was standing in for the absent Hennis Kriel, laid the blame squarely on the ANC for failing to "control" their supporters. The fact that Mandela had just been booed by his own supporters for putting in a good word for the Nats didn't seem to bother him one bit.

It was probably a good thing Kriel was on holiday, ironically in Eastern Europe, at the time of the assassination. He is not a man to have around in times of crisis. He has this penchant

for putting his foot in it.

The Nats will have to learn to shy away from their traditional knee-jerk defence of every police action if they want to be taken seriously. Police opened fire, by all accounts without provocation, killing three people and injuring more than 200 at Protea police station on Wednesday.

Myburgh's reaction was not to offer condolences to the victims but to stoutly defend police action, although he admitted he did not have the facts.

But De Klerk should have risen above the tawdry performance of his minions. Instead he came on TV screens, grim and sombre, to announce that the looting represented a black day for SA. What worried him was the destruction, not the pain.

The violence is obviously unacceptable but it should also be seen in its proper perspective. More than 50 people were killed and damage of some R3 billion caused after the acquittal of the police officers who assaulted Rodney King in Los Angeles last year.

So it could have been worse here. Out in the streets, patience has run out. Only time will tell whether the ANC will be able to leash the anger in the streets without losing credibility in the process.

But the issue goes beyond the Hani assassination. The Government has yet to grapple with the reality of present-day SA. De Klerk has yet to offer a *mea culpa* for the hurt and injury wreaked by apartheid to millions of black South Africans. He has apparently apologised to the Japanese, although it's unclear what the Japanese have to do with apartheid.

As far as he is concerned, his party did not abandon apartheid because it was morally wrong but because it was simply unworkable.

He refuses to say "I'm sorry". Yet that simple statement would allow him to make that leap of faith which will make it possible for him to embrace the future. He therefore remains trapped in the past — a Gorbachev waiting to topple, perhaps?

Winter is in the air, but judging by the events of the past few days, the country may be in for a long hot summer.

Alliance meets tomorrow to plan mass action

Political Staff

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11A

ARG 21/4/93

THE African National Congress and its allies, the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, are to meet tomorrow night to discuss their mass action programme for the Western Cape.

The alliance is to call for six weeks of mass action to back up its demands for the installation of a transitional executive council, the announcement of an election date and multiparty control over the security forces.

SACP regional secretary Mr Lizo

Nkonki said the alliance's national mass action programme would begin on Workers' Day, May 1.

"This will be the second phase of mass action.

The Western Cape will draw up its own regional plan of action.



People inspect the damage yesterday caused in the Southpark Cemetery by mourners who attended Monday's burial service for SACP leader Chris Hani. More than 80 000 people attended the funeral.

Picture: AP

Corporation cuts grants

WILSON ZWANÉ

THE SA Rail Comrauter Corporation (SARCC) has cut back on its contributions to service organisations, such as the National Cancer Association of SA.

Last year, the corporation donated R400 000 to 20 community organisations involved in social upliftment projects. Yesterday, it handed out R245 000 to 40 organisations.

The money came from the organisation's social responsibility fund. Corporation sources attributed the cut to the recession.

SARCC MD Wynand Burger said the corporation had committed itself to helping the "needy organisations" because they served many of the "poorest communities in SA".

"Our society is full of challenges and in the light of the tragic death of Chris Hani and the events of the past week ... community organisations need to be

ANC pledge to repair damaged gravestones

THE ANC would assess damage to graves in Germiston's Southpark Cemetery, where slain SACP leader Chris Hani was buried on Monday, and take steps to repair them, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

"Because graves are such a sensitive matter to all our people, we are announcing that we will be taking steps to ensure that those graves that were damaged will be repaired," he said at a news conference in Johannesburg.

DIRK VAN EEDEN reports that ANC regional spokesman Joan Fubbs said yesterday the organisation had asked everyone who suffered damage from the funeral to contact it so it could investigate the ANC's responsibility.

"We must work towards a peaceful settlement to prevent these things from happening again," said Fubbs.

Yesterday the Germiston Town Council could not put a price tag on the damages suffered at the cemetery yesterday where at least three gravestones were upturned.

Town clerk Antonie Heyneke said that a full report was expected to be made available today.

RAY HARTLEY

Maria Gonsalves, the owner of Vegieland, one of the shops close to the cemetery that was damaged, said it was still impossible to estimate the total damage, but her glass bill alone would be more than R12 000.

Putco spokesman Isaac Tait said many of the more than 500 Putco buses which were used to transport people to the funeral were damaged.

He said windows were broken, roofs damaged and tyres burst because of overloading. One bus was also damaged when youths at the FNB Stadium tried to set it alight.

Putco, too, was still counting its losses yesterday.

A spokesman said the company would make contact with the ANC as soon as it had calculated the costs.

The houses that were burnt down near Nasrec belonged to the Public Works Department.

The department could not be contacted before going to press.

Funeral a success — peace monitors

B/Domy 21/4/93

11A

RAY HARTLEY

THE national peace committee said yesterday renewed efforts were being made to convene its national executive later this week to discuss the implications of the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani 10 days ago.

A committee spokesman said peace structures had a "generally positive" feeling about the situation considering the number of people who were involved and the relatively few incidents of violence.

Peace and police spokesmen said the situation had calmed substantially yesterday and no serious incidents of violence had been reported.

Alliance spokesman Joe Slovo said yesterday 57 people died and 614 were injured in violence "believed directly linked to the assassination of Chris Hani".

Slovo said the figures had been supplied by the Human Rights Commission and that 43 of those killed had died in the PWV.

He said security forces, vigilantes and right-wingers were responsible for 60% of deaths and 80% of injuries according to the statistics.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC was investigating the carrying of dangerous weapons by certain of its supporters during Monday's funeral.

Earlier the ANC-aligned HRC said deaths and injuries were sustained in 201 incidents that took place in every region of SA since the April 10 shooting.

Sixty-seven of the incidents took place in the PWV, the HRC said.

The eastern Cape accounted for 59 incidents in which three people died, while five people died in 39 incidents in the western Cape, the unrest monitoring organisation said.

The HRC said security forces accounted for 12 deaths, 471 injuries in 19 incidents, while two security force members were killed and 29 were injured.

Two people died and two were injured in right-wing attacks, the HRC said.

Twelve journalists were injured in separate incidents in the PWV, Natal and western Cape, the organisation said.

Slovo said an estimated 4-million workers had stayed away on Monday, when Hani was buried in Germiston.

A total of 2,5-million people had participated in commemorative services for Hani last Wednesday, he said.

Business was largely back to normal yesterday after Monday's stayaway, SA Chamber of Business spokesman Janet Dickman said yesterday.

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that international observers said Hani's funeral was an overwhelming success.

UN observer mission in SA spokesman James Kanu said considering the massive numbers involved and the difficult circumstances, the overall picture of the day was extremely positive.

Although the deaths were deplorable and sad, Kanu said these tragic incidents should not be allowed to overshadow the overall positive picture.

He said the co-operation between the organisations, the marshalls and the security forces had resulted in a "terrifically well organised event".

Kanu added that the crowds were "disciplined and dignified", and displayed an admirable control of their anger and emotions.

Commonwealth observer mission head Duncan Chappell said although there were several tragic deaths and damage to property, his team's assessment of local peace structures was positive.

Chappell said the security forces too had done "a good job under trying conditions".

Funeral a success — peace monitors

B/DOMY 21/4/93

11A

RAY HARTLEY

THE national peace committee said yesterday renewed efforts were being made to convene its national executive later this week to discuss the implications of the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani 10 days ago.

A committee spokesman said peace structures had a "generally positive" feeling about the situation considering the number of people who were involved and the relatively few incidents of violence.

Peace and police spokesmen said the situation had calmed substantially yesterday and no serious incidents of violence had been reported.

Alliance spokesman Joe Slovo said yesterday 57 people died and 614 were injured in violence "believed directly linked to the assassination of Chris Hani".

Slovo said the figures had been supplied by the Human Rights Commission and that 43 of those killed had died in the PWV.

He said security forces, vigilantes and right-wingers were responsible for 60% of deaths and 80% of injuries according to the statistics.

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ANC, government in urgent meeting

(11A) BILLY PADDOCK (3000)

THE ANC and government's chief negotiators held an urgent meeting yesterday, ahead of tomorrow's planning committee meeting, to discuss the best way to speed up negotiations. (11A) 21/4/93

The meeting was confirmed but both camps refused to disclose details.

It is known that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa attended and it is believed they considered ways to ensure the transitional executive council was the first item on the talks agenda.

Today government meets the Bophuthatswana government to discuss constitutional matters, and it is hoping to meet Inkatha before Monday's negotiating council meeting. A government spokesman said the council would meet at least twice or three times a week to speed up talks.

The ANC has demanded that the transitional executive council be established and an election date announced before June. Government is in agreement but Inkatha and its Concerned South Africans Group allies reject the programme.

ANC and government sources voiced concern that Inkatha and its allies would seek ways of delaying the process. One said Inkatha seemed intent on first finalising agreement on the form of state a new SA would take.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said the party saw the importance of constructive negotiations continuing on substantive constitutional issues, especially establishing the form of state to be negotiated.

"We reject parties equating urgency with the need to impose their own party-political demands for their own gain on the process," she said.

League Star 21/4/93 hit back (11A) on slogans

The ANC Youth League yesterday tried to downplay alleged inflammatory remarks made by its president Peter Mokaba at a public meeting on Saturday.

The ANCYL said in a statement that "slogans are important for mobilisation, we are not really wedded to them".

Mokaba led a crowd of supporters in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, in chanting: "Kill the boer, kill the farmer." The incident was carried on SABC-TV news reports.

The ANCYL said it was uncomfortable with the way South African parliamentarians and racist organisations had reacted to slogans that had been "with us for more than three decades".

On Monday a Law and Order Ministry spokesman said police were investigating the inflammatory remarks attributed to Mokaba and Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela, at the rally.

The ANCYL said the Government's reaction was "as a repetition of the events" that led to the assassination of South African Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani. — Sapa.

May set for mass action month

~~SPD~~
11A
~~211~~

CT 21/4/93

THE national mass action campaign of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance will only start on May 1, the tripartite alliance said yesterday.

In the meantime, "rolling mass action" will take place at local level.

Most of the regions are still to meet to finalise local mass action programmes.

The Western Cape alliance would probably meet this week to plan regional rolling mass action, ANC regional secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said.

At the moment "absolutely nothing" was planned, Mr Hofmeyr said.

"From May 1 our national programme will unfold," SACP national chairman Mr Joe Slovo told a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

City Chamber of Commerce president Mr Herbert Hirsch said to stop rolling mass action all political leaders should ensure a "speedy (political) solution" was reached.

'Securocratic intervention'

"Chris Hani's death has given impetus to the need for an urgent political settlement. We are living through a moment of grave danger, but also of real possibilities," Mr Slovo said.

He accused President F W de Klerk of responding to the crisis "with a mixture of securocratic and business-as-usual interventions".

The events of the past 10 days had underlined that joint multi-party control over armed formations could not be a formal bureaucratic arrangement.

"Where communities, marshals, peace structures, international monitors and the police worked together in the past week, the peace process stood up remarkably in the face of extreme provocation," Mr Slovo said.

"These processes need to be accelerated, right now."

The alliance will meet on Monday to finalise details for its programme of rolling mass action. — Staff Reporter, Sapa

Hani, Sexwale deny ordering bank heists

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The ANC PWV region and the SA Communist Party have backed a call by the Inkatha Freedom Party for the Goldstone Commission to investigate allegations of the ANC and SACP in armed robberies.

ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale and SACP general secretary Chris Hani have denied allegations that they had ordered armed robberies that netted R1 million.

This follows allegations made in a statement to the Rand Supreme Court last week by Solomon Mnqanqeni on trial for

armed robbery and the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition. He escaped from Diepkloof prison last week.

In a statement the SACP said yesterday: "These are obviously very serious claims, yet the SAP never once visited, phoned or in any way questioned either Chris Hani or Tokyo Sexwale in this regard."

The ANC and SACP said they feared for Mnqanqeni's safety after his "convenient court appearance and the alleged escape".

They linked Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's attack on Umkhonto we Sizwe in Parliament on Monday to the allegations.

Star 22/4/93

Government 'can go to hell'

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba says that if the Government intends charging him and Winnie Mandela for inciting violence, it can "go to hell", SABC TV news reported yesterday.

It said Mokaba had yesterday reiterated his statement made at the weekend when he led a rally in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, with chants

of "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer".

The ANCYL leader was yesterday addressing students at the Northern Transvaal Technikon in Soshanguve.

Mokaba said the youth should grab power before it was transferred through negotiations.

He said three years of negotiation had produced nothing but loss of life.

The youth should prepare for war and "lay their hands" on those who had killed SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani.

The police have indicated they are investigating the remarks by Mokaba and Winnie Mandela — estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela — who also addressed the Khayelitsha rally. — Sapa.

NEWS FW speaks on polls ● Ex-Γ

'FW's not on top, he's on holiday'

Sowetan 22/4/93.

■ Independent MP slams State President De Klerk:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE real president of South Africa had emerged and his name was not FW de Klerk, independent MP Mr Robert Haswell said yesterday.

Haswell told Parliament yesterday that after the assassination of SACP chief Mr Chris Hani, "it was clear for all to hear and see that Nelson Mandela was the *de facto* president of South Africa".

"The *de jure* president was incapable of providing the dynamic and statesmanlike leadership our country, and all of its people, so desperately needed in our time of trial. That mantle was clearly passed on to Mandela,"

Haswell said.

He was speaking during the State President's Budget debate which coincided with the first anniversary of the day he and four of his colleagues from the Democratic Party joined the ANC.

Haswell said during the time of crisis precipitated by the Hani assassination, De Klerk was "on holiday".

Haswell said it was understood the National Peace Secretariat had asked him to fly South African flags around the country at half-mast but that De Klerk had declined.

The Speaker, a former NP Cabinet Minister, also refused to halt parliamentary proceedings on the day Hani was buried.

NEWS Back on track

Planning committee to meet

Sowetan 22/4/93
■ Real talks begin on Monday:

By **Themba Molefe**
Political Reporter

THE 10-member planning committee of the multiparty negotiations forum meets at the World Trade Centre today to prepare the agenda for full-blown constitutional talks which begin next Monday.

Already delayed by a week because of the assassination of Mr Chris Hani, Monday's meeting is however the beginning of "real" negotiations following the successful multiparty forum on April 1.

In the build-up to and after Hani's funeral on Monday, politicians involved in negotiations, notably the African National Congress alliance, Government and Inkatha Freedom Party, openly bickered, but were careful not to upset the negotiations cart.

Although stopping short of saying the Government did order Hani's death, the ANC instead embarked on a mass action campaign to demand an early election date.

This did not mean the ANC wanted to delay negotiations, but to speed the process up, secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on Tuesday. The ANC was committed to negotiations, he said.

And in response State President FW de Klerk said the Government would not set up an election date as this was a matter for multiparty negotiations.

The IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi echoed De Klerk's words by saying elections could not precede the resolution of the form of state as this would be "a recipe for disaster".

He said this on Wednesday after he and Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope returned from meeting United Nations' secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali in New York.

A very reluctant partner in the talks would be the Conservative Party which had been rocked by the arrest of senior member Mr Clive Derby-Lewis over Hani's murder. The multiparty forum is expected to reach agreement on powers and functions of the Transitional Executive Authority, its sub-councils, independent media commission and electoral commission.

...crisis handled with tact, says Political Correspondent Kaizer Nyatsumba

Star 22/4/93

SA owes thanks to ANC

11A

ALL South Africa ought to be grateful to the leadership of the ANC for the way it handled the aftermath of the assassination of South African Communist Party leader and ANC national executive committee member Chris Hani.

That may seem to some like an exaggeration, but South Africa could have slipped into civil war or anarchy over the past few days had it not been for the statesmanship of ANC president Nelson Mandela and colleagues.

The cold-blooded murder of the charismatic Hani, who was arguably the second most popular political leader in the country after Mandela, could have been just the spark to ignite violence of a scale never before seen in this country.

Hani, it must be remembered, had polled the highest number of votes at the ANC's national congress in Durban in July 1991 and had earlier pulled out of the race for the ANC's vice-presidency in

favour of the ageing Walter Sisulu to avoid a showdown with international affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

He had a huge personal following in townships all over South Africa, but was not hesitant to chide and chastise those within the alliance who terrorised some townships and tried to become a law unto themselves.

Hani could take on errant self-defence unit members as fearlessly as he criticised the Pan Africanist Congress's Azanian People's Liberation Army's declaration of 1993 as the "Year of Great Storm".

Hani's main weakness, as he told me in his first interview conducted on South African soil in June 1990, was that he lacked diplomacy. He spoke directly from the heart and never pulled any punches.

That is what made him so popular among the country's youth, and his assassination had the po-

tential to plunge the country into chaos.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the deaths, burnings and lootings that occurred last week could have been worse had it not been for the ANC leadership's powerful calls for restraint.

To their credit, ANC leaders Gill Marcus and Mosima "Tokyo" Sexwale were the first to call on black South Africans to remain calm and not take the law into their own hands.

Made at the scene of the assassination soon after the crime had been committed, with Hani's body still lying in his driveway in Dawn Park, this call was particularly important.

Millions of South Africans heard the appeals on the radio throughout the day and saw them repeated on television during the evening.

Mandela, who was holidaying in Transkei, rushed back to Johannesburg and went on television to

make an emotional plea for peace.

"With all the authority at my command, I appeal to all our people to remain calm and to honour the memory of Chris Hani by remaining a disciplined force for peace," Mandela said.

It was a moving gesture. It was a statesmanlike act which, unfortunately, President de Klerk and his Cabinet Ministers would neither match nor reciprocate.

It was a move which saw Mandela grow in stature as he put the nation's interests before those of his seething supporters.

The calls for peace were to be echoed over and over again by Mandela's colleagues. After its emergency meeting on Sunday morning, the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance reiterated Mandela's calls and re-affirmed its commitment to negotiations.

Last Thursday Mandela again addressed the nation on television and repeated his mantra of peace, calm and restraint.

This powerful message was delivered many times between Thursday and Hani's funeral on Monday, with Mandela again exhorting his followers to be "radical and militant activists for peace".

Yes, a number of deaths did take place during the week of mourning and some young hot-heads took advantage of the situation to engage in violence, wholesale looting and the burning of vehicles and people's homes.

In Dawn Park on Monday I saw recalcitrant youths raiding a nearby maizefield and setting a house on fire. Clearly, they were an aberration, and would not listen to anyone — not even Mandela.

But I also saw the majority of people gathered there behaving most impressively, taking orders from tired marshals who had toiled diligently since Sunday.

And what was De Klerk's response throughout? A predictable

pandering to his white constituency and the right wing, which he continues to handle with kid gloves.

Only towards the end of last week did he begin to show some understanding of the wrath that was threatening to rip this country apart, and to frugally acknowledge the ANC leadership's efforts to channel that anger positively, while reining in its racial elements.

Hani's assassination was the biggest challenge Mandela has had to deal with since he walked out of Victor Verster Prison a free man on February 11 1990. He handled it with finesse, putting his own leadership and popularity on the line in the process.

It was a challenge Mandela passed with flying colours, and De Klerk would do well to walk that extra mile to meet the ANC. I believe South Africa owes Mandela and his colleagues in the alliance a big "thank you" □



'Freedom delayed is freedom denied'

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Lulama Luti

MASS action was a democratic right and did not lead to violence, a senior member of the African National Congress said last night.

Responding to a question during last night's Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show, ANC national executive member Mr Matthew Phosa said violence came from those who opposed mass action.

He said police were always in the forefront of violent acts.

Phosa said the mass action campaign announced by the ANC-led tripartite alliance was intended to put pressure on the Government for the announcement of an election date, the setting up of a transitional executive council and the joint control of all armed forces,

including Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"In real terms, looking back at the last three years, it is very clear that the negotiation process has delivered nothing.

The sooner we reach a settlement the better," said Phosa.

He said while it was difficult for the Government to come to terms with the fact that they had to relinquish power, the people on the ground were very impatient.

Phosa said the ANC was pleased to note that the organisation had been proved right in suspecting that there was more than one person involved in the assassination of South African Communist

Party chief Mr Chris Hani.

"Janus Waluz executed a pre-meditated action well planned by a lot of people. Whoever did this, they did not have motives in mind.

"They wanted to sink and drown the negotiations process in blood and plunge the country into a racial war," he said.

"Mass action is justified because freedom delayed is freedom denied," said Phosa.

What is the ANC doing about provocative statements by

Terre'Blanche and other rightwingers?"

Sinky, Tembisa

"We are never approached by the (ANC) leadership about mass action and stayaways. We only learn of them in the media."

Vusi, Dobsonville

"Isn't mass action a waste of time? Shouldn't we be teaching our people how to vote?"

Sanco, Tumahole

Sowetan 22/4/93

P)man says Mandela is the de facto State President

Elections 'may be held this year'

1/A ~~1/A~~

Sowetan 22/4/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ **BREAKTHROUGH** Election date

could be set within six weeks:

SOUTH AFRICA COULD have a transitional executive council in place within the next six weeks, President FW de Klerk said in Parliament last night.

De Klerk also said it was possible that an election date could be set within the same period. He said elections could be held before the end of the year if a breakthrough in negotiations could be made within weeks.

De Klerk said the ANC's programme of mass action was, therefore, "fallacious and tantamount to preaching to the converted".

"About the Government's own commitment to the speedy finalisation of the negotiating process, there is no doubt. We are in a hurry," De Klerk said.

He said the Government had already prepared draft legislation for the TEC and for a new Electoral Act which it was prepared to table at multiparty negotiations. The composition, terms of reference and nature of authority of the TEC had yet to be determined, he said.

De Klerk said it should be possible to reach agreement on the following matters within six weeks:

- The process leading up to the election;
- The establishment of the TEC to oversee the levelling of the playing field;
- The establishment of an independent electoral commission and details of a new Electoral Act;
- The establishment of a commission of regions for the purpose of delimitation of boundaries;

De Klerk said South Africans had come to accept that mass action resulted only in an escalation of violence.

ANC starts 'human rights' probe

Staff Reporter

THE inquiry into conditions of imprisonment and abuses of human rights at ANC detention camps in Tanzania and Angola, was launched by Mr Nelson Mandela following "rekindled public interest in South Africa and abroad".

Commission chairman Mr Sam Motsuenyane said much had been said of the brute

nature of alleged atrocities in the camps, and the commission had to find out whether the claims were plausible and valid.

He said claims by victims and alleged perpetrators had to be tested. These claims stated that the ANC committed acts of cruelty against former detainees and that senior officials of the ANC, while being aware of of

the acts, failed to confront those who committed them.

Mr Motsuenyane said due to the seriousness of the allegations, Mr Mandela had commissioned him and Ms Margaret Burnham, a former associate professor of justice and law at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Mr David Zamchiya, an advocate in Zimbabwe's High Court, to carry

out the inquiry and to report back to him with recommendations.

He said all witnesses would be given the opportunity to testify verbally and appealed to anyone with information which could assist the commission to contact his independent office at Khotso House in Anderson Street, Johannesburg, or at (011) 832-1183, or FAX (011) 832-1263.

128189A

Accused blame shooting on others

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Two men accused of murdering Addo farmer and businessman Andre de Villiers made statements to the police in which they admitted participating in a robbery attempt which led to the fatal shooting of De Villiers, the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court heard yesterday.

However, the statements made by alleged Umkhonto we Sizwe member Tamsanqa Mall, 23, and Lindile Stemele, 25, place the blame for the shooting on two men who had accompanied them on the robbery.

Mall, who claims to be an ANC exile, and Stemele are facing charges of murder, two counts of attempted murder and a charge of attempted armed robbery. They have pleaded not guilty to all charges.

The attempted murder charges relate to shots fired at De Villiers' wife, Elizabeth, and his son Louis, 19.

Stemele's statement was read out in the court yesterday by Lt Henry Trytsman.

In the statement, Stemele said he had been asked by Xolani Ncinane (a former accused in the case who recently died of an AIDS-related ailment) to join him and others on the robbery.

He said Ncinane had fired at the "white man". Another accomplice also fired shots. Stemele said he had fled.

He said he was threatened with death if he talked of the incident, and went home after he had been given some money.

Mall said in his statement that Xolani was a friend. He said when he and Stemele realised "things were going" they fled the scene of the robbery.

Negotiating parties prepare to do battle

POLITICAL parties are gearing themselves for a tough battle today when they meet to set the agenda for Monday's start of substantive negotiations.

All indications point to government and the ANC getting set to force the pace and deal harshly with any parties which balk at finalising the details of a transitional executive council as the main priority.

Government and the ANC's chief negotiators speak as if there are no alternative ways of moving forward to elections.

However, this is probably the most fundamental difference between parties because it deals with the crucial issue of how to move negotiations forward.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani meant there was an urgent need to implement the council so that attention could be focused on preparing for elections.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said on Tuesday there was consensus among the major players in the process that a settlement could be reached by mid-June.

Should agreement not be reached on the implementation of the council and an election date within the six-week period, increased pressure would be applied, including regular stayaways, he said.

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said the plans for the transition had to be tied up by the end of May and no party should be allowed to hold the

BIDAM 22/4/93

11A

BILLY PADDOCK

process hostage.

Yesterday a government spokesman said it was imperative that the transitional council be established so it could get the independent electoral commission off the ground.

It was the responsibility of the commission, headed by eminent South Africans, to decide on the date for elections following negotiations.

At the same time Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said there was absolutely no possibility of holding elections before stability had been achieved.

He also rejected any need for an interim government or a transitional council. The matter that had to be finalised before negotiations on any other constitutional issue started was the form of state for the new SA, Buthelezi said.

Following his return to SA on Tuesday after meeting UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Rome, Buthelezi said the way forward was to finalise all the constitutional principles in the multiparty negotiations, have experts draft the new constitution and have this approved in a referendum before holding elections for a new government.

The 10-man planning committee will also have to deal with issues arising out of Hani's death. Ramaphosa has said that the ANC intends raising the "insensitivity" of government and the parliamentary parties that refused to adjourn parliamentary proceedings while Hani's funeral was taking place.

From Page 1
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COMRADES . . . ANC-aligned MPs Mr Dave Dalling, Mr Pierre Cronje, Mr Sam Louw, Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr Rob Haswell and Mr Jan Van Eck yesterday celebrated a year in Parliament with an impromptu toyitoyi.

Picture: HAROLD KING

ANC celebrates first year in Parliament

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday celebrated its first anniversary in Parliament with a "birthday party" luncheon in the VIP dining room.

Those attending the function included ANC NEC member Mr Reg September, Western Cape vice-chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako, Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and deputy secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyer.

For some — more accustomed to demonstrating in the streets outside for the disbanding of the tricameral institution — it was their first visit inside the halls of Parliament.

Also at the celebratory lunch were six of the ANC's seven MPs (all sporting yellow carnations in their lapels),

their wives and journalists.

During a brief address, Mr September joked: "I look forward to the day when we don't have to wear suits when we come here — maybe safari suits will relax things a little." CT22/4/93

Becoming more serious, he told ANC members that "more than anything else, we must move heaven and earth so that this character who bears the badge of president moves."

ANC MP for Sandton Mr Dave Dalling said the MPs who had joined the ANC had "benefited hugely" from the expertise of the organisation and that the newcomers had also been allowed to play a role in formulating policy.

A document released by the seven MPs said that they had been "ostracised" by some since joining the ANC.

Govt can go to hell — Mokaba

PRETORIA. — African National Congress Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba says if the government intends charging him and Mrs Winnie Mandela for inciting violence, it can "go to hell" ^{ET 22/4/93}

An SATV report said Mr Mokaba yesterday reiterated his alleged inciting statement of the weekend when he led a rally in Khayelitsha in chants of: "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" ^{ET 22/4/93}

The ANCYL president was yesterday addressing students at the Northern Transvaal Technikon in Soshanguve, north of here. ¹¹⁷

He said the youth should grab power before it was transferred through negotiations.

He said negotiations had produced nothing but loss of life.

The police have indicated they are investigating his and Mrs Mandela's remarks. — Sapa

Hugh Robertson examines media focus on violence in South Africa

US problem for the ANC



STAR 23/4/93

(11A)

WITH much cynical sneering, conservatives have attacked the verdict this week in the second Rodney King trial as nothing more than the "media lynching" of the four Los Angeles policemen who were acquitted last year of severely beating King.

In the second trial, of course, two of the policemen were convicted of having violated King's constitutionally protected rights by assaulting him beyond the call of duty — a verdict which, so the critics would have it, was dictated not by the actual evidence but by the media hype which followed the first trial and the ensuing riots.

They are confusing two facts. One is that, yes, there was an immense amount of media hype after the first trial. The other is that this hype aside, the videotaped evidence of King's beating was both shocking and incontrovertible and by rejecting it the all-white jury in the first trial perpetrated a shameful miscarriage of justice.

What happened this week was the redressing of a glaring and undeniable wrong — a process ini-

tiated not by the liberals of the Clinton administration, or by the media, but by that fallen scion of conservatism, former president George Bush, whose dismay at the verdict in the first trial was barely disguised at the time and who on that very day ordered the intervention of the federal government.

But beyond the rights and wrongs of the two cases has emerged the broader issue of the role which the media, and video images, play in shaping public opinion and even judicial proceedings. It is an issue of pertinent interest to South Africans who may believe — as the ANC has alleged — that the US media images of violence in South Africa in the wake of Chris Hani's assassination have distorted the truth.

The truth, as the rhetorical American journalist H L Mencken, once observed, depends on what the truth is. It would be patently untrue to imply that the whole of America was burning last year when, in fact, the Los Angeles riots were largely confined to one square mile of urban ghetto.

On the other hand, it would be

reasonable to say that the Los Angeles riots deserved the close attention they were given because they symbolised the social and economic crisis replicated in hundreds of inner cities across America. The images of rage and lawlessness were a reflection of a problem which probably most Americans would acknowledge was essentially true of the country as a whole.

Could the same be said of television coverage of events in South Africa in recent days? Was the booing of ANC president Nelson Mandela by a crowd in Soweto the misconception which Mandela himself characterised it as having been when he was interviewed on ABC's *Nightline*? More than the violence, the scene of a venerated leader being jeered at by his own presumed supporters came as a shock to Americans.

And were the repeated scenes of youths rampaging through city streets, smashing windows, setting fires, and looting, and of a bewildered UN observer with blood pouring from his stab wounds, misrepresented as the work of the ANC's "young lions" when it should have been attributed to op-

portunistic thugs and radicals?

Mandela would surely allow that the ANC has had, and continues to have, a problem with its radicals, and especially the "young lions" of the townships. He has acknowledged himself that elements of the ANC have had a role in recent violence. Many of those seen on US television making belligerent statements were wearing ANC colours. Stayaway fliers put out by the ANC in Soweto, and quoted by the US media, contained racist and inflammatory passages.

For example, one now being circulated in Washington, to a somewhat astonished reception, includes this offensive generalisation of whites: "Let us send a strong message to the racial minority that it will not kill our people and get away with it." How was that supposed to be interpreted by the racial majority?

Furthermore, there could be no doubting the telling contrast and spontaneity of the welcome accorded the PAC's Clarence Makwetu at the same rally at which Mandela's words were booed.

The balance of probabilities suggests that there was some jus-

tification for the US media's close focus on the public's response to Mandela and Makwetu. On the face of it, the scene had huge significance, apparently reflecting the prevailing mood of many people and, at the very least, sentiment towards the negotiating process. Whether or not it was overdone is a question of degree, not of truth.

Likewise, the evidence suggests that while the scenes of violence may have provided a selective and incomplete picture of everything happening in South Africa, the fact remains that the violence occurred and that its exposure in the US media demonstrated what every South African knows to be true — as the Los Angeles riots reflected the anger of inner city blacks, so the violence of recent days in South Africa reflected the growing problem of appeasing the restless and seething youths of the townships.

It is a problem of political frustration turning to violence and of radicals, or opportunists, or both, of whatever political stripe, taking matters way beyond the capacity of those who organise "mass action" to control.

Time was when National Party leaders would accuse the foreign media of distorting the situation in South Africa, and on a regular basis would summarily expel American correspondents. In retrospect, did the US media of the time distort the truth? Or did their work describe a present and foretell a future which for too long the NP leadership refused to recognise? According to the ANC's leaders at the time, the US media's version of events was spot on.

What has changed? The truth, or merely those who have to bear the uncomfortable burden of responsibility for the truth, for events in South Africa? And assuming that there may have been a distortion of the truth, it could only have succeeded in an atmosphere where it was likely to be believed.

That, if nothing else, ought to persuade the ANC that whatever the merits might be of its case against the US media, it now has a serious image problem in the US and one substantially of its own making. — Star Bureau, Washington. □

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

Who will fill Hani's shoes?

Sowetan 23/4/93 (11A)
POPULIST NEEDED SACP has to find

a successor to its slain general secretary:

WHEN Chris Hani took the reins as general secretary of the Communist Party in 1991, few South Africans realised what power this position conferred on him in the country's politics.

The SACP leadership meets today and tomorrow to take stock and answer the inevitable question: who will replace Chris Hani?

In December 1991 Hani replaced long-serving SACP general secretary Joe Slovo.

Until then Slovo's name was synonymous with the party. In fact, there were suggestions that he was the only member of the party.

This was given weight by the fact that before 1991 membership of the SACP was not made public because apartheid had outlawed communism and hanged its supporters.

When Slovo relinquished the position due to ill-health, speculation about a successor abounded.

This brought the SACP — its history and links with its strongest allies, the African National Congress and worker movement under the banner of the Congress of South African Trade Unions — into the spotlight.

In its 70-year history, the Party had been operating legally for only a year after the epoch-making speech by President FW de Klerk on February 2 1990, which effectively unbanned many organisations including the SACP.

The SACP has its roots in the ANC and to suggest the latter is a puppet of the party is to ignore the historical signifi-

cance of this relationship.

For instance, Slovo himself was a pivotal figure in the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, after liberation movements were banned in 1960 and forced underground.

Politburo

Raymond Mhlaba is the current SACP deputy chairman and a member of the party's politburo. He is a well-known ANC stalwart and one of the famous Rivonia trialists. Together with Govan Mbeki, who is on the SACP's central committee, they serve on the ANC's national executive committee. So did Hani.

Before he was elected leader of the party he had to vacate the top position of MK chief of staff, while retaining membership to the ANC NEC.

The SACP is a socialist movement and therefore workerist, hence its strong ties with Cosatu.

Current Cosatu president John Gomo, vice-president Chris Dlamini and deputy general secretary Sam Shilowa are on the party's central committee. Former assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi is a politburo member and serves on the ANC NEC.

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance cannot be underestimated, given the

enormous support each ally can muster on the ground.

The alliance is a combination of a high political and military profile of the ANC-MK; the socialist banner carried by the party; and the labour front led by Cosatu.

It is against this background that the general secretary of the SACP is chosen: for his popularity with the masses, including the youth and the workers.

Chris Hani thus became the natural choice to succeed Slovo, who had been the patriarchal figure throughout the darkest hours of the party's twilight existence.

Hani had a high MK profile, which earned him the top spot among the youth and workers alike. This is apart from his astuteness as a politician and leader.

Hani is dead and the Party needs a replacement. He has to be a person of high stature in the ANC NEC, preferably but not necessarily with an MK background, and with the magnetism needed to maintain popular support.

Said Siphwe Nyanda, Hani's successor as MK chief of staff, in a television discussion last week: "When I took over I was taking over the job that comrade Chris did and not stepping into his shoes."

This was magnified by an SACP politburo member this week: "Comrade



Chris Hani ... who will fill his shoes?

Chris is not replaceable and this means we will have to do his job collectively. Yes, we have to elect a general secretary, eventually."

Indeed, this is a task for the party as it ponders the question: who will replace comrade Chris?

There are names, of course there are names. After all, an organisation is not made up of one individual. But, no racialism meant here, Hani's successor would obviously have to be black if he/she were to sustain the influence he had

established since the SACP went public.

First choice would thus be Charles Nqakula, present acting general secretary and Hani's deputy.

Nqakula is a well-known former journalist and trade unionist. Although he is a brilliant organiser and has a strong MK background, he is neither in the ANC NEC nor Cosatu hierarchy. Technically he will act as general secretary until the next SACP congress at the end of next year.

Level-headed

Second choice would be Mufamadi, who is in the ANC NEC, very popular on the labour front and a level-headed analyst. However, observers describe Mufamadi as a "nice" man who lacks the sometimes aggressive style that Hani possessed.

Third would be Moses Mayekiso, president of the South African Civics Organisation, because of his direct links with grassroots supporters, although he has no ANC NEC or MK background. Mayekiso is also firmly rooted in the labour front.

If the SACP wanted to make a statement, it would elect the fiery Thenjiwe Mthintso, a politburo member. Besides being a woman, she is very popular on the ground and has a very strong MK profile.

● The meetings of the SACP politburo and central committee today and tomorrow replace a crucial special conference scheduled for the weekend to discuss the SACP's role in the transition. It has been shifted to May 20.

'Kill Boer' remark repudiated

Star 23/4/93

The ANC Youth League backed down yesterday from its hardline position supporting its president, Peter Mokaba, for his "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" remark at recent ANC meetings. (117)

Mokaba and Eugene Terre-Blanche of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging are being investigated for their inflammatory remarks.

According to Deputy Minister of Law and Order Gert Myburgh, the decision on whether to prosecute them or not lay in the hands of the Attorney-General.

In a joint statement by the ANC and its youth league, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said Mokaba's remark had become inappropriate, its usage was being reassessed and it did not represent official ANC policy.

They jointly reaffirmed the ANC policy of nonracialism, which had always been the rallying call of the ANC.

Mokaba's call has caused concern among those at whom it is directed, and the South African Agricultural Union has sought an urgent meeting with Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee and other security Ministers to discuss it.

Natal/KwaZulu. (IA) (S)

However, what is likely to be worrying IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi right now is the extent to which the transition will be speeded up — and the extent to which federal options will be undermined.

The level of support for the ANC in Natal must have seemed overwhelming during the week of mourning — the organisation admits it was taken by surprise — but it could be a mistake to read too much into this. At least 100 000 people (the ANC claims 155 000) marched through Durban — but the march was hijacked by extremists who wrong-footed both police and ANC marshalls.

They did this by starting the march an hour early and then — apparently deliberately — deviated from the agreed route. That was followed by a spree of vandalism and intimidation which left Durban reeling. The regional chamber of commerce has even called for a complete review of the policy allowing marches through the city centre, though management committee chairman Peter Mansfield says he doubts it will be possible to ban demonstrations. That, he maintains, would be going back to the “bad old days.” FM 23/4/93.

Do the events reflect support for PAC methods? Mervyn Frost, head of the department of politics at the University of Natal, thinks not. Though he does concede that there was an undisciplined PAC element in the Durban march, he says it was not a big group.

“I suspect that PAC support is still relatively negligible in the area,” says Frost. “Numbers under the PAC banner at the Wednesday march were small. Other yardsticks, such as less than impressive organisational ability and the fact that the PAC holds few rallies, support this view.”

On the question of a shift of support from the IFP to the ANC, Frost stresses: “We won’t know what the support for the respective organisations is until there is an election.”

POLITICAL SUPPORT

FM 23/4/93
Moving goal posts (IA) (S)

If numbers attending or participating in parades, stayaways and mob violence are an indicator of political support, then the events of last week suggest that much of the Inkatha Freedom Party’s support has been yanked from under it in its stronghold of

FM 23/4/93.
The real significance of the events of the last 10 days is that the ANC alliance has a martyrdom which has boosted their cause. Furthermore, the turnout at the funeral and the generally impressive way it was conducted, will have a bandwagon effect. So, politically speaking, the week of mourning has turned out to the advantage of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.” (IA) (S)

Perhaps more important, Frost feels, is that the consequence of the events could upset the IFP timetable for change. “The IFP seemed to have comfortably accepted a lengthy process towards the establishment of a transitional executive committee, then an election and constituent assembly. The likely consequence of the past fortnight’s events is that the whole process will be speeded up. If the IFP tries to oppose this, it will simply be seen as a spoiler.”

NEWS ANC youth announce radical programme ● ANC catering costs over R1 million

'Young Lions' hit out

By Sipho Mthembu

11A ~~227~~ ~~227~~
 ■ White cops must leave

Sowetan 23/4/93. the townships:

THE ANC "young lions" demanded that white policemen be expelled from the townships when they announced their radical programme of action yesterday. In what appeared as a drift from the moderate stance of its mother-body, the ANC Youth League announced a radical post-Hani assassination programme of action which also demanded the replacement of white policemen with "resident police personnel". ANCYL deputy president Mr Lulu Johnson said the programme would in-

clude demonstrations, pickets and the occupation of National Party offices throughout the country, starting on May 15. Johnson said they were convinced there were rightwing forces within the SAP that saw themselves as an occupying force whose duty was to oppress communities. "More than surveys conducted on police attitudes, this is supported by the fact that, in all incidents where blacks are killed, the orders and executions always come from white officers," he said.

Weekend Mail

ARTS ★ ENTERTAINMENT ★ BOOKS ★ LIFESTYLE

Cultural weapons at the ready

LIKE most debates around the future of culture in this country, the furore surrounding the African National Congress' upcoming Culture and Development Conference is full of sound and fury. What it actually signifies is a different question altogether.

The CDC — scheduled to take place under the auspices of the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) at Johannesburg's Civic Theatre between April 25 and May 1 — is, in its own words, "a major initiative ... to rally South African cultural stakeholders from all spheres of life together with international observers to contribute jointly to the formulation of a comprehensive and equitable arts and culture dispensation for an emerging democratic South Africa".

It sounds grand and noble enough. But the direction taken by the CDC has led to wails of protest in the cultural community. The reasons are as tortuous, as complex and, one might add, as essentially depressing as these things usually are.

But they come down to a series of simple accusations: that the ANC's DAC is once again trying to control the course of cultural development in this country. That the DAC is trying to subordinate the interests of culture to its own political interests. That it is trying through the back door to take away from cultural organisations freedoms hard won after the hacking to pieces of the ANC's ill-starred cultural desk.

Ironically it is organisations which the DAC itself set up after the failure of the desk which are most concerned about what is going on.

In the aftermath of the neo-Stalinist disaster of the late 1980s and early 1990s that was the cultural desk, the dominant thinking in the ANC on culture has been that it should function within the realms of civil society. Art should no longer be seen as the bludgeoning weapon of the struggle it became in the years of the cultural boycott. Instead a new, progressive, politically non-aligned vision should be nurtured and allowed to take root more or less independently of political parties and in advance of the new democratic society.

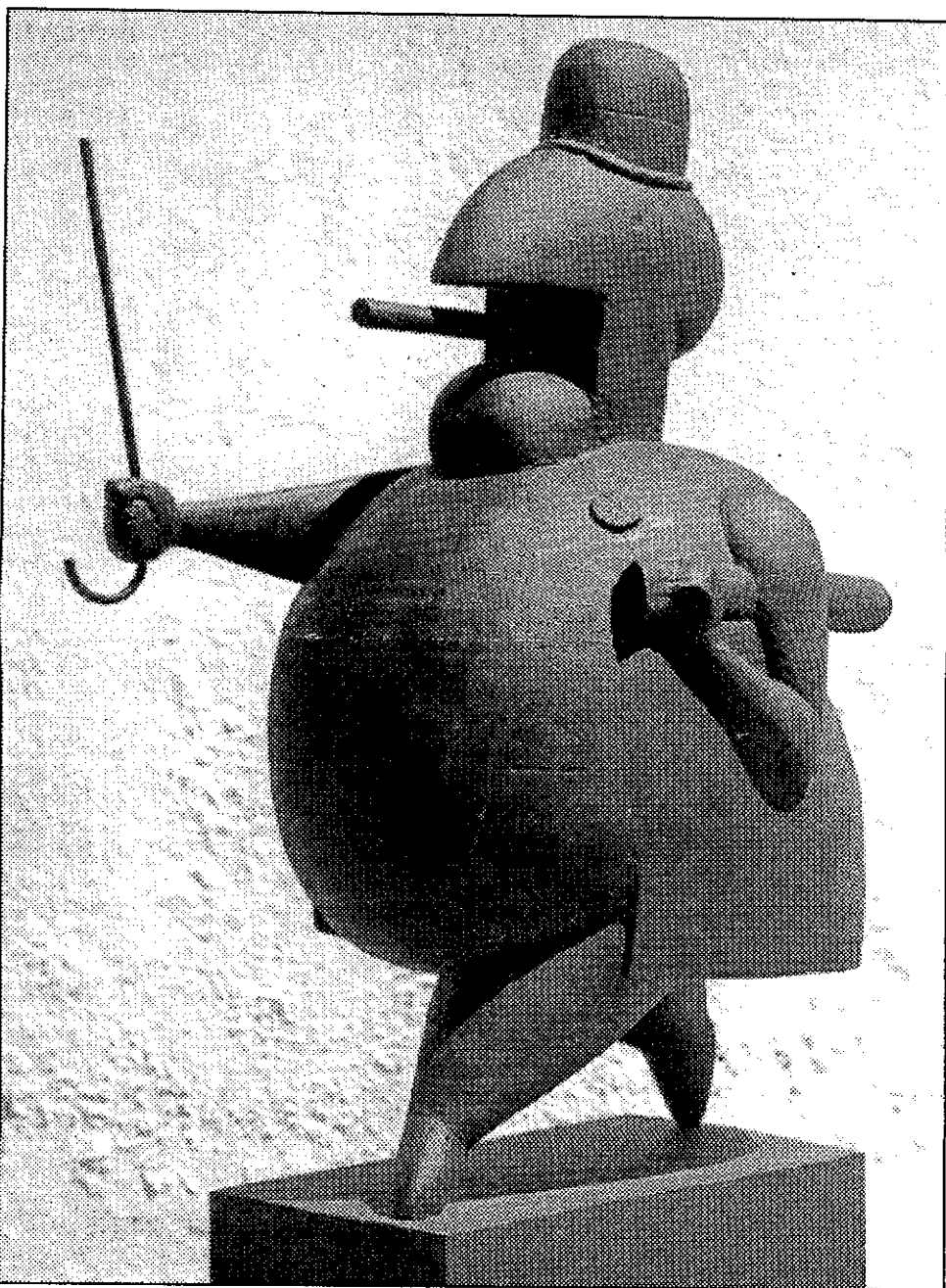
Of course the ANC has been neither consistent nor unambiguous in its commitment to these goals. But, to cut a long and often darkly comic story short, such discipline-based cultural organisations have taken strong root over the past half decade, notably in the fields of music, film, drama, literature and dance. While loyal to the anti-apartheid movement, groupings like Sama, Fawo, Pawe and Cosaw have focused increasingly on the interests of artists rather than on the interests of politicians.

During the course of last year, a series of meetings between the new generation and representatives of the old regime led to the National Arts Policy Plenary (NAPP). Here it was decided, among other things, to work towards the formation of a non-aligned national body representing practitioners in the field of arts and culture. This would represent the cultural community in relation to present and future governments. The initiative would culminate in a convention to be held in December 1993 where a very wide range of groupings, all the way from the performing arts councils and the Federasie van Afrikaner Kultuur to the left wings, would come together to frame arts policy.

Co-ordinator Mike van Graan defended the guiding eclecticism thus: "It wouldn't be democratic unless those other interests were also represented. The whole thing will be guided by a signed statement of intent committing participants to basic democratic values."

However, this approach has led to its own set of difficulties. For example Pawe, while being prosecuted by the state for holding demonstrations at Pact, was sitting in committees with Pact

w/e May 23/4 - 29/4/93. 1104
Cultural boycott rules and regulations may have been done away with, but some old habits die hard. IVOR POWELL reports in the run-up to the ANC's Culture and Development Conference this weekend



Cultural commissar ... A sculpture by Bruce Arnott strikes an appropriate note

representatives under the NAPP banner.

The NAPP initiative had not only the blessing of the DAC, but in fact came about in accordance with often reiterated ANC policies and was blessed with official messages of DAC support.

In practice, the NAPP failed to operate in terms of the nod-and-wink rules which were supposed to oil the wheels of the independence of the cultural organisations from the parent DAC. DAC chief Wally Serote was, for example, reportedly less than charmed by the fact that the DAC was granted only observer status at the NAPP, and made his displeasure clear.

But the National Arts Initiative (NAI) — which grew out of the NAPP as it broke up into regional committees to strategise the future — stuck to its guns. A recent position paper emanating from the proto-organisation spells it out: the NAI states it does not "belong to, associate itself with or favour any political party or movement"

The document goes on at some length to spell it out even further. It rejects party political or state pressure in decision-making; it insists that

any funding should be strictly no-strings-attached; that "the arts should not be controlled by or subjected to party political interests but rather that arts practitioners should themselves determine how state resources for the arts should be allocated"; that meetings with political formations should be merely consultative and of a report-back nature, not under any circumstances to discuss policy.

In other words, from the commissarial point of view, the NAI is guilty of what might be construed as the most distressing literalism in relation to the concept of independence.

Such shows of independence, as well as concerns that the NAI was dealing with apartheid structures at the expense of the real interests of its liberation past, had led to a series of stand-offs and conflicts even before the NAPP was held. But it was during the course of this year that a series of crunches came, resulting in formal complaints against DAC head Wally Serote being lodged with senior members of the ANC's national executive committee.

On one particularly notorious occasion, Sama representative Rashid Lanie was kicked out of a meeting of supposedly "fraternal" organisations

with the DAC. Let us spell this out: a meeting with those non-aligned and non-sectarian organisations which the DAC had helped to found — to which he had been invited as Sama representative.

Apparently it was discovered that Lanie was not an ANC member.

At the same meeting, which was chaired by ANC chairman Oliver Tambo and which had been called, ostensibly, to heal rifts which had grown between the ANC and the organisations, the ANC's cultural representative on the national working committee, Cheryl Carolus, called on the organisations in question "to walk the last mile" with the ANC to the ballot box. Subsequent calls have reportedly been made by DAC representatives, though not in their official capacity, for the NAI and its member groups to subordinate their own interests to those of the ANC's election campaign.

Far from walking arm in arm singing together into the sunset, though, relationships have merely deteriorated.

The Weekly Mail understands that an internal ANC investigation has been launched into the activities of the DAC and in particular into the actions of DAC head Wally Serote. Growing out of the Lanie incident and various complaints from other organisations, including Pawe and Fawo, the prevailing unhappiness was further fuelled by a bizarre anomaly which came to light when it was discovered that the DAC, in its role as cultural commissar, had given its blessing to the glitzy opening of the Lost City while most of the rest of the ANC alliance was actively boycotting it.

As it has turned out, ranks have been closed and the inquiry held over until after the CDC. But only after letters of apology — at the behest of Carolus and ANC Department of Information and Publicity chief Pallo Jordan — had been dispatched to offended individuals.

Meanwhile the CDC has been breeding its own problems for the future. Originally conceived (notably by the DAC's Jonathan de Vries) as a conference on culture in a sense of the word which is strictly distinguished from the arts, it was to have focused on issues relating to development: how the ANC would strive in policy formation to do away with the inequities of apartheid and promote democracy, etc. and on such issues as heraldry, language policy and the new South African flag.

Subsequent to the series of clashes which arose out of the NAI's hardline stance, however, its direction has been substantially changed. It will now involve itself directly in areas relating to arts policy and the administration of the arts in the hypothetical new South Africa.

More than this, the DAC was due, on the day after this article went to press, to announce the nomination of a board of trustees to oversee the development of culture in the new South Africa. The appointment of the trustees will, according to insiders and if all goes according to plan, constitute a kind of shadow arts council for a post-election South Africa.

But, despite appearances, according to DAC spokesperson Mewa Ramgobin, such an intervention should not be seen as sectarian in nature.

"The DAC has decided on its trustees in consultation with its allies, and the board is an instrument of civil society," he insisted.

How the board could be ANC-appointed, independent, non-sectarian and representative of civil society all at the same time, Ramgobin explained by pointing to the track record of the DAC and its history of fighting apartheid and of having long designated culture as an area of activity appropriate to civil society.

THE only sign last Friday of the funeral to come at the South Park cemetery was a mound of red earth, a few rows of porta-toilets and a large man stacking bricks on to the back of a truck.

The bricks were intended for a half-built crematorium wall. The man was an employee of the municipality of Germiston. He was removing the bricks, he said, so the blacks wouldn't use them, against one another or other graves.

"We can't even leave half a brick here," he said, clearly more concerned about the welfare of the white dead than the black living. "How would you feel if your father was buried here," he beckoned at the surrounding tombstones, "if he was in a grave here and they came and knocked it down?"

A group of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supporters stood on the road opposite the cemetery in the gathering Highveld dusk, neo-Nazi flags flying from their cars, dispensing advice to passing motorists on how to cope with the funeral and the accompanying march past their suburbs.

"Here," said a young man, handing out a piece of paper. "If you find a black in your yard, shoot him on sight, then call this number. It's a Mr Prinsloo. He's a lawyer. He said he would help..."

Two days later, Chris Hani's body lay in state in the FNB Stadium, his face elongated and distorted by death. Robbed of its passions and its animation, the face could have belonged to somebody else.

Hani had been a scholar of Shakespeare. His favourite work was *Hamlet*, a play that broods extensively on the subject of death. One of the most powerful scenes is set in a graveyard, where *Hamlet* ruminates morbidly on how death lays waste the achievements of life: "To what base uses we may return?"

"Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander, till he find it stopping a bung hole?"

Yet Hani's death was not to be reduced to meaninglessness. Like a ghostly message from the other side, he had wanted to make a point by being buried in a formerly whites-only cemetery.

Instead of being stuck away in some township churchyard, he was forcing white South Africans to confront their countrypeople. To have been buried in a ghetto, as many thousand victims of the system have been since Sharpeville in 1960, would have been to conceal the fury and the passion and — at the end of the day — the relative restraint of black South Africa.

The message that was etched in the paranoia and fear of the suburbs was that whites, for once, were also paying for the murder of a black leader, a price that will make consenting indifference harder next time.

Certainly, if ever South Africa was put to the test, it was along the R554 and Heidelberg Road east of Johannesburg on Monday.

All that separated Boksburg from the South Park cemetery were the coils of razor wire and a ditch. The houses at first appeared empty, but

Death, be not proud

w/mc 23/4 - 29/4/93



Message from the other side ... Hani wanted to make a point by being buried in a formerly whites-only cemetery
Photo: GUY ADAMS

As in the great Shakespearean tragedies which he studied, Chris Hani's death mirrors the political life of the entire nation. And, far from laying waste to the achievements of his life, his graveside message ensured South Africa will never be the same again



By
**PHILLIP
VAN
NIEKERK**

once the procession was underway heads started to pop up over the concrete walls. Large men peered over.

An assortment of bakkies and cars were parked in the streets of Boksburg, men sitting on top. The women and children had been sent away for the day.

The men had binoculars at their eyes, and guns at the ready. "There's a lot of ammunition all over. We would have been fools to stand here not armed," said one man, a member of the AWB.

The crowd moved along the highway like hungry locusts. A few roadside shops were looted of food and burnt. A maize field was picked empty of corn. A vegetable patch was looted. Youths toyi-toyed along, chewing on carrots. But the procession, and the crowd, remained overwhelmingly peaceful.

Only once were the barricades breached. An ancient Valiant saloon slung low with the weight of its passengers, its front bumper festooned with a news poster from the shooting in Vanderbijlpark, "Marchers shot — white man held", took a wrong turn into the white neighbourhood.

The assembled rightwingers stiffened, their trigger fingers twitching. The car did a slow U-turn, so slow as to be just a bit defiant. And it passed back out of the white neighbourhood, passengers giggling nervously. Everybody's worst nightmare had passed.

As the country breathed a collective sigh of relief, it was clear that South Africa had survived, but that it would never be the same again.

There was something intensely political

about Hani's death, as in the great Shakespearean tragedies, where a death mirrors the political life of the entire nation.

Hamlet is the most political of plays, but not in the crude sense that Stalin had in mind when he outlawed it because *Hamlet's* indecisiveness and moodiness set a bad example for the "new Soviet spirit of optimism, fortitude and clarity".

The Israelis banned it from a Palestinian detention camp during the uprising because of *Hamlet's* subversive musing whether "his nobler in mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune; or to take up arms against a sea of troubles..."

Hamlet is political because it is the most profound examination of a corrupt and illegitimate political regime: "There is something rotten in the state of Denmark."

Similarly, President FW de Klerk presides over an illegitimate government. At a time when the restoration of law and order is desperately needed, it struggles to perform even normal crime-prevention work.

The danger is the unrealistic expectation that, while the authority of the state has virtually evaporated, the African National Congress ought to control the townships. The only remedy is to move as fast as possible to joint control of the security forces, and an election that will restore legitimacy to government.

One should not underestimate the challenge for the National Party of keeping face while finally surrendering exclusive power. Nor should one underestimate the task the ANC has taken on by assuming the mantle of leadership.

As ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale, Hani's close friend, said: "We are exposing our underbelly ... Leadership shows itself by going ahead of its followers during a moment of crisis, uncertainty and confusion."

"In Vietnam, the Americans called it going on point. You go on point, you are killed," he said, with unconscious reference to his assassinated friend.

The events of the past week have exposed the burden of leadership. Sexwale, Nelson Mandela and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa all stuck their necks out to calm people's passions, douse the flames of racial anger and reassure the whites.

Ramaphosa distanced the movement from the reckless and pointless stone-throwing and torching outside the FNB Stadium on Monday. He made it clear that the ANC refuses to sacrifice strategic goals for a few hundred wild youths, some of them Pan Africanist Congress members.

But it's going to get a lot rougher. Ramaphosa dismissed Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba's firebrand remarks in Khayelitsha, saying they ought not to be taken seriously.

But such political dinosaurs, still summoning the masses to the barricades with empty rhetoric, can inflict damage by exciting passions in a way that the ANC will find hard to deal with, particularly once it crosses the threshold of government.

The ANC at that point will have the excruciatingly difficult task of explaining to the masses who have achieved liberation at last that the cookie jar is virtually empty. "They will have to understand that will be a time for ploughing, not harvesting," says Sexwale.

In that sense, the way the ANC was able to channel the passions of the people on Monday, steer them towards what South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo called "a battlefield of our choosing", was a dress rehearsal for the dilemmas that will face the ANC in the new South Africa.

The centre held, and the ANC emerged with the moral authority of the leadership of the nation. Even most whites know that now.

And over the dead bodies of Hani and those that were massacred in Sebokeng, the plots of the white supremacists started unravelling.

At the very end of the play *Hamlet's* friend, Horatio, in lines that Hani must have studied many times, orders that the bodies of the queen and the usurper king be slung up and placed high on view so he can tell the world ...

"Of carnal, bloody and unnatural acts, Of accidental judgements, casual slayers, Of deaths put on by cunning and forc'd cause,

And, in this upshot, purposes mistook Fall'n on the inventors heads ..."
Amen to white minority rule.

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THE only sign last Friday of the funeral to come at the South Park cemetery was a mound of red earth, a few rows of porta-toilets and a large man stacking bricks on to the back of a truck.

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Two days later, Chris Hani's body lay in state in the FNB Stadium, his face elongated and distorted by death. Robbed of its passions and its animation, the face could have belonged to somebody else.

Hani had been a scholar of Shakespeare. His favourite work was *Hamlet*, a play that broods extensively on the subject of death. One of the most powerful scenes is set in a graveyard, where Hamlet ruminates morbidly on how death lays waste the achievements of life: "To what base uses we may return?"

"Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander, till he find it stopping a bung hole?"

Yet Hani's death was not to be reduced to meaninglessness. Like a ghostly message from the other side, he had wanted to make a point by being buried in a formerly whites-only cemetery.

Instead of being stuck away in some township churchyard, he was forcing white South Africans to confront their countrypeople. To have been buried in a ghetto, as many thousand victims of the system have been since Sharpeville in 1960, would have been to conceal the fury and the passion and — at the end of the day — the relative restraint of black South Africa.

The message that was etched in the paranoia and fear of the suburbs was that whites, for once, were also paying for the murder of a black leader, a price that will make consenting indifference harder next time.

Certainly, if ever South Africa was put to the test, it was along the R554 and Heidelberg Road east of Johannesburg on Monday.

All that separated Boksburg from the South Park cemetery were the coils of razor wire and a ditch. The houses at first appeared empty, but

Death, be not proud

w/mant 23/4 - 29/4/93



Message from the other side ... Hani wanted to make a point by being buried in a formerly whites-only cemetery
Photo: GUY ADAMS

As in the great Shakespearean tragedies which he studied, Chris Hani's death mirrors the political life of the entire nation. And, far from laying waste to the achievements of his life, his graveside message ensured South Africa will never be the same again



By
**PHILLIP
VAN
NIEKERK**

once the procession was underway heads started to pop up over the concrete walls. Large men peered over.

An assortment of bakkies and cars were parked in the streets of Boksburg, men sitting on top. The women and children had been sent away for the day.

The men had binoculars at their eyes, and guns at the ready. "There's a lot of ammunition all over. We would have been fools to stand here not armed," said one man, a member of the AWB.

The crowd moved along the highway like hungry locusts. A few roadside shops were looted of food and burnt. A maize field was picked empty of corn. A vegetable patch was looted. Youths toy-toyed along, chewing on carrots. But the procession, and the crowd, remained overwhelmingly peaceful.

Only once were the barricades breached. An ancient Valiant saloon slung low with the weight of its passengers, its front bumper festooned with a news poster from the shooting in Vanderbijlpark, "Marchers shot — white man held", took a wrong turn into the white neighbourhood.

The assembled rightwingers stiffened, their trigger fingers twitching. The car did a slow U-turn, so slow as to be just a bit defiant. And it passed back out of the white neighbourhood, passengers giggling nervously. Everybody's worst nightmare had passed.

As the country breathed a collective sigh of relief, it was clear that South Africa had survived, but that it would never be the same again.

There was something intensely political

about Hani's death, as in the great Shakespearean tragedies, where a death mirrors the political life of the entire nation.

Hamlet is the most political of plays, but not in the crude sense that Stalin had in mind when he outlawed it because Hamlet's indecisiveness and moodiness set a bad example for the "new Soviet spirit of optimism, fortitude and clarity".

The Israelis banned it from a Palestinian detention camp during the uprising because of Hamlet's subversive musing whether "'tis nobler in mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune; or to take up arms against a sea of troubles ..."

Hamlet is political because it is the most profound examination of a corrupt and illegitimate political regime: "There is something rotten in the state of Denmark."

Similarly, President FW de Klerk presides over an illegitimate government. At a time when the restoration of law and order is desperately needed, it struggles to perform even normal crime-prevention work.

The danger is the unrealistic expectation that, while the authority of the state has virtually evaporated, the African National Congress ought to control the townships. The only remedy is to move as fast as possible to joint control of the security forces, and an election that will restore legitimacy to government.

One should not underestimate the challenge for the National Party of keeping face while finally surrendering exclusive power. Nor should one underestimate the task the ANC has taken on by assuming the mantle of leadership.

As ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale, Hani's close friend, said: "We are exposing our underbelly ... Leadership shows itself by going ahead of its followers during a moment of crisis, uncertainty and confusion."

"In Vietnam, the Americans called it going on point. You go on point, you are killed," he said, with unconscious reference to his assassinated friend.

The events of the past week have exposed the burden of leadership. Sexwale, Nelson Mandela and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa all stuck their necks out to calm people's passions, douse the flames of racial anger and reassure the whites.

Ramaphosa distanced the movement from the reckless and pointless stone-throwing and torching outside the FNB Stadium on Monday. He made it clear that the ANC refuses to sacrifice strategic goals for a few hundred wild youths, some of them Pan Africanist Congress members.

But it's going to get a lot rougher. Ramaphosa dismissed Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba's firebrand remarks in Khayelitsha, saying they ought not to be taken seriously.

But such political dinosaurs, still summoning the masses to the barricades with empty rhetoric, can inflict damage by exciting passions in a way that the ANC will find hard to deal with, particularly once it crosses the threshold of government.

The ANC at that point will have the excruciatingly difficult task of explaining to the masses who have achieved liberation at last that the cookie jar is virtually empty. "They will have to understand that will be a time for ploughing, not harvesting," says Sexwale.

In that sense, the way the ANC was able to channel the passions of the people on Monday, steer them towards what South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo called "a battlefield of our choosing", was a dress rehearsal for the dilemmas that will face the ANC in the new South Africa.

The centre held, and the ANC emerged with the moral authority of the leadership of the nation. Even most whites know that now.

And over the dead bodies of Hani and those that were massacred in Sebokeng, the plots of the white supremacists started unravelling.

At the very end of the play Hamlet's friend, Horatio, in lines that Hani must have studied many times, orders that the bodies of the queen and the usurper king be slung up and placed high on view so he can tell the world ...

*"Of carnal, bloody and unnatural acts,
Of accidental judgements, casual slaughters,
Of deaths put on by cunning and forc'd
cause,*

*And, in this upshot, purposes mistook
Fall'n on the inventors heads ..."*
Amen to white minority rule.

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THE shooting spree which left 19 dead in Sebokeng on the eve of Chris Hani's funeral was part of a broader pattern of violent destabilisation in the townships of the PWV.

The timing and random nature of the attacks — which left at least another seven dead and 11 injured in the townships of Vosloorus and Katlehong and the Zonkesizwe squatter camp on the East Rand — gives further impetus to "third force" theories. Some of the shootings have been linked to hostels, others were perpetrated by assailants in moving cars or trains.

Commented African National Congress PWV leader Obed Bapela: "There are elements within the communities and armed forces establishment who wanted to fan violence; to use the anger and reaction to Hani's death to derail negotiations and slow down progress towards elections."

He said there appeared to be a resurgence of attacks on known ANC members in the Vaal by a band of former policemen calling themselves "Codesa". Vaal police spokesman Major Piet van Deventer confirmed the existence of such a gang, and that it was being investigated. There was no proof that ex-policemen belonged to it.

He added that there was no evidence of direct SAP involvement in the Sebokeng atrocity, in which 19 people were killed and 23 injured in the darkness of Sunday and Monday. "As a police force we would not do such a thing. If there is solid confirmation that individual policemen were involved, we would take action."

But the ANC insists the events were similar in many respects to those leading to last year's Boipatong massacre.

The organisation says that at 6pm on Sunday police drove around Sebokeng ordering people

Killings blamed on 'third force'

The recent spate of killings in the PWV area has been blamed on a 'third force' wishing to destabilise the townships and derail negotiations. By ALEX DODD

w/maul 23/4 - 29/4/93

to remain indoors. At 10pm men came knocking randomly on doors claiming to be ANC comrades: "In some cases they introduced themselves through the doors as popular leaders in the townships," said Bapela.

When people opened their doors they were shot at; others then emerged from their homes and were fired at from a white Cressida. Nyala armoured vehicles were allegedly spotted moving in convoy with the Cressida.

The shooting began in Sebokeng Zone 11, then the killers drove on, firing sporadically on their way. When they came across a couple in a Jetta, they stopped, shot and killed the occupants and stole the Jetta, which was used in the killings in Zones 10, 12, 13 and 14. Four black people were spotted inside the car. The Jetta was later abandoned and set alight.

But the Sebokeng killings have overshadowed a similar pattern of random attacks beginning on

Sunday night in the East Rand and Vaal Triangle.

In Vosloorus, two taxi drivers ferrying mourners to the Els Park cemetery were killed instantly when bullets flew through the wire fence outside Mnguni Hostel at 6am on Monday, according to Bapela.

On Monday night another two taxis carrying mourners were hijacked and the passengers pulled into the same hostel where, Bapela said, some were stabbed with spears and others shot. Two died.

At 7am on Monday, *Weekly Mail* reporters traced a spiral of charcoal smoke spilling into the sky above Vosloorus to the burning shell of a car outside the Sotho Hostel in Ghetto Section.

Bystanders said the driver of the car had been fired on about an hour earlier and pulled from the vehicle by his attackers just before it went up in flames. His arm ripped off, he had attempted a stumbling escape for a few hundred metres

before collapsing.

Residents said that in the darkness of the previous night a white minibus, a powder-blue Mazda 626 and a white three-series BMW had been driving around the township randomly opening fire on anyone they spotted.

Three people had been shot at outside Lydia's Tavern down the street from the burning car, partly witnessed by the tavern's proprietress. The victims had been taken to hospital — nobody knew which hospital or if they were alive or dead.

Two men standing around a barricade of burning tyres reported that they had just been missed by bullets aimed at them from a blue 626, which had passed minutes before. They said there were two coloured men in the vehicle.

In Katlehong, two residents of the ANC-aligned Kuthlala hostel standing on a station platform were wounded when they were fired on from a train on Monday night. They claimed the assailants were hostel dwellers from the Kwesini Hostel, an Inkatha stronghold.

Police also report that two mourners were killed and three injured when the taxis in which they were returning home were fired on after the drivers lost their way and entered the Zonkesizwe squatter camp.

The gang perversely calling itself "Codesa", according to Bapela, comprises ex-policemen driven from Sebokeng last year in the wake of the Boipatong massacre and criminal elements. It is accused of several attacks on ANC members since July last year.

In the latest, two weeks ago, armed assailants left a number of drinking glasses inscribed with the word "Codesa" after firing on a shebeen in Sebokeng's Zone 3, killing three and injuring 10.

The orphans never forget

By PAT SIDLEY

FEW among the tens of thousands crowded into the FNB Stadium on Monday realised the poignancy of Chris Hani's funeral for one of the South African Communist Party's guests, whose father was similarly slain.

When African National Congress president Nelson Mandela called out the name of Richard Turner, his daughter — who was 13 when her father died in her arms — said she "thought about how Hani's family must have been feeling".

Jann Turner, who now lives in England, had come back to South Africa for a few weeks to piece together those bits of her life blown apart by an assassin's 9mm pistol in Durban late one night in 1978.

She has lived and relived the moment since her father lay bleeding, struggling for breath. And although she must have described it dozens of times, her body shakes as she talks about it.

Jann Turner and her sister Kim, then 10, were staying at their father's house in Durban. Their parents were divorced and they usually lived with their mother in Cape Town.

"I woke up and heard my dad in the hallway saying: 'Who's there?'. Then he came to the bedroom where Kim and I were sleeping.

"He went to the window. I had not heard any knock. He pulled the curtain aside and there was a huge explosion, which I thought was a bomb."

She saw nobody. "My father fell ... He was writhing on the ground in a way that I can't even describe. He tried to scream but he couldn't because his lungs were full of blood. He picked himself up and ran through the house ..."

She ran after him. "He collapsed face down in a pool of blood and was trying to breathe." Screaming for the tenant at the back of the house to help, she turned her father over onto his back and called repeatedly to him: "What happened? Are you all right?"

In vain she tried to revive her father with mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. "It was very unlikely that he would have lived even if ..." her



Jann Turner

voice trails off.

She tried to telephone for help, but the line was dead; it was 10 minutes before police could be contacted.

Turner died a few minutes after the police were called. "I can visualise the moment that he died," his daughter says. "His mouth shivered. His eyes quivered and opened; and I thought he was trying to say something to me. I just held him and said: 'He's dead.'"

A shocked young policeman moved the two young girls into another room, away from the body. By then friends had started arriving, including then-Natal University academic Lawrence Schlemmer, who took the girls to stay with his family that night; lawyer Halton Cheadle, then a young student; and activist Fatima Meer, who had to stand outside in the rain because, like Turner, she had been banned.

Her mother got on a plane to Durban and her stepmother, Foszia Turner, who was visiting friends in Botswana, drove to Johannesburg and caught a flight to Durban.

Turner was employed at the University of Natal despite his banning order; he wasn't allowed to teach but he could write and do research. His banning order was about to expire when he was killed.

He was the target of rightwingers and the "system", Jann says, echoing statements made after Hani's

death.

Her father's funeral, performed according to Muslim rites, was dramatically different from, and smaller than, the Hani burial. Afterwards, her mother moved with her daughters to England.

Distance was no healer. Being in England "interfered with the grieving process," she says, and "it was difficult to make sense of his death in that context".

It might have been easier to be "where what had happened was understood, and to be with like-minded people where your loss is acknowledged and affirmed; where there's no explanation required".

After taking her A-levels she spent a year in South Africa, trying to deal with her loss. She stayed with her father's mother, visited her father's grave. "It was very dreamlike; very familiar and very strange at the same time. I found it quite depressing. I still felt cut in half and I couldn't join the pieces together."

She graduated from Oxford, met and married a South African and went on to the United States for further study.

The revelations of renegade police captain Dirk Coetzee triggered in her for the first time the notion that a real person had pulled the trigger and killed her father. She has met Coetzee several times, but is none the wiser.

"I am here because I need to know who killed my father. It's a personal journey for me — even 15 years later the process of sorting out and making sense of his death continues.

"What I'm discovering is that my father is still alive in some senses. For me this journey has been about discovering him and getting to know him as a living person, as an adult — getting past this awful memory of the night of his death."

She has asked anybody who knows anything about the murder to come forward; she promises to treat the information as confidential. It's not retribution she wants: "I just think I would like to know. I would like to meet the person who pulled the trigger and ask what they did, and why they did it."

The Scotch the Scots drink



Mandela urges discipline 11A

ANC president Nelson Mandela told angry youths in Sebokeng yesterday that they should save their fighting spirit for Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Speaking in the wake of Sunday's shooting spree in Sebokeng which claimed 19 lives, he told a crowd of 3 000 that the only way to take up arms was to join MK, Sapa-AFP reports.

"I understand your anger when you say that you want to fight for your freedom. I understand when you say you want to fight back ... but you can only fight and win if you have a disciplined army. You will get your weapons when you join the army."

But he urged youths to complete their studies before joining MK. "Don't be in a hurry to join. We expect you to try ... to get matric first. You cannot be a pilot

LLOYD COUTTS

without matric, you cannot be an officer." It would be "courting disaster" if youths armed themselves and tried to fight back in small groups.

Mandela accused the right wing of complicity not only in the murder of SACP leader Chris Hani, but also in the Sebokeng deaths. He and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu visited survivors of Sunday's attack in their houses and in hospital.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that Tutu said blacks would be ready to forgive when whites were ready to say sorry for the wrongs of apartheid. "We say, when you say sorry, we say we forgive you. We are ready to forgive you when you are ready to

To Page 2

Mandela 11A

say sorry for all the deaths." B/DAY 23/4/93

He said blacks held the key to enabling white South Africans to get to heaven. "They will not go to heaven until they ask for forgiveness from us. We say: 'We want you to go to heaven.'"

Tutu said blacks wanted freedom for both blacks and whites. "We want whites, for the first time, to know what it is like to live under a democratic government. God is not stupid. God says if you are a human being, you are bound to other human beings. We are saying to white people the freedom we want is not for black people, the freedom we want is for them as well."

Sapa reports a row has erupted between police and the ANC over alleged SAP collu-

sion in the Sebokeng shooting and claims that the ANC is interfering with witnesses.

Vaal Triangle deputy commissioner Brig Floris Mostert denied complicity. He said a number plate found at the scene belonged to a police minibus which had escorted a Nyala armoured vehicle after the attack. Mostert accused the ANC of hampering police investigations by urging witnesses not to give information to police.

But the ANC PWV region said in a statement: "At no stage did ANC officials advise witnesses to withhold information that could lead to the arrest of the perpetrators of violence." It called for an independent inquiry into the incident.

● Picture: Page 3

From Page 1

Violence gives 'hawks' advantage

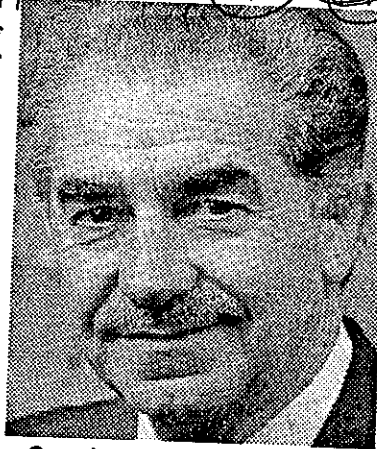
W1 Mail 23/4 - 29/4/93
(114) (2014)
By CHRIS LOUW

THE mass action and incidents of violence that followed the death of Communist Party leader Chris Hani have given the "hawks" in the National Party the upper hand — at least for the while.

NP parliamentarians this week were openly expressing contradictory views in speeches in parliament. Relations with the African National Congress, the issue of joint control over the security forces during the transition and the future role of regions are clearly issues on which Nat MPs hold widely divergent opinions.

On Monday former defence minister Gene Louw, who hardly ever took a stance while serving in the Cabinet, amazed colleagues with a hardline speech in which he rejected any possibility of joint control over the security forces.

Louw's speech — in which he described the Defence Force and the police as the "king and queen" in the political chess game — directly contradicts agreements reached between the ANC and the NP's negotiation team. When the team, under the leadership of Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, last year agreed with



Gene Louw ... Hardline speech the ANC that a defence sub-council would become part of the transitional executive structures, they in fact also agreed to joint control of the armed forces.

This was repudiated by Louw. "The army and police force," Louw said in his speech, "are assets which cannot be moved around like political pawns. They are the queen and king of the chess players. You do not give them away before properly having decided on a future constitutional dispensation ... and before it has been put into affect."

On Tuesday a rising star in the

NP, the verligte Chris Fisser, MP for Rissik, voiced a completely different sentiment when he congratulated the ANC for the way they succeeded in controlling their angry supporters during the Chris Hani marches.

This contradicts views expressed by, among others, Local Government and Planning Minister Tertius Delport, who has accused the ANC leadership of losing control of their followers.

During Tuesday's session it was also noticeable how self-assured Minister of Law and Order and chief "hawk" Hernus Kriel appeared. At one stage he sat next to President De Klerk with such authority that the State President had to remove his attache case from his desk to make space for him.

Normally NP MPs are very aware of their position in the party hierarchy, and they keep a respectful distance from De Klerk when addressing him. Opposition MPs thought Kriel's attitude was that of someone who knew he had the NP rank and file behind him, rather than De Klerk's more careful approach.

Women want a say in new constitution

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Lulama Luti

THE struggle for liberation in South Africa would not be complete until women had been emancipated, the convener of the National Women's Coalition said last night.

A studio guest during the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show, Dr Frene Ginwala said one of the reasons for setting up the women's coalition was to ensure that non-sexism was written into the new constitution.

She said the equality of women did not relate only to their political or professional lives, but to all aspects of life.

"Different as they are, all women in this country are subjected to some form of subordination or patriarchy.

They are perceived by society as

not being able to perform," she said.

Ginwala went on to point out that the thrust of the women's coalition would be to find out from women across the political, economic and social spectrum what it was that they would like to see changed and enshrined in the new constitution.

Research programme

To this effect, she said, the coalition would soon institute a major research programme.

She said the coalition was born out of a realisation of the diversity of women in the country. She said women were relatively organised and had a collective strength

that needed to be supported.

"Women are going to shake male domination in this country," she said.

"Have women done enough to develop leadership qualities or are they demanding a certain percentage of representation from men?"

Joseph Letsoalo, Vaal Triangle

Sowetan 11A
"I think the time has come for a woman who wants a career to go out there and get on with it. She should not feel obliged to stay at

home and look after the children."
Sue, Johannesburg

23/4/93
"I think we still have a long way to go in addressing gender issues. When one raises these matters, one is regarded as a radical or a feminist."

Anthea, Cape Town

"(Why is it that) you hardly ever find any women in the different negotiating teams in the country, particularly in the mining sector?"
Mike Maja, Carletonville

NEWS 'Defend yourselves'

Mandela's call to Vaal youths

Sowetan 23/4/93 (11A)
■ Pupils urged to go back to school:

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday called on youths in the Vaal Triangle to join Umkhonto we Sizwe in order to defend themselves following a spate of violent acts in the area in the past month.

Addressing a huge crowd at a stadium in Sebokeng after visiting families and survivors of last week's Sebokeng massacre, Mandela said the residents had the right to defend themselves against their enemies.

Mandela, however, warned that those who intended joining MK should first acquire an education, at least a matric certificate, in order to be able to understand modern technology.

"We need a disciplined army that will be trained in Africa and abroad. We will not give up until we have achieved our liberation," he said.

Mandela had earlier visited survivors of last Sunday's massacre at the Sebokeng Hospital.

Meanwhile, major roads in the Vaal Triangle have been barricaded with stones and rocks.

er explains meaning of chant

War song is part of MK culture of resistance

Sowetan 23/4/93
 "KILL the Boer, kill the farmer," as chanted by ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, was an old song of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, he told journalists yesterday.

It had been sung on many occasions, such as after the massacres last year at Boipatong and Bisho, and it had not driven people to attack whites or farmers.

Mokaba said while the chant had never been officially coined as a slogan, it was an integral part of "MK culture".

The chant merely called for the over-

11A

■ Peter Mokaba refuses to apologise:

throw of the "white supremacist system". He has been widely criticised for chanting it last Saturday and said on Wednesday that the Government could "go to hell" if it wanted to charge him for inciting violence.

If the chant was wrong, Mokaba said, then so were Xhosa songs sung at Monday's funeral service for slain SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani. — *Sapa.*

Move to defuse storm over Mokaba's slogan

RAY HARTLEY

BIDM 23/4/93

ANC Youth League vice-president Peter Mokaba has moved to defuse a political storm over his repeated use of the slogan, "Kill the boer, kill the farmer".

Mokaba said yesterday the slogan should not be taken literally. It was simply a part of Umkhonto we Sizwe's culture which sought to end the "white supremacist system".

The ANC and youth league said in a joint statement yesterday the slogan had become inappropriate and its use at public meetings was being reassessed, Sapa reports.

This followed a meeting of the two in Johannesburg attended by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and youth league representatives led by Rapu Molekane. They reaffirmed the ANC's policy of nonracialism.

Mokaba's militant statements are believed to have angered senior ANC leaders, including Ramaphosa, who said on television that Mokaba and Winnie Mandela "should not be taken seriously".

Farmers' associations convened security committees to discuss the matter and police said they would investigate "militant remarks" by Mokaba and Mandela.

National peace committee chairman John Hall said Mokaba and Mandela's inflammatory speeches

had contravened the national peace accord. The committee met last night to discuss the matter.

SA Agricultural Union president Boet Fourie asked for an urgent meeting with Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee to discuss security and Bloemfontein's Vergenoeg Farmers' Association asked the Free State peace committee to investigate Mokaba's calls.

Yesterday, the Concerned South Africans Group said the ANC had to do more than just distance itself from Mokaba's statements which were calculated "to incite ANC supporters to kill whites".

Youth league and ANC PWV officials suggested yesterday a national strike could be called if government failed to meet ANC demands for an election date and a transitional executive council. The league said if a date for an election had not been set by mid-May, democratic forces should gear up for an extended national strike, which would include rent and consumer boycotts.

Mass action would be used to remove white policemen - who were insensitive to the feelings of blacks - from townships and to replace them with "resident police" who would co-

operate with communities. The occupation of NP offices, demonstrations and pickets were also likely.

Natal and KwaZulu would be targeted for mass action involving rallies, marches and demonstrations.

PWV ANC secretary-general Paul Mashatile said a proposal for a general strike was being considered by the region and would be forwarded to national structures for a decision.

Sapa reports mass action plans were described by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze as "a recipe for confrontation and almost inevitable violence".

The alliance said at yesterday's media briefing police had killed Soweto ANC secretary Sam Tambani and six others without provocation at Protea police station last week.

"It is clear from all accounts that the first volley of shots was fired by the police in a controlled and sustained ... burst of fire aimed at the leadership in front of the gate, a statement released at the conference said.

Tambani had asked police to exercise restraint only a few minutes before he was killed.

A funeral service for Tambani would be held at Regina Mundi in Soweto tomorrow. He would be buried in Avalon Cemetery.

Country club comes under attack

IN one of several incidents of violence around the country, three men fired on a country club in Richmond, Natal, on Wednesday night with machine guns.

No one was injured and police said they had ruled out the possibility of the PAC's armed wing Apla being responsible.

Also on Wednesday, a nun had petrol poured over her in the Vosmans squatter camp near Witbank, when she got out of her car after youths hurled a petrol bomb at it. A resident came to her aid and the attackers made off in her car.

The ANC's Witbank branch condemned the attack and said it would do everything in its power to track down the culprits.

The ANC said one person was shot dead in Meloding, near Virginia, yesterday when police allegedly opened fire on the Mandela informal settlement.

On Wednesday a Boksburg man was shot dead while delivering wood in Daveyton, near Benoni, while in Katlehong a woman was assaulted and the red Ford Laser she was driving was burnt. In Soweto's Diepmeadow township, a man was hacked to death.

Police have offered a R100 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for an attack on a house near the FNB stadium on Monday. Two people burnt to death in the incident. - Sapa.

ANC opposes school occupation

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE ANC yesterday distanced itself from a call to occupy white schools, urging pupils instead to step up a campaign to open all schools.

Despite its understanding of the depth of the crisis in education, it did not support the call to occupy white schools, the organisation said.

The threat was the kind of action the ANC feared would be precipitated by government closing talks on education.

"We had predicted that unless government was prepared to proceed seriously with the national education negotiating forum as a means to address the crisis, the crisis would deepen."

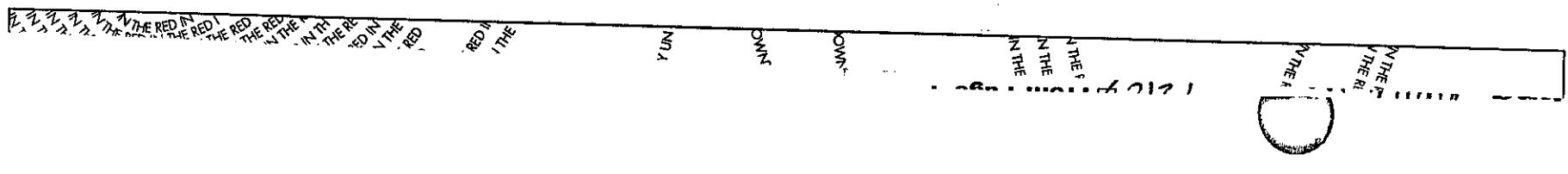
The SA Students' Congress has vowed to occupy and disrupt white schools as part of its protest against the killing of SACP general secretary Chris Hani and to pressure government to change the structure of

education. The National Education Coordinating Committee has also threatened to target white schools.

The ANC said that white government had the means to restore credibility by negotiating the way ahead for education, it had declared its position on each crisis point non-negotiable.

Sapa reports that Education and Training Department director-general Bernhard Louw said after a meeting with the SA Democratic Teachers' Union in Pretoria yesterday education problems would in future be resolved through negotiations.

Louw said consensus reached with the union pointed to a new direction which "augurs well". The parties agreed to exhaust procedures prescribed in a previous agreement by means of negotiation before other action was taken, he said.



Symbolic city reburial for Hani planned



ARG 23/4/93

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

MR Chris Hani is to be symbolically reburied in Cape Town on May Day, the day the ANC/Communist Party/Cosatu alliance begins its national campaign of "rolling mass action".

The announcement was made at a memorial service for Umkhonto we Sizwe activist Mr Khaya Simane in Nyanga yesterday by ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni.

He said a full programme of mass action in the Western Cape would be released at Mr Simane's funeral in Guguletu tomorrow.

"Our May Day rally will be exceptional because it will be in honour of Chris Hani. We

will symbolically rebury him because he is from the Western Cape."

Yesterday Mr Yengeni called on a group of MK members to join him in singing an MK song, *Hamba Kahle Umkhonto weSizwe*, in honour of Mr Simane.

He said: "This is the same song which caused such controversy when sung in Khayelitsha last weekend by Peter Mokaba (ANC Youth League leader) and Mrs Winnie Mandela."

He said it was a pledge and promise sung by all MK members since the creation of the ANC's armed wing.

"We promise that we are going to kill the Boers or the enemy."

"It was sung at Chris Hani's funeral and we sang it in re-

membrance of Khaya in our regional offices yesterday."

Mr Yengeni said the Press, especially the SABC, misunderstood the song and asked reporters to put it in its proper context when they heard it again.

He said the best monument for Mr Hani and Mr Simane, who acted as Mr Hani's bodyguard when he visited Cape Town, was not to chant slogans or sing military songs but to intensify the struggle.

He said ANC supporters were impatient with the pace of negotiations.

"It's been three years since negotiations started. We are saying that the National Party and other political parties must agree on an election date by next month and not next year."

Hani buried as de Klerk warns of civil war

By David Beresford in Soweto and Phillip van Niekerk and Chris McGreal in Boksburg

THE ANC leadership is struggling to keep the lid on the South African peace process, amid extraordinary scenes marking the funeral of Chris Hani, as President F W de Klerk warned parliament of the threat of civil war.

The former ANC guerrilla leader was buried on Monday at the end of two days of funeral rites attended by well over 100,000 mourners. At least 25 people died in political violence accompanying the burial, including 19 shot dead at random in Sebokeng township by hit-and-run gunmen. Two white men were burned alive a few hundred yards away from the funeral service in Soweto, when youthful mourners set fire to what were thought to have been abandoned buildings during clashes with the security forces.

It was estimated that half of the country's black work force of six million stayed away in answer to strike calls. The commercial capital of Johannesburg was deserted as fearful whites stayed at home.

Mr Hani, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, was buried outside Boksburg — where he lived and was assassinated nine days previously — after police had thrown up barricades to keep mourners away from heavily armed whites.

Earlier, ANC youths had fought running battles with police outside the Soweto soccer stadium where the funeral service was attended by an estimated 85,000 people. Liberation movement leaders struggled to keep the peace, at one stage accusing "agents provocateurs" of inciting clashes.

But it was the burial site outside

Boksburg which provided the focus of fears of a racial conflict. Rumours were rife that whites in the suburbs near the cemetery were planning to turn the march into a bloodbath.

Near the grave a mound of concrete was waiting to be poured over the coffin, as a precaution against a rightwing threat to exhume the corpse and throw it out of the formerly whites-only cemetery. Coils of razor-wire separated the funeral route from the white houses bordering it.

White men perched on trucks in the area. Women and children had been sent away for the day, they said. "We would have been fools to stand here, not armed," said a man who claimed to be a member of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB).

"How do you kill a communist?" he demanded. "You hit him with a Pole". His friends roared with laughter at the reference to the Polish origin of Hani's alleged assassin.

"I've asked the AWB for their

protection for my house, my life. I don't have a gun," said Japie Marais, a resident.

The AWB was delighted at the opportunity. Mr Marais's house, opposite the cemetery gates, was turned into its headquarters and hospital. AWB general Johan Thompson said he was not after a fight, even though weapons hung from some of his men like ornaments on a Christmas tree. He claimed to have deployed 2,000 members to protect nearby property.

But the funeral, when it passed, did so peacefully. The mourners flowed endlessly by, outnumbering the whites by about 1,000 to one. As the hungry crowd moved along the highway a few roadside shops were looted of food and burnt. A maize field was picked empty of corn and a vegetable patch was looted. Hungry youths toyed down the road, chewing on carrots.

Fred Johnson, a white resident watching the thousands of blacks stream through his suburb, said: "It's OK with me as long as they don't mess with my wife's grave."

The cemetery remained largely intact despite a crowd of well over 50,000.

But outside Mr Hani's home in Dawn Park, one man was shot dead as several thousand people later moved on from the cemetery to pay their last respects to the family. The police said he had been throwing stones. Mourners said the police fired indiscriminately. A pall of smoke rose toward the cemetery after youths torched a shop.

In Cape Town, President de Klerk told parliament that the continued political violence "carries within it the spark which could ignite a devastating conflict in our country."

Mr de Klerk said: "We must not allow the crisis of the moment to force us off course."

Accusing the ANC, the SACP, and Cosatu of releasing "new tension and anger" with its recently announced programme of mass action to hurry the pace of negotiations he said: "It can set the stage for further violence, looting and disorder... It can further polarise South Africans at a time when it is essential that we should be rallying around the political centre."

Earlier the parliamentary speaker, Eli Louw, had refused an opposition request to suspend the day's debate until after the funeral. The Democratic Party walked out in protest.



A demonstrator flips upside down as others fall to the ground fleeing police buckshot and tear gas outside Soweto's soccer stadium

— PHOTOGRAPH: GREG MARINOVITCH



focus on parliament

A YEAR AGO today, *Sowetan* carried a story on its front page under the headline: *ANC's voice echoes in Parliament.*

Mr Pierre Cronjé and four of his colleagues had on April 21 left the Democratic Party to join the ANC and became independent members of Parliament.

The five — Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Dave Dalling, Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr Robert Haswell and Cronjé — could not sit as ANC MPs for many reasons, among which were the fact that they were not elected to Parliament on that basis.

They remained, however, in Parliament as independents, primarily because the ANC was not and is still not registered as a political party.

Known as the famous five to everyone except former colleagues in the DP, to whom they are known more as the farewell five, the ANC-aligned independent MPs have changed the paradigm of debate and argument in Parliament since their cross-over.

Their speeches are a lot more activist-oriented than leadership- or politician-like. During debates they speak often of the injustices of the State in the black community and greater South Africa than of policy, but all the time as activists.

While Van Eck is well-known in Cape Town's townships — he has for many years been an activist and human rights campaigner in the black community and has more than once been arrested or teargassed by police — Cronjé and Haswell have done human rights work in the Natal Midlands, where most of the violence in that province is concentrated.

'The dog on a short leash'

When they first joined the movement Momberg and Dalling were relatively new to ANC politics but had both informally and for a number of years leaned closer to the ANC than those members of the DP who still remain.

Cronjé's reasons for joining the liberation movement — and his four colleagues agree — are summed up perhaps in a tale he tells of "the dog on a short leash".

A dog, he says, is tied down on a short leash. The liberals will write a protest poster and demonstrate that it is wrong and unjust to keep a dog tied on a short leash. The reformist National Party will lengthen the leash, Cronjé says, but only the liberation movement will free the dog.

The five were joined later in the year by two MPs from the rapidly-becoming-defunct Labour Party, Mr Sam Louw from the Western Transvaal and Mr Artur Roper from Alra Park on the East Rand.

The seven have in a small way represented the ANC's voice in Parliament. In his first speech as an ANC member, Cronjé said that while it was an honour and a privilege for him to speak as the

One year ago the ANC had five members — DP defectors — in Parliament. Today the organisation, though still not a political party, has a stronger voice, reports **Ismail Lagardien:**



IIA ~~IIA~~
Sowetan 23/4/93



ANC's Harry Gwala ... peaceful?

first ANC member in South Africa's Parliament, that privilege should have gone to, among others, Mr Oliver Tambo or Mr Nelson Mandela.

Haswell is the firebrand of the seven. He believes, for example, that the notion that the ANC's Natal leader, Mr Harry Gwala, is militant and bloodthirsty is NP propaganda.

Peaceloving

Haswell believes that Gwala is one of the country's most peaceloving and conciliatory "and intelligent" leaders — and he tells Parliament this regularly.

In a speech on Wednesday, the first anniversary of his joining the ANC, Haswell pointed out that President FW de Klerk was not the *de facto* president and that Mandela was.

During his speech Haswell was particularly

scathing in an attack on an NP member of Parliament, Mr Johannes Maree.

"The honourable member for Klip River (Maree) has now twice verbally assassinated Harry Gwala and I say to him enough is enough. While your president (De Klerk) warns of a race war, Harry Gwala painstakingly tells the people that this is not a race war," Haswell said.

Earlier in the same speech, Haswell, addressing De Klerk, said: "Mr *de jure* President (Mandela is the *de facto* president) we are not asking you to lay down your life (as Mr Chris Hani did) but we are asking you to join the chorus of millions who demand that you, too, say: 'Hamba Kahle Amabhunu'..."

Between Haswell and Cronjé, more Zulu words and phrases have perhaps been used in Parliament than ever before.

Eulogy

Ending off a splendid eulogy for Hani, also this week, Cronjé said: "Hamba Kahle, comrade. Hamba Kahle Umkhonto."

Cronjé remains humble about speaking as an ANC member in Parliament, remembering always that he was not elected in this capacity, but says the biggest frustration is that when De Klerk attacks Mandela in the Chamber, the balance of power prevents him from defending the ANC president.

In a joint statement released on Wednesday by the seven ANC-aligned MPs they sum up their year of "comradery".

They have been ostracised by their former colleagues and constituents and are still being treated in Parliament as lepers, the statement, obviously written by Momberg, says.

"But that is a small price to pay in comparison with so many comrades.

"Outside of the struggle it is customary and sexist to express the 'behind every man' bit of tokenism but a woman's place is in the struggle.

"In fact, most of our wives joined the ANC well before we did. So alongside, if not well in front of every comrade, stands a woman."

Most of Momberg's children have been members of the ANC for many years. Dalling's wife joined the movement when it was not very safe to do so.

A CENTRAL committee meeting of the South African Communist Party tomorrow is likely to give the first clues as to who will succeed slain general secretary Chris Hani.

Whoever assumes Hani's mantle may preside over an upsurge in support for the SACP, which is riding a wave of sympathy after the assassination.

A Markinor survey of political opinion shows that 31 percent of blacks would perhaps vote communist in an election, while eight percent would definitely vote for the SACP. The figures for the Pan Africanist Congress are 23 and six percent respectively.

Officially, the SACP leadership has not begun to think about who will be the next general secretary. The issue is likely to appear on the agenda of the party's strategy conference in May, but party sources say initial discussions will take place at this weekend's political bureau and central committee sessions.

The short list will probably include the following:

Sam Shilowa. Highly articulate, he has been the assistant general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions since 1991 after a meteoric rise through the ranks of the Transport and General Workers' Union. His massive shaven head and deep, resonant voice were much in evidence during the Hani memorial march and the lying-in-state in the FNB stadium. Whether exhorting marchers to

Who will replace Hani?

W/Mail 23/4 - 29/4/93

remain peaceful, or leading 70 000 people in the singing of *Hamba Kahle Umkhonto*, he looked the leader.

But Shilowa is reportedly being groomed for Cosatu's top job when Jay Naidoo stands down.

Raymond Mhlaba. An old party stalwart who was a Rivonia trialist and a member of Nelson Mandela's inner circle on Robben Island, Mhlaba is a popular figure regarded as a solid party man. But because of his age, his appointment as general secretary would be no more than a stop-gap measure.

Jeremy Cronin. Politburo member Cronin, an able speaker and the party's leading theoretician, is also unlikely to

A number of contenders could replace Chris Hani as SACP chief, but his deputy, Charles Nqakula, is the frontrunner.

By **STEPHEN LAUFER**

make the running. He is an academic, and he is not an African. He has said on more than one occasion that he is "happy being an intellectual".

Thenjiwe Mthintso. Once a close confidante of Steve Biko's, Mthintso is well-liked, not least for her credentials which include a stint in Umkhonto weSizwe and as ANC representative in

Uganda. A member of the SACP's inner circle, she has been tipped by observers as a "woman to watch".

She is a good public speaker and a member of the party's negotiating team at the multi-party talks. But she is unlikely to make the top position because she is still "ideologically immature", as one observer put it.

Blade Nzimande. Described as "very articulate and an exceptionally clear thinker who takes the crowd along with him", Nzimande is deputy ANC chairman in the Natal Midlands.

But Nzimande is also described as being ideologically close to hardliner Harry Gwala. As one party insider put

it, "he lacks the roundness and stature required of a general secretary".

Charles Nqakula. The party's deputy general secretary. Described as "a very able organiser," Nqakula is said to lack oratorical brilliance. Colleagues say he is most suited to the role of the number two, as anchor and backstop to more charismatic figures like Hani or Shilowa. But they feel confident that he would grow with the task, and he is being tipped to emerge as the frontrunner. He is likely to accept the job, if somewhat reluctantly.

Nqakula was banned in the 1980s and confined to Ciskei. Having become involved in ANC and SACP underground work, he was sent for military training in the Soviet Union, later taking charge of the MK operations in Lesotho set up by Hani.

Fixed



There is no time left

Guardian/W in W/mail

23/4-29/4/93

COMMENT

THE DEATH OF Chris Hani, buried tumultuously on Monday, at Boksburg is a crucial moment in South African history. We cannot tell yet whether it will be remembered as the prelude to a fresh crisis of violence or as the spur to a renewed search for the right way. But everyone from President de Klerk to the Sowetan teenager waving an ANC flag knows, logically or instinctively, that it puts South Africa at the crossroads. ~~III~~ ~~III~~

It was predominantly the black community which mourned Chris Hani, guarded by ANC marshals who have begun to show — not before time — a more convincing sense of organisation. Though white individuals also mourned, the dominant image has to be that of their apprehensive residential suburbs guarded by heavily-armed police and soldiers. An event of this kind was bound to place the fragile new links of inter-communal understanding under terrible strain. Circumstances have compounded the damage. Regrettably, no conspiracy theory can be regarded as too far-fetched in the murky underground of white South African politics. The arrest of a leading figure in the Conservative party suggests what many have long suspected. Extremism of the kind practised by the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) may be merely the visible outcrop of a more centrally located conspiracy against democratic change.

There is always a temptation in these situations to blame "extremists on both sides". For too long this has been a convenient alibi, obscuring the structural links between

the government, the security forces, and acts of provocative violence which have more recently come to light. The ANC leaders as much as those of the National Party now have their reasons for seeking to locate the "trouble-makers" on the fringe of their own ranks or beyond.

But there is simply no point in labelling an unemployed, uneducated black youth in Soweto, armed with a club and prepared to use it, as an extremist. Such people in their many thousands are the logical product of a system where schooling has been disrupted and underfunded for decades and where discrimination in housing, health and jobs is part of everyday existence. Very little has changed here in the three years since the white government began to repeal apartheid. Whatever remedial efforts are made nothing will change significantly until that government too changes.

"Speed is of the essence", said Nelson Mandela. He recognises correctly that his own gradualism has been overtaken by events. Haste of course carries its own dangers. A gradual process of transition towards majority rule if initiated, for example, 30 years ago after Sharpeville, would have been a far safer course of action. Nor will a shift in the political balance of power lead easily or quickly, without dislocating the country's economy, to the transfer of resources needed to improve life significantly for most blacks. But the logic of Mr Mandela's specific demand for "an election date now" is overwhelming and should be vigorously supported from abroad. South Africa has already waited far too long.

*Hani buried, page 6
Stanley Uys, page 12*

Tension mounts as Hani is buried

Guardian/W in W/Mail 23/4-29/4/85 (11A) (824)
WELL over 100,000 mourners attended the funeral rites of the former ANC guerrilla leader Chris Hani in South Africa this week. At least 25 people died in political violence accompanying the burial. Two white men were burned alive in a house close to the funeral service, and 19 people were victims of random shootings by hit-and-run gunmen in Sebokeng township. During the burial of the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, who was assassinated outside his home in Boksburg at Easter, the ANC president, Nelson Mandela, criticised the white minority for the security situation and urged the formation of peace brigades in Mr Hani's honour. In Cape Town President F W de Klerk told parliament on Monday that the continued political violence "carries within it the spark which could ignite a devastating conflict in our country". Meanwhile the former head of Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist squad, George Churchill-Coleman, is in South Africa to help oversee the police investigation into Mr Hani's death. Janusz Jakub Waluz, a Polish immigrant, and Clive Derby-Lewis, a Conservative MP, are being held in connection with the killing.

WHEN African National Congress youth leader Peter Mokaba was shown on television chanting "Kill the boers, kill the farmers", the reaction of the ANC leadership was swift and sharp. On prime time television, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said this was no more than Mokaba's personal view. It was a pointed rebuke.

When a banner went up in front of the podium at Sunday's Chris Hani vigil, proclaiming that "Winnie and the women of the PWV" were mourning for this "revolutionary", it was quickly removed by officials.

These actions were part of a bid by the ANC leadership to isolate those among its ranks who are questioning the organisation's commitment to negotiations.

The ANC's strategy after the Hani assassination — to channel the rising anger and frustration into demands for

swifter, more tangible progress in negotiations — has been overwhelmingly supported by the national leadership.

And they believe the correctness of this strategy has been borne out in the past week.

But they are concerned that the speeches of the "dissident group" — represented most clearly by Winnie Mandela, Mokaba and Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala — are being used by ANC opponents to undermine the organisation and they are alienating whites.

"The last thing we want to do is get into a racial slanging match with the far-right. And Peter's statements played to that gallery," one senior ANC representative said.

So the leaders are freezing out these individuals. Mokaba was unable to address the funeral on Monday, ostensibly for reasons of time, although he was advertised as a speaker.

Winnie Mandela is hardly ever given ANC platforms any more, but it was notable that she travelled to Natal last Wednesday to address a Gwala rally. And Gwala went to the western Cape to speak at a rally organised by Tony Yengene, the western Cape leader who has called for an end to negotiations.

Without naming anyone, South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo slapped them down in his Monday speech. "Those, whether in or out of our organisation, who see killing as the only answer can never step into Hani's shoes. Unlike these demagogues, Hani did not say things to get a cheer," he said.

Some ANC leaders are going so far as to push for stronger action to contain these "dissidents". "Debate is good and healthy and one of the great strengths of the ANC is its internal democracy. But we cannot allow individuals to undermine ANC strategy for their own personal gain," one ANC/SACP leader said this week on condition his name was not used.

But it was Gwala, Mokaba and Transkei

When the earth shakes, the tree tops vibrate

W/Mand 23/4 - 29/4/93
The African National Congress leadership is trying to contain the war talk in its ranks. But the outcome rests in President FW de Klerk's hands. By ANTON HARBER and FAROUK CHOTHIA

leader General Bantu Holomisa, with a fiery and defiant speech, who were the crowd favourites at the vigil and funeral. Their messages had the audience handing out ovation after ovation and Mokaba made full use of his toyi-toyi skills to revive a weary crowd at 10pm on Sunday.

It was not that their speeches were so militant. The attraction lay more in their firebrand deliveries — compared in particular to Nelson Mandela's statesmanlike and more aloof demeanour.

Gwala did not do much more than call for a consumer boycott, but Holomisa went further, calling on people to take up arms "whether you have licences or not".

When he spoke at the vigil on Sunday, Mokaba was tugging at the leash, going as far as he could without bucking ANC policy.

"We are waiting for a presidential order for the young lions to act," he said, signalling that the young lions wanted to act but would only do so when — not if — the ANC told them to do so.

In an interview this week, Gwala supported Winnie Mandela's recent call for the militant youth to take over the organisation, though he denied wanting to oust Nelson Mandela. "He is an outstanding leader of the organisation. What people are saying is give him more young blood to support him. "It (the call) means we must inject new blood into the organisation because there is a tendency in any organisation that as people grow older they become more cautious to the point of missing the mark.

"What they (Winnie Mandela and Mokaba) said was very mild compared to what people, particularly the youth, are saying among themselves."

Gwala wants "a pause in negotiations. In the absence of that, people should hasten

change through mass action".

Northern Natal chairman Aaron Ndlovu takes a harder line. He proposed that the ANC form "retaliation squads or avenging angels to hit at targets identified as being responsible for assassinations".

The matter was held over by the executive for discussion at a later stage, but Ndlovu said that if it was not accepted he would support Gwala's call for a special ANC conference.

Gwala wants a consultative conference to review negotiations strategy. "The majority of regions want a conference. The executive must set a date," he said. According to the ANC constitution, a conference must be called if five of the 15 regions request it.

ANC national leaders are confident they can hold off this challenge, but only if there is swift progress at the negotiations table. "The Hani assassination fell on to fertile ground," one senior ANC strategist said.

"It brought out a feeling that had been simmering under the surface for some time: that three years of negotiations had not changed anything.

"If we don't show some tangible progress soon, the voices calling for an end to the talks will gain ground."

But ANC leaders believe those who want an end to negotiations have misread the situation. The overwhelming number of ANC members may be angry and frustrated, but they want a quick settlement — and they don't want violence and disruption.

They argue that the tripartite alliance with Cosatu and the SACP is stronger than ever, with unanimity on the correctness of ANC strategy. None of the alliance partners favours breaking off talks.

It is striking that the "dissidents" are not articulating an alternative strategy. They are saying that talks should be broken off without suggesting what the ANC should then do to pursue its aims. This makes it easier for the central leadership to dismiss their calls as demagoguery.

This is a mistake, argued Ndlovu. The regions are only reflecting the feeling among the grassroots; ANC head office is out of touch with this.

"If there is any movement from the soil, the roots are the first to pick it up. The tree tops must vibrate to indicate movement in the soil and that's why we are vibrating now," he said.

The outcome, ironically, lies in the hands of President FW de Klerk. If he continues to dismiss the ANC's new demands, then the voice of frustration will become stronger.

If he allows Nelson Mandela to take something tangible back to his constituency as evidence of the fruitfulness of negotiations, then the ANC president's strategy will have been vindicated — and talks will continue.

Weekend Mail

ARTS ★ ENTERTAINMENT ★ BOOKS ★ LIFESTYLE

Cultural weapons at the ready

W/E Mail 23/4 - 29/4/93. (11/11)

Cultural boycott rules and regulations may have been done away with, but some old habits die hard. IVOR POWELL reports in the run-up to the ANC's Culture and Development Conference this weekend

LIKE most debates around the future of culture in this country, the furor surrounding the African National Congress' upcoming Culture and Development Conference is full of sound and fury. What it actually signifies is a different question altogether.

The CDC — scheduled to take place under the auspices of the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) at Johannesburg's Civic Theatre between April 25 and May 1 — is, in its own words, "a major initiative ... to rally South African cultural stakeholders from all spheres of life together with international observers to contribute jointly to the formulation of a comprehensive and equitable arts and culture dispensation for an emerging democratic South Africa".

It sounds grand and noble enough. But the direction taken by the CDC has led to wails of protest in the cultural community. The reasons are as tortuous, as complex and, one might add, as essentially depressing as these things usually are.

But they come down to a series of simple accusations: that the ANC's DAC is once again trying to control the course of cultural development in this country. That the DAC is trying to subordinate the interests of culture to its own political interests. That it is trying through the back door to take away from cultural organisations freedoms hard won after the hacking to pieces of the ANC's ill-starred cultural desk.

Ironically it is organisations which the DAC itself set up after the failure of the desk which are most concerned about what is going on.

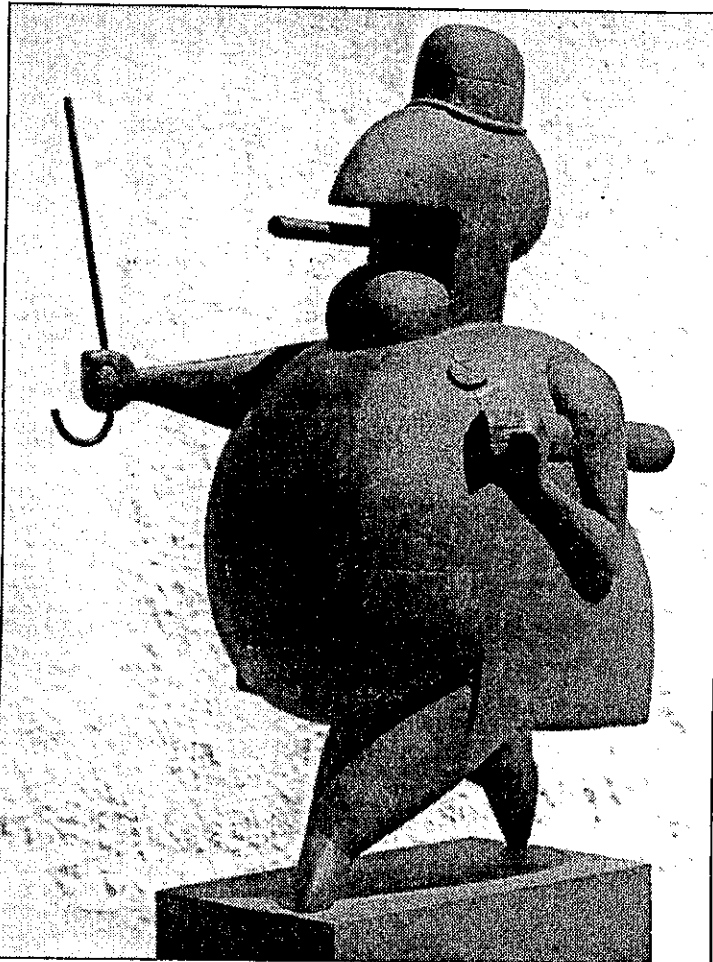
In the aftermath of the neo-Stalinist disaster of the late 1980s and early 1990s that was the cultural desk, the dominant thinking in the ANC on culture has been that it should function within the realms of civil society. Art should no longer be seen as the bludgeoning weapon of the struggle it became in the years of the cultural boycott. Instead a new, progressive, politically non-aligned vision should be nurtured and allowed to take root more or less independently of political parties and in advance of the new democratic society.

Of course the ANC has been neither consistent nor unambiguous in its commitment to these goals. But, to cut a long and often darkly comic story short, such discipline-based cultural organisations have taken strong root over the past half decade, notably in the fields of music, film, drama, literature and dance. While loyal to the anti-apartheid movement, groupings like Sama, Fawo, Pawe and Cosaw have focused increasingly on the interests of artists rather than on the interests of politicians.

During the course of last year, a series of meetings between the new generation and representatives of the old regime led to the National Arts Policy Plenary (NAPP). Here it was decided, among other things, to work towards the formation of a non-aligned national body representing practitioners in the field of arts and culture. This would represent the cultural community in relation to present and future governments. The initiative would culminate in a convention to be held in December 1993 where a very wide range of groupings, all the way from the performing arts councils and the Federasie van Afrikaner Kultuur to the left wings, would come together to frame arts policy.

Co-ordinator Mike van Graan defended the guiding eclecticism thus: "It wouldn't be democratic unless those other interests were also represented. The whole thing will be guided by a signed statement of intent committing participants to basic democratic values."

However, this approach has led to its own set of difficulties. For example Pawe, while being prosecuted by the state for holding demonstrations at Pact, was sitting in committees with Pact



Cultural commissar ... A sculpture by Bruce Amott strikes an appropriate note

representatives under the NAPP banner. The NAPP initiative had not only the blessing of the DAC, but in fact came about in accordance with often reiterated ANC policies and was blessed with official messages of DAC support.

In practice, the NAPP failed to operate in terms of the nod-and-wink rules which were supposed to oil the wheels of the independence of the cultural organisations from the parent DAC. DAC chief Wally Serote was, for example, reportedly less than charmed by the fact that the DAC was granted only observer status at the NAPP, and made his displeasure clear.

But the National Arts Initiative (NAI) — which grew out of the NAPP as it broke up into regional committees to strategise the future — stuck to its guns. A recent position paper emanating from the proto-organisation spells it out: the NAI states it does not "belong to, associate itself with or favour any political party or movement".

The document goes on at some length to spell it out even further. It rejects party political or state pressure in decision-making; it insists that

any funding should be strictly no-strings-attached; that "the arts should not be controlled by or subjected to party political interests but rather that arts practitioners should themselves determine how state resources for the arts should be allocated"; that meetings with political formations should be merely consultative and of a report-back nature, not under any circumstances to discuss policy.

In other words, from the commissarial point of view, the NAI is guilty of what might be construed as the most distressing literalism in relation to the concept of independence.

Such shows of independence, as well as concerns that the NAI was dealing with apartheid structures at the expense of the real interests of its liberation past, had led to a series of stand-offs and conflicts even before the NAPP was held. But it was during the course of this year that a series of crunches came, resulting in formal complaints against DAC head Wally Serote being lodged with senior members of the ANC's national executive committee.

On one particularly notorious occasion, Sama representative Rashid Lanie was kicked out of a meeting of supposedly "fraternal" organisations

with the DAC. Let us spell this out: a meeting with those non-aligned and non-sectarian organisations which the DAC had helped to found — to which he had been invited as Sama representative.

Apparently it was discovered that Lanie was not an ANC member.

At the same meeting, which was chaired by ANC chairman Oliver Tambo and which had been called, ostensibly, to heal rifts which had grown between the ANC and the organisations, the ANC's cultural representative on the national working committee, Cheryl Carolus, called on the organisations in question "to walk the last mile" with the ANC to the ballot box. Subsequent calls have reportedly been made by DAC representatives, though not in their official capacity, for the NAI and its member groups to subordinate their own interests to those of the ANC's election campaign.

Far from walking arm in arm singing together into the sunset, though, relationships have merely deteriorated.

The *Weekly Mail* understands that an internal ANC investigation has been launched into the activities of the DAC and in particular into the actions of DAC head Wally Serote. Growing out of the Lanie incident and various complaints from other organisations, including Pawe and Fawo, the prevailing unhappiness was further fuelled by a bizarre anomaly which came to light when it was discovered that the DAC, in its role as cultural commissar, had given its blessing to the glitzy opening of the Lost City while most of the rest of the ANC alliance was actively boycotting it.

As it has turned out, ranks have been closed and the inquiry held over until after the CDC. But only after letters of apology — at the behest of Carolus and ANC Department of Information and Publicity chief Pallo Jordan — had been dispatched to offended individuals.

Meanwhile the CDC has been breeding its own problems for the future. Originally conceived (notably by the DAC's Jonathan de Vries) as a conference on culture in a sense of the word which is strictly distinguished from the arts, it was to have focused on issues relating to development: how the ANC would strive in policy formation to do away with the inequities of apartheid and promote democracy, etc, and on such issues as heraldry, language policy and the new South African flag.

Subsequent to the series of clashes which arose out of the NAI's headline stance, however, its direction has been substantially changed. It will now involve itself directly in areas relating to arts policy and the administration of the arts in the hypothetical new South Africa.

More than this, the DAC was due, on the day after this article went to press, to announce the nomination of a board of trustees to oversee the development of culture in the new South Africa. The appointment of the trustees will, according to insiders and if all goes according to plan, constitute a kind of shadow arts council for a post-election South Africa.

But, despite appearances, according to DAC spokesperson Mewa Ramgobin, such an intervention should not be seen as sectarian in nature.

"The DAC has decided on its trustees in consultation with its allies, and the board is an instrument of civil society," he insisted.

How the board could be ANC-appointed, independent, non-sectarian and representative of civil society all at the same time, Ramgobin explained by pointing to the track record of the DAC and its history of fighting apartheid and of having long designated culture as an area of activity appropriate to civil society.

THE ECONOMY AND MASS ACTION

Lighting a fire

FM 23/4/93
IIA

There are three official public holidays in April, and three more in May (one of which, happily, falls on a Saturday). On top of that, we have already had one national "day of mourning" for Chris Hani, plus another extensive stayaway on the day of his actual funeral; and now we are faced with a six-week "rolling resistance" programme, which threatens even further harm to the economy.

No reasonable person will object to the proper show of respect to a man who, whatever his background, in recent months was a tireless worker for conciliation and peaceful reform, cut down in such an abhorrent, barbaric way. And one must beware of simplistic assessments of how much the economy "loses" by holidays and stayaways, which sometimes seem to be calculated in no more sophisticated a manner than simply dividing annual GDP by 365.

But the fact remains that an economy facing its fifth year of recession just does not need these additional shocks to the system. And they come when, for the first time, there are signs that some fundamental problems are being overcome.

Inflation, for example, despite the latest blip in PPI (see *Economy*) and an imminent boost from the higher Vat rate, seems to be under control at last. Internationally, even though not all the portents are favourable, there is hope that the US, UK and Japan at least may be over the worst.

If a political settlement could bring renewed access to IMF and World Bank facilities, even the balance of payments squeeze that has taken over from inflation as the main reason for Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals's continued tight monetary policy could be relaxed.

But whatever the fundamentals, no economy can grow unless those who take economic decisions enjoy a feeling of confidence in the future. And even if the tragic events of the past fortnight have concentrated the minds of politicians (from all points on the spectrum) on the need for a settlement, they can only have heightened businessmen's lack of confidence.

That, in the long run, is far more serious than any loss of output or wealth creation caused by stayaways and other mass action. Experience has shown that, within reason, lost output can be recouped remarkably quickly; deferred investment decisions can take not just months but years to make up. The key phrase, of course, is "within reason" — occasional days are one thing, but a programme extending over six weeks goes well beyond the bounds of reason.

Then, it's all very well to say (with justification) that the unrest of the past week has been a lot less than many people feared, and to commend the

ANC marshals for their handling of a near-impossible task — mostly, with a good deal more sensitivity than the security forces showed.

Trouble is, even one TV shot of burning houses, overturned cars and rampaging mobs is one too many — which, of course, is no argument for not reporting what actually happened. There's no long-term benefit in conning foreign businessmen about the state of our society.

What is significant about the rampaging mobs is that they consist largely of the lost generation of unemployed youth, who have nothing to lose by disrupting — even destroying — a system that gives them nothing. The *FM* has said before, but it cannot be repeated too often, that this will be one of the most intractable problems facing any new government.

The suggestion of a Peace Corps-type youth corps is a good one; but even if it's named after Chris Hani, there is little point in even considering it till a transitional government is in place. Any action by this government would automatically damn the idea in the minds of the masses, raising comparisons more with Hitlerian forced labour than the contemporaneous similar projects of the US New Deal.

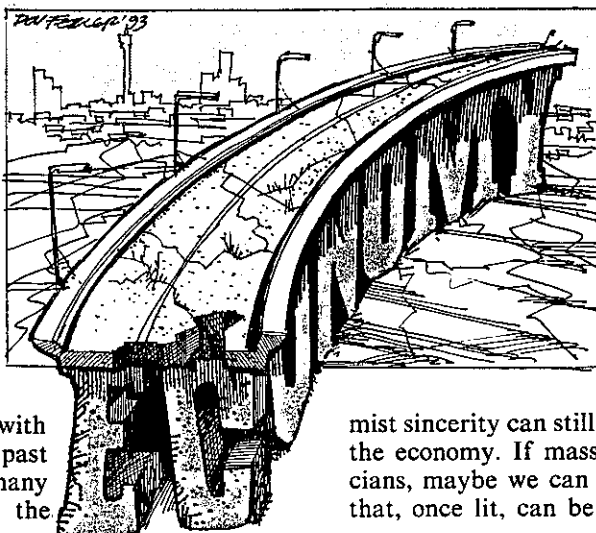
And it can never be more than a palliative, a short-term expedient to keep people off the streets and give them some sense of dignity. It can neither create nor form part of a soundly based sustained period of genuine economic growth.

It's significant, though, that the suggestion has been endorsed by senior ANC figures, indicating that the economic education of the ANC has progressed another important stage. Having already come to accept the importance of a vibrant private sector, they are now coming to realise that in future they will bear the brunt of unfulfilled expectations.

The assassination of Chris Hani has no doubt swung some black potential voters from the ANC to the PAC, but is unlikely to have a decisive effect on the first election under a new constitution.

But, as in their different ways both post-colonial Africa and post-communist eastern Europe and central Asia have found, the second election is what counts. If too many expectations remain unfulfilled, the extremists move in. The ANC won't want that; nor will the business community. As the white government becomes more and more a lame-duck regime, so the interests of business and the ANC — and the economy as a whole — will converge.

Only lingering (and understandable) fears of government's reformist sincerity can still justify ANC actions that will damage the economy. If mass action lights a fire under the politicians, maybe we can live with it for a while; but fires like that, once lit, can be difficult to put out. ■



STATE OF THE NATION

11A

FM 23/4/93

Searching for the centre



The fear in Johannesburg and the Reef towns on Monday was palpable and vivid. The people who live there have been through some tense times: the Rand Revolt of 1922; the Ossewa Brandwag

brawls of the Forties; the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre and the attempted assassination of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd in the early Sixties; the 1976 Soweto uprising; the States of Emergency of the Eighties; and the volatile mass action of the Nineties. But it is doubtful whether any of these periods saw the widespread tension experienced on Monday, the day of the funeral of murdered SACP chief Chris Hani.

The black stayaway from work was almost total, despite previous declared days of mourning on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday. By early afternoon even big department stores in the great modern shopping malls had closed their doors. The centre of Johannesburg, strangely quiet for a Monday afternoon, saw a steady stream of white workers and executives heading early for home.

The mainly white suburbs and towns were eerily deserted, with few cars on the streets and even the corner cafes closed. People went home and locked their doors. A silence descended, of a kind not normal even on Sundays and public holidays, and broken only by the occasional sound of a police helicopter.

To be sure, some householders — those along the route of the Hani cortege, and in the vicinity of the cemetery and the Hani home in Boksburg — had something definite to fear. They were understandably anxious; some took elaborate and fearsome precautions. But the lives and property of the overwhelming majority were not in any exceptional danger — yet the fear grew and was almost tangible. In other cities, too, there was an unusual tension.

The explanation may be that a sea change has finally taken place in our politics. We have entered possibly the most dangerous and fragile phase of the transition.

What has happened is that the ANC has demonstrated that it can do much as it likes. But, as this realisation has sunk in, the ANC has also found that its power, too, is not absolute — even though it steadily subverts the instruments of governance and good order. It does not have the strength to overthrow the government. In turn, the Nats may seem to control the firepower, the civil service, the keys of the kingdom — but they can too easily be prevented from maintaining

order and protecting lives.

This situation has, of course, applied ever since the ANC was unbanned and its president Nelson Mandela released from prison — but the death of Hani has finally stripped away the illusion.

The result is paralysis. It has been expressed in various ways. Last week Mandela appeared on national TV to appeal for calm, just as if he were head of State. Hani's body, said ANC spokesman without a trace of irony, would "lie in state" on Sunday; SA was effectively compelled to mourn for over a week. These are words and arrangements normally associated with a world statesman like Winston Churchill. By giving Hani this status, the ANC was sending a message to the country and expressing its perception of our politics.

By Monday the shift was almost complete. The political centre of gravity was on the East Rand, relegating the proceedings of parliament to a sideshow — and those who watched on TV knew it.

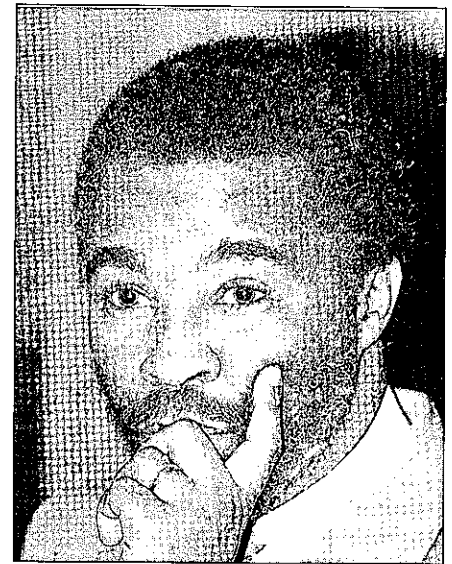
Whereas on Saturday President F W de Klerk had spoken with reasoned assurance about events following Hani's murder, on Monday evening his performance in parliament seemed uncertain and pointless. Mandela assumes the trappings and the manner of power, but takes no responsibility; De Klerk is in charge but not always in control.

By Monday evening the dominant political image was not of parliament — the dignified seat of sovereignty, whatever its flaws.

It had been replaced in the common mind by the vision of a Putco bus, windows shattered and probably hijacked, plastered and with young township radicals waving



Mandela ... time to tackle the mob



Mbeki ... moderation a liability?

clenched fists — immune to the rules of the road, the law and the ANC leadership, even to thoughts of their own safety.

This is why fear swelled. People did not, generally, feel any threat of direct assault from the Hani funeral proceedings. But they did get an intimation of anarchy. The fact that, in SA terms, the day went off relatively peacefully was no consolation.

None of this is De Klerk's fault. Indeed, it is remarkable that he has sustained his presidential role for so long; without his courage and honesty, he might not even have survived long in office after February 1990. His problem is that his party's apartheid policies have left a massive moral deficit which whites are still paying off (and the ANC is still spending freely on credit).

In Los Angeles or Bombay or Beirut, looters and arsonists run the risk of being shot by police. It is the accepted way, because society cannot tolerate such subversion of law and order. Condone the looter and nobody's property is safe; the next step is the collapse of social order.

Yet it is clear that, on Monday, our security forces were not instructed to protect property; they would only do their best to save lives.

For not a few innocent bystanders — one of whom was burnt to death in his own house — their best was not good enough. The reason is simple: there is a massive political cost whenever a black is shot by police. De Klerk feels he must avoid paying it wherever possible; history has never been on his side.

The irony is that the police and army are quite capable of keeping order, without resorting to the excesses of the Eighties.

Our security forces have the necessary training, discipline, command structures and equipment. But it is now abundantly clear that they cannot do the job — and therefore that the threat of anarchy will constantly loom — till they are placed under the control of a civilian authority composed of all the major national players.

Joint control of the security forces is essential. It must not be resisted by whites simply because the ANC demands it. But nor can joint control be established simply by forming a committee: it must result from the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

At a stroke, the police would then cease to be "De Klerk's police" — they would be Mandela's and Ramaphosa's as well, and if possible Buthelezi's. They would be able to act legitimately — ruthlessly, if necessary — against murderers, looters and arsonists, without fear of being pilloried and insulted by representatives of "the people." Violence would be dramatically curtailed.

Chilling prospect

Another irony is that government has already agreed in principle to setting up a TEC; indeed, there is a sense in which it would dearly love to lock the ANC into co-responsibility for the security forces. The mechanics of doing so are precisely what is being negotiated at the moment. Both sides have something to lose: the ANC parts of its constituency, the Nats their nominal control.

Apart from the chilling prospect of anarchy that emerged on Monday, many people must have been disturbed by the performance of the ANC leaders and their allies in the past fortnight.

Mandela was statesmanlike and dignified on Monday, and on TV the previous week. He did much to assert his authority. But he is no orator, and it therefore remained likely that his stature was outweighed among the youth by the calculated and vicious ranting of the ANC Youth League's Peter Mokaba and Mandela's estranged wife Winnie.



Hani mourners ... hitting the road



Sexwale ... romance and responsibility

Cyril Ramaphosa — cool, intellectual and correct — appeared composed. But he appeared to lack authority. Has he grown in the powerful position of secretary-general to someone of whom the masses might be in awe? Unlike Hani, he has not become a popular idol; a tough negotiator, certainly, but perhaps better suited to the bargaining table than the hustings. He will soon need to assert authority — and be seen to do so successfully.

Tokyo Sexwale was thrust into prominence partly through his organising role as the ANC's PWV chairman and partly through being a close friend and neighbour of Hani. He appeared to relish the limelight and his MK uniform; the crowds seemed to accept him. But his speeches were sometimes reminiscent of those by SRC presidents on unruly campuses — long on romance and short on responsibility. His sensible appeal for the ANC to avoid racial revenge attacks was undermined by his reckless assertion that government was linked to Hani's murder.

Thabo Mbeki, perhaps the most urbane ANC leader and certainly the least threatening to whites, was not in evidence on Monday: was his moderate image regarded as a liability on such a volatile occasion? The only other personality to make any impact was Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who must have appalled many Christians with his lack of dignity and his inflammatory remarks. Anger is one thing: making a clown of yourself is another. The Church, with a TV row of toyi-toying priests, did not make a good impression on Monday.

And that was about it, the best the alliance could offer in a dramatic and dangerous week. It was not the performance of a government-in-waiting.

Mandela has made it clear that the ANC is still committed to negotiations — but what is not clear is how confident the ANC leadership is about its support. Not having been tested at the polls, it is not sure just how much appeal the PAC has for the restless youth.

By Tuesday afternoon nobody in the ANC

had dared to condemn the outrageously inciting remarks by Peter Mokaba and Winnie Mandela about killing white farmers. Lame references were made to people speaking in "a personal capacity."

Untempered by electoral politics and the intractable demands of office, the moderate ANC leaders appear to confuse too easily the ranting of the demagogues with the rationale for a policy.

They respond too quickly to romantic "struggle" verbiage. In an attempt to placate the mob and retain its support, they rush to supply more rhetoric and promise more mass action.

Sooner or later the ANC, if it is to inherit a country rather than a smoking ruin, will have to reckon with the mob. It is the mark of a great politician that he is capable of divining what the silent majority wants and acting to achieve that, while having the courage to ignore and isolate the vocal and intimidating extremists. No ANC leader has yet shown such qualities — though Hani had made a good start.

"Speed is of the essence," said Mandela in demanding an election date to be set; he noted that "forward movement can no longer be held hostage to narrow party political interests." De Klerk has repeatedly given such views.

So what's the problem? It is simple: each side is hoping that the other will blink first, will make compromises in crucial areas such as regional powers in a future constitution. Whether they blink or not is a matter for their judgment.

But they should not be rushed: there is an equal danger in proceeding with undue haste (rather than good speed). Haste can lead to foolishness, most dangerously in the kind of settlement which might so upset Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party that Natal would be torn apart.

Radical goodwill

There is little doubt that the vast majority of South Africans want the thugs and radicals marginalised; people want to be left in peace to go about their business free of intimidation.

They do not expect miracles but they do want progress. There remains, in the country at large, a remarkable amount of racial goodwill and understanding — and an increasing suspicion of the politicians.

What De Klerk and Mandela need to understand is that they will be stronger together than apart, and that the broad mass of people will support them. The choice between war and peace is, essentially, theirs to make together.

All reluctant parties should consider Lord Palmerston's defence of the radical 1832 Reform Bill, which he regarded as necessary, even if undesirable:

"Those who seek to check improvements, to cherish abuses, to crush opinions, and to prohibit the human race from thinking, will find their weapon snap short in the hand, when most they need its protection."

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Negotiations 'have to be speeded up'

B10m 23/4/93
BILLY PADDOCK

MULTIPARTY negotiations had to be speeded up, a 10-member planning committee decided at a meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday.

Chairman Zam Titus said: "We are now all really aware that people want to see results following the events of the recent past." The committee was considering a draft resolution on the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hani and the effect this had had on negotiations.

The committee meets again today to formulate recommendations for the negotiating council meeting on Monday.

Titus said a report from a subcommittee was tabled yesterday dealing with violence and the transitional process. This would be discussed today and a draft report presented to the council on Monday.

The report on the transition is split into three parts, viz: recording the Codesa agreements with qualifications, where applicable, under seven headings; a recommendation to form technical committees to draft resolutions on issues such as an independent electoral commission; and recommendations on violence.

□ Sapa reports from Cape Town that President F W de Klerk met KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday. Their joint statement said they had discussed a wide range of issues and cleared up misunderstandings on constitutional matters. Their meeting would facilitate multiparty negotiations, they said.

● See Page 8

"TIME is running out. . . . The situation is unstable and the economy is under great threat. That is why we have to move quickly to keep to the timeframes of the transition schedule and get a settlement," Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said this week.

President F W de Klerk said in Parliament there was no doubt about government's commitment to the speedy finalisation of the process.

The ANC talks of the need for "great urgency" that the process be hastened to achieve a settlement within six weeks. This, says secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, "is quite practical and conceivable given the consensus that exists among the major players".

Chris Hani's assassination has injected a sense of urgency into the process if it was not there before. The ANC and government, though, speak as if their programme for the transition is the only one on the agenda. They neglect to take into account the substantial opposition from Inkatha and its allies who reject the notion of transitional structures.

The fact that polls indicate that together they enjoy majority support might explain their belief that they can gently bulldoze the lesser players into line. Their desire to do so, though, is explained by the uncer-

Pressure on to pick up pace

BIPM 23/4/93

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tainty of the process, the instability and the questionable ability of the centre to hold.

De Klerk's poor performance in Parliament during his Budget vote also indicated how much he relies on progress in negotiations to keep his constituency focused on the process. In November, when announcing the NP timetable, he warned that if some parties did not co-operate he would be forced to find alternative ways to keep the process moving. Sources close to De Klerk say he will carry out this threat if necessary.

The ANC leadership is speaking the same language for the same reason. Hani's murder unleashed an almost anarchical frustration among the militant youth. ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba reflected their lack of confidence in the negotiating process when he said three years of negotiations had produced nothing but the loss of life.

The two major players realise that they have to force the pace or they might lose control. But they have not yet completed the procedural work or even found a name for the negotiating forum as they have tried to

BILLY PADDOCK

keep the process as inclusive as possible and to accommodate the misgivings and suspicions of smaller parties like Inkatha.

Negotiators in both camps say their parties have rethought their negotiating strategies. They are now waiting to see what stances Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group take. Clarity on the PAC's position is also awaited.

If, as is likely, an agreement is not immediately in sight, government and the ANC will have to weigh up the costs and implications of moving ahead without one or more of Inkatha, the CP and the PAC — whose armed wing's campaign of violence has been attracting support from disenchanted ANC youth over the past three months.

The major players have to decide which strategy lends itself better to long-term stability and success. If they want an all inclusive settlement

they will have to forgo speed as parties in the Concerned South Africans Group seek to bargain for a transition on their terms. The alternative is to hold the centre together with the participation of as many parties as possible and swiftly move ahead. Early indications are that they will opt for the latter and risk an Inkatha walkout.

They want Inkatha in. The other homelands, they believe, can be dealt with through financial pressure. The CP is probably dispensable. But excluding Inkatha raises the possibility of the "Savimbi option".

For that reason, the ANC and government are struggling in bilaterals with each other and with Inkatha to come up with an offer Mangosuthu Buthelezi will accept. If he rejects a "reasonable" offer, they would want him to be seen to be a spoiler and become the target of domestic and international pressure.

The process looks fragile. Speed is of the essence, but it has to be embarked upon with caution so that it is not derailed. As the old cliché goes, "More haste, less speed."



□ MEYER

Star 23/4/93

ANC speaks out against plan to occupy schools

By Phil Molefe
Education Reporter

11A

The ANC said yesterday it did not support the occupation of white schools but added that the education crisis must be addressed "before it explodes".

"We believe that the education forum is the most constructive way of dealing with these problems in an orderly fashion and we reiterate our call that it must be instituted as a matter of extreme urgency. The depth of the crisis cannot be over-emphasised.

"The education crisis must be addressed before it explodes," the ANC said.

The southern Transvaal region of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) warned recently that it would target white schools this week to force the Government to meet its demands, which include the scrapping of exam fees, negotiations on teachers' salaries and the delivery of learning materials to township schools.

Right-wing organisations have warned of a backlash if the plan to occupy white schools goes ahead.

FM 23/4/93

(11A)

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Only the efforts of a handful of ANC marshalls and commendable restraint by hundreds of police and troops prevented far higher casualties. At least one person was shot dead by police and several wounded.

Rioters attacked and robbed white pedestrians, including a UN observer who was stabbed, and assaulted ANC economics spokesman Trevor Manuel, a former United Democratic Front leader in the western Cape. They burned cars and motorcycles, smashed windows, looted shops and burned down kiosks on the Grand Parade.

Part of the problem was bad organisation. About 30 000 people came to the CBD for a memorial service at St George's Cathedral. But plans changed at the last minute and a march was turned back to the Parade. However, there was no public address system at the Parade and, while the crowd milled around impatiently, militants and criminals went into action on the fringes.

Meanwhile, ANC and church leaders were in the cathedral for the service. Eventually, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu cut it short so that clergy and leaders could hurry to the Parade to help restore order.

But, as was pointed out in an article in the *Cape Times* this week by Canadian Prof Heribert Adam, now teaching at the UCT Business School, the damage had already been done. "There was nothing more to lead. The crowd had led itself. In the past the (ANC) leadership was afraid of the brutalities of the apartheid police. Now the hesitant church procession had reason to be scared of its proclaimed following."

But the roots of the crisis go deeper. The ANC in the western Cape has long been riven by factionalism. Regional chairman Allan Boesak was essentially installed to attract coloured support but has failed to do so significantly. The ANC is generally considered to have minority support in the western Cape.

Regional secretary Tony Yengeni is considered a militant. He called for multiparty talks to be called off after Hani's death. Adam wrote that Yengeni believes negotiations have "demobilised the people." During last week's riot, he is reported to have warned that if the police shot at anyone "the town will be burned down."

Adam wrote that political literacy, let alone tolerance, could not flourish under such agitation. He accused the ANC, even more than the NP, of having failed so far to prepare its constituency for the inevitable politics of compromise. He says the rioting had little to do with venting "the people's anger." It was more a welcome opportunity for marginalised and alienated township youth.

"Unemployed and with little hope for the future, in forlorn shacks surrounding a glittering city, smashing the symbols of affluence seems the only way of self-empowerment." Adam says that even with joint control over security forces, it will be hard to suppress such sentiments in the absence of real improvements in opportunities. ■

CAPE POLITICS

The politics of envy

FM 23/4/93
Allegations of a local leadership crisis, suspicion of the motives of national leaders, lack of grass-roots cohesion and increasing militancy in the face of political setbacks have been levelled at the ANC in the western Cape. This follows last week's botched memorial service for Chris Hani, which spilled over into the worst civil unrest central Cape Town has ever seen.

Nqakula tipped for SACP's hot seat

Star 24/4/93

A SUCCESSOR for Chris Hani as general-secretary of the South African Communist Party will be discussed at today's meeting of its central committee. In terms of the party's constitution, the deputy general-secretary, Charles Nqakula, will be acting as the general-secretary.

(11A)
Election of a new general-secretary should take place at the SACP's general congress, which is due only next year. But the date for the congress could be brought forward.

Several candidates have emerged as Hani's successor but informed speculation is that Nqakula — a close confidant of Hani's — will emerge

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Correspondent

as the new general-secretary.

Other names mentioned include Rivonia trial accused and SACP deputy chairman Raymond Mhlaba.

Others are ANC Midlands deputy chairman and central committee member Blade Nzimande, Cosatu deputy general-secretary and central committee member Sam Shilowa, and SACP central committee member Thenjiwe Mtintso.

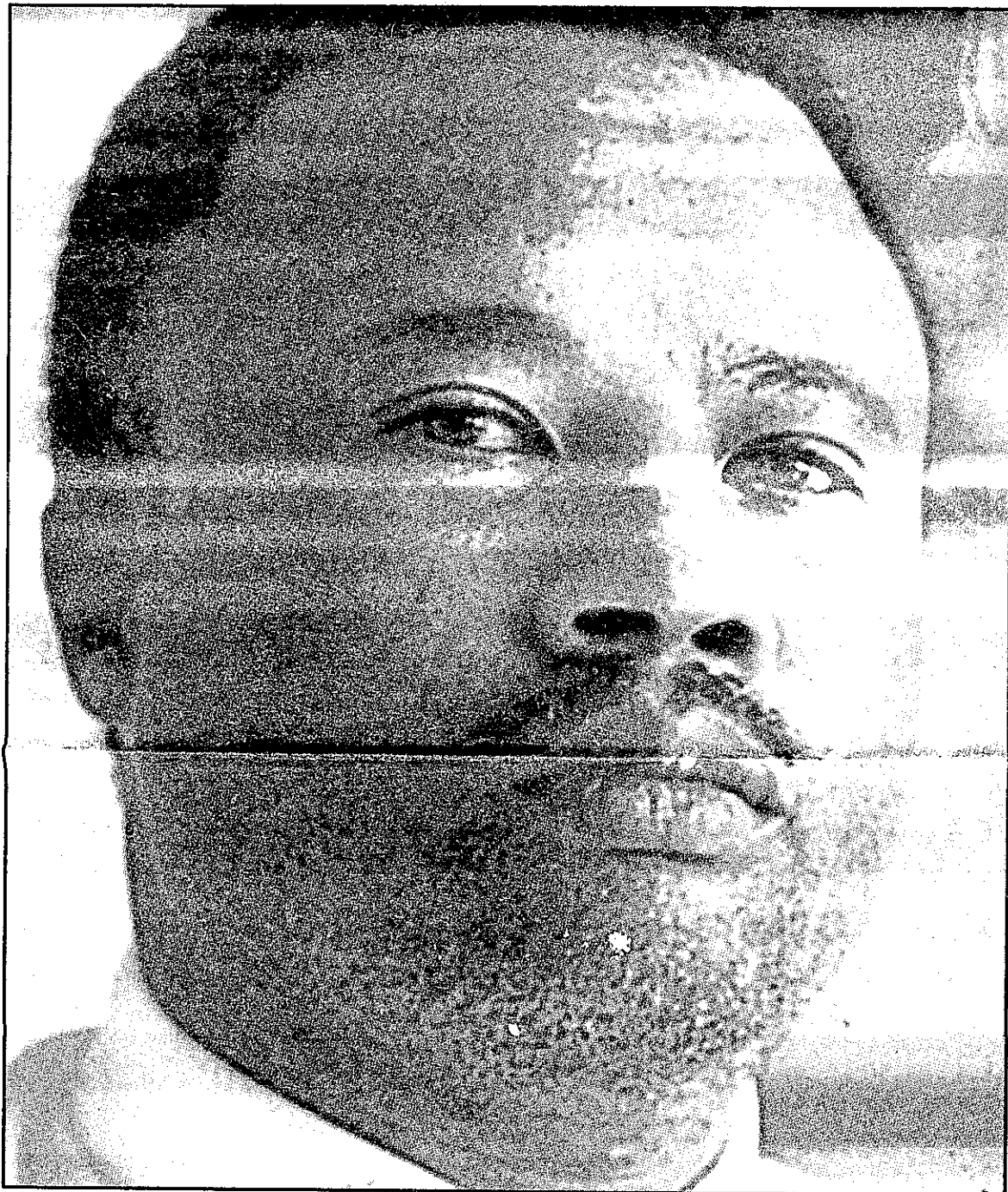
Nqakula, a former journalist, was banned in the 1980s and restricted to Ciskei. He later left the country for military training.

Win the
Community
Chest
competition
— details
on page 3

SOUTH

24 April 1993 Price 80c (incl VAT)

NEWS FOR NEW TIMES



STICKING TO HIS GUNS: ANC regional secretary Tony Yengeni, who was blamed for encouraging last week's mayhem in Cape Town is defending his hard line

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

'PEOPLE WANT REVENGE FOR CHRIS HANI'

South 24/4 - 28/4/93

11A

TONY YENGENI is sticking to his guns. Not that he wants a return to armed struggle. Not yet. But the man who got the flak for the mayhem at Cape Town's Chris Hani memorial service is defending his hard line.

Speaking to SOUTH on his return from Hani's

funeral this week, Yengeni described what the murder meant to him.

"Chris and I were like brothers. His death was a double blow for me. I feel very empty inside and it is a problem

trying to ensure that his death has no destructive influ-

ence on me and my politics."

The militant secretary of the Western

'But I have never called for looting and killing'

Cape Region of the ANC and member of the SACP says he

stands by statements he made last week after the assassination.

He warned that Cape Town centre could be burnt down, and accused the ANC of negotiating

grave. In his interview with SOUTH, Yen-

geni also said he had no regrets about appearing on a platform in

Knayellsha last weekend with Peter Mokaba, leader of the ANC Youth League, and Mrs Winnie Mandela.

He denied that this had painted him as a political cartoon associated with

turn to page 3

South Scan

Your space to find out what's on in the Cape

Bush Radio

Search your dial on Sunday 25 April for Bush Radio, on air for the first time from 4 to 8pm. The unlicensed pirate station will broadcast to Cape Town in English, Xhosa and Afrikaans.

The community-based station says it is adding a small voice to the popular call for freedom of the airwaves.

Tel. Bush Radio at (021) 448-5450

Malcolm X

The ANC will be hosting the premiere of Spike Lee's film, "Malcolm X", at the Luxurama cinema in Wynberg next Wednesday. Tickets for the film, which starts at 7pm, are available from Computicket and Luxurama.

MK funeral

The funeral of Umkhonto we Sizwe member and ANC employee, Mr Malungisa "Khaya" Simane, will be held at the Rabie Stadium (near Nyanga East post office) on Saturday at 10am. Simane was allegedly shot dead by police wearing balaclavas in Nyanga East two weeks ago.

Sport

The National Olympic Committee of South Africa visits Cape Town this weekend for the first of a series of meetings to evaluate Cape Town's bid for the Olympic Games in 2004. The executive committee will also visit the other two bidding cities, Johannesburg and Durban, throughout the year. The final choice of city will be made by Nocsa in January 1994.

Homeless conference

Homeless People's Dialogue, a federation of 150 informal settlements in the country, is holding a national workshop in Cape Town this week-end.

The workshop, to be attended by 140 delegates, all of them homeless, will seek to find ways of uniting their different savings groups to build some financial muscle.

If you want to advertise an event in this column, phone Quentin Wilson at 462-2012 or fax details to 461-5407

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SAVE OUR JOBS: Teachers from Oval North High School in Mitchells Plain demonstrate outside the home of their principal, Mr Naiem Kassiem, on Wednesday. The teachers, who also staged a sit-in in their staffroom on Tuesday, have been fighting for the job security of eight temporary teachers at the school for several months. Photo: Yunus Mohamed

Teachers face the axe

By Diane Coetzer

HOUSE of Representatives schools are once again on the edge of chaos following instructions from the Department of Education and Culture that several hundred teachers be retrenched.

In spite of a commitment to halt its controversial rationalisation plan, the DEC informed principals last week that in terms of the new staff establishments — quotas of staff allowed at every school — they would have to lose teachers.

Almost every school is affected by the cuts, with schools in Stellenbosch being particularly badly hit. Luckhof and Cloetesville have been ordered to retrench 17 and 14 teachers respectively.

Among the others, Groenvlei will lose 14 teachers, Grassy Park 13, South Peninsula eight and Woodlands nine.

The move has drawn angry reaction from principals, teachers and parents, who are currently engaged in a flurry of meetings to plan a response to the crisis.

During the coming week, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) will conduct strike ballots in schools nationally over the retrenchments and the five percent wage increase.

Its western Cape strike council met this week to prepare for the ballot-taking and parent-teacher consultative meetings on the issue have been taking place for several weeks.

Western Cape leaders say they do not know if they can contain teachers' anger until then.

"Our offices have been flooded with calls from desperately worried and angry teachers who don't know if they will have a job after July 1," said Sadtu's regional chairperson, Ms Vivienne Carelse.

Carelse said the department was engaged in "serious mischief-making".

Sadtu-aligned principals report that inspectors are visiting schools armed with the new staff establishments and a copy of Sadtu's recognition agreement with the DEC.

The signatures of senior Sadtu officials are shown as "proof" that Sadtu agreed to the establishments.

"This is blatantly untrue," an angry Carelse said.

"Sadtu never agreed to either the early retirement deal as has been alleged or the revised staff establishments.

"Our March 25 meeting with the department was purely an information-gathering exercise and we in no way viewed it as a consultation around the rationalisation.

Carelse said that, as Sadtu had predicted, principals and school committees would have to do the

dirty work of the department as responsibility was placed on them to choose the teachers to be axed.

DEC spokesperson Mr Claude Adriaans said the department had not been informed of any claims about inspectors abusing the recognition agreement.

Adriaans said the planned reduction in staff numbers was to bring the actual staffing in line with the revised establishments which form the basis of the rationalisation programme.

Teachers holding redundant posts will qualify for a prescribed retirement package.

"It is the aim of the department to act in a reasonable, justifiable and circumspect manner," he explained.

"The entire procedure affecting individual teachers will be negotiated with the individual schools. No teacher will be compelled to accept early retirement".

NP ministers get 'free' holidays

By Justin Pearce

MINISTERS in the House of Representatives (HoR) are being treated to overseas holidays under the guise of fact-finding tours, according to sources in parliament.

Tours for cabinet ministers in all three houses of parliament cost South African taxpayers R2,7 million in the last financial year, state president FW de Klerk admitted in Parliament last week.

The lavish holidays were introduced after the National Party took over the House of Representatives, said Labour Party MP Mr Desmond Lockey. Previously all ministers qualified for two first class overseas airtickets on South African Airways routes yearly: one each for the minister and his wife. This perk covered only travel costs.

But since the NP takeover in the HoR, the ministers, deputy ministers and their wives have been treated to extensive trips, with accommodation and other expenses paid

from state funds.

"This is De Klerk's way of rewarding these MPs (who defected from the LP to the NP) for giving him control over the House of Representatives," said Lockey.

Of the R2,7 million, by far the majority was spent on HoR MPs. The HoR is half the size of the House of Assembly.

Lockey said the "greater part" was spent on holidays for Mr Abe Williams, Mr Gerald Morkel, Mr Cecil Herandien, Mr Peter Saaiman and Mr Andrew Julies.

Morkel and his wife flew back from a holiday in Canada to attend a one-day NP caucus in the eastern Transvaal, and then returned to Canada to complete their holiday, Lockey said. Additional return airfares alone cost taxpayers R30 000.

After repeated requests for comment, House of Representatives spokesperson Mr Thinus Dempsey said he was having difficulty getting the required information from the appropriate ministries.

'Flag' winner gives books to library

DAVID Hlongwane, 31, plans to give the four dictionaries he won in SOUTH's recent Design-A-Flag competition "to a library serving my people in Zwelithemba, Worcester".

The books were donated by Oxford University Press.

Hlongwane, a freelance artist studying part-time to be a printer, was judged the winner out of a large range of entries.

The money he won in addition to the dictionaries will go towards preparing artworks he is sending to an exhibition in Norway.

A former political prisoner,



WINNER: David Hlongwane receives his prize from SOUTH editor Guy Berger

Hlongwane began art in jail in 1984. His work ranges from a large mural painted on a mirror in a workers' canteen to designs for magazine covers.

● Due to late entries, SOUTH will re-run the competition. Watch for details next week

'People want revenge for Hani's death'

SOUTH

24/4 - 28/4/93.

Continued from page 1

Mokaba's "kill the boers" slogan and Mandela's calls for revenge.

"This does not mean I endorse calls for revenge, which incidently I did not hear, but people have to acknowledge that this is a widespread sentiment on the ground."

Yengeni said of his controversial remarks ahead of the disastrous Cape Town memorial: "Yes, I did tell the police that the response from the grassroots is very, very angry, and that we reserve the right to demonstrate this anger openly."

"I also told the people that they must respond if the police use too much force," he says.

"But there have been no calls for looting and killing from my side", he stresses.

"What I said has been said over and over again by the ANC leadership. This view is reflected in defence units set

up by the ANC, but which Hani during his last days argued for to be turned into a peace corps.

"The point I tried to make to the police was that in our view the establishment, the regime, has helped foster the instigation of Chris's assassination.

"We are angry and reserve the right to express it. He was not just another leader, but a topdog, and in the eyes of many of us, the next president.

"At the same time I was one of those who said the anger should be challenged through mass action in a positive and constructive fashion."

Yengeni said if he had any strategy to kill police and burn down the city, it would amount to putting himself at risk.

Instead, he says, he actually endangered himself that Wednesday by putting himself between the people and the

police at one point.

He says he tried to lead the masses away from the places where looting and robbing was going on by criminal elements.

Yengeni is worried that criticism of his remarks could be part of a broader strategy leading to his and other more radical leaders' assassination.


"And that brings us to the question of how many of our leaders have to be assassinated still before we pose the question of reopening the debate about the armed struggle."

Yengeni points out that he is not arguing for the continuation of the armed struggle, but stresses that the anger and frustration with Hani's supporters runs very deep.

"On the ground there are a lot of revenge calls, they want to strike back. And this question is, for them, a legitimate one. We have to channel that anger."

— **Christelle Terreblanche**

PAC blames agents, criminals, apartheid

11A
By ~~Quentin Wilson~~ 

AGENTS provocateurs sponsored by the state, a criminal element and apartheid were to blame for the chaos on "Black Wednesday" last week on the Grand Parade, the PAC said this week.

PAC spokesperson Ms Patricia de Lille said the chaos "could have been a lot worse", considering the intense anger of people following the assassination.

South 24/4 = 28/4/93
De Lille claimed the PAC had 400 marshals, but acknowledged that the crowd had not been channelled constructively.

"It was very difficult to channel that anger while calling for calm and discipline. It gives the impression that you are insensitive to the brutalities people face," she said.

While unable to deny that some PAC members were responsible for part of the looting and violence, De Lille said that undisci-

plined behaviour by PAC supporters was minimal.

"Surely, if PAC members were involved to the extent suggested, especially by the media, there would have been injuries and arrests of PAC members.

"When we checked with hospitals and police, there were no PAC members on their records."

De Lille said she had received no reports of ill-discipline within the PAC.

PARADE VIOLENCE AFTERMATH

Cosatu admits march 'problems'

SOUTH 24/4-28/4/93 (11A) (75/12) (7/15)
 By Quentin Wilson

ALTHOUGH the ANC alliance has yet to assess what went wrong at last Wednesday's memorial events for Mr Chris Hani in Cape Town, Cosatu regional secretary Mr Jonathan Arendse acknowledges serious organisational shortcomings.

These shortcomings contributed to two deaths, hundreds being injured and extensive damage.

Apart from a lack of marshals to control the huge crowd, Arendse points to other factors which contributed to the day's chaos.

These include:

- no suitable venue for the memorial service;
- no effective public address system on the Grand Parade;



JONATHAN ARENDSE

- the early arrival of many mourners, and
- heavy-handed police action.

"The biggest problem was that there were not enough marshals and there was no effective communication between marshals.

"This communication weakness

must be addressed."

Arendse says church leaders arranged Hani's memorial service at St George's Cathedral.

He denies that most leaders were sitting inside the cathedral when the looting and arson began.

"Most of us were outside. I did not even realise the service had gone ahead until later that evening. The service was shortened so that all our leaders could be outside."

Arendse says regional leaders were scattered all over the Parade but the lack of a sound system hindered them from taking control.

"The police should also shoulder most of the blame. They could have stopped shooting when people ran away. Instead, they fired until they had no ammunition left," he says.

A case of follow the leaders no more

South 24/4-28/4/93

Cheryl Hendricks, a political scientist at the University of the Western Cape, explains why the ANC lost control in Cape Town last Wednesday:

APRIL 14, 1993, the day set aside to mourn the tragic death of the liberation movement's popular and respected leader, Chris Hani, will surely earn a reference in the annals of Cape Town's history.

Sadly though, unless another side of the story is told, it will be remembered as a day on which mayhem reigned and one on which complete anarchy was avoided only by the brutal action of the security forces.

Accusations are being flung around as people attempt to make sense of what happened on the Grand Parade.

Regional ANC leaders, in their attempt to distance themselves from the events, blame the looting and violence on thugs and the PAC, some using the categories interchangeably.

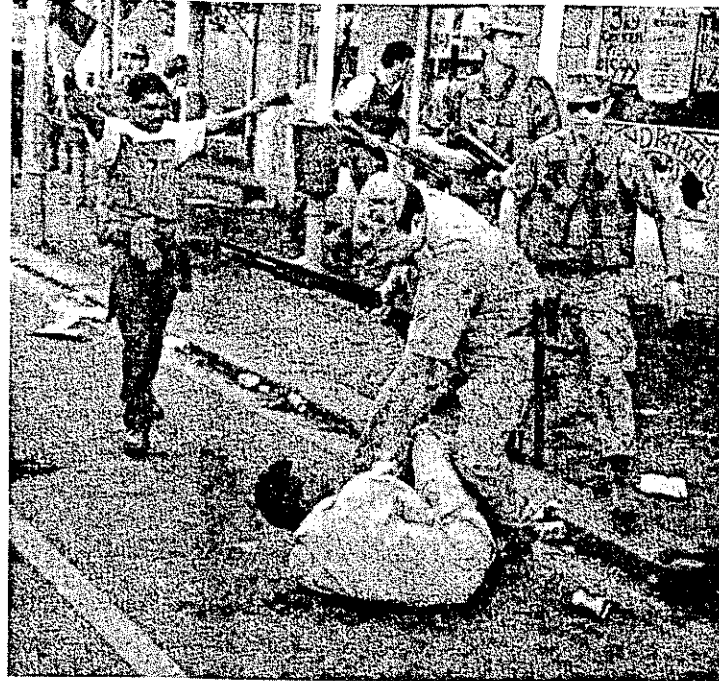
Others blame the police for unnecessary provocation while some have enough guts to blame the organisers of the memorial service who provided no feasible programme or leadership during the course of the day.

We have begun to lose sight of the initial purpose of the march — to mourn Chris Hani, show our condolences with the Hani family and to indicate our support for the struggle he sacrificed his life for.

Instead of bickering about who is to blame, we need to make a systematic assessment of the strengths and weaknesses, gains and losses of the day's events.

The sheer number of people, in excess of 100 000, who came to show solidarity with Hani was a major achievement for the liberation movement.

The organisers grossly underestimated the popularity of Hani and support for democracy and justice in the Cape. This was the first time, since the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990 that the liberation movement's Cape organisers had succeeded in gathering so



NABBED: Police arrest a suspected looter on the Grand parade during last Wednesday's memorial activities to honour slain SACP general secretary Chris Hani

many people for a single event.

Hani's death provided them with a catalyst to galvanise support for the coming elections. The levels of sympathy for the cause and frustration and anger at the government needed to be channelled into constructive organisation instead of allowing them to dissipate into lawlessness.

A further strength of the day was the united action between ANC and PAC activists. For the first time in the recent history of the Cape, there was a marked unity between the two organisations' supporters, all of whom came to mourn the death of Hani.

It was a moving experience, indicating that the loss of Hani was not felt only by the ANC. More importantly, it indicated that unity could be achieved within the liberation movement.

It is thus callous and short-sighted of ANC

regional chairperson Dr Allan Boesak to blame the PAC for the violence.

These off-the-cuff statements will be detrimental to future co-operation between the two organisations, co-operation which will be needed if the ANC wants to prevent the National Party from gaining a majority in the Western Cape.

It is erroneous to assert that "the lunatic fringe" or "thugs", "not our people", were responsible for the looting. Is the ANC saying that the underprivileged cannot find a home in the organisation?

The ANC needs to re-think this elitist position as, in a regional economy where in excess of 40 percent of the population is unemployed, these people form a substantial part of the Cape's voters.

A more accurate assessment (without attempting to justify the behaviour of those

who looted) would be for the leadership to acknowledge that they were ill-prepared to deal with the crowd.

Their contingency plan was to divert people to the Parade — unaccompanied by marshals. The people had to wait for two hours before anyone came to address them. When the leadership finally arrived, the sound system was inadequate.

The ANC has sufficient experience of organising marches in the city centre to be able to predict the possible behaviour of some members of the crowd, yet no marshals were strategically placed to prevent shops being broken into. Instead the ANC reacted to a situation which could not be contained.

The claims are that people refused to listen to marshals and not even ANC national executive committee member Trevor Manuel had enough authority to instil discipline.

The broader issue which has to be dealt with is that South Africans are becoming increasingly insolent towards authority, including the authority vested in the liberation movement's leadership.

This is the result of a long process of rejection of the authority of the agents of government. The consequence of this is beginning to spill over into the liberation movement.

Visibly absent from the Parade were the buses from Mitchells Plain and Athlone, the coloured community, save the few committed activists and the unemployed.

No doubt, as some coloured people read the news, there must have been statements from them such as: "Ek het jou mos gesê, dit gaan gebeur" (I told you that would happen).

To what do we attribute their absence? Can we conclude that they did not wish to share in the mourning of Hani? I think not, for on the day of his murder many expressed anger at the deed. Once again an opportunity for mobilising this section of the community was missed.

We need to assess the loss of the calibre of leadership displayed by a person like Hani, but we also need to recognise and act upon the potential this situation provides us to effectively mobilise a broad spectrum of support and united action.

It is with this in mind that we need a cadre of leadership able to transcend petty politicking by channelling the people's heightened energies constructively.

Exiles find Parliament so stuffy...

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

NEVER in his 10 years on Robben Island did Leruma Kalako once think he would walk into Parliament as a voteless person to be entertained by MPs who were members of the ANC.

Neither for that matter did his comrade in the struggle for liberation, veteran ANC leader Mr Reggie September.

But this week the two former exiles went into the heart of the beast which the NP has used since 1948 to pass apartheid legislation.

They were not at the head of a chanting throng, faced by police with shotguns or police dogs.

The occasion was to mark the first anniversary of the ANC's presence in the House of Assembly.

Their hosts in Parliament's VIP dining room were five former Democratic Party MPs — Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Dave Dalling, Mr Rob Haswell and Mr Pierre Cronje.

There too was House of Representatives MP Mr Jan Louw, one of two coloured MPs now wearing ANC colours as do the five former DP members.

The rest of the company included militant ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and his deputy Mr Willie Hofmeyr.

The closest Mr Kalako, an Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier turned politician, had previously come to Parliament was when he led protest marches which ended outside the seat of government.

"This was the first time I'd been inside. If we agree to march to Parliament during our mass action campaign I hope it won't end at Parliament's gates — that we'll go in."

Mr Kalako, ANC deputy head in the Western Cape, said he didn't see much.

"My first feeling was that very soon this Parliament will be turned into a people's parliament."

He did see portraits of former prime ministers and National Party politicians. "They were the people who for years were eager to implement separate development which has crumbled."

He said the paintings should be removed and placed in an apartheid museum, along with other statues erected in honour of apartheid disciples, once a new government was in power.

Mr September said he looked forward to returning to Parliament "when our people are there and have the right to take part in debates and to pass legislation". He found Parliament very stuffy and pompous.

"I said to those chaps I hope our people will not be required to wear suits in summer. This is Africa. I know Parliament is a serious place, but we don't have to follow the British tradition."

Mass action mounts

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11A

By Christelle Terreblanche

"MASS action that is uncontrollable and results in anarchy alienates people.

"But in this coming campaign we are going to try and take everybody along, not only ANC and alliance members."

So says ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni.

He was speaking this week ahead of the ANC's announcement of a regional programme of mass action.

"Chris Hani's assassination brought together many people. And if we don't include them in our plans, other forces will divide us, something that could result in civil war."

He says the ANC is heeding the lessons they learned last Wednesday, when mass action

resulted in two deaths and millions of Rands of damage. They will ensure next time round that their leaders are deployed on the spot and that their marshalls are deployed more effectively.

Yengeni argues that if the mass action does not proceed, there will be a "massive social explosion".

"People will say I am a prophet of doom, which I am not. But the anger, violence and unemployment in the country are going to set the stage for a massive social explosion, which I am terrified of.

"People will be sorry that they left things in the hands of politicians and say we cannot govern the country.

"We want people from all sectors to come in now and lobby for a quickening of the pace of negotiations."



ALL MILITANTS: Mokaba, Mandela and Yengeni give fiery speeches at a rally in Khayelitsha last weekend

Photo: Andrew October

'Befitting a statesman'

SOUTH African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani — terrorist to some and guerrilla hero to others — was laid to rest at 2.50pm on Monday to a 21-gun salute.

As the official salute began, a number of mourners in the 50 000-strong crowd at the graveside took out their own firearms — AK47 rifles, pump-action shotguns and handguns — and fired their own tribute.

Hani's family and the ANC leadership filed past the graveside to pay their last respects to a leader whose death had come

close to precipitating a national crisis in South Africa.

Hani's funeral was dignified and disciplined — the ANC managed to pull off an event befitting the burial of a statesman.

The mammoth organisation entailed in the funeral ensured the memorial service at the FNB stadium and the graveside service ran smoothly.

ANC organisers and 14 000 marshalls managed to direct and control over 150 000 people who attended both gatherings.

Mourners were generally well behaved,

although there were incidents of violence around the stadium on Monday morning and later near the cemetery, where a shop was torched, a farm house and several Dawn Park residences looted.

While the security forces took action against stone throwing youths and looters, discipline and order was largely left in the hands of the tripartite alliance marshalls.

By 6pm there were no mourners left at the cemetery and only members of the tripartite leadership and other dignitaries were at the Hani home for the funeral reception



Plan your Festival with the Festival Booking Kit

The Booking Kit is a comprehensive guide to what's on, where to stay, how to book and how to get to the Standard Bank National Arts Festival. It includes all the booking forms you'll need as well as a Main Festival Programme of events, ticket prices, dates and performance details.

- The Booking Kit has details of the 1820 Foundation's discount travel package.
- The Kit also includes an application form for the Fringe and Film postal booking scheme. This will ensure that you are on the mailing list to book for productions which have been confirmed by mid-May.



MOURNFUL: Part of the crowd at the ANC's FishHoek memorial rally on Monday which was peaceful and disciplined
Photo: Yunus Mohamed

A new loud voice comes to the fore

REBEL-rouser Peter Mokaba may irk peace-lovers, but his fiery outbursts find resonance among black youths — many of whom still believe “the violent of overthrow of the racist regime” is not a pipe-dream.

The immensely popular activist may also cause embarrassment among a few people in the upper echelons of the ANC because of his militancy — but he is kosher in the eyes of one of the country's biggest potential voters — the “Young Lions”.

To them, Mokaba, 34, a married father of one, articulates their burning desires on how to deal effectively with the “apartheid regime”.

In such defiant mood, the legality of Mokaba's “revolutionary” utterances or whether they are not in accord with peace accords signed by the mother body, the ANC, is secondary — if not irrelevant.

Hence, Mokaba is unfazed by the fuss surrounding his calls in Khayelitsha last week that the young lions should “kill the boers and — being cutting edge of the revolution — should take up arms”.

But in such a violent society, the danger is that some youths might take Mokaba's message literally — and the violence might worsen.

However, Mokaba stirred the crowd attending Chris Hani's funeral with a brief

■ Peter Mokaba, national president of the African National Congress Youth League, is under fire for his militant speech in Khayelitsha last week. Weekend Argus Reporter **VUYO BAVUMA** looks at his background.

(11A ARGUS 14/12)
but emphatic toyi-toying and chanting session.

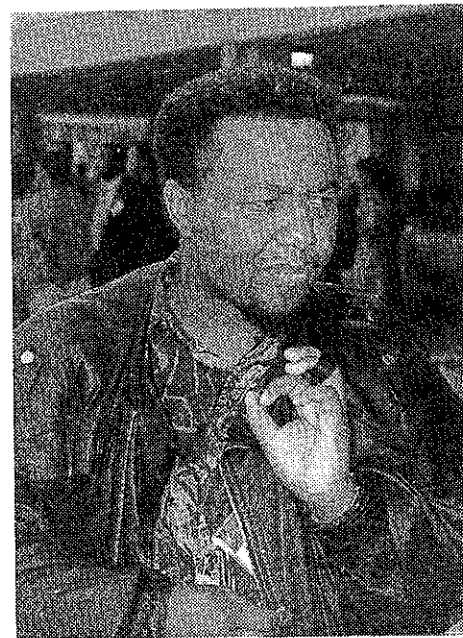
Within the ANC tripartite alliance, Mokaba's radicalism and desire for “action” are matched only by Natal Midlands' leader Mr Harry Gwala, whose militancy belies his ailing health, and Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of Nelson Mandela.

Like them, Mokaba, who is a first karate Dan, speaks the language of the youth — a constituency with more than 1,5 million members. He has another claim to fame: Mokaba perfected the art of toyi-toying at a time when the now well-known “war dance” was a novelty to many uninitiated comrades.

Mokaba's political career is not without controversy.

Like many comrades, Mokaba cut his political teeth at the tender age of 15 in the streets of Mankeng township near the ultra-conservative Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal.

The youngest of three children, Mokaba was detained several times, but was not deterred from his quest for a free, democratic and non-racial country.



CONTROVERSIAL REMARKS: Peter Mokaba came under fire this week.

He briefly studied for a B Sc at the University of the North, but swapped his textbooks for weaponry when he began military training under Umkhonto weSizwe in exile.

He slipped back into South Africa in the early 80s and, in 1982, was arrested and

sentenced to seven years' jail for terrorism charges, including furthering the aims of the ANC.

He was released in 1985 after winning an appeal but was charged for possession of a Makarov pistol. He received a suspended sentence.

After the unbanning of organisations in 1990, Mokaba's political star soared when he was given the task of transforming Sayco into the ANC's Youth League of which he became president.

Shortly after being re-elected, Mokaba survived a potentially-damaging smear campaign which claimed he was a Security Branch operative.

This week, Mokaba shot down the criticism — and the current police investigations — sparked off by his controversial remarks.

“I can't apologise for something that is not my creation. These songs are merely part of our struggle. I can't negate our struggle because the whites happen to be scared.

“We have been singing these for a long time. The ANC is fighting the system of the oppressive boers and we all know that.

“I'll only rest once Nelson Mandela is the president of South Africa,” he said.

Mokaba reiterated that he is still a loyal member of the ANC and followed the movement's ideals to the letter.

But, meanwhile, his utterances continue to project an image of “two faces” within the monolithic ANC.

Yengeni blasts nameless critics

^{SOUTH} TONY Yengeni strongly rejects the way he has been portrayed in some media, and has hit back at unnamed ANC critics quoted in Vrye Weekblad newspaper last week.

In the newspaper, an unidentified ANC source is quoted as saying: "Tony Yengeni is going crazy. He just wants to attack the police, kill them and he agrees with attacks on whites."

The source allegedly also

^{24/4 - 28/4/93} said: "Yengeni is deliberately leading up to a confrontation with the ANC's national leadership and wants to challenge them."

According to another anonymous source cited in the Vrye Weekblad, Yengeni and "his faction" are in favour of a Leipzig option (a people rising against the government).

Yengeni rejects this as well as other accusations that he is following an insurrectionist

policy. (1/A) ~~(S)~~

"The purpose is obviously to annihilate my good image, my person. It instigates political elements even within the ANC. This is similar to the instigation before Hani's assassination, tainting him as a blood-thirsty criminal.

"What worries me most is that the sources are purported to be within the ANC. Well, if this is true, I am up against something very serious."

SACP to discuss succession

ESTHER WAUGH (117) AEG 211493
Weekend Argus Political Staff

MEMBERS of the South African Communist Party central committee will discuss today a successor for Chris Hani as party general secretary.

In terms of the party's constitution the deputy general secretary, Mr Charles Nqakula, will be acting as the general secretary.

The election of a new general secretary should take place at the SACP's general congress, which is due only next year, but the date for the congress could be brought forward.

Several names have emerged for a possible successor but informed speculation is that Mr Nqakula — a close

confidant of Mr Hani — is likely to emerge as the new general secretary.

Names being mentioned include Rivonia trialist and ANC national executive member Mr Raymond Mhlaba. He is party deputy chairman.

Others are ANC Midlands deputy chairman and central committee member Mr Blade Nzimande, Cosatu deputy general secretary and central committee member Mr Sam Shilowa, central committee member Mr Thenjiwe Mtintso and ANC executive member and central committee member Mr Jeremy Cronin.

However, it is understood that Mr Cronin is not interested in the position.

ANC had ^(11A) 'action' plan

CT 24/4/93
EAST LONDON. — The African National Congress was considering some form of mass action campaign at least a month prior to the killing of Mr Chris Hani.

ANC national executive member Mr Raymond Suttner circulated a discussion document on March 11 called "Negotiation — site of struggle or site of surrender?" in which he urged further mass action to strengthen the ANC's bargaining position.

This week, after being pressed on the issue, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Manoepa said: "We all agreed that we need to get them (ANC supporters) more and more involved in the (political) process."

But he said the latest round of mass action was to channel anger following Mr Chris Hani's death. He said it followed demands from ANC regions for the implementation of Transitional Executive Councils and for an election date to be set.

But in the discussion paper, Mr Suttner said: "It is the people who must drive the process; it is the people who must decide."

'Real' talk

STAR 24/4/93

(11A) (11B) (11C)

After Hani assassination, a sense of urgency prevails

THE negotiation process has survived the crisis caused by Chris Hani's assassination, and "real" negotiations are set to start on Monday.

It was agreed at a two-day planning committee meeting which ended yesterday that urgency was essential.

Since Hani's murder two weeks ago, ANC president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk have made optimistic estimates about the timetable for the transition to democracy.

While the ANC wants an election date to be set and a transitional executive council (TEC) installed before the end of May, De Klerk said in Parliament this week that these issues could be agreed on "in six weeks".

It was agreed at Codesa that a TEC and various sub-councils would level the political playing field in the run-up to the first democratic elections for an interim government.

Speaking after the planning committee meeting yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said a TEC could be negotiated within the next six weeks.

ESTHER WAUGH, Political Correspondent

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa agreed that consensus on a TEC was attainable by the end of next month. The process was under pressure and the urgency injected in negotiations would produce results.

Democratic Party negotiator Colin Eglin said if agreement could be reached on the "overall constitutional principles then the mechanisms for installing a TEC can be met within the deadline".

However, Bophuthatswana government negotiator Rowan Cronje said his government was in principle opposed to a TEC. It wanted the multiparty negotiating forum to draft the constitution and hold elections before the end of the year.

Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said his party was opposed to a TEC with executive powers.

The key issue to reach agreement on remains the scenario for the transition. The Government and ANC — and their allies — want a TEC to be installed and

elections to be held for an interim government and a constitution-making body.

The Concerned South Africans Group, on the other hand, wants the new constitution to be drafted by the negotiating forum, after which elections will be held for a new representative government.

The planning committee's meeting marked the first time key negotiators had sat down together since Hani's murder. The two-day meeting at the World Trade Centre discussed the implementation of two resolutions on violence and the transition taken at the negotiating forum on April 1. Reports on both resolutions will be presented to the negotiating council on Monday.

It is understood that the report on the transition proposes forming four technical committees to make proposals on an independent electoral commission, an independent media commission, discriminatory legislation, and a TEC.

The chairman of this week's meeting, Transkei government representative Zam Titus, said: "We as negotiators have taken note of signals ... given to us to speed up the process. We will speed up the process." However, he stressed that negotiators would not "skim over" issues for the sake of merely adding impetus to the process.

Titus said there was "enough in the report to come up with constructive suggestions on the way forward".

 803
available




Reading Press

Chris Hani - in memory

Suppl to CIPress
25/4/93

A man prepared to die for freedom



DEATH always stalked Chris Hani, who had survived several assassination attempts in the past.

In 1981 explosives were placed under his car in Maseru, Lesotho.

The following year the SADF raided the ANC in Maseru. Hani was overseas for three months, but his house and family were also targeted. However, the soldiers made a mistake and fired at the house next door, missing his wife Limpho, and their three children.

At the time, the SADF released a statement insisting that Limpho had definitely been among the people killed during the raid. It turned out not to be true. The Hanis had once more survived.

Hani served in two liberation wars in southern Africa. As chief of staff of Umkhonto weSizwe he directed the ANC's armed struggle for five years.

"I've lived with death for most of my life," he said in a 1990 interview. "I want to live in a free SA... even if I have to lay down my life for it."

He first became an ANC



National Executive Committee member in 1974 at the young age of 32. At the time, the ANC was banned and in exile.

After the ANC and the SACP were unbanned in February 1990, Hani returned to South Africa. He caused a stir when he indicated that despite the talks with the government, power would be seized if whites were not prepared to give up.

Hani was born on 28 June 1942 at Cofimvaba, Transkei. He completed his Senior Certificate at the Lovedale Institute in Alice. He then attended Fort Hare and graduated from Rhodes University in 1962 with a BA in English and Latin. His love for latin was learned while at a Catholic primary school.

Hani then worked for a year as an articled clerk with a Cape Town law firm, but did not complete his articles.

While serving articles Hani helped the SA Congress of Trade Unions. This helped to broaden his understanding of the workers' struggle and of the need to redistribute the wealth of the country.

Hani joined the ANC Youth League in 1957 while at school in Lovedale. He was later suspended from Fort Hare for his involvement in protest politics.

The ANC was banned in 1960 and in 1962 Hani joined its military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), and became a member of its Western Cape leadership.

He was arrested in 1962 under the Suppression of Communism Act and sentenced to 18 months' jail. Later he was released on bail awaiting an appeal.

When the appeal was turned down early in 1963 he skipped the country to undergo military training.

He fought in Rhodesia with cadres of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, then crossed to Botswana. There he was charged with possessing weapons of war. He served two years of a six-year sentence before being released on parole.

During his time in Rhodesia,



Chris Hani understood the workers' struggle and the need to redistribute wealth in South Africa.

Turn to page 38

P.T.O.

My dawn patrol with Africa's leading gent

CI Press 25/4/93



DEEP TOLERANCE ... Oliver Tambo in deep conversation with City Press deputy editor ZB Molefe in 1984 in Gaborone.

By ZB MOLEFE

OLIVER Tambo was a gentleman politician who had a special respect for the black press.

This writer should know. It was in Botswana's Gaborone during the crucial 1984 Southern Africa Development Coordinating Committee (SADCC) summit when this aspect of Tambo's personality emerged.

The big guns in southern Africa's political scene were present: Nyerere, Mugabe, Machel, Kaunda.

And, of course, during such events in those days the press - local and foreign - trained their spotlight on the happenings. The ANC and the PAC came in as observers. In those dark apartheid days of stringent censorship laws against the press, our liberation movements held a special interest and fascination for black journalists.

Particularly the high-profile ANC. But we knew our hands were tied. We could never quote what the ANC said or give it the major focus in

our stories. Being the journalistic animals we are, we took our chances and requested a press conference with the ANC.

We knew the foreign press would beat us to "our" story. They had got wind of our press conference and would go to town on the story in their publications which were not bound by SA's censorship laws.

First day of the summit passed without word from the ANC. We speculated: Maybe it was the security risks involved. Then, without warning, late at night on the second day of the summit, we were told Tambo would hold a press conference for us. But - ye gods! - it was to be at 5 am the following day!

Came the press conference, came Tambo. At that ungodly hour Tambo looked fresh as a daisy and very alert. "My, my, you chaps have grown," was Tambo's opening gambit as he shook hands with the late South African journalists, some of whom were not even born when he joined the liberation struggle - save for the late Stan Motjuwadi, the veteran South African newsman who knew the ANC story backwards.

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Tambo's proceeded to patiently explain everything the ANC was about in exile - the armed struggle, MK, the vision of a

liberated SA and what journalists in general - and black journalists in particular - could do to contribute to the liberation of all South Africans.

Somehow, when the press conference ended, Tambo seemed to sense the black South African journalists' problem about the implications of what he had told us.

Breaking into a fatherly smile, he said: "Well, chaps I understand your position. But we must keep on talking ..."

FREEDOM'S CHAMPION

CI Press 25/4/93

IT WAS the gentle-mannered Oliver Tambo who, almost single-handedly, built up the external wing of the ANC and its military arm, Umkhonto we-Sizwe.

It was he who piloted the movement through the three decades it was banned in the country that gave it birth.

And it was Tambo who masterminded the Harare Declaration which, in 1989 paved the way for negotiations with the SA government.

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It was at Fort Hare that Tambo met Nelson Mandela.

In 1944 he became a founder member of the ANC Youth League, formed to press for a more militant approach in

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He slipped across the border into Bechuanaland, now Botswana, in 1960, a week after Sharpeville and just before the ANC and PAC were banned, and spent some time in protective custody there because of fears he might be kidnapped by SA agents.

From there he went to Tanganyika, now Tanzania, where he met nationalist leader Julius Nyerere and on to Ghana to meet Kwame Nkrumah, before going to London.

In London he was instrumental in the formation of the short-lived SA United Front, which included the ANC, PAC, SACP and what was to become Swapo.

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In the same year he publicly described "necklace" murders as barbaric - a statement which South African newspapers were refused permission to quote.

Tambo masterminded the 1989 Harare Declaration, the ANC's blueprint for negotiations which invited talks with the SA government when the right political climate had been created in the country.

During the two years he worked on the compilation of the document he suffered two minor strokes, but continued to press on with the task of completing it and ensuring its acceptance.

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He flew into SA under a temporary indemnity in December 1990 to attend the ANC's first consultative conference in the country since its banning, and received a tumultu-

Tambo steered ANC in the dark years



Farewell to a man of 'peace and integrity'

By ELIAS MALULEKE and Sapa

THE ANC has been struck another bitter blow by the death of its stalwart and NEC chairman Oliver Reginald "OR" Tambo, less than a week after the burial of SACP general-secretary Chris Hani.

The ANC confirmed Tambo died early yesterday at the Milpark Clinic after suffering a stroke. His wife Adelaide and daughter Tselane were at his side.

Ailing Tambo, 73, who suffered a stroke in exile in the late '80s, was seen as the father figure of the ANC and Umkhonto we-Sizwe, who kept the flames of liberation burning during the absence of Nelson Mandela. Walter Sisulu, and many other ANC leaders in detention at the time. He was visibly shaken by the death of

bered for his sacrifices for the sake of others, for his forbearance, his gentleness and his lack of bitterness," he added.

A statement by the PAC yesterday said the organisation was shocked at the sudden death of Tambo.

"Tambo will be remembered for his leadership in his organisation during the trying times of the frustration of exile.

"He was a gentleman who was respected by political leaders all over the world," the statement said.

Oliver Tambo's death was a great tragedy for the people of SA. Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and close friend of Tambo, said in a statement from London.

"Without his outstanding leadership and unwavering commitment to

approach to the organisation.

In 1945 he was appointed vice-president of the ANCYL, and in 1949 elected to the ANC national executive.

He was articled to a law firm in 1948 and in 1952 joined Mandela to form the first African law partnership in SA.

In 1954 he was banned from attending political meetings, although this did not prevent him from continuing to work for the ANC. In 1955 he was elected secretary-general of the movement, and in 1958 became deputy president general.

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Also in 1956 he married Adelaide Tsukudu, with whom he was to have three children. On the way to the church, bride, groom and best man were arrested for a pass law offence and bundled into a police van - but were released just in time for the ceremony.

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When Albert Luthuli died in 1967, Tambo was elected acting president, and president in 1977.

Tambo acted as the movement's roving ambassador, meeting senior government representatives in a string of countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It was a measure of the ANC's success in isolating Pretoria, he said, that by 1989 the organisation had more representatives abroad than the SA government.

For decades he shuttled between safe houses in Dar es Salaam and Lusaka, only rarely seeing his wife and children in their London home.

During these years Tambo, who was a devout Christian and nearly entered the priesthood in 1956, remained an uncompromising proponent of the armed struggle.

In an address on the 75th anniversary of the ANC in 1987, he said: "The need for us to take up arms will never trans-

and received a tumultuous welcome at Jan Smuts Airport.

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Before handing over the reins, he urged the ANC to adhere to the suspension of the armed struggle.

"To go back means defeat and it would also be a tragedy because it would also mean the destruction of a new SA."

In July 1991 Tambo headed an ANC delegation to talks on forming an anti-apartheid "patriotic front" with some leaders of the bantustans and other black opposition groupings.

Earlier that year he was awarded an honorary doctorate in law by the University of the Western Cape and accepted the chancellorship of Fort Hare.

He was also treated that year in a Johannesburg clinic for pneumonia. - Sapa



OLIVER TAMBO - Born October 27 1917; died April 24 1993.

COMMENT

Take a note from OR's book

HOW sad and unfortunate that Oliver Reginald Tambo, 75, had to die at a critical moment of our history when a flickering light is about to shine at the end of the tunnel. How unfortunate, indeed, that a man who dedicated all his life to the struggle and liberation of his people never lived to see the final realisation of his dream. Our consolation, however,

is that this son of the soil, after more than 30 years in exile, will be buried in his own country. Yes, we agree Tambo's death is a tragic loss for the country and the world. His fight for democracy was a universal one. It is not often a country produces a leader in the mould of OR. Together with Nelson Mandela he relentlessly fought the apartheid

system from as early as the '40s. It was Tambo, single-handedly, who carried the message of our people and their struggle to the rest of the world, while Mandela became the symbol of oppression on Robben Island. We will forever remember Tambo's gentlemanly and relaxed attitude even under heavy political pressure.

As a founder member of the ANC Youth League in 1944, we hope the present youth leadership will take lessons from his tried and tested leadership. We also hope his funeral will be conducted in a dignified and respectable manner. Our deepest condolences go to his wife Adelaide and his three children. The Editor.

Shooting victim awarded R1-million

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Amos denied hearing any such warning. Robertson said he had fired a warning shot from his pump-action shotgun into the air out of his car window. The judge said it was a misnomer to call this a warning shot. Judge Nugent found it had been unnecessary to shoot Amos when, according to evidence, he had been only about 30 m from Robertson when he was shot in the back. He could have been chased until caught, said

the judge. The judge said the fact that a suspect was running away was not enough reason to justify shooting. Shooting could only be used as a last resort. He declared the police liable for any damages Amos had suffered as a result of his injuries. These damages will amount to over R1-million, including the cost of a specially adapted house and car. All future medical costs, including plastic surgery, physiotherapy and specialised medical equipment, as well as future loss of earnings, will be calculated. The court case to determine this amount will take place in about five months, but until then, Amos will start to receive money to cover his immediate medical and other needs. Amos's dream in 1986 was to finish his schooling and become a doctor. His dream now is to finish his education and study computer programming, and maybe buy himself a computer.

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at the time. He was visibly shaken by the death of Hani and was seen weeping throughout Hani's funeral.

People who spoke to City Press yesterday said the negotiations process should be speeded up to enable the stalwarts to witness the new democratic SA for which most of the leaders fought for their entire lives. They said several well-known ANC leaders, including Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Harry Gwala, among many others, are over 70-years-old and appeared not to be in good health.

It has been pointed out that the death of Hani and Tambo has left a vacuum that cannot be filled by anyone of such standing as they held in the community and it will prove difficult for the ANC to canvass for elections without the two most well-known figures after Mandela.

But ANC president Nelson Mandela said the deaths of Tambo and Hani would not adversely affect negotiations.

The only negative effect their deaths could have on the negotiation process was that talks would continue without their wisdom and advice, Mandela told a news conference in Johannesburg. Mandela said Tambo's death was "a serious blow to the movement" and he renewed calls for the announcement of an election date. He said the ANC would take precautions to prevent any new outbreaks of violence. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said Tambo's death was a tragic loss for SA and a heavy blow for the country's people.

"All of us who are believers know that what he did, what he suffered and what he sacrificed, is going to bear fruit in SA. "He will be remembered."

State President FW de Klerk, on behalf of the government and the NP, conveyed his condolences to Adelaide Tambo, saying the ANC chairman had always been supportive of the peace process in SA and was an example worthy of being followed.

US ambassador Princeton Lyman said: "Tambo never lost his dedication to the principles of democracy and non-racialism."

Oliver Tambo's death was another loss for SA as well as for the ANC, the Black Sash said yesterday. In a statement, the women's human rights organisation said Tambo's leadership in exile was marked by wisdom and strength. Azapo expressed its condolences with the ANC saying Tambo's death was "all the more painful" following the murder of SACP leader Chris Hani.

And in Ulundi, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said South Africans should honour the memory of Tambo by striving for the kind of democracy where people had the right to differ. In a tribute to the ANC patriarch, Buthelezi said his death "will remind us all that the levels of violence we are permitting to develop in SA are destructive of black honour". The Labour Party mourned the passing away of a true son of SA, said LP leader Allan Hendrickse in a statement yesterday. "Comrade Tambo dedicated his whole life to the struggle for liberation. He led by example. How sad it is that he was not able to see the final realisation of his dreams."

Political comment and newbills by K Sibiyi, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa; both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.



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Amos denied hearing any such warning. Robertson said he had fired a warning shot from his pump-action shotgun into the air out of his car window.

The judge said it was a misdemeanor to call this a warning shot.

Judge Nugent found it had been unnecessary to shoot Amos when, according to evidence, he had been only about 30m from Robertson when he was shot in the back.

He could have been chased until caught, said

ment and close friend of Tambo, said in a statement from London.

"Without his outstanding leadership and unwavering commitment to the liberation struggle, we would not be on the verge of achieving freedom in SA today," he said.

State President FW de Klerk, on behalf of the government and the NP, conveyed his condolences to Adelaide Tambo, saying the ANC chairman had always been supportive of the peace process in SA and was an example worthy of being followed.

US ambassador Princeton Lyman said: "Tambo never lost his dedication to the principles of democracy and non-racialism."

Oliver Tambo's death was another loss for SA as well as for the ANC, the Back Sash said yesterday.

In a statement, the women's human rights organisation said Tambo's leadership in exile was marked by wisdom and strength.

Azapo expressed its condolences with the ANC saying Tambo's death was "all the more painful" following the murder of SACP leader Chris Hani.

And in Umtata, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthezi said South Africans should honour the memory of Tambo by striving for the kind of democracy where people had the right to differ.

In a tribute to the ANC patriarch, Buthezi said his death "will remind us all that the levels of violence we are permitting to develop in SA are destructive of black honour."

The Labour Party mourned the passing away of a true son of SA, said LP leader Allan Hendrickse in a statement yesterday.

"Comrade Tambo dedicated his whole life to the struggle for liberation. He led by example. How sad it is that he was not able to see the final realisation of his dreams."

Political comment and news by K Sibya, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

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April 25, 1993

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TAMBO BO, WE SALTUTE YOU

CIPress 25/4/93

By THEMBA KHUMALO, BERENG MTIMKULU and ZANELE VUTHELA

OLIVER Reginald Tambo, the ANC national chairman, died yesterday without realising his life-time dream - a free democratic, non-racial and non-sexist SA.

With the country's first democratic elections expected in a matter of months, an ANC-led government would have been the culmination of three decades of struggle against white domination.

Tambo's death comes while the nation is still reeling from the assassination of SACP general-secretary Chris Hani.

He was credited with rebuilding the ANC from the ashes after it was banned in 1960 and also establishing Umkhonto weSizwe.

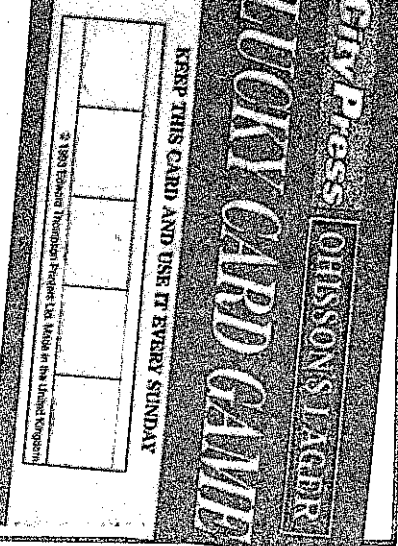
Paying tribute to his long-time friend, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the organisation was deeply indebted to Tambo and that his death closed a chapter in the history of the ANC.

Although Tambo was no longer in charge of the day-to-day activities of the organisation owing to poor health, he was still considered an invaluable



City Press OHSSON'S LAGER
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More cash prizes

THIRTY-SEVEN Lucky winners claimed prizes in last Sunday's City Press/Ohsson's Lager Lucky Card Game, bringing to 89 the total number of winners since the new Lucky Card game started three weeks ago. No wonder it's called the Lucky Card Game!

And among the prizes won in the past three weeks has been R62 000 in cash prizes. There is plenty more cash and other exciting prizes still waiting to be won. So turn to Page 17 to see if you are a winner this week.

MK'S FIRST BATTLE
In Chris Hani's words
See Page 19.

OP CAN MAKE A WHOPPER OF A WILLY!
See Page 28.

Grief-stricken mourners, among them Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Kaizer Chiefs boss Kaizer Motaung, started streaming to Tambo's house in Sandhurst, north of Johannesburg, soon after hearing the news early yesterday.

ANC supporters from Tamboville, near Watville, were among the first to arrive in 16 minibus taxis. They said Tambo was their patron.

As news of his death started spreading, messages of condolence began pouring in. They came from the PAC, Azapo, the Black Sash, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and the government.

Tambo died of respiratory failure yesterday morning at Milpark Clinic after being admitted for a chest infection on Friday. He became semi-paralysed after a stroke while in exile four years ago.

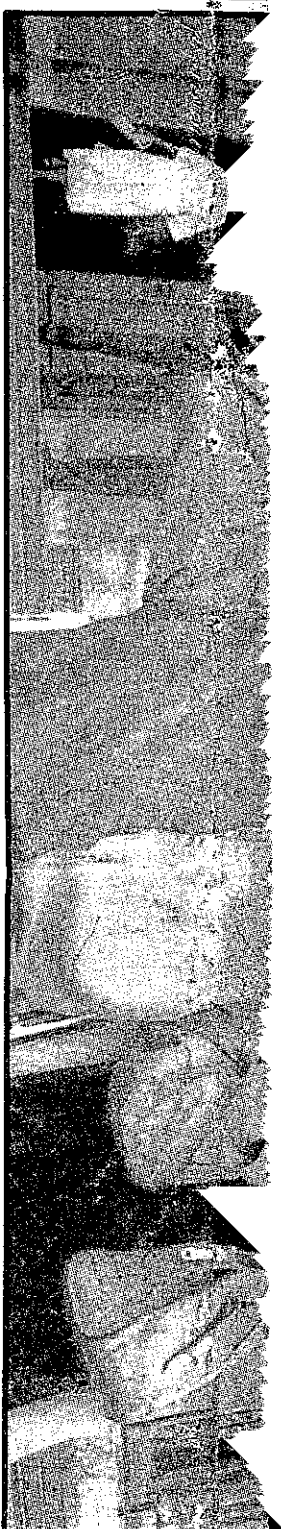
Mandela, who caught the first plane back to Johannesburg from Durban yesterday after hearing about Tambo's death, said he had lost not only a leader, but a comrade and a friend since their days at Fort Hare.

He said: "We of the ANC are not bitter but disappointed at this tragedy. His death and that of Chris Hani will affect negotiations in the sense that the ANC leaned much on their advice and enormous experience." However, Mandela emphasised that Tambo's death would not affect the peace process.

Mandela said Tambo, who was an asthmatic, had risked his health to attend Hani's night vigil on a cold winter night. He said: "I was so concerned when I saw comrade Tambo at the vigil on Sunday night that I literally drove him back home to rest."

Last night Mandela said the dust Tambo had inhaled during the Hani funeral probably contributed to his death. Tambo was off sick the next day with a chest infection.

■ To Page 2



JUSTICE DONE... Amos Madonsela can smile again following court action against the policeman responsible for shooting him in the back six years ago, leaving him paralysed from the waist down. **PHOTO: THULANI SITHOLE**

R1-million for paralysed cop victim

BY COLLETTE CAINE

AMOS Madonsela started making plans for his future this week.

For the first time since being shot in the back by police six years ago, Amos knew he could make plans for the future which he has had to put on hold.

He won his claim against the police for damages suffered as a result of the shooting in December 1986. Amos was shot and paralysed by a policeman who was chasing robbers near Delmas.

His lawyers are now calculating the amount of his claim, which will be more than R1-million.

The week before the case was due to start in the Rand Supreme Court, the police

offered to pay Amos R250 000 in an out of court settlement.

His lawyers advised him his claim would amount to at least four times the offer if he won his case.

Amos decided to take his chances before a judge "because I know I did nothing wrong", he said.

His parents, domestic workers Betty and Joseph Mkelewa, stood behind him.

"I have had 11 children and I never thought I would live to see one of them suffer in the way Amos has suffered in the past six years. We had to fight for what is right," his mother said this week.

Amos' plight after his doctor referred him to last August after his doctor referred him to the newspaper for help because his legal

claim was taking so long and his condition was deteriorating due to lack of appropriate medical care.

Since the 1986 shooting, which left him paralysed from the waist down, Amos has spent a lot of time in Natalispruit Hospital - one operation after another to repair the damage caused by three shotgun pellets which severed his spine and damaged his internal organs.

His former attorney, Robert Mahlangu, handled the case after the shooting, without getting to court.

With help from City Press and Johannesburg attorney Mrow Dwork and Routledge Incorporated, who specialise in per-

■ To Page 2

Shock at journo's death

BY ELIAS MALULEKE

A FRANTIC search by the family of missing SABC journalist Calvin Nconco Thosago, 48, ended with the gruesome discovery of his mutilated body at the mortuary of the Sebokeng Hospital in the Vaal Triangle yesterday morning.

The ANC said the arrest of the three suspects, who are members of neither the ANC or PAC, came about after a hunt for the missing journalist by members of the Sharpeville ANC branch and the ANC Youth League, which lasted the whole night.

The three alleged culprits were arrested at 9 am yesterday and handed over to the police. All the stolen equipment was recovered except for the car radio which is still missing.

Thosago disappeared on Friday when he and colleague Dudley Saunders were on assignment for CCV news in Sharpeville.

Saunders was found injured by police in a parked car which was being attacked by about 30 youths at a four-way stop in the area, and was rushed to the Vereeniging Hospital with multiple stab wounds.

Police confirmed that Thosago died as a result of stab wounds, but did not yet have all details concerning the murder by late yesterday. They also confirmed the arrests.

Thosago, a married father of seven who lived in Seshego near Pieterburg, and has been employed by the SABC from 1983, is survived by his wife, Andraan, and seven children, all of Seshego.

The ANC, PAC, Azapo and media organisations and unions condemned the attack on the journalists.

Agence France bureau chief, Erwan Jourand, has requested an urgent meeting of local and foreign press to discuss the danger faced by journalists of all races.

The SACP announced yesterday that Charles Ngakula was to succeed Chris Hani as general-secretary of the party.

The party said this in a statement following a central committee meeting in Johannesburg.

It said it suspected the Hani conspiracy extended to within the security forces. - Sapa.

'Fantastic' escape raises fears

BY MONWABISI NOMADLO

THREE alleged ANC robbers who escaped from Diepkloof Prison under mysterious circumstances after smearing Chris Hani in court are still missing amid fears that they might be dead.

On the day he escaped, Simphiwe Solomon Mqangeni made sensational claims in the Rand Supreme Court that the assassinated SACP and ANC leader, Chris Hani, and ANC PWC chief Tokyo Sexwale, masterminded two armed robberies which left three dead and netted almost R1-million.

Mqangeni's co-accused are Daniel Motaung, originally from Lesotho, and Phuthumile "T-man" William Makhosi, from the Transkei. All stayed in Phola Park, on the East Rand.

Government critics, meanwhile, claim the



WAITING... Wife Portia Mlonyane.

case bears all the hallmarks of covert police meddling. They suggest the robbers - having sung their anti-Hani song in court - went the same way as "disappeared" detainees and Mamelodi activist, Stanza Bopape.

Nothing has been heard of the three since their alleged breakout from the top-security prison with 13 others on March 26. Police say they have re-arrested three of

the 13.

Police said they were returning the 13 awaiting trial prisoners to the prison when the group had overpowered two armed policemen and warders inside the prison grounds.

The group had driven off in the police vehicle leaving the officers behind largely unscathed.

But, say critics, why did these officers not raise the alarm as the vehicle drove out the guarded gates?

A week before his assassination, Hani expressed concern for the safety of the three escaped men - all members of Phola Park's Self-Defence Unit and not MK.

Hani said: "Did he (Mqangeni) disappear? Was he quietly eliminated? He should have been placed under heavy guard after making such allegations."

Portia Mlonyane, 23,

Mqangeni's wife and mother of his two children, slammed the police story.

She said: "Police never informed me that my husband had escaped. I found out from his lawyer two weeks afterwards."

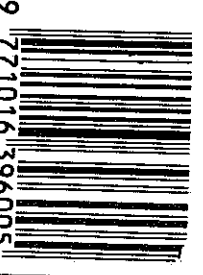
"If the police were really serious about re-arresting him they would have visited or questioned me. My address is in their registers."

Her main fear, however, is that Mqangeni has not sent her a message since the breakout. The two kept in close contact while he was in prison.

Police spokesman W/O Andy Pleke denied that police had the men's addresses.

He said investigations were continuing.

Two days after Mqangeni's claims in court, Law and Order Minister Hennus Kriel used parliament to attack MK as a "bunch of criminals".



Ngakula is the new SACP chief

THE road to South African democracy is littered with landmines and all those travelling on it will be lucky to complete their journey without stepping on one.

It is one thing to throw a coin in a well and make one's wish for a peaceful transition to democracy, but it is another when the reality on the ground dictates something different.

Under the leadership of Nelson Mandela and previously under Oliver Tambo, the ANC was forced to suspend its 30-year-old armed struggle in favour of negotiations.

This was not an easy decision for the ANC, even though many of us thought this was the best and only option, given the political changes taking place in southern Africa.

What chance, we asked, did the ANC have of sustaining the armed struggle when the Mozambican government, under gunboat diplomacy, were forced by the Botha

MY WAY
With Khulu Sibiyana

There's no turning back



regime to sign the Nkomati Accord. This we saw as an effective way of rendering the ANC cadres powerless.

Also, the signing of Resolution 435, giving Namibia its independence and forcing the Cubans out of Angola, was another serious setback for the armed forces of the ANC.

Simplistic as it may sound, the ANC was then forced to conduct its struggle from within SA - rendering the NP government powerless. This succeeded in many ways through the formation of the UDF, Cosatu and other forces allied to the ANC.

Instability within the country, sanctions and disinvestment and complete isolation from the rest of the world nearly destroyed SA.

But all that is now history. Except of course that the white ultra rightwing is refusing to accept that democracy is coming to SA.

The war talk by the AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche, the CP link to Chris Hani's death and the divisions in the NP all indicate one thing - that power-sharing or handing over power is not an easy thing to do, especially for people who

have enjoyed this power for as long as whites have.

On the other hand, we are seeing the emergence of a radical left wing from within the liberation movements. The room for moderate thinking is gradually narrowing as more and more radicals get standing ovations at rallies and on political platforms.

When Peter Mokaba of the ANC Youth League takes the stage, the crowd goes into a frenzy. They love what he says, "kill the whites, kill the Boers". When Winnie Mandela grabs the microphone, she knows she has to come up

with what the people want to hear, war talk.

Even Nelson Mandela had to change the tone of his speech this week when addressing a crowd in Sebokeng. The masses no longer want to listen to peace and reconciliation talk.

Even though the majority of the people recognise that negotiations seem to offer the country the only possible solution to a peaceful future, they doubt the sincerity of those still in power.

The ANC election slogan is appropriate: "This is the time. Sekunjalo. Ke nako".

We are all travelling across a field littered with landmines and unless we make sure that tomorrow's negotiations succeed, this will blow up in our faces. In the end no one will win and we will be worse off than ever before.

We cannot go back to the bushes for war . . . nor can whites go back to the apartheid system.

Sekunjalo.

T IS said that once you have trained an army, you have got to deploy it. You cannot afford a moment of idleness with

soldiers. The ANC faced this critical situation. Soldiers like myself were coming back from training, but the ANC had a problem that had not been faced by other liberation movements: we had no rear base to speak of. South Africa was surrounded by countries which were under colonial domination. There were simply no routes of infiltration.

So the ANC had to think about establishing a camp, something that had not been planned for. The leadership quickly approached the Tanzanian government and arranged the establishment of a camp at a place called Kombwe. We were the first people to open up that camp. We had to build it from scratch, organising logistics and supplies. This was a problem, given the limited resources of the movement in terms of money, as well as in terms of countries that would support our cause. At that time the OAU had not been formed. There was no liberation committee and there was no concerned move to appeal to other countries to help our armed struggle. So the leadership of the ANC had to undertake all these tasks almost simultaneously.

In the beginning our morale at the camp was very high. We were fired with a lot of enthusiasm. We were keen to go back and be deployed against an enemy which had brutalised our people. We felt that now, for the first time, we were equipped with the knowledge of modern warfare.

But as time moved on there was no movement. We were beginning to say: "Our people are being suppressed, our people are being detained, the enemy is committing atrocities. Here we are with all our knowledge, so why are we not being deployed?"

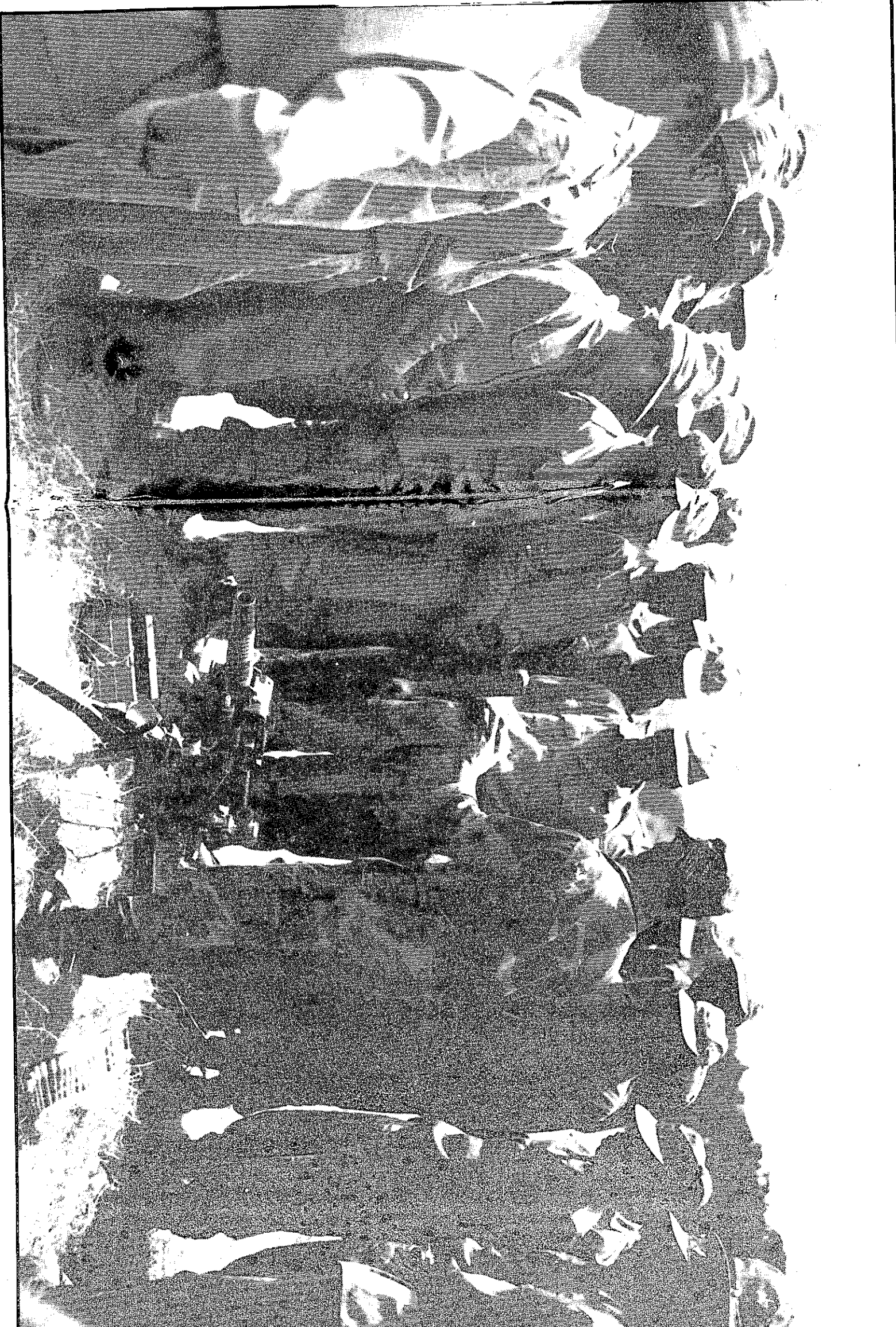
Those of us in the camp didn't have a profound understanding of the problems. Most of us were very young, in our early twenties. We were impatient to get into action. We were saying: "Nobody must tell us that there are no routes. We have been trained to explore and establish routes. We must be deployed to find these routes. Why can't we go through Mozambique, Rhodesia, Namibia? Let us hack our way through these countries."

These were our arguments. And I think these strong feelings that were conveyed to the leadership resulted in the building of an informal alliance between ourselves and Zapu which was beginning to fight an armed struggle in Zimbabwe. And this led to our involvement in the 1967 Wankie campaign.

In the meantime, the waiting was eroding morale. Some comrades deserted to places like Kenya. People were feeling that they were wasting their time. Of course there were a few agents that were fuelling the frustration.

When the decision was made to embark on the Wankie campaign, the approach of the ANC was one of selecting the best cadres. This was the first time we were working together with Zapu military cadres and in order to avoid misunderstandings and conflicts it was important for the organisation to go for its best cadres. I was already commissar of the camp (in Tanzania), and I had been given a number of responsibilities within MK at that stage. I believe I was one of the most vocal in terms of the need to get involved in Zimbabwe to open a route to infiltrate the cadres. So without being called to volunteer, because I openly supported the move, I was selected. I was appointed commissar of the detachment, later to be called the Luthuli detachment.

The strategic objectives of the Wankie campaign were to open up Zimbabwe for infiltration of cadres and material into South Africa. We wanted to establish an underground presence in Zimbabwe to make sure that we could have an uninterrupted flow of personnel and material into South Africa where our objective was one of laying the foundations for guerrilla warfare within our own country. You must remember that 1966-67 was the lowest point politically in terms of the ANC and the Congress movement as a whole. The



WARFARE SKILLS... ANC cadres were given intensive training in the use of the weapons of modern warfare.

A GREAT MK CADRE

Press 25/4/93

A GREAT MK VICTORY

(84A)

There was a lot of panic and they began to run away. We discovered for the first time that we were dealing with people who were also afraid.

There was a very strong feeling that the guerrillas should use their presence inside South Africa to begin to build the ANC underground, to train combat units and later to move into active military operations against the regime.

We had no illusions about going to Zimbabwe. We knew there was a possibility of engagement. All these countries were occupied by governments very hostile to the liberation movement. But it was a strongly held view among us that when you have an army you cannot wait for a favourable situation. You have to fight for a favourable situation.

When the Luthuli detachment crossed the Zambezi, for most of us this was the realisation of our dreams as young combatants who had been given very thorough training in the USSR and in Zambia where we had established a special camp to prepare ourselves physically, mentally and militarily for the Wankie campaign.

We had exercised day and night, we had embarked on long marches. We were thoroughly prepared. Now for the first time we were going to get involved with the real enemy. In our camps we had been shooting at paper targets. Now we were going to get involved, pitting our strengths and testing ourselves against the other side. I was very happy.

I think I was among the first to cross the Zambezi in a canoe. We chose the most difficult, impassable part of the river where there were gorges. It was dark, but we made it. We were carrying AK-47s, machine guns, grenades, lots of ammunition. Those rucksacks were heavy, but we didn't feel it. It was one of the most memorable days of my own history.

We had accumulated a lot of knowledge about topography and map reading. Moving at night we were able to use our knowledge of the stars to guide us. So we had no problems. One outstanding feature of the unit was its ability to take positions and remain undetected during the day, especially when the cover became sparse.

We had deliberately decided to avoid contact with the people until we had established ourselves inside Rhodesia because early contact could result in our betrayal. We were aware of the reputation of the security forces in terms of setting up a network of agents in the rural areas and villages.

Once inside Zimbabwe we broke into two groups, one moving to the east and the other to the west. The group moving west was the one which was earmarked to move into South Africa. The east group was to establish itself in Zimbabwe to keep the route open for future infiltration from Zambia.

In the first few weeks everything went according to plan. There were no surprises except that two or three comrades lost their way one night and we could not re-



STEPPING OUT IN THE FREE STATE: Cadres march at a 1992 MK rally in Tumahole, Parys.

establish contact. We feared they might have fallen into the hands of the enemy and disclosed prematurely the presence of the detachment. That turned out to be the truth.

After about two weeks spotter planes started flying in our direction at fairly regular intervals. The repetitive nature of their flights indicated they knew about us. We began to prepare for engagement. Whenever we rested, we deployed, preparing fortifications, foxholes and defence lines. We were certain they were on our trail. But it took another two weeks before we had the first encounter.

Early one winter morning, around 6 am, the spotter planes flew overhead. At about 10 am we heard the movement of trucks. We were already past the Wankie game reserve. We took positions. We saw these trucks with soldiers.

Although they passed about 100 m away, they did

not see us and carried on. Some hours later we heard an exchange of fire, and we noticed that two of our comrades were missing. They had gone looking for water.

Their disappearance confirmed our fears that the exchange of fire must have involved them. That necessitated urgent preparations on our part.

At about 15h00 there was rapid fire towards our camp, a bit wide, with frequent shouts, calling on us to surrender. This was followed by shouts that were surrounded, that it was useless to fight. "Terrorist, surrender!"

Those of us in command said: "Nobody is allowed to pull the trigger before the target is properly identified and seen. There must be a clear economy of ammunition. We don't know how long these battles will last and we have no supplies. So every bullet is precious. There must be no panicky firing back."

When the Luthuli detachment crossed the Zambezi, for most of us this was the realisation of our dreams... I think I was among the first to cross in a canoe. We chose the most difficult, impassable part of the river where there were gorges. It was one of the most memorable days of my own history.

As a young man, Chris Hani was made commander of the first Umkhonto weSizwe unit to engage in battle with the Rhodesian forces, later reinforced by the SAP. In an interview last November for a television documentary currently in production, Hani told of how the now-famous Luthuli detachment was formed, prepared and sent in to do battle for the ANC's allies, Zapu. He recounts the arguments which went into the decision to launch the Wankie campaign and tells about the unit's dramatic entry into Rhodesia across the Zambezi, the way it stealthily moved through the territory and about how the Rhodesians detected the unit and sent in its forces. Hani tells, in graphic detail, about the detachment's first firefight - and what it felt like, for the first time in his life, to taste victory over the racist oppressor.

The enemy continued firing, clearly worried about our silence. There was a lot of tension. This was our first experience of battle. None of us had ever been fired at and I can tell you it was frightening because the bullets were passing very close to us.

But the enemy was arrogant. Suddenly one of them stood up, saying: "Where are they? Can you see them?" They had thrown caution to the wind. I suppose they thought that we were scared. Our fellows opened fire at the same time and shot two of them. Fortunately, the guys they shot were commanders. A regular army, unlike a guerrilla army, depends on a commander. When a commander is killed or wounded, or unable to command, morale is affected. There was a lot of panic on their part and they began to run away.

We chased them and discovered for the first time that we were dealing with people who were also afraid: in running away they left behind their weapons and supplies of food. That is a very undisciplined way of retreating. You don't retreat and leave behind your guns. How are you going to fight again?

That was our baptism of fire. We felt stronger, the fear was gone. The chopping of the hearts against the ribs disappeared. We felt very cool and determined.

Also, we had not been eating well for a very very long time, so this was a welcome supply of food for us.

Several battles later, a decision was made to retreat to Botswana. Hani and his comrades were betrayed by the Gaborone authorities and sentenced to long jail terms. Hani explained the reasons for abandoning the campaign.

It was clear we had a responsibility to save the detachment. It would have been wrong - militarily - to fight to the last man. We had beaten back the enemy a number of times. We never lost a battle. But we had also suffered casualties, six or seven comrades had been killed. But what shocked us was the openness of the terrain as we moved towards Plumtree and Matbeland. There were no trees or mountains. We felt we were going to be sitting ducks in terms of the enemy's planes. They had bombed us twice. That compelled us to take a decision to retreat to Botswana to build up our forces and re-establish contact with HQ in Lusaka.



EDUCATION... Hani was an all-round leader.



HIPPEST TRIO . . . This historic photograph, taken way back in the 70s (check out those flower-power pants!), depicts three of SA's most famous jazzmen in exile — Caliphus Semanya, Jonas Mosa Gwangwa and Hugh Masekela.

Rhythm and

Gwangwa wants recognition on his home turf

By LEN KALANE

JONAS

Mosa

Gwangwa has some big boots to fill, but that's no problem: He's a big man himself.

He thinks big too. This, coupled with hard-work, grit and determination, has assured his elevation to one of SA's most celebrated musicians.

One would think Gwangwa would be satisfied with the rewards: a Black Emmy and an Ivor Novello (UK) as well as a nomination for an Oscar; a British Arts and Film Award (Bafra) and a Golden Globe for the original music score with George Fenton for the Biko film, *Cry Freedom*.

No, he has his eyes set on yet another award, of the kind which will only come about through work done on South African soil. This is his

greatest desire.

"All my awards are foreign, that is, in a manner of speaking," he says.

"They were bestowed on me by foreigners through work done on foreign soil. These were awards to Jonas Gwangwa, the exile. Now I want one for Jonas Gwangwa, the South African . . ."

For a man shuffling around with a limp, this through a car accident

City People

in Angola in 1980, he's moving rather too fast to realise his dream. But he wants to move fast. At 56, he has to move fast!

His publicist, Marc le Chat, wrote of Gwangwa: "When Jonas Gwangwa returned home to South Africa two years ago, one of the first places he played at was named after a saxophonist he had swung many an evening with in the illustrious hit musi-



TOUCHDOWN . . . Jonas Gwangwa is w

cal of the early 60s, *King Kong*."

Adds Gwangwa: "I must be one of the few jazzmen left who played with Kippie Moekeisi (after whom the venue 'Kippie's' is named)."

Le Chat goes on: "While for many his compatriots heard of him only in exile who had left then 30 years ago, his bonist-vocalist-arranger-composer

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Shock at journo's death

BY ELIAS MALULEKE

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Ngqakula is the new SACP chief

THE SACP announced yesterday that Charles Ngqakula was to succeed Chris Hani as general-secretary of the party.

The party said this in a statement following a central committee meeting in Johannesburg.

It said it suspected the Hani conspiracy extended to within the security forces. - Sapa.



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My dawn patrol with Africa's leading gent

C/press 25/4/92

By ZB MOLEFE

OLIVER Tambo was a gentleman politician who had a special respect for the black press.

This writer should know. It was in Botswana's Gaborone during the crucial 1984 Southern Africa Development Coordinating Committee (SADCC) summit when this aspect of Tambo's personality emerged.

The big guns in southern Africa's political scene were present: Nyerere, Mugabe, Machel, Kaunda.

And, of course, during such events in those days the press - local and foreign - trained their spotlight on the happenings. The ANC and the PAC came in as observers. In those dark apartheid days of stringent censorship laws against the press, our liberation movements held a special interest and fascination for black journalists.

Particularly the high-profile ANC. But we knew our hands were tied. We could never quote what the ANC said or give it the major focus in

THERE was something in Oliver Tambo's gentlemanly manner which bespoke a deeply ingrained human decency and compassion. But, as deputy editor ZB Molefe discovered, "OR" was also a man of steely discipline - and a demanding intellectual at 5 am.

our stories. Being the journalistic animals we are, we took our chances and requested a press conference with the ANC.

We knew the foreign press would beat us to "our" story. They had got wind of our press conference and would go to town on the story in their publications which were not bound by SA's censor-

ship laws.

First day of the summit passed without word from the ANC. We speculated: Maybe it was the security risks involved. Then, without warning, late at night on the second day of the summit, we were told Tambo would hold a press conference for us. But - ye gods! - it was to be at 5 am the following day!

Came the press conference, came Tambo. At that ungodly hour Tambo looked fresh as a daisy and very alert. "My, my, you chaps have grown," was Tambo's opening gambit as he shook hands with the black South African journalists, some of whom were not even born when he joined the liberation struggle - save for the late Stan Motjuwadi, the veteran South African newsman who knew the ANC story backwards.

One thing stood out: Tambo never came across

as a pompous politician, as we see in lesser ones these days. Instead he could have been anybody's father or grandfather in the townships. Only the deep-knotted furrows in his brow - set in a face whose cheeks were marked by tribal marks; thick glasses; a walrus-like moustache and thick sideburns - showed he was a man given to deep thinking.

Tambo's proceeded to patiently explain everything the ANC was about in exile - the armed struggle, MK, the vision of a

liberated SA and what journalists in general - and black journalists in particular - could do to contribute to the liberation of all South Africans.

Somehow, when the press conference ended, Tambo seemed to sense the black South African journalists' problem about the implications of what he had told us.

Breaking into a fatherly smile, he said: "Well, chaps I understand your position. But we must keep on talking ..."



EP TOLERANCE ... Oliver Tambo in deep conversation with City Press deputy editor ZB Molefe in 1984 in Gaborone.

Blow for ANC as Tambo dies

ST Times 25/11/93

By CHARLENE SMITH

THE death of ANC chairman Oliver Tambo yesterday — just two weeks after the assassination of Chris Hani — came as a severe blow to the ANC.

"Time is not on our side. A date for elections must be set now," said ANC president Nelson Mandela.

He described Mr Tambo, 75, as "my brother, my comrade, my friend and my colleague".

Mr Mandela was in Durban when he was told Mr Tambo had died of a stroke just after 3am yesterday. He took the first available flight to Johannesburg.

Angry

Mr Mandela said Mr Tambo had been instrumental in beginning the negotiations process.

He pointed out, however, that the ANC was dealing with a "justifiably very angry youth", who were frustrated with the slowness of negotiations, and an insensitive minority government.

Nonetheless, he said, the ANC was confident it had "the capacity to hold the nation together and move forward".

Mourners including township dwellers, white suburbanites and key ANC figures — flocked to the Tambo home in Sandhurst, Johannesburg, yesterday to comfort Mr Tambo's wife, Adelaide, her three children, Tembi, Dali and Tselane, and three grandchildren.

Mrs Tambo and Tselane were at Mr Tambo's side when he died.

Dali said he was happy his father had recovered sufficiently from a severe stroke in 1989 to come home to SA for the last two years of his life.

"His greatest achievement was to bring South Africa so close to peace and freedom," added Dali.

Limpho Hani, Mr Hani's widow, who was supported through her ordeal by Mrs Tambo, rushed to the side of her close friend.

Tributes to Mr Tambo have flowed in from political leaders across the spectrum and from governments around the world, including the US, Canada and Zimbabwe.

One of the first tributes came from State President FW de Klerk, who hailed Mr Tambo's commitment to negotiations and peace and said he had set a fine example.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged black South Africans to reconcile their differences as a tribute to Mr Tambo.

The ANC Youth League appealed to young people to "pay tribute to this greatest of our leaders by emulating his outstanding attributes — humility, discipline and selflessness".

Funeral arrangements for Mr Tambo have yet to be announced.

● See Page 2

VAAL VICTORY

TRANSVAAL maintained their unbeaten record in the Super 10 rugby competition with a fine 30-15 win over New Zealand champions Waikato at Ellis Park yesterday.

With only one game in the round robin section remaining — against New South Wales in Sydney on May 8 — Transvaal look likely to reach the final.

● See Page 25

Historic six weeks that will make or break South Africa

BIG PUSH TO AVERT CHAOS

S Times 25/4/93



MY SHOW ... It's all happening for Kate Normington in the West End

Our Kate
in 1 hour

By **MIKE ROBERTSON**
and **EDYTH BULBRING**

SOUTH AFRICA'S political leaders will meet tomorrow for a final push to avert chaos by nailing down an agreement that will set the country on the road to majority rule within six weeks.

President FW de Klerk said this week that it would be the most crucial and decisive period in South Africa's history.

"We dare not allow a handful of violent people ... to turn this country into a Yugoslavia," Mr de Klerk told Parliament.

Echoing the urgent need for a breakthrough, the ANC's secretary general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said the next six weeks would be crucial for South Africa.

"If we do not deliver in that time the whole negotiations process will become discredited," he said.

The country's two foremost political leaders — Mr de Klerk and the ANC's Mr Nelson Mandela — have their credibility, authority and, ultimately, their political lives riding on a successful outcome of talks which resume at the World Trade Centre today.

Already, in the wake of the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani and the resulting violence, the authority of both leaders has been seriously undermined.

Radical

Even members of Mr de Klerk's own caucus regard his response to the recent

A little love for a dog from the street of tears



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Radical

Even members of Mr de Klerk's own caucus regard his response to the recent violence as feeble. And the conspiracy exposed following the Hani assassination suggests that his grip on an armed and dangerous white right wing is increasingly tenuous.

Mr Mandela, on the other hand, is under threat from radicals on the left. His estranged wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, last week called on the youth to oust the moderate leadership of the ANC. Tens of thousands walked out during Mr Mandela's speech at the funeral service for Chris Hani at the FNB stadium this week.

To effectively cope with the threat posed by these groups, however, requires a government that has public backing to restore order.

It is for this reason that both major parties are now intent on reaching a political settlement — even if it means bulldozing through agreements against the opposition of smaller parties such as the

Conservative Party on the right, and the PAC on the left.

Speaking in Parliament this week, Mr de Klerk repeated that there could not be a political settlement without major parties like the ANC and Inkatha.

But, for the first time, he warned smaller parties: "If there is sufficient consensus amongst the major role players, not parties with very little support, then we can go ahead without the others."

The government and the ANC are aiming to have the first phase of joint rule — the appointment of a Transitional Executive Council — under way by the end of June and non-racial elections before April next year.

Thereafter, as they see it, the country will be ruled by a government of national unity, consisting of the parties that receive five to 10 percent of the votes in elections.

The elected Parliament

□ To Page 2

PUSH FOR PEACE

□ From Page 1

will draft a final constitution. The only limitation on this body will be constitutional principles agreed upon by the World Trade Centre body in the next six weeks.

The major sticking points are the joint control of security forces and the form of state in the new South Africa.

This weekend SADF deputy head Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn and MK chief-of-staff Sipiwe Nyanda were meeting in a final effort to find a solution to the security force issue.

The major stumbling block on the form of state is Inkatha's stand on not agreeing to elections unless there is approval on strong regional government. The ANC, which opposes this, will have to compromise if Inkatha is to remain on board.

But compromises are in the offing.

Inkatha's Ben Ngubane was party to a proposal this week that draft legislation on an elections commission be prepared even before the issue of regionalism has been dealt with.

And Mr Ramaphosa also indicated that pragmatism was the order of the day when he said there was no alternative but to reach a political settlement soon.

Order TV n: eld

CK OLIVARI

Members searched the night to find the killers of an journalist missing and a colleague killed in a Vaal township on Friday.

They killed three men, one of TV equipment to the police. In Thisago, 49, death after being the lower arm.

A cameraman and his wife — son of London correspondent Cliff Saunders — were killed by a group of youths near the in Sharpeville.

NEWS FEATURE *Tributes pour in for Oliver Tambo as his death strikes the liberation movement*

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, expressed his "heartfelt sympathy" at the death of African National Congress national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo.

Many honour Tambo

Sowetan 26/4/93

SYMPATHY MESSAGES *Organisations remember respected*

African National Congress chairman as a great leader:

united South Africa," he said.

● State President FW de Klerk, on behalf of the Government and the National Party, has conveyed his condolences to Mrs Adelaide Tambo and her family on the death of her husband.

"Mr Tambo was known internationally due to his presidency of the ANC over so many years. I only met him once, on which occasion we had a very constructive discussion.

"Ever since his return to South Africa, Mr Tambo was always supportive of the peace process and he played a positive role with regard to the negotiation process."

● Oliver Tambo's death was a tragic loss for South Africa and a heavy blow for the country's people, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said.

"Oliver Tambo was a man of deep spirituality and a weekday attendant at the Eucharist," Archbishop Tutu said.

"He will be remembered for his sacrifices for the sake of others, for his forbearance, his gentleness and his lack of bitterness," Tutu said.

● The Pan Africanist Congress expressed its shock at the sudden death of Tambo.

"The PAC is shocked by the suddenness of the death of ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo.

"Mr Tambo will be remembered for his leadership in his organisation during the try-

ing times of the frustration of exile.

"Mr Tambo was a gentleman who was respected by political leaders all over the world."

● The Azanian People's Organisation expressed its condolences with the ANC.

Coming in the wake of the as-

sassination of South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani two weeks ago, "Mr Tambo's death is all the more painful".

● Tambo had been a true revolutionary who led but also followed his people, the Congress of South African Trade Unions said.

Expressing the congress' shock and

grief, Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said Tambo's death had dealt "a nation in mourning a double hammer blow ... after the death of Chris Hani".

● Oliver Tambo was a leader of vision who had been able to raise the eyes of the people beyond the storm and dust of apartheid, the National Council of Trade Unions said.

Nactu general secretary Mr Cunningham Ngcukana said Mr Tambo had left "indelible footprints in the sands of history and his immortal contributions to our struggle will be written in all pages of our history books". — *Sapa-Reuter.*

In a statement, the women's human rights organisation said Tambo's leadership in exile was marked by wisdom and strength.

"He had an ability to think strategically, to communicate with everyone and operate democratically..."


"His death is another loss for South Africa as well as for the ANC, for whom he was a greatly loved and respected leader," said the Black Sash.

● South Africa lost a great leader with the death of African National Congress chairman Oliver Tambo, United Nations secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali said at the weekend.

In a letter to Tambo's wife Adelaide the UN chief praised the ANC leader, who led his country's anti-apartheid movement from exile, as a "remarkable political leader whose impact was felt far beyond his own country".

"South Africa has lost a great leader who not only championed the struggle against apartheid but also made a significant contribution towards the establishment of a democratic, nonracial and

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Manuel's
(Buss. Times) 25/1/43
strategy (11A)

ANC economics head Trevor Manuel says the restructuring of the economy would be based on a "comprehensive and sustainable growth and development strategy which simultaneously comprises redistribution programmes to meet the basic needs of the majority of South Africans".

He says the ANC is committed to implementing anti-trust policy according to international practice, but is not necessarily against large corporations.

Call
S/Times CC/mak
for MK
25/4/93
conscripts

ANC national executive member Mr Dullah Omar has called on "all those capable" to join the organisation's military wing, umKhonto we Sizwe. (S/T) (U/A)

Mr Omar, a "dove" in the ANC's leadership, was speaking yesterday at the funeral in Nyanga of MK member Mr Khaya Malungisa Simani, who was shot dead by a policeman on April 9.

"The first thing we must do is to learn to defend ourselves. This can't be done in a disorganised way," Mr Omar told mourners.

The second task was to form the nucleus of a democratic army for the new South Africa, he said.

On negotiations, he said: "For us in the alliance, negotiations do not mean making compromises with the regime.

"Negotiations must lead to the end of the apartheid system and the undemocratic regime."

The ANC's vice-chairman for the Western Cape, Mr Lerumo Kalako, said marches should be planned for white areas.

LP-ANC pact talk 'premature'

5 Times (Cape) 25/4/93

By **NORMAN WEST**
Political Reporter

THE announcement by Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse that his party is entering an election pact with the ANC may have been premature.

Responding to the announcement that all 11 regions of the party present at last Saturday's national executive committee meeting had "unanimously endorsed" an election pact, various Labour Party MPs said this week they first had to get endorsement from their constituents before propagating a "Vote ANC" campaign.

Interviewed this week, Mr Hendrickse acknowledged that there was re-

sistance from coloured people in the Western Cape — "particularly in the Peninsula" — to closer ties with the ANC.

He saw it as the duty of the LP to "convert and convince" coloured people to support the ANC because they had not had the "exposure and experience" of speaking to blacks in the past.

Since the 1976 riots the estrangement between coloured youth and African youth had largely dissipated, Mr Hendrickse said.

The problem was with the older generation of coloured people in the Western Cape who more or less traditionally had enjoyed white privileges and were therefore still

"gravitating towards whiteness".

Few people at the LP's congress in Port Elizabeth in December had approved closer links with the ANC.

Mr Hendrickse said the decision to enter into an election pact with the ANC had been based on a resolution adopted at the congress that gave the NEC a mandate "to enter into discussions with the ANC about alliance possibilities and to report to the NEC for a decision".

"That decision has now been taken constitutionally," he said.

The ANC's favouring a unitary state with strong regional powers, while the LP supported a federal state, "did not

clash", Mr Hendrickse said.

During the election campaign, in which the LP would openly support the "Vote ANC" campaign, the LP would "retain its identity", Mr Hendrickse said. This meant it would adopt a "Vote ANC" strategy for its campaign, but under the LP flag, symbols and colours (brown, yellow and white) — although the LP NEC resolved last weekend "to enter into an election pact under the leadership, colours and symbols of the ANC".

Mr Hendrickse also gave notice that he planned to resign from politics "after the first ANC victory at the polls" and would not be available to serve

SENIOR SACP official Jabu Moleketi has lifted the lid on how the peace corps proposed by his slain chief, Chris Hani, would operate.

Mr Moleketi, who, together with Mr Hani, sold the peace corps idea to township residents at political rallies until the week before the SACP chief's assassination, said "criminal elements and agents provocateurs" had led to the demise of self-defence units.

Mr Moleketi, general secretary of

SACP boss's blueprint for township peace corps

By BRIAN SOKUTU

the SACP's PWV region, said this week that the units, once described as "a law unto themselves", would be phased out and transformed into peace corps.

"This means there should be a need to establish a process of screening cur-

rent SDU members," said Mr Moleketi.

Unlike SDUs, the peace corps would be trained, accountable to township communities, armed with licensed firearms, accorded the same powers as policemen and be controlled by the National Peace Accord.

Peace corps which would be used to control crowds during political rallies

and mass funerals would not accept members under the age of 16.

Mr Moleketi admitted that the SDUs, formed at the height of the violence in the PWV region in 1990, had not been properly established.

He explained: "Initially the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance called on com-

munities to establish SDUs which would be non-partisan.

"But, in reality, the alliance had to take the initiative because it had the resources, the skills and the manpower.

"As communities, particularly in the PWV region, faced the violence of 1990, they were sometimes unable to strike a balance between a non-partisan

approach and the need to act with speed," he said.

Mr Moleketi added that problems developed because "some people who were neither disciplined nor accountable would find their way into the SDUs".

While welcoming President FW de Klerk's support for the formation of a peace corps, Mr Moleketi, warned that the initiative would fail "if the government wants to take it over".

Nqakula to replace Chris Hani

By CHARLENE SMITH

CHRIS HANI's right-hand man, Charles Nqakula, was yesterday elected the new general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

The SACP's 40-member central committee also discussed the impact of Mr Hani's death on the organisation.

It warned the right-wing "that our patience is not limitless, our discipline is not a

matter of cowardice". State President FW de Klerk was also warned that the SACP would not take attacks on political activists "lying down".

Mr Nqakula, 50, the man behind Operation Vula, said he intends consolidating the SACP, whose membership had doubled to 50 000 while led by Mr Hani.

A former journalist, Mr Nqakula was born in the Eastern Cape.



Assassination or killing frenzy: faces of chaos

11A
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STimes 25/4/93.

LET us look, then, into the abyss. Nearly 30 years ago I went to a village, deep in Zambia's Luangwa Valley, where all the inhabitants had been slaughtered, by fire and panga, because they refused to join Kenneth Kaunda's party, Unip.

No life was spared, neither woman nor infant nor beast. The mice that had scurried from the burning huts were neatly sliced in half. A Zambian soldier, stiff with British-taught discipline, stood immobile as tears ran down his cheeks.

The memory of that day came back to me this week as I read of the Staffordshire terrier, tied helpless to a tree, that was doused with petrol and set on fire by the township louts who raided the Crown Mine village while their leaders delivered their eulogies to Chris Hani in the nearby FNB stadium.

I cannot pretend to understand these killing frenzies. They occur when pubescent males, breaking free of all restraint, form hunting packs to pillage and to burn. Armed with modern weapons, like Pol Pot's child-soldiers in Cambodia, they can lay waste an entire civilisation.

A week ago I was startled to see, when I joined the Chris Hani protest march for a short distance, how many of the marchers were lean, mean, dead-eyed township youths, who had constantly to be forced back into line by sjambok-wielding ANC marshals. The hunting packs are not yet loose amongst us, but they snarl and snap at the fringes of civilised order, and sometimes they break through to kill, to maim, to burn, or simply to set a dog on fire.

President de Klerk can do very little about them. The immense political capital which he built up, by his own courage and foresight, on February 2 1990, has been frittered away in manoeuvres to release notorious killers, attempts to placate restive civil servants, or schemes to prop up pensions and retire old cronies.

He tried to privatise the apartheid machine, and failed; he intended to restore fiscal discipline, and failed; he hoped to contain the national debt, and failed; he was determined to lay down

the foundations of a constitutional democracy — a *rechtsstaat* — and he has failed at that. He has not even articulated his vision, in terms which people might have understood, and he has left his own followers frightened and bewildered.

Mostly, he has squandered his political strength in efforts to preserve an economy which the ANC had targeted as white South Africa's soft under-belly, and he failed at that too. His strength, and his political support, steadily drained away until, a fortnight ago, he was forced to stand aside from a national crisis and let Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Tokyo Sexwale handle it.

The immense military machine, built up at the cost of so many billions, stands useless, its nuclear weapons dismantled, its ageing aircraft grounded, its rockets and wondrous artillery pieces pointing uselessly into an empty sky. Only a thin line of policemen, undermanned and over-stretched, holds the hunting packs at bay.

The hunting packs are not nearly so dangerous, of course, as the highly trained, well-armed right-wingers who strain at their leash. For the moment, they are still restrained by a system of order — they have jobs, and addresses, and identities; they pay mortgages, and operate bank accounts, and use their own telephones. They can be identified, traced, arrested.

IF President de Klerk must look upon the hunting packs with fear and loathing, Mr Mandela must view the potential ferocity of the right-wing killing squads with loathing and terror. If the hunting packs raise the spectre of Pol Pot, the right-wingers and the idle war machine raise the spectre of Serbia.

Everybody knows these things, though nobody likes to articulate them. They loom over the negotiations that start next week, driving a search not for democracy but for order. President de Klerk cannot govern unless Mr Mandela calms the masses and beats off the hunting packs; Mr Mandela will not be able to govern unless President de Klerk holds firm the reins of army,

police and civil service and keeps the right-wing at bay.

This is the basis of the deal that will surely be struck in the next six weeks. At a dinner recently, I said mockingly to one of the most urbane members of the ANC that I had abandoned hope of democracy — I was prepared to contemplate an ANC government. He had the grace to laugh, but it was only half a joke.

The shape of the future South Africa will be determined not by bargaining in the next six weeks, but by the majority of an elected constituent assembly. That assembly will be bound by some agreed principles but, as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi rightly fears, the bonds will not be strong. They have not been skilfully tied.

THE Nationalists have forgotten, if they ever knew, the currency of democratic ideas; they strike only self-serving deals. The ANC does understand the currency, and works to undermine it, as Albie Sachs does, for example, when he opposes the right of the courts to review the administrative actions of officials in the new South Africa (on the spurious grounds that nothing must hamper the holy will of the majority, as interpreted by its high priests).

It hardly matters. The fight for democracy will resume, albeit in new ways against new oppressors, at the very birth of the new South Africa. It is a wearying, but not unfamiliar, prospect.

What does matter now is to shore up the faltering order — the political legitimacy, the lines of command, the disciplined forces, the apparatus of justice however rough, the controlled application of fear and punishment which alone can curb both the hunting packs and the killing squads.

The threat, as both Mr Mandela and President de Klerk well know, is that South Africa stands at the edge of the abyss, which is anarchy. They know, too, that if they are to survive, they must now strike a deal.

KEN OWEN

Democracy rules

NEGOTIATORS from the three main political parties agreed this week to begin drafting legislation that will establish an independent body to manage the country's first non-racial national elections.

The agreement was concluded by the government's constitutional adviser, Mr Fanie van der Merwe, the ANC's Mr Mac Maharaj and the IFP's Mr Ben Ngubane.

Given Inkatha's opposition to the holding of elections before agreement is reached on whether SA should be a federal or unitary state, Mr Ngubane's support for the proposal on the electoral commission is significant.

It indicates a new flexibility by the IFP in forging ahead on matters on which agreement can be reached, while continuing to argue on issues on which there are major differences of opinion.

The complex proposals by the three men are constructed in a manner which will allow this to happen.

The aim is to avoid clashes that might lead to any of the parties walking out of the talks before substantial agreements have been concluded.

Negotiators believe that once such agreements

in run-up to voting

SITimes 25/4/93

EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

have been concluded, it will be difficult for any major participant to walk out without attracting considerable opprobrium.

The latest proposals were approved by the 10-person planning committee at a closed session at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

They will be submitted tomorrow to the multi-party negotiating forum, which represents all 26 parties, for final approval.

Given their approval by the diverse political parties on the planning committee, the proposals are

unlikely to be blocked or substantially amended.

The parties represented on the planning committee include the Bophuthatswana government, the PAC, Inkatha, the government and the ANC.

There are five proposals. The first recommends that a committee should produce draft legislation for the setting up of an independent election commission.

This commission would be responsible for conducting and monitoring elections. It would also act as adjudicator and arbitrator on matters of dispute.

The commission would be made up of people who

are not political office bearers, and could include seconded international experts.

The commission would announce the results of the election, which would include citizens from the TBVC states, and would have the power to certify whether the poll had been free and fair.

It would also be responsible for a code of conduct committing the parties to peaceful electioneering, with penalties for offenders.

The second proposal is for the establishment of a committee to prepare draft legislation for an independent telecommunications authority and an independent media commission in the run-up to elections.

The telecommunications authority would regulate the allocation of licences, and determine their conditions.

The media commission would ensure fair play in the run-up to elections by monitoring the electronic media to ensure impartiality and compliance with licensing conditions.

Laws

There would be a code of conduct for all licensed broadcasters, as well as one specifically applicable to the SABC and the TBVC territories.

The code would stipulate that all parties have fair access to air their views.

The third proposal recommends the formation of a committee to draw up a list of laws which should be repealed to allow free political activity in South Africa and the TBVC states.

The fourth proposal recommends that a committee be appointed to draft proposals on the transitional executive council, using Codesa agreements as terms of reference.

The fifth proposal recommends the establishment of a committee to discuss armed formations and the defence forces.

This committee would also discuss the formation of a peace corps and measures to strengthen the National Peace Accord.



SOLIDARITY ... an ANC Youth League member flies the flag during Chris Hani's funeral this week

Picture: JOE SEFALE

IN a country riven by racial fear since the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani, the song chanted by Peter Mokaba, ANC youth leader, chilled many white South Africans.

"Kill the boer, kill the farmer," intoned the leader of the 490 000-strong ANC Youth League, at a rally in Cape Town last weekend.

It was, he later claimed, a time-honoured Umkhonto we Sizwe chant and was not meant maliciously. He failed to impress. White farmers went on to a war footing and the ANC leadership hastily distanced itself from his statement.

The incident proved how far the ANC leadership, in the main, have come since their January 8 1986 policy speech, which contained the exhortation: "Rise up against the blood-sucking white soldier-farmers ... give the enemy no quarter, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."

It also showed the distance which has now opened between them and a vast, febrile and disenchanting youth.

If Peter Mokaba had delivered his speech at Mr Hani's funeral on Monday — organisers said constraints of time prevented this — he would have given the same Old Testament and, in political terms, archaic exhortation: "We must return a blow for a blow, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and peace for peace ... Better die to a man than let the enemy pass!"

And therein lies part of the problem. The Youth League has become toothless within the ANC; it looks to a past where it was infinitely more powerful.

Every ANC policy document of the 80s paid tribute to the youth. In 1987, Oliver Tambo, then ANC president, said "Hail to the young lions ... who have united in combat groups and confronted the enemy".

However, by the following year the ANC began realising its progress was not on the battlefield with MK troops, but through sanctions, boycotts and the new Congress of SA Trade Unions.

It began changing its approach and a year later had begun tentative talks with the government.

Young people, however, had already lost years of an already inadequate schooling since 1976 and dreams of military glory seemed more glorious than the impossible task of finding a job with no skills.

ANCYL deputy president Lulu Johnson says the youth form the core of the 56 per cent of the population that is unemployed and the 64 per cent that is illiterate.

The "young lions" were not mentioned at all in this year's ANC policy document. They have become an embarrassing footnote and, in some areas, a dangerous problem.

The government has the resources to help alleviate the crisis of the "lost generation", which is rooted less in education but a chronic lack of work opportunities.

However, no movement is seen with the R1-billion set aside for job creation.

President FW de Klerk, showing no evidence of the urgency of ameliorating the crisis of youth who hang around street corners, mug pedestrians and are in the vanguard of mobs, said this

week that he would appoint a committee to examine the problem.

But it is a crisis that, coupled with far right-wing militancy, is imperilling the authority of those at the negotiations table.

As Peter Mokaba has noted: "Three years of negotiations have seen no improvement in people's lives. Things are worse. The trouble is that negotiations have become the property of a committee.

"The real danger is that these people feel their lives are worthless. They have foregone opportunities because we said the best life will come with democracy and liberation. Some who have come from exile are not proud returned soldiers, they are reduced to beggars.

"It is dangerous for peace," he added. "No one is creating jobs, not even those in the Patriotic Front who head bantustans and have limited resources to do that. We have good slogans about unity and how we should hug each other, but the youth see no future.

"Before the death of Chris Hani, we were battling to keep membership figures up. Some of the youth say we have sold out and chant PAC slogans. They no longer believe negotiations will benefit them.

"But the actions around his death have reinvigorated them," he noted.

"What have negotiations created that people are proud of? That will urge them to sing about? Nothing at all ..."

He criticised the fact that the slowest committee to become operational — but possibly the most crucial — in the Peace Accord structures was that devoted to social reconstruction. So far

only one committee of this type has been set up, in Port Shepstone with a R700 000 budget.

The furore about the MK chant has focused again on the growing split in the ANC between a leadership desperately trying to get movement on negotiations and growing militancy in its ranks among those who would rather stand eye-to-eye with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and shoot it out.

Mrs Winnie Mandela has called for "the youth to take over the struggle of this country".

She has been supported by Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala, who says that as people get older they become more cautious and "sometimes miss the mark".

Radical

Northern Natal chairman Aaron Ndlovu has been quoted as saying the ANC should form "retaliation squads" to hit back at assassins and their organisations.

Western Cape chairman Tony Yengeni, in whose constituency the most bloody and destructive march took place after Mr Hani's death, is also towing a militant line, scornful of negotiations.

Mr Yengeni has asked Mr Mokaba and Mrs Mandela to address people in his region again this weekend, the Natal Midlands has also invited them.

The voice of the radical is louder than the shuffling of papers at the negotiations table.

Mr Mokaba says: "We have to create projects for our young people, where they value their lives and society and have the responsibility to build the country and community."

Core

11A

S/Tramos 25/4/93

Tambo — the architect of the struggle

SITIMES 25/4/93

By CHARLENE SMITH



TWO of Africa's greatest men met on a football field and went on to form a team that changed South African history. Yesterday Oliver Tambo, the ANC's great unifier and the man who put South Africa on the path to negotiations, died.

A deeply saddened Nelson Mandela lost his closest teammate. Mr Mandela told the Sunday Times that he had known of and admired Oliver Tambo as a student leader before joining the same football team at Fort Hare University in the 1930s.

"He was my brother, my comrade, my friend and my colleague," a visibly moved Mr Mandela told a Johannesburg news conference yesterday.

In 1948, almost 10 years after they met, Mr Tambo and Mr Mandela were instrumental in the formation of the ANC Youth League.

They became partners in a Johannesburg law firm, were co-accused in the 1956 Treason Trial with Helen Joseph, who died this year, and 153 others, and through nearly three decades of Mr Tambo's exile and Mr Mandela's incarceration they remained in close contact.

When Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie parted it was to the Tambos' gracious home in Sandhurst that he first went to live. Apart from family get-togethers, Mr Tambo loved little more than sitting in his sun-dappled study with close friends like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, chatting and planning.

Born to a poor peasant family in Bizana, Transkei, in October 1917, he rose to become the ANC's acting president after the death of Albert Lutuli in 1967, and president from 1969 until 1990, when he became national chairman and Mr Mandela president.

RELIGIOUS

In 1955, as racist laws bit deeply into South Africa, Mr Tambo, then secretary-general of the ANC, prophesied that "so long as it is not recognised that the only real bulwark against dictatorship and fascism is the will of the non-white people for democracy, all opposition of white voters

alone will continue to be shadow play, unreal and ineffective".

A deeply religious man, he provided the ANC with a strong moral base: civilians were never an official target of Umkhonto we Sizwe — he spoke out against necklacing in 1988 — but newspapers were refused permission to publish his words.

The 1989 Harare Declaration, which he initiated and worked on, still underpins the ANC's strategic thinking on negotiations.

Oliver Tambo had to make many sacrifices for his cause, but perhaps the one that hurt most was the lengthy separations from his family, who lived in exile in London while he shuttled between safe houses in Zambia, Tanzania and other parts of Africa building the ANC.

In 1956 he married Adelaide Tsukudu, a nurse. On the way to the church, bride, groom and best man were arrested for a pass-law offence and huddled into a police van — they were released just in time for the ceremony.

A powerful, sensible woman, Mrs Tambo brought up her three children,

Tembi, Dali and Tselane, as cultured people in a tightly knit, loving family. She and Mr Tambo worked hard, out of the public eye, for poor communities, particularly squatters, after their return to South Africa.

Mr Tambo's children adored him, in particular his son Dali, a film producer.

A man who never raised his voice or was ever seen angry, Oliver Tambo almost single-handedly built up the external wing of the ANC and MK after he went into exile in 1960.

GRIEVED

The death of Chris Hani, with whom he had worked closely, deeply grieved him. He and his wife were on the scene of Mr Hani's death not long after the killing.

At the relaunch of the ANC Youth League in late 1990, shortly after he returned home, Mr Tambo said: "It is our responsibility to break down barriers of division and create a country where there will be neither whites nor blacks, just South Africans, free and united in diversity." That message of peace summed up the man.



OLIVER TAMBO seen here at Chris Hani's funeral on Monday. Behind him is ANC PWV leader Tokyo Sexwale
Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

Struggle's strategist

Star 26/4/93

ON HIS first official visit to the United States in January 1987, when he travelled to Washington DC to hold talks with the then Secretary of State George Schultz, Oliver Reginald Tambo also paid a lightning visit to Georgetown University to address a select gathering of students and members of the academic staff.

Tambo, then president of an organisation which the American government had until then described as a terrorist organisation, was accompanied by ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

Although the fact that Washington had finally agreed to give the ANC leader a hearing was a major milestone, Tambo's visit was not without its share of controversy.

Members of President Ronald Reagan's Republican Party and some rightwingers mounted demonstrations outside the State Department, protesting against Tambo's official presence in Washington.

They carried cardboard coffins to draw attention to the necklacing by South African "comrades" of people regarded as sellouts.

Near the State Department, at Georgetown University — where I happened to be studying at the time — Tambo impressed his huge audience.

Although he was a Christian, and with his long-time friend Nelson Mandela had been against collaboration with communists in their youth, Tambo refused to respond when a Republican student asked him whether he was a communist.

At a reception after the address, I was invited to sit at the table where he, Mbeki and Georgetown University authorities were sitting. Upon being told that I was a South African, Tambo engaged me in conversation, and told me that his other name was "Kaizer".

In September that year ANC cadre Tladi Ditshego — now employed in ANC president Nelson Mandela's office in Johannesburg — enrolled at the same university. When I told him Tambo had said his other name was "Kaizer", Ditshego laughed.

Tambo, he said, had told him his other name was "Tladi"

The political life of African National Congress chairman Oliver Tambo, who died on Saturday aged 75, epitomised the organisation's swing from peaceful resistance to the armed struggle and its emergence as key player in the peace process, reports

Political Correspondent
KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

when they first met in Zambia years before. "That is the kind of man he is," Ditshego said.

Tambo, more than anyone else, is credited with having single-handedly built up the external wing of the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), in exile.

Soft-spoken and mild-mannered, Tambo was a respected strategist, and is credited with having masterminded the 1989 Harare Declaration that paved the way for negotiations with the South African Government.

Born the son of a peasant farmer in Bizana in eastern Pondoland on October 27 1917, Tambo attended mission schools in the region before going on to the Anglican-run St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg in 1933 — to which he later returned as a science teacher.

Expelled

It was at the University of Fort Hare, a cradle of African leadership, that Tambo became politically active. It was there that he met Mandela. A long-time friendship, which later saw them becoming partners in the first black law firm in Johannesburg in 1952, began.

Tambo obtained his BSc degree from Fort Hare, and later enrolled for an education diploma at the same university. He was not to complete that diploma: he was expelled a month before his final exams for organising a student protest.

Together with Mandela, Anton Lembede and others, Tambo was a founder member of the ANC Youth League in 1944, and the following year he was appointed its vice-president. He went on to become a

member of the ANC's Transvaal executive committee, and in 1949 was elected to the ANC national executive committee.

From there his rise in the ANC was rapid, and like his colleagues in the leadership he had his fair share of arrests and bannings, until he slipped out of the country in 1960 — just before the ANC and the PAC were banned — to rally international support against Pretoria and form the ANC's underground.

In 1956 he married Adelaide Tsukudu, with whom he had three children.

While he was outside the country he heard about the arrest of Mandela and many others in South Africa. He remained abroad, building the ANC and turning it into some kind of government in exile, and did not return home until December 1990 to attend the ANC's first consultative conference inside the country.

Over the years Tambo became a major international figure, and was received as a head of state in many countries. He had succeeded in isolating the Government internationally, and by 1989 the ANC had more diplomatic representatives abroad than the Government.

He had built MK into a formidable guerilla army, and whenever bombs exploded in the country, Pretoria was quick to blame the ANC even before there was any shred of evidence or ANC headquarters in Lusaka had claimed responsibility.

In August 1989 Tambo suffered a major stroke which left him partly paralysed, with his speech impaired.

He returned home permanently on June 23 1991, and the following month was succeeded by Mandela as ANC president. Tambo, however, was appointed national chairman.

Before handing over the reins, he urged the ANC to adhere to the suspension of the armed struggle. "To go back means defeat and it would also be a tragedy because it would also mean the destruction of a new South Africa."

At the time of his death Tambo was chancellor of the University of Fort Hare, and had been awarded an honorary doctorate in law by the University of Western Cape. □



Struggle stalwart ... Oliver Tambo, a devout Christian, emphatically supported the ANC's armed struggle before the organisation's unbanning in 1990.

Star 26/4/93

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Struggle stalwart ... Oliver Tambo, a devout Christian, emphatically supported the ANC's armed struggle before the organisation's unbanning in 1990.

Life of service to ANNC

JOHANNESBURG. — It was the gentle-mannered Mr Oliver Tambo who, almost single-handedly, built up the external wing of the African National Congress and its military arm, Umkhonto weSizwe.

It was he who piloted the movement through the three decades it was banned in its country of birth.

Mr Tambo was born on October 27, 1917, in Bizana in eastern Pondoland. He attended mission schools in the territory before going on to Johannesburg's St Peter's Secondary School in 1933.

In 1938 he enrolled at Fort Hare university, from where he graduated with a B.Sc.

In 1944 he became a founder member of the ANC Youth League, formed to press for a more militant approach in the organisation.

In 1945 he became ANCYL vice-president, and in 1949 was elected to the ANC national executive.

He was articleed to a law firm in 1948 and in 1952 joined ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to form the first African law partnership in South Africa.

In 1954 he was banned from attending political meetings. In 1955 he was

A stroke (114)
CT26/4/PB

takes life

of Oliver

Tambo

elected ANC secretary-general, and in 1958 became deputy president-general.

In 1956 he was arrested and briefly held on charges of treason.

Also in 1956 he married Miss Adelaide Tsukudu, with whom he was to have three children.

In 1959 Mr Tambo's banning was renewed and the ANC decided he should leave the country.



IN MOURNING . . . Mrs Adelaide Tambo, at an Anglican service in Cape Town this year.

He slipped across the border into Bechuanaland in 1960 just before the ANC and PAC were banned.

From there he went to Tanganyika and Ghana before going to London. He began to organise the political and military training of MK cadres and to mobilise world support for the ANC's armed struggle.

When Chief Albert Lutuli died in 1967, Mr Tambo was elected acting president, and in 1977 president.

Mr Tambo, who was a devout Christian, remained an uncompromising proponent of the armed struggle.

Mr Tambo masterminded the 1989 Harare Declaration, the ANC's blueprint for negotiations which invited talks with the South African government when the right political climate had been created.

During the two years he worked on the document he suffered two minor strokes.

In August 1989 he suffered a major stroke which left him partly paralysed and impaired his speech.

He flew into South Africa under a temporary indemnity in December 1990 to attend the ANC's first consultative conference inside the country since its banning, and received a tumultuous welcome at Jan Smuts airport.

He returned permanently on June 23, 1991. At the ANC national conference that followed a fortnight later, he was succeeded in the presidency by Mr Mandela, but was appointed national chairman.

In 1991 he was awarded an honorary doctorate in law by the University of the Western Cape and accepted the chancellorship of Fort Hare.

He was also treated that year for pneumonia. — Sapa



SAPTA MOURNS A
With the late Mr



N . . . Mrs Winnie Mandela
of Tambo in 1990. Picture: AP

Benoni funeral service to be held on Sunday

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress yesterday announced that the funeral of late ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo will be held on Sunday, May 2, at a venue in Benoni to be announced later.

"He will be buried in Benoni, the town where he lived before he left the country in 1960," an ANC statement said.

Mr Tambo will lie in state on Sunday

from Gam.

Mr Oliver Reginald Tambo died early on Saturday at Johannesburg's Milpark Hospital after a severe stroke.

Mr Tambo, 75, was admitted to hospital on Friday for observation in connection with a previous chest infection.

Early on Saturday Mr Tambo "unexpectedly" suffered a severe stroke.

Mr Tambo leaves his wife, Adelaide,

his eldest daughter Tembi, son Dali, youngest daughter Tselane, and his three grandchildren.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said he was bereft at the loss of his lifelong friend.

Mr Mandela said he hoped "the machinery" on the day of Mr Tambo's funeral would be more effective than that at the burial of SA Communist Party

leader Mr Chris Hani last Monday.

The ANC's information and publicity department yesterday issued a statement saying that although it would be a national funeral, all ANC regions were called upon "to hold simultaneous memorial services".

The statement called for members to show dignity and discipline during the remembrance services.

It said Mr Tambo had been deeply disturbed by the looting and violence which marred the Hani funeral.

Messages of condolence have already been received from a diversity of groups ranging from the governments of Britain, Canada and Nigeria to the Afrikaner Volksunie as well as all of South Africa's major political players. — Sapa

Omar 'did not make arms call'

CT 26/4/93

Staff Reporter

(17)

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ANC national executive committee member Mr. Dullah Omar said yesterday that he wished to make it absolutely clear that he had made no "call to arms" at the Nyanga funeral of uMkhonto weSiswe cadre Mr Malungisa "Khaya" Simane on Saturday.

He was extremely disturbed by what he called a "totally erroneous and damaging impression created by the SABC" of what he had said.

"No one who listened to my speech could possibly interpret it as a call to arms," he said, yet the SABC had taken a remark he had made about guns in one part of his speech and linked it to a call on people to join uMkhonto weSiswe in another.

Efforts to obtain comment from the SABC proved fruitless yesterday.

He had indeed said that we "must turn our guns on the enemy", apartheid, Mr Omar said, but he had been speaking metaphorically or figuratively at the time. This had been indicated by the context.

He had been calling for a concentration of all efforts to end the apartheid system, but not for a return to arms.

He had also pointed out that MK was not just a group of people with guns, and said that it had a constructive role to play in the community.

Nqakula
is Hani's
successor

CT 26/4/93

(11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr. Charles Nqakula will succeed the late Mr. Chris Hani as secretary-general of the SACP.

The party made the announcement after a central committee meeting here at the weekend.

The full implications of Mr Hani's murder at his Dawn Park home in Boksburg, including the resulting mass anger, had been extensively discussed at the meeting, the party said.

The SACP would embark upon a Chris Hani campaign "which among other things will include a recruitment drive of revolutionaries, who are committed to taking up the fallen spear of Chris Hani". — Sapa

TOKYO Sexwale has become, in a heart-breaking fashion, the bridge between the old order and the new.

One of the most tragic pictures that will endure in the mind's eye is the tear-stained Tokyo, the ANC's PWV chairman, meeting the elderly Mr Oliver Tambo and his wife on the patio of Hani's Dawn Park house.

The grotesquely broken body of Chris Hani somehow lay like Shakespeare's 'bleeding piece of earth', whose pardon Tokyo seemed to be seeking for being so tearful, meek and humble.

Tokyo Sexwale broke down while being interviewed and Tambo looked on with the grim patrician face of an ancient black man experienced in much pain.

Classical picture

It was a classical picture of African tragedy.

Tokyo was among the first at the Tambo house, accompanied by his friend, Chris Hani's wife Limpho.

The passing of the old guard was heralded in a tragically spectacular fashion by Hani's assassination. It was with great pain and sadness that we watched the old guard, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, among others, arriving in Dawn Park and later giving Chris Hani's funeral the gravity it so richly

deserved.

Tokyo's generation was there in great numbers, in great anger.

But Tokyo and his peers have had to listen to the old guard to keep in check the new angry followers of the ANC. It must have been a monumental task. While our hearts went out to those grey-headed men who had spent so many years fighting for freedom, the fellow feeling for Tokyo was just as deep.

In his tribute to Tambo, Mr Mandela was mourning what he called "my brother, my comrade, my friend and my

colleague". A week or so ago, Tokyo was doing the same.

Painful as this sequence of events is, it is almost fitting in its tragic moment. Chris Hani's death affected the elderly Tambo grievously. Chris Hani in his own way went out of this life to prepare a place for the old man.

He is like the youthful courtier giving his life, as it were, to create a fitting welcome for his leader in paradise.

What I found extremely distasteful after the death of Chris Hani was the way in which the opponents of the alliance

were deliberately making political profit out of the tragedy.

I hope we will never again disgrace ourselves in this fashion. We have our "Botho" or "Ubuntu" to guide us.

We should bury our differences when those people who have spent all their lives fighting for freedom and justice pass on.

This feeling comes naturally to all people, even those we think do not have the African ethos of "Ubuntu". We cannot stand the odium of black men and women acting in such un-African, such

Aggrey
Klaaste's



On the
LINE

Bridge between old and new order

PP/IIA

Sowetan 26/4/93.

unfeeling ways when we are mourning our heroes.

Tambo's obituary will be written by those who knew him better, those who fought the good fight with him.

Black restaurants

I will add only a fleeting if inconsequential note. I remember in a vague way the days when Mandela and his friend Oliver Tambo used to lunch at the very few black restaurants, like Kapitan's and the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg.

They were among the first two black lawyers to have offices in Johannesburg.

They were also the first two men who lit the way to the fight that is on the brink of seeing black people sharing in the running of the show in South Africa.

‘Painful as this sequence of events is, it is almost fitting in its tragic moment. Chris Hani's death affected the elderly Tambo grievously’

Tambo funeral: plea to youths from ANC

Star 26/4/93

Staff Reporters

11A

In a special message to its supporters — particularly youths — the ANC yesterday called for Oliver Tambo to be buried without violence or vandalism.

His funeral will be in Benoni on Sunday at a venue still to be announced.

The ANC called for Tambo's burial to be accompanied by simultaneous services across the country.

Tambo (75), the movement's national chairman, died of a severe stroke early on Saturday.

The ANC said Tambo had been "very disturbed by the looting, vandalism and acts of violence" which marred the funeral of Chris Hani in Germiston last week.

At least 14 people — including two men who were murdered and burnt near the FNB Stadium outside Johannesburg — died and scores of houses and a number of shops were looted during that funeral.

The ANC said in a statement: "No matter how deep our anger and grief, such acts should not be repeated. We must not permit criminal and hooligan elements to desecrate the burial service of our father."

It said Tambo — a founder member of the ANC Youth League and its honorary life president when he died — had to be buried with "the dignity and solemnity that the occasion demands."

"We are calling on all our members, supporters and

World pays tribute

— Page 3

Struggle's strategist

— Page 15

mourners to pay due respect to one of South Africa's greatest sons."

A funeral committee comprising Joe Slovo, Thabo Mbeki, Pallo Jordan, Barbara Masekela, Cheryl Carolus, Baleka Kgositsile, Alfred Nzo and Cyril Ramaphosa has been established.

The organisation said Tambo would lie in state from 6 am on Sunday in Benoni. He lived in the town's Wattville township before he left the country in 1960.

Tambo was admitted to Milpark Hospital at noon on Friday for observation in connection with a previous chest infection.

The ANC said he was in no distress and had watched his daughter Tselane on the television programme *Robben Island* in the evening.

He unexpectedly suffered a severe stroke in the early hours of Saturday and died at 3.10 am.

Tselane and her mother Adelaide were at his side.

Tambo, who first suffered a major stroke in August 1989, returned to South Africa in June 1991 after spending a year recuperating in Switzerland.

He is survived by his wife, daughters Tembi and Tselane, son Dali and three grandchildren.

ANC seeks change in financing

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would introduce mechanisms to encourage private and public sector financial institutions to channel resources into productive investment, ANC economic planning department head Trevor Manuel said on the weekend.

Addressing the annual conference of the Southern African Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators, Manuel said these institutions would also be encouraged to develop the "basic needs" sector of the economy and to end lending discrimination against blacks, women and the informal sector.

Furthermore, specialised institutions and new instruments — such as subsidised interest rates — would have to be created to facilitate investment.

Manuel said public sector financial institutions such as the Industrial Development

LINDA ENSOR

Corporation (IDC), Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC), Land Bank and the Development Bank had to be substantially transformed. The IDC had given birth to unviable projects such as Mossgas, the SBDC allocated 73% of its net lending to whites and the Land Bank aimed to keep white farmers on the land.

One of the problems with the private sector financial institutions was that they were owned by the large conglomerates, which dominated the economy, acting in effect more as treasuries for these corporations than as banks.

Manuel questioned whether sound banking principles had not been eroded by the conglomerates' liquidity requirements.

The cost of capital was prohibitive and created difficulties of access for the small and medium sized entrepreneur. Not having had the opportunity to accumulate assets and own land, blacks generally did not have the necessary collateral.

"Vast segments of the community are unbanked or underbanked while the products of financial institutions are by and large not user-friendly," Manuel said.

He stressed the need for the entire financial sector to be restructured.

Star 26/4/93

World pays tribute to Oliver Tambo

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent



Tributes to the late ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo have been pouring in since his death was announced at the weekend.

Tambo (75), who returned to South Africa in June 1991 after spending three decades in exile, died of a stroke at Milpark Hospital at 3.10 am on Saturday.

The ANC said Tambo, who had been admitted to hospital on April 23 for observation in connection with a chest infection, had been in no pain.

Tributes have come from political organisations in SA as well as from foreign governments and international bodies.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, Tambo's friend and one-time legal partner, told a press conference in Johannesburg on Saturday that Tambo had done more than any individual to build the ANC through hard years in exile.

President De Klerk said Tambo, whom he had met only once when they had "a very constructive discussion", had always been supportive of the peace process in the country and was an example worthy of being followed.

In a letter to Tambo's wife

Adelaide, United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali described Tambo as a "remarkable political leader whose impact was felt far beyond his own country".

The British government said South Africa had lost "a great national leader".

The ANC Youth League appealed to young people to pay tribute to the former ANC president by emulating his "outstanding attributes" of humility, discipline and selflessness.

The ANC Women's League commended Tambo for supporting women in their struggle "for women's emancipation and empowerment".

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said it was a pity that Tambo, who had exerted himself for peaceful negotiations since his return from exile, had not lived to witness a settlement.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said Tambo, "a man of deep spirituality", would be remembered for his sacrifices for the sake of others.

Tributes have also come from Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).

NEWS ANC chief speaks at cultural gathering ●

Tambo a terrible loss, says Mandela

Sowetan 26/4/93

MR NELSON Mandela yesterday again paid tribute to late ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo at the opening of the Cultural Development Congress at the Civic Theatre in Johannesburg, saying he was desolate at the loss of his lifelong friend.

"We grieve deeply for his family and for the terrible loss to this country.

"Oliver Tambo believed in the efficacy of culture to make us whole and to give us a richer quality of life. The ANC's policies on the arts and culture stemmed, to a large extent, from his vision, understanding and initiative.

"ANC choirs internationally, the Amandla cultural ensemble, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College and even the ANC logo emerged from his inspiration."

■ 'Time to move from protest to reconstruction':

Mandela said it was his organisation's belief that the universal language of culture would show ways to transform and heal the consciousness of all South Africans.

"Perhaps one of the greatest challenges facing any nation in transition is to move from protest, defiance and resistance to building and reconstruction. Similarly, in our own case, we have to move from slogans and rhetoric to constructive and concrete programmes that will actually engage our beleaguered people, black and white," he said. — Sapa.

FOCUS *The end of a long chapter in South African politics*



focus on Tambo

IT was the gentle-mannered Oliver Tambo who, almost single-handedly, built up the external wing of the African National Congress and its military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It was he who piloted the movement through the three decades it was banned in the country that gave it birth.

And it was Tambo who masterminded the Harare Declaration which in 1989 paved the way for negotiations with the South African Government.

Tambo was born on October 27 1917 in Bizana in eastern Pondoland. The son of a peasant farmer, he attended mission schools in the territory before going on to the Anglican-run St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg in 1933.

In 1938 he enrolled at Fort Hare, where he was recognised as a brilliant student, and graduated with a B Sc. He went on to study for an education diploma but was expelled a month before examinations for organising a student protest.

It was at Fort Hare that Tambo met Mr Nelson Mandela.

In 1944 he became a founder-member of the ANC Youth League, formed to press for a more militant approach in the organisation.

In 1945 he was appointed vice-president of the ANCYL and in 1949 he was elected to the ANC national executive.

He was articled to a law firm in 1948 and in 1952 joined Mandela to form the first African law partnership in South Africa.

In 1954 he was banned from attending political meetings, although this did not prevent him from continuing to work for the ANC. In 1955 he was elected secretary-general of the movement and in 1958 became deputy president-general.

In 1956 he was arrested and briefly held on charges of treason. The charges were dropped in 1957.

Also in 1956 he married Miss Adelaide Tshukudu, with whom he was to have three children. On the way to the church, bride, groom and best man were arrested for a pass law offence and bundled into a police van — but were released just in time for the ceremony.

In 1959 Tambo's banning was renewed and the ANC, suspecting that the State was about to ban the movement, decided he should leave the country to rally international support against the South African Government.

"We also had to create a reliable rear base for our struggle," he recalled in later years.

He slipped across the border into Bechuanaland in 1960, a week after Sharpeville and just before the ANC and PAC were banned, and spent some time in protective custody there because of fears he might be kidnapped by South

Threats by Government agents, ill-health and a nomadic lifestyle fraught with danger failed to douse his determination to forge the African National Congress into a major political force, reports *Sapa*.



Oliver Tambo ... built the ANC in exile.

African agents.

From there he went to Tanganyika, where he met nationalist leader Mr Julius Nyerere, and on to Ghana, to meet Dr Kwame Nkrumah, before going to London.

In London he was instrumental in the formation of the short-lived South African United Front, which included the ANC, PAC, SACP and what was to become Swapo.

He also began to organise the political and military training of Umkhonto cadres and to mobilise world support for the ANC's armed struggle.

When Chief Albert Luthuli died in 1967, Tambo was elected acting president, and in 1977 president.

Tambo acted as the movement's roving ambassador, meeting senior government representatives in a string of countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It was a measure of the ANC's success in isolating Pretoria, he said, that by 1989 the organisation had more representatives abroad than the South African Government.

However, Tambo paid a price in personal terms. For decades he shuttled between safe houses in Dar es Salaam and Lusaka, seeing his wife and children in their London home only rarely.

During these years Tambo, who was a devout

Christian and in fact nearly entered the priesthood in 1956, remained an uncompromising proponent of the armed struggle.

In an address on the 75th anniversary of the ANC in 1987, he said: "The need for us to take up arms will never transform us into prisoners of the idea of violence, slaves to the goddess of war. And yet, if the opponents of democracy have their way, we will have to wade through rivers of blood to reach our goal of liberty, justice and peace."

In the same year he publicly described "necklace" murders as barbaric — a statement which South African newspapers were refused permission to quote.

Tambo masterminded the 1989 Harare Declaration, the ANC's blueprint for negotiations which invited talks with the South African Government when the right political climate had been created in the country.

During the two years he worked on the compilation of the document he suffered two minor strokes but continued to press on with the task of completing it and ensuring its acceptance.

In August 1989 he suffered a major stroke which left him partly paralysed and impaired his speech.

He flew into South Africa under a temporary indemnity in December 1990 to attend the ANC's first consultative conference inside the country since its banning, and received a tumultuous welcome at Jan Smuts Airport.

He returned to South Africa permanently on June 23 1991. At the ANC national conference that followed a fortnight later, he was succeeded in the presidency by Mandela but was appointed to the post of national chairman instead.

Before handing over the reins, he urged the ANC to adhere to the suspension of the armed struggle.

"To go back means defeat and it would also be a tragedy because it would also mean the destruction of a new South Africa."

In July 1991 Tambo headed an ANC delegation to talks on forming an anti-apartheid "patriotic front" with some leaders of thebantustans and other black opposition groupings.

Earlier that year he was awarded an honorary doctorate in law by the University of the Western Cape and accepted the chancellorship of Fort Hare.

He was also treated that year in a Johannesburg clinic for pneumonia. — *Sapa*

11A @Sowetan 26/4/93

11A

B/DAM 26/4/93

ANC's Oliver Tambo to be buried in hometown Benoni



TAMBO

ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo will be buried next Sunday in Benoni, the town which was his home before he left the country in 1960, the organisation announced yesterday.

The ANC said Tambo would lie in state that morning from 6am. Venues and other ceremony details would be announced later.

Tambo, 75, died early on Saturday morning at Johannesburg's Milpark Hospital after he suffered a severe stroke.

The ANC said in a statement that in view of May Day activities, due to take place throughout the country on Saturday, Tambo would lie in state on Sunday.

No mention was made of any stayaway or marches.

KATHRYN STRACHAN

A committee headed by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and including Joe Slovo, Thabo Mbeki, Pallo Jordan, Barbara Masekela, Cheryl Carolus, Baleka Kgositsile and Alfred Nzo had been established to co-ordinate preparations for the funeral.

While it would be a national funeral, all ANC regions were asked to hold simultaneous memorial services in their centres to allow wider participation. Regions would also hold requiem services during the week.

In its statement, the ANC specially asked youth members to pay tribute to Tambo by ensuring there was no loss of life, no damage to

property and no undignified behaviour. Sapa reports that ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he was bereft at the loss of his lifelong friend.

Speaking at the organisation's cultural development congress in Johannesburg, Mandela said: "We grieve deeply for his family and for the terrible loss to this country. Our strategist has left us as we approach the goals he set for us, but his spirit is embodied in all our work."

The two men's friendship went back to the 1930s when they were both students at Fort Hare University.

Mandela said he hoped "the machinery" on the day of Tambo's funeral would be more effective than that at Hani's burial.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said South Africans should honour the memory of Tambo by striving for the kind of democracy where people had the right to differ.

State President F W de Klerk on Saturday conveyed his condolences to Tambo's widow Adelaide and her family. De Klerk said Tambo had always been supportive of the peace process and said he was an example worthy of being followed.

Others who paid tribute to Tambo included a number of foreign governments, the UN, the EC, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa, Cosatu, Nactu, the DP, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the PAC.

● See Page 6

'Let Tambo be buried peacefully'

11A 17 OCT 26/4/93

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In a special message to its supporters — particularly the youth — the ANC has called for national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo to be buried without violence or vandalism.

The funeral will be held on Sunday in Benoni. The venue is to be made known later.

The ANC has called for Mr Tambo's burial to be accompanied by simultaneous services across the country.

Mr Tambo, 75, died of a stroke in the early hours of Saturday. Tributes to him continued to pour in from around the world yesterday.

His death, which came two weeks after SACP chief Mr Chris Hani was killed, had "deeply affected our people", the ANC said.

The organisation said Mr Tambo was "very disturbed by the looting, vandalism and acts of violence" which marred Mr Hani's funeral in Germiston last week.

At least 10 people died — including two men who were burned in their house near the FNB Stadium outside Johannesburg — and scores of houses and a number of shops were looted.

"No matter how deep our anger and grief, such acts should not be repeated. We must not

permit criminal and hooligan elements to desecrate the burial service of our father," the ANC said in a statement.

It said Mr Tambo — who was founder member of the ANC Youth League and was its honorary life president when he died — had to be buried with "the dignity and solemnity that the occasion demands".

The organisation said that while Mr Tambo was impressed by restraint shown by the people during Mr Hani's funeral service, he was deeply disappointed by the violence.

"We are calling on all our members, supporters and mourners to pay due respect to one of South Africa's greatest sons. Let us all pay tribute to his memory by ensuring that there is no loss of life, no damage to property, no undignified behaviour.

"Let us emulate his ideals, his steadfast commitment to peace, freedom and respect for all humanity," the ANC said.

Mr Tambo was admitted to Milpark Hospital at noon on Friday for observation in connection with a chest infection.

He had a severe stroke in the early hours of Saturday and died at 3.10am after doctors tried to resuscitate him.

● The man who built the ANC
— page 15.

The man who built the ANC

ARG 26/4/93

ON his first official visit to the United States in January 1987, when he travelled to Washington DC to hold talks with then Secretary of State George Schultz, Oliver Reginald Tambo also paid a lightning visit to Georgetown University to address a select gathering of students and members of the academic staff.

Mr Tambo, then president of an organisation which the American government had until then described as "a terrorist organisation", was accompanied by ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

Although the fact that Washington had finally agreed to give the ANC leader a hearing was a major milestone in itself, Mr Tambo's visit was not without its share of controversy.

Members of President Ronald Reagan's Republican Party and some right-wingers mounted demonstrations outside the State Department, protesting against Mr Tambo's official presence in Washington.

They carried cardboard coffins to draw attention to the execution in South Africa by "comrades"; through the "necklace" method, of people regarded as sell-outs.

A stone's throw from the State Department, at Georgetown University — where I happened to be studying at the time — Mr Tambo impressed his huge audience.

However, although he was a Christian, and with his long-time friend and former legal colleague Nelson Mandela had been against any collaboration with communists in their youth, Mr Tambo refused to respond to a question when a Republic student asked him if he was a communist.

At a lunch reception after the address, I was invited to sit at the table where he, Mr Mbeki and Georgetown University authorities were sitting. Upon being told that I was a South African, Mr Tambo engaged me in conversation, and told me that his other name was "Kaizer".

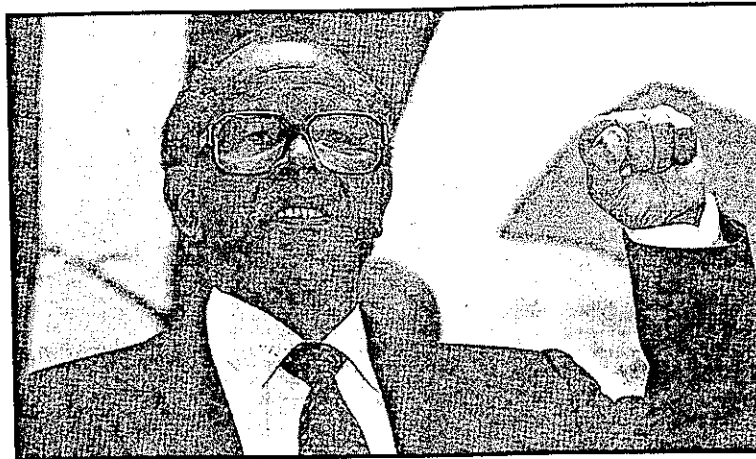
In September that year ANC cadre Tladi Ditshego — now employed in ANC president Nelson Mandela's office in Johannesburg — enrolled at the same university. When I told him Mr Tambo had said his other name was "Kaizer", Mr Ditshego laughed.

Mr Tambo, he said, had also told him his other name was "Tladi" when they first met in Zambia some years earlier.

"That is the kind of man he is," the laughing Mr Ditshego told me.

It is Mr Tambo, more than anyone else, who is credited with having, single-handedly built up the external wing of the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we-

The political life of African National Congress chairman, Oliver Tambo, who died on Saturday aged 75, epitomised the ANC's swing from peaceful resistance to the armed struggle and its emergence as a key player in the peace process. Argus Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports.



OLIVER TAMBO: Tributes pour in for the man who dedicated his life to the ending of apartheid and the attainment of democracy.

Sizwe (MK), in exile.

Soft-spoken and mild-mannered, Mr Tambo was a respected strategist, and is to this day credited with having masterminded the 1989 Harare Declaration which paved the way for negotiations with the South African government.

Born the son of a peasant farmer in Bizana in eastern Pondoland on October 27 1917, Tambo attended mission schools in the region before going on to the Anglican-run St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg in 1933 — to which he later returned as a science teacher.

It was at the University of Fort Hare, a cradle of African leadership, that Mr Tambo became politically active. It was there that he met Mr Mandela. A long-time friendship, which later saw them becoming partners in the first African law firm in Johannesburg in 1952, began.

Mr Tambo obtained his BSc degree from Fort Hare, and later enrolled for an education diploma at the same university. He was not to complete that diploma: he was expelled a month before taking his final exams for organising a student protest.

With Mr Mandela, Anton Lembede and others, Mr Tambo was a founder member of the ANC Youth League in 1944, and the following year he was appointed its vice-president. He went on to be a member of the ANC's Transvaal executive committee, and in 1949 was elected to the ANC national executive committee.

From here his rise in the ANC

was rapid, and like his colleagues in the leadership he had his fair share of arrests and bannings, until he slipped out of the country in 1960 — just before the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress were banned — to rally international support against Pretoria and form the ANC's underground.

In 1956 he had married Adelaide Tsukudu, with whom he had three children.

It was while he was outside the country that he heard about the arrest of Mr Mandela and many others in South Africa. He remained abroad, building the ANC and turning it into a kind of a government-in-exile, and did not return home until December 1990 when he attended the ANC's first consultative conference inside the country.

Over the years Mr Tambo became a major international figure, and was received as a head of state in many countries. He had succeeded in isolating the South African government internationally, and by 1989 the ANC had more diplomatic representation abroad than the government.

He had built MK into a formidable guerrilla army, and whenever bombs exploded in the country Pretoria was quick to blame the ANC even before there was any shred of evidence or ANC headquarters in Lusaka had claimed responsibility.

In August 1989 he had a major stroke which left him partly paralysed and impaired his speech.

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Dr Boutros-Ghali said he had worked with Mr Tambo during his tenure as ANC president, and said the ANC leader had "a deep

understanding of international relations, and his commitment to the ideals and principles of the UN was exemplary".

"South Africa has lost a great leader who not only championed the struggle against apartheid, but also made a significant contribution towards the establishment of a democratic non-racial and united South Africa.

"His passing away takes place at a time when South Africa is going through a trying period. His legacy should help guide the way forward," said the UN chief.

Commonwealth secretary-general Chier Emeka Anyaoku said there could be no more fitting tribute to Mr Tambo than that South Africans of all races worked with more vigour to achieve the ideals to which he devoted his life.

The British government said South Africa had lost "a great national leader" who had dedicated his life to the end of apartheid and the attainment of democracy.

The Nigerian military government said Mr Tambo's death two weeks after Chris Hani's assassination was "a major setback in the struggle for majority rule in South Africa".

Mr Tambo's leadership was an example of "completeness, maturity and perfection", according to the ANC Youth League. The league appealed to the youth to pay tribute to the former ANC president by emulating his "outstanding attributes" of humility, discipline and selflessness.

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Nactu said Tambo was "a leader with vision who even against the brutality of apartheid was able to raise the eyes of our people beyond the storm and dust of apartheid to a non-racial and non-exploitative democratic society".

The man who built the ANC

ARG 26/4/93 (11A)

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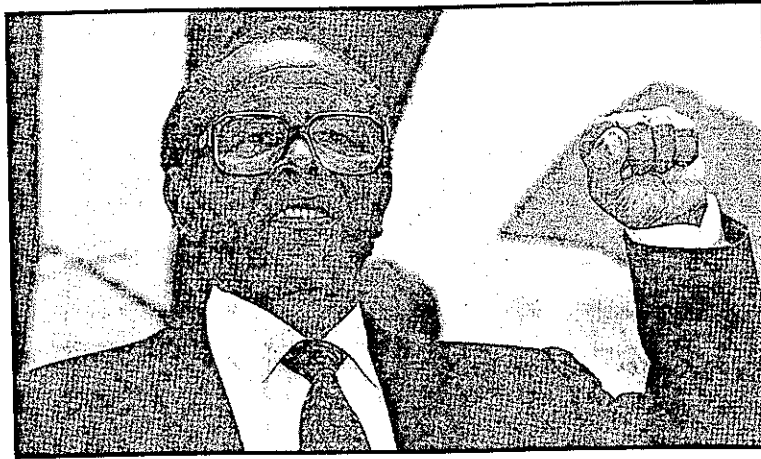
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**Successor to
 Hani chosen**

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THE SACP has announced that Charles Nqakula will succeed the late Chris Hani as party general secretary.

The party said on Saturday a central committee meeting in Johannesburg had appointed Nqakula.

A SACP statement said the full implications of Hani's murder at his Dawn Park home in Boksburg had been extensively discussed at the meeting and the party would launch a Chris Hani campaign which would include "a recruitment drive of revolutionaries, who are committed to taking up the fallen spear of Chris Hani".

It said mass anger, as well as militant but disciplined manifestations, had brought about the possibility of pushing forward rapidly for the realisation of SACP demands.

The demands include the announcement of an election date before the end of May, formation of a transitional executive council and joint control of armed forces.

"Those who have sought to delay the process are increasingly isolated. We must ensure, through all-round pressure, that this isolation is deepened." — Sapa.

NEWS PAC launches branch at Modderfontein ● Employees suspended after Hani service

Seize land back — Makwetu

Sowetan

26/4/93

■ Workers urged to work together in ending ownership of industries by monopolies: *IIA*

By Isaac Moledi

MEMBERS of the Pan Africanist Congress should exert more pressure on the "white racist regime" to regain their land, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said yesterday.

Speaking at the launching of a PAC branch in Modderfontein, Makwetu said: "The point at issue is the land. Without the land there is neither nationhood nor sovereignty.

"Without resolving the land question, there cannot be talk of a settlement. The

land was taken from us by the sword and is still being held by the sword."

Makwetu called on liberation movements to unite. "Ours is to promote the spirit of African nationalism among the African people," he said.

Makwetu also said workers were instrumental in the fight for liberation to recover the land.

Seven committee members were sworn in as officials of the new branch

yesterday.

The launch was also addressed by an official of the African National Congress. Members of both the PAC and ANC joined hands whenever a revolutionary song was sung.

Makwetu said workers should not be mere wage earners but should also participate in decision-making and be part of the sharing of profits and responsibilities in their respective industries.

AECI workers end strike

By Isaac Moledi

A ONE-WEEK strike by more than 4 000 members of the South African Chemical Workers Union at the AECI plant in Modderfontein came to an end yesterday after an agreement between management and union officials.

A joint statement issued by AECI and Sacwu said all the security employees who were on strike would return to work from today.

The workers began their stayaway on April 16 after two of their members were suspended after they stayed away

■ Arbitrator to investigate circumstances:

from work during services for SACP general secretary Chris Hani.

In terms of the agreement, an independent arbitrator will be appointed to investigate the relevant circumstances of the suspension of the two workers.

The parties will then agree on action to be taken after the arbitrator's findings. *Sowetan 26/4/93*.

"Both parties committed themselves to doing everything necessary to restore good working relationships," the statement said.



COMRADES IN THE STRUGGLE ... ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo (far right), seen here with US Civil Rights campaigner Mr Andrew Young and Mr Walter Sisulu in March.
PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

Date set for Tambo burial

Sowetan 26/4/93

11A

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

Africans. The death of ANC national chairman OR Tambo, following so close on that of Chris Hani, has deeply affected our people. Comrade OR was a father figure to millions of South Africans, whether member of the ANC or not. We will bury him with the dignity and solemnity the occasion demands."

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo, who died quietly at the weekend, will be buried in Benoni on the East Rand where he lived before going into exile three decades ago.

The ANC NEC said its regions should hold simultaneous memorial services. They would hold requiem services at their discretion.

The ANC said yesterday that Oliver Reginald Tambo or "comrade OR", would be buried on May 2. The venue for the service is still to be announced. A funeral committee headed by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has been formed and would publicise details later today.

The ANC said that in view of May 1 — May Day — falling on Saturday, Tambo's body would lie in state from 6am the next day but regional and local public vigils would also be announced later in the week.

Tambo died aged 76 after suffering a severe stroke at about 3.30am on Sunday at the Milpark Hospital.

Tambo's death came as constitutional negotiations had been delayed by a week because of Hani's murder. The talks begin at the World Trade Centre today.

His death came two weeks after the assassination of ANC national executive committee member Mr Chris Hani.

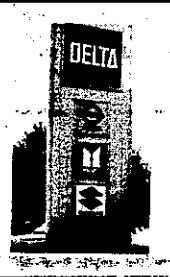
ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus told *Sowetan* yesterday that Tambo's death would not be used to delay the multiparty talks but (as with Hani's death) instead served to give impetus to the speeding up of the process.

Hani, the secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, was shot dead. He was buried near Boksburg on April 19.

The ANC's call for an early election date has never been louder than since Hani's assassination.

In a statement at the weekend the ANC said: "This is a moment of profound grief for all South

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A guiding light through the long years of exile

Blom 26/4/93.

11A

IT WAS the gentle-mannered Oliver Tambo who, almost single-handedly, built up the external wing of the ANC and its military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe. It was he who piloted the movement through the three decades it was banned in the country that gave it birth.

And it was Tambo who masterminded the Harare declaration which in 1989 paved the way for negotiations with the SA government.

Tambo was born on October 27 1917, in Bizana in eastern Pondoland. The son of a peasant farmer, he attended mission schools in the territory before going on to the Anglican-run St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg in 1933.

In 1938 he enrolled at Fort Hare, where he was recognised as a brilliant student, and graduated with a B Sc. He went on to study for an education diploma but was expelled a month before exams for organising a student protest. It was at Fort Hare that Tambo met Nelson Mandela.

In 1944 he became a founder member of the ANC Youth League, formed to press for a more militant approach in the organisation.

In 1945 he was appointed vice-president of the ANC Youth League, and in 1949 was elected to the ANC

national executive. He was articled to a law firm in 1948 and in 1952 joined Mandela to form the first black law partnership in SA.

In 1954 he was banned from attending political meetings, although this did not prevent him from continuing to work for the ANC. In 1955 he was elected secretary-general of the movement, and in 1958 became deputy president-general.

In 1956 he was arrested and briefly held on charges of treason. The charges were dropped in 1957.

Also in 1956, he married Adelaide Tsukudu, with whom he was to have three children. On the way to the church, bride, groom and best man were arrested for a pass law offence and bundled into a police van — but were released just in time for the ceremony.

In 1959 Tambo's banning was renewed and the ANC, suspecting that the state was about to ban the movement, decided that he should leave the country to rally international support against the SA government.

"We also had to create a reliable rear base for our struggle," he recalled in later years.

He slipped across the border into Bechuanaland in 1960, a week after Sharpeville and just before the ANC

BEN MACLENNAN

and PAC were banned, and spent some time in protective custody there because of fears he might be kidnapped by SA agents.

From there he went to Tanganyika where he met nationalist leader Julius Nyerere and on to Ghana to meet Kwame Nkrumah, before going to London where he was instrumental in the formation of the short-lived SA United Front, which included the ANC, PAC, SACP and what was to become Swapo.

He also began to organise the political and military training of Umkhonto cadres and to mobilise world support for the ANC's armed struggle. When Albert Luthuli died in 1967, Tambo was elected acting president and in 1977 president.

Tambo acted as the movement's roving ambassador, meeting senior government representatives in a string of countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It was a measure of the ANC's success in isolating Pretoria, he said, that by 1989 the organisation had more representatives

abroad than the SA government.

However, Tambo paid a price in personal terms. For decades he shuttled between safe houses in Dar es Salaam and Lusaka, seeing his wife and children in their London home only rarely.

During these years Tambo, who was a devout Christian and in fact nearly entered the priesthood in 1956, remained an uncompromising proponent of the armed struggle.

In an address on the 75th anniversary of the ANC in 1987, he said: "The need for us to take up arms will never transform us into prisoners of the idea of violence, slaves to the goddess of war. And yet, if the opponents of democracy have their way, we will have to wade through rivers of blood to reach our goal of liberty, justice and peace."

In the same year he publicly described "necklace" murders as barbaric, a statement SA newspapers were refused permission to quote.

Tambo masterminded the 1989 Harare Declaration, the ANC's blueprint for negotiations which invited talks with the SA government when the right political climate had been created. During the two years he worked on the compilation of the document he suffered two minor

strokes, but pressed on with the task of completing it and ensuring its acceptance. In August 1989 he suffered a major stroke which left him partly paralysed and impaired his speech.

He flew into SA under a temporary indemnity in December 1990 to attend the ANC's first consultative conference inside the country since its banning, and received a tumultuous welcome at Jan Smuts Airport.

He returned to SA permanently on June 23 1991. At the ANC national conference that followed a fortnight later, he was succeeded in the presidency by Mandela, but was appointed to the post of national chairman instead. Before handing over the reins, he urged the ANC to adhere to the suspension of the armed struggle.

"To go back means defeat and it would also be a tragedy because it would also mean the destruction of a new SA."

In July 1991 Tambo headed an ANC delegation to talks on forming an anti-apartheid "patriotic front" with some leaders of the bantustans and other black opposition groupings. Earlier that year he was awarded an honorary doctorate in law by the University of the Western Cape and accepted the chancellorship of Fort Hare. — Sapa.

BOOKS

A guiding light through the long years of exile

51007 26/4/93.



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BOOKS

Hard bargaining starts today

(11A)

~~SECRET~~

BILLY PADDOCK

POLITICAL parties this week get down to the nuts and bolts of planning SA's transitional government period.

The tough Bargaining starts today at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park when 26 political parties meet in the negotiating council — the most important body in the four-tier multiparty talks.

It is hoped the council will make enough progress in the next six weeks to allow the negotiating forum — where leaders such as ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk meet — to give the final go-ahead for the way forward.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said at the weekend all parties had agreed that in the next six weeks negotiations should concentrate on key issues. Government hoped a date for SA's first

non-racial election could be announced by the end of May.

Ways to strengthen the national peace accord and combat violence would be high on today's agenda, a source said yesterday.

A two-day meeting of the planning committee last week recommended to the council that four technical committees be established to prepare draft legislation for the transition period. It was decided that smaller "technical" committees could do this job more efficiently than the 104-member council.

It is expected that the recommendations will be accepted by the council.

The committee has suggested the four

To Page 2

B/D/M 26/4/93

Bargaining

(11A)

From Page 1

technical committees, consisting of about six people each, formulate legislation on:

- the transitional executive council;
- an independent electoral commission;
- an independent telecommunications authority and an independent media commission; and
- the repeal of some current laws and amendments to others.

The committee looking into the transitional executive council would also devote time to drawing up proposals for dealing with the contentious issue of joint control of armed formations, the source said.

Another committee will formulate proposals on strengthening the peace accord.

The recommendations of the planning committee clearly indicate that government and the ANC are at the helm of the process. Last week both parties made it

clear they were determined to force the pace of the talks and move the process in the direction of their vision for the future.

There is likely to be argument on the violence issue as the CP, not represented in the planning committee, seeks to stress that private armies of the ANC and PAC should be disbanded before talks begin.

It is understood that the death of CP leader Andries Treurnicht will not immediately affect the party's decision to participate in the talks. Speculation is strong that deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg will take over the leadership role. While he is a hardliner, he is expected to temper his views to keep the party together. Deputy leadership of the party is likely to be hotly contested between Randfontein MP Pieter Mulder and hardliner Schalk Pienaar.

Di.

Successor to

Hani named

Star 26/4/93
(1A)
The SA Communist Party elected Charles Nqakula to succeed Chris Hani as general secretary at a meeting of the party's central committee at the weekend.

Nqakula was elected deputy general secretary at the SACP's national conference in 1991.

He is a former journalist restricted to Ciskei in the 1980s. After military training abroad he returned to South Africa as a liberation war reporter.

There will be no policy change in the SACP (11A)

■ I will continue Hani's style, says new boss Charles Nqakula:

Sawefan 27/4/93
THE new general secretary of the SA Communist Party, Mr Charles Nqakula, says there will be no change in policy or leadership style in the SACP.

Nqakula was elected to succeed the late Mr Chris Hani at a meeting of the SACP's central committee at the weekend.

"All I am going to do is to ensure that what Comrade Chris stood for still occupies the top of the agenda," he said.

Nqakula was elected as deputy general secretary at the party's general conference

in December 1991 and must now fill his close friend and confidante's role.

He said he would continue Hani's collective leadership style.

Nqakula was born in Cradock 50 years ago. After matriculating, he worked as a petrol attendant before becoming a journalist at the *Daily Despatch* in East London.

In the 1980s he was banned and restricted to Ciskei. He left the country for military training and returned as part of Operation Vula.

NEWS FEATURE *White South Africans are lucky that they are dealing with the ANC*

By Stanley Uys

Tambo's great sacrifice

sowetan 27/4/93
■ TOLERANT GUIDANCE *He literally*

worked himself to death during exile:

LONDON — The year was 1960. Sharpeville had just exploded and South Africa was in turmoil. I met Oliver Tambo, then deputy president of the ANC, in Cape Town.

Tambo invited my opinion on whether the Unlawful Organisations Act, of which the Government had given notice; signified that this was how far the Verwoerd Government would go for the time being.

I suggested that the Act contained little that was not already available in the Suppression of Communism Act and

that the Bill's main purpose, therefore, was to embarrass the United Party opposition. The conclusion I drew from this was that further measures against the ANC could be expected. Tambo returned immediately to Johannesburg, and, on the instructions of the ANC leadership, left the country to establish in exile.

same tradition of tolerance. If white South Africans really want to know what race strife can be like, they should wait until Winnie and Peter Mokaba start their ritual fire dance. In my lengthy interview with Tambo, he stressed the

same point again and again: that the ANC pursued non-violence for as long as it possibly could. For 12 years, from the National Party's accession to power in 1948, it doggedly refused to resort to violence. "Never had there been a more

violent regime in South Africa," said Tambo, "but we stuck to our non-violence. As the years went by, the violence increased. We saw more and more of armed police — armed with pistols at first and then armed with Sten guns. "Then the tanks came on. The whole situation was becoming very militarised." Even after Sharpeville, the ANC decided to continue with non-violence. It called for a national convention to write a new constitution and in 1961

embarked on civil disobedience, beginning with a national strike. The Government then mobilised the army "on a scale not seen since World War 2 ... the army had left its barracks and we knew then that the army had reached the end of the road of non-violence. We couldn't take it further than that, if the army was now involved. Police were no longer sufficient... It was then that we decided to embrace violence as a method of struggle."

A few days later, the Government declared a state of emergency and took almost 2 000 leaders and activists into detention. If Tambo had been present he would have been one of the detainees. The Unlawful Organisations Act was passed and both the ANC and PAC were banned.

In a tape recorded interview in London on July 31 1983, Tambo — who lived in Muswell Hill not far from my house in Highgate — recalled with a chuckle my contribution to his departure for exile. The acknowledgement gave me little pleasure. In 30 years of exile, Tambo literally worked himself to death.

When Sharpeville exploded, many prominent South Africans, business leaders in particular, but also some Dutch Reformed Church ministers, explored the Government to modify its policies.

The fanatical Verwoerd brushed them aside. Twenty-five years later, after the 1984 unrest, the same organisations were still making the same appeals. It took South Africa 30 years after Sharpeville to come to its senses.

I shall never forget that interview with Tambo, as he regretfully shook his head, and said: "I think South Africa is lucky to have an organisation like the ANC. I really think they are. It will be a nonracial force... the majority of people in South Africa will have to come round, and they will be looking for a new kind of society, and not a polarisation. "The bitterness of the struggle will diminish support for the regime. I think it must."

Tambo, of course, belonged to the old school of ANC leaders, which includes Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu — remarkable men in their wise and tolerant guidance.

White South Africans indeed can count themselves lucky, not only that men such as these held the reins of power for so long but that they have been able to rear a new generation of ANC leaders trained in the

focus on talks

THE NEGOTIATION process has entered its most decisive period when the country's leaders will over the next six weeks try to achieve measurable progress in the country's transformation.

After the stupendous events of the past two weeks, starting with the assassination of Mr Chris Hani, the death of Dr Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the Conservative Party, and that of Mr Oliver Tambo, a seriousness, rather than an urgency, has settled over the process.

Hani's death was a greater crisis for the country than that of Treurnicht or Tambo and therefore had a greater impact on the process.

While Tambo's death will have little or no effect on South African politics, Treurnicht's absence at the top of the CP could see the start of a power-struggle for political leadership and consequently, direction, among the travellers of the parliamentary far right.

Tambo's death leaves a vacuum in the midst of the ANC which, like that left by Hani, will be hard to fill. The circumstances surrounding Hani's death is what makes his absence so far-reaching.

It was, nevertheless, Hani's death that was perhaps as serious a setback, or blow, as the incident at Boipatong last winter, which resulted in the death of almost 40 people and caused the ANC to stop all political contact and formal negotiations with the Government.

It took three months of tough negotiating between the ANC general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, to get the process back on stream again.

However, with Hani's death it was markedly different; the main protagonists in the process were adamant that negotiations had to continue.

The senior political leadership on all sides of the spectrum were serious about the fact that Hani's death should not cause the process to stall.

It would be playing into the hands of those behind Hani's death and whose apparent objectives were to spike the negotiation process, the chairman of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, said.

Right answer

A cry, immediately after Hani's assassination, went up for an election date and the appeal was directed at the Government who, it was assumed, had the legal responsibility to call an election.

A similar call went out for the creation of the Transitional Executive Council and its sub-councils which, according to agreements already on the table, were to "level the playing field" for elections.

The Government rose, in this instance, to the

The cumulative effect of the deaths of three political leaders, Oliver Tambo, Andries Treurnicht and — most important — Chris Hani, on the negotiation process is discussed by Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien:** *Sowetan 27/4/93. (11A)*



Chris Hani ... assassinated.

occasion and delivered the answer that nobody expected; the right one.

He or his Government could not call an election date or the install the TEC unilaterally, President FW de Klerk said.

Guided by his legalistic disposition, he said that he, and therefore the Government, was bound by decisions that had already been reached at Codesa and in negotiations — that an election date had to be agreed upon in multiparty talks.

But there was another element; before a date could be set for an election and the TEC installed, a series of agreements had to be reached.

Among these, to start with, were the finer details of the TEC.

Speaking during his Budget debate in Parlia-



ment last week, De Klerk said the Government was particularly interested in reaching agreements in the next six weeks on the creation of the TEC.

"It can, however, do so only once there is sufficient consensus among the participants in the negotiation process as to the following: the TEC's composition, its terms of reference and the nature of its authority in respect of levelling the playing field to ensure a climate conducive to holding free and fair elections.

"This clearly also applies to its role in respect of the subjects of defence and of law and order," De Klerk said.

The negotiators who therefore meet at the World Trade Centre between yesterday and the end of May will have to concentrate on matters of substance and on the actual process much more than before.

The less serious issues, such as a name for the forum, will have to be pushed aside.

Prominent

Having said that, the issues that are most prominent are the details of the TEC and its councils, especially the ones on law and order, defence, the independent electronic media and election committees and as part of this the demand for joint control of the security forces.

The Government wants also to see agreements reached on a commission of regions — which will be responsible for the delineation of regions, primarily for elections but also so they can be in place during interim rule — as well as constitutional principles for interim rule and thereafter.

"Then, once there is clarity, we can reach agreement on the provisions of a transitional constitution within six weeks, which should provide for a transitional government of national unity for a period of five years, a legislature elected on the basis of proportional representation and regional government during the transitional phase," De Klerk said.

It is safe to say, therefore, that if all the parties presently involved in multiparty negotiations are kept happy with the process a date for an election and the creation of the TEC's can become a reality by the end of May, mass action notwithstanding.

FOCUS *Negotiations enter decisive period*



Management Accounting (USA)			
Management Accounting (UK)			
Long Range Planning			
Title	Vol. & No.	Date	Signature

Date of issue

Peace corps for polls proposed

RAY HARTLEY

AN IMPARTIAL peace corps consisting of members of the ANC, SAP, homeland police forces and the SADF should be formed to police democratic elections, ANC lawyer Nic Haysom said yesterday.

He said the force, which would be an "enormously credible and visibly non-partisan unit" would be the only force capable of allowing free access to all areas of SA by rival politicians during electioneering.

Speaking at a Groundswell conference in Johannesburg, Haysom said if negotiations around increasing the accountability of the force to the community succeeded, the SAP could become one of the world's most innovative and accountable police forces.

Haysom, who serves on the Police Board, said the ANC did not envisage autonomous regional police forces, but wanted regional police to maintain lines of responsibility and accountability to future regional governments.

The ANC's marshalls, who had arrested several people involved in violence and handed them over to the police recently, could be recruited to the new police force.

Police would have to be structured so that communities could effectively "reveal their disgruntlement" with policing practices, he said.

University of the Western Cape researcher Philip van Ryneveld told the conference the ANC would not substantially alter existing tax practices when it became government, but would consider changes in the medium to long term.

Regions would have some autonomy when it came to expenditure of the monies, but would have to act within a national framework, he said.

Govt turns down demand on forum

CAPE TOWN — National Education Minister Piet Marais indicated yesterday there had been a delay in the establishment of the proposed national education forum and rejected demands that government should be obliged to implement its decisions.

Introducing his budget vote, Marais said it would be wrong to wait until the establishment of the forum before beginning to merge the various departments.

While not being opposed to the multilateral forum, he expected it would take time to establish, and until then he envisaged the establishment of a smaller advisory body to unify the education department.

Marais said he had recently met a delegation from the National Education Conference — a body consisting of 15 organisations, including the National Education Co-ordinating Committee and the ANC.

The delegation insisted that government join them in issuing a statement which would commit government to the formation of the forum within a particular time frame.

"Had I done so, I would have ruined every possibility of creating such a forum within the foreseeable future," Marais said.

He appreciated that the conference was an important role player, but a number of other role players also had to take part in the process. These included parliamentary parties, the self-governing territories and other political parties.

"To say some of them are not over-

TIM COHEN

ly enthusiastic about the idea of creating a forum is an understatement".

Bilateral talks were, at this stage, the best and probably the only way to ensure maximum participation in a process of change which had to ultimately become multilateral.

It was not acceptable that such a body should be vested with decision-making powers in the sense that government would be obliged to implement all their decisions.

"Demands that are being made in that regard will not be acceded to," he said, adding that this would be tantamount to government abdicating its responsibilities during its term of office.

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that a principal of Soweto's Jabulani Technical College and two of his teachers were chased away from the school on Friday by SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) members, the DET said yesterday.

The department said it had requested an urgent meeting with the union.

DET spokesman Corrie Rademeyer said the incident took place at the same time that Sadtu said at a meeting with the department it was not Sadtu policy to expel principals and teachers, harass principals, or take over management of schools.

Sadtu president Shepherd Mladlana said he had not been informed of the incident. He accused the DET of a campaign to discredit the union.

Talks off to a false start

Sowetan

27/4/93

11A

ANY GREAT EXPECTATIONS from yesterday's so-called real constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, died when the talks were postponed until Friday.

Although negotiators obviously realised the urgency of pushing forward the talks, no substantive issues on the agenda — such as violence and the transitional process — were discussed.

The negotiators were sometimes at pains not to be emotional as disagreement over basic procedures seemed to overtake the purpose of the conference.

Time became an issue when delegates suggested a postponement until Friday.

African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa (speaking after Inkatha Freedom Party's Mr Joe Matthews made a point on time limits) said:

"No one has the right to be negotiating if they are not putting their minds to it, because the country is in a crisis.

"Millions are awaiting the outcome of this forum."

The Pan Africanist Congress' Mr Benny Alexander said that "people will be disappointed that

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

no agreement was reached today but they need to know that the process is not endangered".

Talks became bogged down in issues such as procedure and agreements on administrative proceedings.

Minutes of the multiparty negotiating forum of April 1 were not adopted and were instead referred to the next meeting to be held on Friday.

The planning committee, comprising 10 experts who are part of the 26-party negotiating forum, had prepared the 78-page document detailing issues discussed since March 30 when preparations for full-blown negotiations were being made.

The negotiating council will meet twice a week until June 10. On June 11 the negotiating forum, which comprises delegates of all the parties in the process, will adopt agreements which will hopefully include the setting of a date for the country's first democratic elections.

It is hoped this announcement will be made within six weeks.

ANC puts culture under spotlight

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Museums, monuments and memorials all came under the spotlight in a presentation by the ANC's Heraldry Commission during the Cultural and Development Conference at the Civic Theatre in Johannesburg.

Professor G T Sirayi of the Museology Department of Fort Hare University said on behalf of the ANC it was important that current structures be "democratised". ARG 27/4/93

In a future political dispensation museums would become repositories of the material culture of the nation, and educational programmes would be linked to the museum services, he said.

Professor Sirayi said a Heroes' Acre was planned for victims of conflict and arrangements would be made for the care of graves outside South Africa.

National memorials commemorating the struggle of the people of South Africa would be considered, he said.

The ANC deplored the National Party's unilateral restructuring of national heritage institutions, and vestiges of the apartheid era might be destroyed, he said.

The ANC would consult the people on a new national coat-of-arms and flag.

Free access would be given to archives, which would be restructured according to international standards, and ANC records seized by the State would be held in democratised archives.

hitch

New negotiations bogged down by row over administrative

BIDAM 27/4/93

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309A

BILLY PADDOCK

THE first day of "real substantive negotiations" failed to realise expectations of a move beyond procedural matters as members of the Concerned South Africans Group took advantage of an administrative hitch to stall the process.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa expressed "deep disappointment" at the lack of progress and said a sense of urgency had to be injected into the talks.

But Inkatha's Joe Mathews said: "I am not impressed by talk of urgency — it leaves me stone cold."

Ramaphosa told a news briefing there

were ways of "lighting a fire under those who are stone-cold and injecting them with a sense of urgency".

He said the ANC was working to a six-week deadline to achieve the establishment of a transitional executive authority and secure an election date. "At the end of that period those parties who are serious about negotiations will have to consider options to isolate those parties."

Mathews said his party was not intent on delaying the process but it refused to be "dragged into a unitary state" by government and the ANC, who he said were trying to steamroller the process.

The problem arose when the consolidat-

ed document of Codesa reports, which all delegates were to have received, failed to arrive until yesterday morning. Members of the Concerned South Africans Group refused to discuss the reports, saying they needed more time and proposing a postponement to Friday. After lengthy debate, this was accepted.

Ramaphosa said a detailed document of all the Codesa agreements and a summary had been given to delegates on April 1; the consolidated document merely crystallised these under seven headings.

"We need deadlines as millions are rely-

ing on us and we cannot go on with this monkey business. Each member here should know those reports and their contents by heart. If you do not, you have no right to be here," he said.

It was clear that the members of the group would not accept the recommendation that six technical committees formulate draft legislation for discussion by the negotiating council until the form of state had been dealt with.

Ramaphosa said Inkatha had agreed on April 1 to technical committees being set up; to reject this now meant its aim was "to delay the process".

Meyer suggested that while parties be

given until Friday to discuss the recommendations, the planning committee should at the same time present recommendations on the other substantive constitutional issues. This was accepted.

"We want to keep to the timeframes set in November and we believe that if the planning committee prepares properly so that substance of constitutional issues as well as the process is clear before us, then those who still object will have to make their position clear," Meyer said.

The negotiating council decided that an election date would be discussed at Friday's meeting and charged the planning

To Page 2

Hitch BIDAM 27/4/93

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From Page 1

committee to suggest dates.
A document circulated to the media by Inkatha on violence, alleging ANC and government collusion to commit violence on Inkatha members, also drew sharp reaction from government and the ANC.
Ramaphosa said the appropriate place to deal with these matters was in bilateral

discussions, while Meyer — accusing Inkatha of party political games — criticised the organisation for ignoring the structures set up to deal with violence.
Nonetheless, all parties expressed cautious optimism that Friday's meeting would get down to substantive issues.

● Picture: Page 3

ANC reviews

Staff Reporter

THE ANC has embarked on a campaign to "review" freedom songs which do not reflect its non-racial policy, spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa confirmed yesterday.

The "review" comes at a time when the lyrics of some ANC songs are causing distress.

Yesterday ANC Western Cape head Mr Tony Yengeni

led UWC students in the emotive uMkhonto weSizwe song "Kill the Boer" during a memorial service for Mr Oliver Tambo.

His actions were described as "provocative" by the government.

He told students they should refuse to bow to pressure from "bosses and the state" not to sing the song.

'racist' songs

28/4/93

11A

"We must keep up our traditions and our spirit, we will sing the song which says we members of MK are committed to kill the boers."

Mr Yengeni saluted ANC hardliners Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Harry Gwala, the Natal Midlands leader, before initiating chants to assassinated SACP leader Mr Chris Hani and the late Mr Tambo.

He did not salute ANC presi-

dent Mr Nelson Mandela, but did say the ANC leadership were losing touch with the grassroots.

● Mr Yengeni said after the meeting that the song was "an old MK song" and not a song of hatred.

He said he did not have a problem with revising slogans but he was against revising the ANC's tradition and culture of struggle.

Patrick Laurence profiles Charles Ngakula, Chris Hani's successor as SACP general secretary

Star 28/4/93

Content to wait for day he knows will come

CHARLES Ngakula, the new general secretary of the South African Communist Party, differs in many ways from his murdered predecessor, Chris Hani.

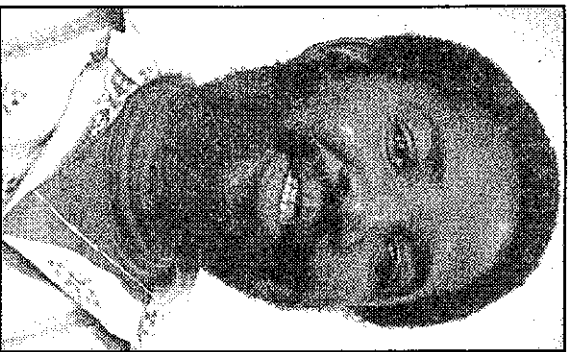
Where Hani was straight-talking, an edge of political combativeness frequently in his voice, Ngakula is softly-spoken and almost genteel in his politeness.

But the two men have much in common: they were born into poor families in the eastern Cape — Hani's father was a migrant worker and Ngakula's a farm labourer — looked at the world through the questioning eyes of boys bestowed by nature with intelligence, and came to believe that the answer to injustice lay in communism.

Ngakula, now 50, his beard beginning to be flecked with grey, recalls: "My parents were completely illiterate. My father worked as a labourer ... my mother was a washerwoman, earning a pound a month."

The phone on his desk in the SACP head office rings, a reminder that reminiscing is a luxury in these busy days.

"We were 10 children. I am number 9. My older brothers and



Charles Ngakula ... "We were very, very poor."

sisters did not go to school. Only my younger brother and myself had the opportunity to go to school. It was tough and go because we were very, very poor." Ngakula speaks lovingly of his

first headmaster at St James' Primary School in Cradock, the Rev James Arthur Calata, a former general secretary of the ANC.

"It meant I came under political influence at a very early age. The Anglican Church at the time, under Rev Calata, was almost like a branch of the ANC ... I was about 10 at the time."

An embryonic smile on his face, Ngakula, who matriculated at Lovedale after winning a bursary to study there, recounts how as a high school graduate he worked at a local garage as a repairer of punctures and a petrol attendant, later as a waiter and a wine steward.

After that, Ngakula says, came his spell as a journalist, starting as a freelance columnist on the Midland News in Cradock, and then as a reporter for Imvo Zabantsundu and the Daily Dispatch while working for the Dispatch in the mid and late 1970s he was based at King William's Town and came into contact with Steve Biko, the magnetic founder of the Black Consciousness Movement. The image of Biko is still vivid

for Ngakula, more than 15 years after Biko's death in detention:

like many people, he was impressed by Biko, seeing him as a seminal political influence at the time. He denies, however, that he ever abandoned ANC ideology for black consciousness.

"Black consciousness at that point was not in contradiction to what the ANC stood for. To me it meant that here was an area opening up which the ANC ought to be involved in exploiting, an area which was bringing to the fore very important leadership and activities."

Ngakula looks discreetly at his watch. There is a need to hurry, to move on to the SACP today. The pace of the interview picks up.

He tells how a banning order cut short his work as a journalist; how, after Ciskei became a nominally independent state in 1981, he was declared a prohibited immigrant in South Africa, the land of his birth; how, in 1984, he was ordered by the underground to leave South Africa, how he received military training in Angola and the Soviet Union; how he was deported from Lesotho in 1986; and how,

after further training in the German Democratic Republic, he returned to South Africa to assist in a programme of bringing senior ANC leaders back into SA.

He cannot recall a single episode or event which led him to take the extra step and join the SACP. It was a "logical graduation", facilitated by the close ties between the ANC and the SACP but he formally joined "the party" shortly after he arrived in Lesotho in exile.

He is not disturbed by the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, seeing, he insists, hope amid the rubble of communist icons and statues.

"These days we are not talking about collapse. We are talking about resurgence. Communist parties in a number of these countries are beginning to resurface."

Ngakula concedes, however, that the fall of communist regimes forced the SACP to reassess its role and approach. His tone remains confident.

"I am sure we drew the appropriate lessons, if we have to judge by the popularity of the party in

South Africa and its growth. We have around 50 000 members now

We will publish these figures for the press. We are not like those political organisations which say figures do not matter"

The rapid growth of the SACP since its re-launch as a legal party has surprised even its leaders, causing the SACP to make reappraisals of its role in nonracial elections, due by April next year, a top item on the agenda of a major "strategy conference" on May 21.

A recent statement by ANC president Nelson Mandela that the SACP will only constitute a small component on the ANC list of candidates in the pending elections seems not to perturb Ngakula.

"The people on the ground are going to decide who is put on the list. It is going to be a democratic process ... It should not be a matter of us saying: 'We want so many communists on the list.'"

Ngakula does not say so directly but his manner suggests that he is confident that the SACP will be well represented on the ANC list and that its days, far from being numbered, are yet to come. □

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba is in hot water.

And all because of English.

The fiery speaker and leader of the chanting and stomping young lions, Mokaba committed the ultimate sin: singing a freedom song in English and being understood by whites. *Journalist 28/4/93*

It started in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, when television cameras captured the king of the young lions in full cry, swaying the crowd to the tune of "Kill the Boer, the farmer".

And a white community, scared to death over the violence sweeping the country after Chris Hani's death, saw red. Mokaba should be investigated, they cried.

But an unrepentant Mokaba went to Soshanguve, outside Pretoria, where he told the worried whites and their Government to "go to hell".

"I will continue to say kill the Boer, the farmer", Mokaba said to thunderous chanting by his followers.

And so the trouble took a new turn. Mokaba was called to appear on national television to give an account. A rather timid Mokaba was ruffled by Lester Venter, who told him his explanation was "rather long and tortuous".

Songs of war

But why did Mokaba get into trouble for a song and chant that is as old as the toyi toyi?

The answer could be found in the experience of the PAC over the slogan "One settler, one bullet".

Songs of struggle, sung by the ANC, PAC and BCM cadres, are songs of war. They talk of the hardships of the oppressed black majority at the hands of the white minority.

Liberation songs

All liberation songs blame the white minority for the problems. But many of them do so in the black languages. And so whites never get to know what is being said because only a negligible number of them can even greet in any of the nine black languages.

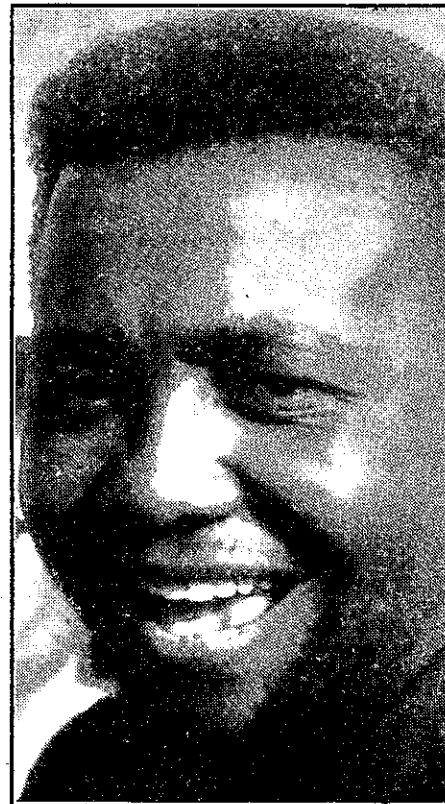
Another factor is that the SABC has for a long time ignored mass meetings of black organisations, and where they did cover such meetings, they censored the singing, thus sheltering whites from the songs and chants.

When Cosatu assistant secretary general Mr Sam Shilowa led the singing at the Hani funeral of the sorrowful song *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto*, nobody said anything.

This despite the fact that the song says in part: "We the people of Mkhonto are determined to kill all the Boers."

Other songs of struggle sung by the ANC include *Umama uyajabula umang' shay' ibhunu* (Mother gets happy when I beat a Boer) and

The words of the chant that has focused a lot of attention on leading young lion Peter Mokaba are not new — in fact they form the foundation of freedom songs which have been sung for generations. Investigations Editor **Mathatha Tsedu** explains:



The ANC's "young lion" Peter Mokaba ... in hot water.

Shaya Mabhunu, Shaya Mabhunu, Hoyaho yaho Mkhonto we Sizwe (Beat the Boers Mkhonto we Sizwe).

These songs are sung by, among others, Gill Marcus, Carl Niehaus, Joe Slovo and Ronnie Kasrils, who are white and refer to mabhunu.

Marcus said she had never felt threatened by the songs because they were a mere expression of the mood of the time but never "an order to kill".

Watching Mokaba trying to explain that these are old songs rooted in the struggle of "the people" and that they should be understood in the context of standing ANC policy and practice, and how Venter cut him short, brought back

memories of the PAC dilemma over its own slogans.

To mind comes PAC president Clarence Makwetu with John Bishop, with Makwetu saying it was a Zimbabwean slogan and not a PAC one. Then deputy president Dikgang Moseneke versus Adrian Steed, and a host of other PAC officials who all tried to say what Mokaba was also saying last week: It is a simple slogan.

Do those who sing these songs and chant the slogans mean them literally?

All indications are that this is not so. For, indeed, if the ANC meant the killing of whites in the *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto* song, there would be no one left to complain by now, Marcus said.

The PAC said then that they would not apologise for the slogans. Mokaba said the same but the ANC issued a statement saying they were reviewing the slogans.

Discussions

Marcus said the ANC felt the song was "inappropriate now, although it evolved from a particular period in our history". Discussions would be held over the matter but the leadership would not dictate to its members about what to sing because the "songs do not reflect policy", she said.

All because Mokaba sang an old song and recited an old chant in English and in front of television cameras.

But then white people, who control the media and decide what to emphasise and what to criminalise, do not want to hear this and are determined to ensure that even the chant, however meaningless it may be, is stopped.

Mokaba has several choices facing him.

He could ride roughshod over the protests and continue to eulogise the armed struggle that allegedly brought President FW de Klerk to the table.

Or he could give in and sing about the as yet unfruitful negotiations?

Or he could just switch over to the black languages, sing the same things or worse, and none of the vociferous complainants of today will understand what he is saying.

Which one will it be? Mokaba's next address to the young lions will show.

NEWS Blacks shooed away from T

ANC, NP warned of bully tactics

11/7 10/7 28/4/93
Sowetan 28/4/93
■ **Lucas Mangope fears 'incalculable consequences':**

BOPHUTHATSWANA leader Chief Lucas Mangope has warned of "incalculable consequences" should the South African Government and the ANC steamroll their agreements through at the multiparty talks.

Opening the Bophuthatswana parliament in Mmabatho yesterday, Mangope said emphasis was being placed on timetables and the implementation of measures which had yet to be negotiated and agreed to by all parties involved.

"There is a naive belief that the reaching of agreement, regardless of the content of the agreement, and the holding of one man, one vote elections will be an

instant panacea for all the problems of Southern Africa.

"I humbly submit that nothing could be further from the truth.

"If the eventual solution of the problem does not address the realities of the Southern African situation, and is not inclusive, then I have very real fears of a conflagration of immensely destructive proportions."

Mangope suggested the Government and the ANC were fast losing grassroots support and had decided to force through their constitutional blueprints "before this loss of support becomes too apparent". — *Sapa*.

Tambo lauded

WASHINGTON

Through many dark years ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo "was a symbol of dedication to the principles of democracy and nonracialism", a US State Department official said yesterday.

"We join with supporters of freedom throughout the world in mourning his passing"

1/1/82
Soweto 28/4/92

'Thugs' were his target

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Nkanyezini massacre accused Mabhungu Dladla, 23, said in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday he did not think he was attacking innocent people when he opened fire on a minibus taxi with an R1 rifle in March this year.

He believed those in the taxi were "thugs" who had killed Inkatha-linked schoolchildren in an ambush a few days earlier.

Ten people were killed and three others wounded in the attack.

He told Mr Justice Howard and two assessors yesterday that when the shooting stopped — he had emptied his R1 rifle magazine — he heard women crying and realised there had been a "mistake".

It had not occurred to him there could be innocent passengers in the taxi.


His co-accused Nkayiso Wilfred Ndlovu (on whose instructions, he claims, he and another man Sifiso Mkhize took part in the attack) said the occupants would be those responsible for killing the children.

Ndlovu had said there should be no survivors.

Cross-examined by State advocate Les Roberts SC, Dladla said he could not remember replacing the gun's magazine.

In testimony yesterday, Ndlovu denied allegations by Dladla and said he was not present at the attack.

The hearing continues.



**THE
BREAKWATER
LODGE**

IN THE HEART OF
CAPE TOWN'S
V & A WATERFRONT

FROM ONLY

Fear for farmer's safety is mounting

MARITZBURG — Fears are mounting for the safety of Camperdown farmer Alex Kalafatis, 45, who is believed to have been abducted from his farmhouse by armed attackers early yesterday.

By late yesterday a team of about 50 policemen had combed an area within a 50km radius of the farm but there was no sign of him, nor of his Mercedes-Benz — a cream 1979 300D, registration NC 7889.

Police spokesman Col Willie van den Berg said Kalafatis was apparently a karate expert who could have been expected to defend himself.

"We can only assume there were a number of attackers with weapons. We have found no blood in the house at all."

Van den Berg said there was no sign of a struggle but it was clear from tyre tracks outside the garage that Kalafatis arrived home and must have been overpowered before he could get into his house.

"The safe was unlocked and three firearms are missing, as well as a hi-fi set and various other small items," he said.

In another incident in Natal, a man was shot dead and two children seriously wounded following a hand grenade attack on a house at Patheni, Richmond, early yesterday. Police said several men armed with AK-47s, R4s and shotguns launched an attack on a house in the strife-torn township, raking it with gunfire.

Own Correspondent

In other incidents, police said a man was shot dead in Ladysmith's Ezakheni township in the Natal Midlands on Monday. Police also found the body of a man in Shembe outside Durban on Monday, and another who had been shot on Sunday in nearby Ntuzuma.

Sapa reports that police arrested 10 men and found a large cache of firearms and ammunition at Mehlomyama in the Port Shepstone area.

RAY HARTLEY reports that the Wits Vaal peace committee officially launched a 24-hour toll-free telephone service to collect information on violence at the opening of its new Braamfontein headquarters yesterday.

The service would provide the committee with information on violence as it occurred, and give callers access to information on how to contact peace officials and the police, committee spokesmen said.

LINDA ENSOR reports that the government-funded social relief fund to assist the victims of violence had already spent R4m to assist about 4 000 families.

Chairman Ben Piek said yesterday about R3,8m was still available for allocation to registered, non-government relief organisations and the fund had also embarked on a campaign to raise private sector funding.

'Regime' killed Tambo, says Yengeni

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — ANC Western Cape head Tony Yengeni led students in the emotive MK song "Kill the Boer" during a heated memorial service for Oliver Tambo at UWC yesterday — and then said the former acting ANC president had not died of natural causes, but had "been killed by the apartheid regime".

Yengeni's remarks were last night described as "provocative" by government, while the ANC said it was reviewing songs from the past which did not reflect the organisation's "nonracial policy".

Yengeni, addressing a capacity-filled hall, also saluted ANC militant hardliners Winnie Mandela and Harry Gwala, the Natal Midlands leader.

He sniped at the ANC leadership, saying it was losing touch with the grassroots.

"We must strengthen our mass-based structures because it is a dangerous mistake to leave your future in hands of

leaders of the organisation," he said.

He said it was wrong to spread the view that Tambo died of natural causes.

"It must be made clear that he was killed by the apartheid system and the De Klerk regime must take responsibility."

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the ANC would review songs that did not reflect its nonracial policy.

While the song led by Yengeni at UWC was one of the songs sung in the past, there was a need for it and others to be reassessed in the light of ANC policy and the negotiation process, he said.

Government spokesman David Steward said the song was "seriously provocative" and conflicted with the search for a negotiated political settlement.

Yengeni said later the song could not be translated literally.

310AM
28/4/93

11A
11/182
SACAS

Govt and ANC learn a lesson

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators said the lesson they learned from Monday's negotiations was to be better prepared and to focus on substance and content. **BIDAM**

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer and ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj forecast that Friday's talks would make better progress.

Maharaj predicted that the planning committees' proposals that six technical committees be set up to deal with the Codesa reports on issues such as a transitional executive council, independent media commission and armed formations would be accepted by all the parties.

He pointed out that all the parties had accepted the resolution of the negotiating forum on April 1 that technical committees would enhance the process. **28/4/93**

Meyer denied claims by Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group that it and the ANC were trying to steamroller the process, stating that the timeframes and the way forward had been discussed with these parties in bilateral talks.

He admitted that this was the fundamental difference between parties as Inkatha and its allies rejected the need for interim structures. However, he was still hopeful that government and the ANC could sell their plan to the objecting parties.

He said negotiating parties should not allow themselves to be distracted by side issues, but should focus on moving forward speedily.

Mangope digs in on independence

BIDAM 28/4/93
BILLY PADDOCK
BOPHUTHATSWANA President Lucas Mangope yesterday dug in his heels on the issue of reincorporation, saying there was no question of the territory giving up its independence.

He told the opening of the territory's National Assembly: "There is no question whatsoever, I repeat no question whatsoever, of Bophuthatswana giving up her independence."

He said his government was surrendering nothing, and least of all would it consider relinquishing control over its security forces. "That is our bottom line. That is where we stand at present. We merely want self-rule... no more... no less."

However, Mangope said: "Let me hasten to add that Bophuthatswana is not inflexible or intransigent."

President FW de Klerk said last week that progress with leaders of the TBVC states on reincorporation was good and that if there was no intransigence by any parties on the issue, it could be resolved by June.

Mangope said because Bophuthatswana had enjoyed "such remarkable success we will be ignored by any future central government in SA while the former independent and self-governing states which ran themselves into the ground through maladministration, mismanagement and corruption will bleed the system in order to catch up with the rest of

us". As a result Bophuthatswana would stand still for years and its resources would be redirected to other lesser developed areas.

This was one of the main reasons his government demanded that the boundaries, powers and functions of regional states in a new dispensation had to be determined at the multi-party forum and not be left to "the whims and prejudices" of an elected interim administration.

"In other words the form of state for the new SA must be finalised before anything else at the present negotiations," Mangope said.

Principles of a new constitution needed to be finalised at negotiations and approved in a referendum before elections were held.

This would obviate the need for a transitional government and a transitional executive council. It would also allay the fears of many who suspected the course being charted would lead to the same sort of benign dictatorship of the old SA.

He warned against government and the ANC proceeding with the reform process and excluding parties which were not co-operating with them and said it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of Bophuthatswana in the negotiations

'Generous assistance' awaits SA

CAPE TOWN — The UN, the US and the World Bank have promised generous, non-partisan assistance for the political transition in SA, says Goldstone commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone.

Addressing a news conference yesterday after returning from the US, he said the offers of assistance were nonprescriptive and reflected the international community's wish to ensure the success of SA's first democratic government. **BIDAM**

Foreign experts could be called in to assist the commission's inquiry into the prevention of violence and intimidation during elections.

While in the US Goldstone met members of the UN Security Council and the UN Special Committee on Apartheid as well as US state department and World Bank senior officials, and legislators.

"My strong impression is that there are many good and positive benefits waiting for SA as soon as a representative and legitimate transitional executive council is in place, and even more so when we have a government of national unity," he said.

The US anti-apartheid lobby had substantially transformed itself into a strong pro-democratic SA campaign which supported all South Africans working for a peaceful and democratic country.

Financial assistance from the World Bank and IMF was virtually assured provided SA moved rapidly towards a political settlement. **BIDAM**

Members of the US House of Representatives and the Senate foreign relations committee appreciated the need to begin amending or repealing the 150 statutes which prohibited assistance to SA. — Sapa.

Action, not talk, urged by West Cape ANC official

(11A) ARG 28/4/93

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

MILITANT ANC Western Cape region secretary Mr Tony Yengeni has called on members to resist attempts to turn the struggle for liberation into one for civil rights.

At UWC yesterday, he also called President De Klerk and the National Party the country's main enemies.

"We must nail De Klerk and the NP. They must be made accountable for the atrocities of apartheid. We must not allow the negotiation process to give them a good face," he said at a memorial service for ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo.

In what he called a personal view, he said the ANC should set a date for elections and impose it on the regime.

"We must not allow negotiators to have endless discussions in smoke-filled rooms. We must take the struggle out of the World Trade Centre."

Mr Yengeni also rejected calls to abandon the song *Hamba Kahle Umkhonto weSizwe*.

He said there had been attacks on the song which was sung traditionally at memorial services and funerals of fallen ANC soldiers.

"Some people are saying we must review and stop singing our traditional slogans. We must refuse to bow to pressure from the government and

business and prevent our struggle for national liberation being turned into a struggle for civil rights."

Later more than 500 clenched fists joined Mr Yengeni "in paying our respects to our hero Mr Tambo."

He said he understood the anger at the assassination of Chris Hani, but warned there were various ways of channelling this anger.

"One way is to dilute it. There's a crisis in the country. Our response is not to dilute the anger of the masses, but to deepen the crisis and make it difficult for the regime to operate, "not to save De Klerk and his government."

The other way was to be ultra-revolutionary.

He said some blamed violence on black youth.

"They are being projected as the lost generation. We need to defend the youth."

"I want to align myself with calls on them to rise to the occasion."

He said the ANC/SA Communist Party/SA Congress of Trade Unions alliance was not calling for insurrection.

"We are not saying you must storm the Bastille and overrun it. We are saying key institutions of the regime must be targeted and isolated. Local government is an area that needs attention."

New bogey for ANC — a martyred Winnie

JOHN CARLIN
of The Independent, London

(119) ARCT 28/4/93

AS if the assassination of Chris Hani had not imposed severe enough strains on the South African body politic, new dangers loom with the possibility that another African National Congress cult figure, Winnie Mandela, soon might be elevated to the status of martyr.

Judgment is due to be passed within a week or so on her appeal against a six-year jail sentence, say lawyers close to the case.

If she loses, the social healing process under way since Mr Hani's funeral will be reversed. Wounds will reopen and the ANC leadership will be more hard pressed than ever to restrain the violent urges of the youths at its radical core.

The betting in legal circles, however, is that Mrs Mandela will win the appeal. But, this does not mean the ANC's problems will go away.

A vindicated Mrs Mandela will remain a headache for her estranged husband and other leaders eager to pursue peaceful negotiations.

Her behaviour in recent weeks has left no doubt that she continues to entertain high political ambitions.

This, in spite of having been expelled from all ANC office-bearing positions last year following the exposure of her affair with a lawyer with whom, it has been alleged, she mismanaged official ANC funds.

And, also in spite of the break-up of her marriage, which had provided her strongest political power-base.

The ANC's national executive has cast her out into the political cold: Mr Nelson Mandela simply does not talk to her.

But, a hardened survivor, she has sought to rebuild her political career among the poorest of South Africa's poor.



Mrs Winnie Mandela

She has started the Co-ordinated Anti-Poverty Programme (Capp) which supplies the bread-and-butter essentials of decent living to squatter camp dwellers, in particular to those of Phola Park, a shanty settlement south-east of Johannesburg.

Phola Park residents, who call her "mummy", say she visits in her white Mercedes two or three times a week.

Every time, excited throngs gather around her. She has helped them improve their access to water, electricity and telephone lines.

When boys tell her what they want most is a football, she buys them one. No more compelling political message is possible among the poor.

As she explained to the Baltimore Sun: "It is the people themselves who create leaders."

The diet she provides is reinforced with a good measure of militant rhetoric.

"People can't eat negotiations," goes one favourite phrase.

At Khayelitsha outside Cape Town she made headlines when she and ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba summoned a rally to protest at the death of Mr Hani.

The police are investigating incitement charges against them following their remarks to the crowd.

Mr Mokaba struck fear into white hearts when he declared: "Kill the Boer! Kill the farmers!" (After pressure from an uncomfortable ANC leadership, he said this was merely traditional revolutionary rhetoric and no racist ill-will was intended.)

The ANC youth, she said, should take over the leadership, adding that they should take the streets by storm.

Recently, she has written articles denouncing what she sees as the unseemly haste with which the ANC, driven by a desire for the "silken sheets" of office, is entering into a power-sharing deal with the government.

Her calls for what amounts to an internal ANC coup have led some commentators to conclude, given the impracticality of such a notion, that she has plans to form a political party.

Someone who knows both Mr and Mrs Mandela well said this was out of the question.

"The fact is that, while Winnie might be able to win the devotion of small sectors of the squatter community and the radical youth, Nelson's — and by extension, the ANC's — grip on the imagination of the vast majority of the black population remains as unshakeable as ever."

Her plan, the source said, was to secure a sufficiently large power base, with democratic elections expected in a year, to persuade the ANC leadership to admit her back into the fold.

Given the feelings of Mr Mandela and ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa towards her, that seems unlikely. Perhaps her best chance of becoming a major national figure again, of setting the country alight as she once did, lies in the appeal court upholding her jail sentence.

IFP may be sidelined, ANC warns

CT 28/4/93

THE ANC will not tolerate any further delays in the negotiating process and yesterday warned the IFP it may be sidelined if it continued to place obstacles in the way of reaching a political settlement.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus was commenting on the allegation by the IFP that the government was in cahoots with the ANC in training uMkhonto weSizwe and that cadres were to be deployed in KwaZulu.

A senior NP source in Natal also expressed dismay at the stance taken by IFP negotiators at the World Trade Centre this week. He described it as "unhelpful".

The statement was issued by the IFP's Mr Joe Mathews and Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Yesterday IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said one could not hold elections or draw up a constitutional blueprint when violence was "spiralling out of control".

He said there was a systematic campaign to decimate the Inkatha leadership across the board. At least nine

Mangope firm on freedom

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President Lucas Mangope dug in his heels yesterday on reincorporation, saying there was no question of Bophuthatswana's giving up its independence.

He said his government was surrendering nothing and least of all would it consider relinquishing control over its security forces.

President FW de Klerk said last week that progress had been good in talks with TBVC leaders on reincorporation and that if there was no intransigence by any parties, the matter could be resolved by June.

senior Inkatha leaders had been killed in the last month, including KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member Siphwe Gumede of Umbombo.

The statement should be seen in that context, Mr Tillet said.

Mr Niehaus, however, said the IFP allegations had created "a very serious situation" and the ANC believed that it was trying to delay negotiations.

General Bob Rogers, DP defence spokesman, said Inkatha's allegation was "totally untrue". He also said it looked as if Inkatha was placing an obstacle in the way of talks.

Hani's successor says he sees hope amid R~~e~~l rubble

ARC 28/4/93

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The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Charles Nqakula, the new general-secretary of the South African Communist Party, differs in many ways from his murdered predecessor, Chris Hani.

Where Mr Hani was straight-talking, an edge of political combativeness frequently in his voice, Mr Nqakula is softly spoken and almost genteel in his politeness.

But the pair have much in common: they were born into poor families in the Eastern Cape — Mr Hani's father was a migrant worker and Mr Nqakula's a farm labourer — and looked at the world through the questioning eyes of boys bestowed with intelligence who came to believe that the answer to injustice lay in communism.

Mr Nqakula, now 50, his beard beginning to be flecked with grey, recalls: "My parents were completely illiterate. My father worked as a labourer. My mother was a washerwoman, earning a pound a month.

"We were 10 children. I am number nine. My older brothers and sisters did not go to school. Only my younger brother and myself had the opportunity to go to school. It was touch and go because we were very, very poor."

He speaks lovingly of his first headmaster at St James Primary School in Cradock, the Rev James Arthur Calata, a former general-secretary of the ANC.

"It meant I came under political influence at a very early age. The Anglican Church at the time, under Rev Calata, was almost like a branch of the ANC. We got involved in the ANC ..."

Mr Nqakula, who matriculated at Lovedale after winning a bursary, recounts that as a high school graduate he worked at a garage repairing punctures and filling cars and at a hotel as a waiter and a wine steward.

Then came a spell in journalism — as a freelance columnist on the Midland News in Cradock and as a reporter for Imvo Zabantsundu and the East London Daily Dispatch.

While working for the Dispatch in the 1970s he came into contact with Steve Biko, the founder of the black consciousness movement.

Like many people, he was impressed by Biko, seeing him as a seminal political influence. But he denies ever abandoning ANC ideology for black consciousness.

"Black consciousness at that point was not in contradiction to what the ANC stood for. To me it meant that here was an area opening up which the ANC ought to be involved in exploiting, an area which was bringing to the fore very important leadership and activities."

He tells of a banning order which cut short his journalistic career; of being declared a prohibited immigrant in South Africa, the land of his birth, when Ciskei became nominally inde-



IN HANI'S SHOES: The new general secretary of the SA Communist Party, Mr Charles Nqakula.

pendent in 1981; of military training in Angola and the Soviet Union; of his deportation from Lesotho in 1986; of further training in East Germany and his return to South Africa to help bring senior ANC leaders back.

He cannot recall a single episode or event which led him to take the extra step and join the SACP; it was a "logical graduation" facilitated by the close ties between the ANC and the SACP.

He is not disturbed by the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, seeing, he insists, hope amid the rubble of communist icons and statues.

But he concedes that the fall of communist regimes forced the SACP to reassess its role and approach.

"I am sure we drew the appropriate lessons, if we have to

judge by the popularity of the party in South Africa and its growth. We have around 50 000 members now."

The rapid growth of the SACP since its re-launch has surprised even its leaders, causing the SACP to reappraise its role in non-racial elections — a top item on the agenda of a major "strategic conference" on May 21.

A recent statement by ANC president Nelson Mandela that the SACP will constitute only a small component on the ANC list of candidates in the elections seems not to perturb Mr Nqakula.

"The people on the ground are going to decide who is put on the list. It is going to be a democratic process. It should not be a matter of us saying, 'We want so many communists on the list.'"

ANC to demand election date at rally (11/1)



Mr Yengeni

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

A DEMAND that the government set an election date by the end of May will be made at an ANC alliance May Day rally at Athlone Stadium.

This was announced by the ANC, the SA Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions today.

ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said there would be no marches to Cape Town on Saturday.

Other demands would be joint control over the police and SADF and a reconstruction pact to outline the economic policies of a democratic government which will meet the needs of the poor and oppressed.

He said the alliance believed Athlone Stadium was the best venue for the occasion.

He said the example of the memorial service for Chris Hani at the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg had shown how big crowds could be handled.

"We will be able to speak and move people around. We don't want to turn it into a party political day and it should be seen as a family day."

But Cosatu regional secretary Mr Jonathan Arendse said the alliance reserved the right to march in central Cape Town.

"We are not going to be told by anybody not to go into Cape Town. We will learn from our mistakes and organise better."

Mr Yengeni said a broad programme of mass action in the Western Cape would be presented at the Athlone Stadium rally.

Consultations were still taking place between the alliance and other organisations.

Mass action was essential because people were getting frustrated with little or no gain made in negotiations, he said.

"We are afraid if there is no progress at all the stage will be set for a serious explosion. I can't say how long this will take."

Mr Yengeni said this year's mass action would be different from last year's because the ANC did not want to alienate people.

Mr Arendse said consumer boycotts had not been ruled out, but specific businesses rather than white businesses would be targeted.



Sanco president, Moses Mayekiso, left, and ANC local government spokesman Thozamile Botha at yesterday's news conference in Johannesburg.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Govt 'hijacking forum'

~~117~~ ~~SCOTT~~
GAVIN DU VENAGE

GOVERNMENT was yesterday accused of trying to turn the national local government negotiating forum into its own advisory body by the non-statutory delegation to the forum.

devolving power to ward and municipal level. ANC local government department head Thozamile Botha said that while all parties had the right to put forward proposals, these should be made through the forum.

The delegation, comprising civic groups, the ANC and Cosatu, told a news conference the non-statutory organisations wanted it to be a negotiating forum to draw up interim local government structures.

The delegation also rejected a number of Delport's proposals, including one that a voting list be drawn up according to property ownership rights.

The delegation met yesterday to draw up a formal response to Local Government Minister Tertius Delport's proposals, made in Parliament last week, on reforming local government legislation. These included a call for early elections at local level, and

The delegation said it wanted a single voters roll for all residents within a local constituency. The delegation said government's proposals would shift the balance of power to local authorities.

Services for Tambo begin today

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

A number of memorial services for the late ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo will be held in various parts of the country from today until his burial in Benoni on Sunday, the ANC announced yesterday.

The services will be addressed by leaders of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, according to the ANC.



(114)

The organisation again called on mourners "to pay due respects" to Tambo "in a manner befitting his stature".

"Let us pay tribute to his memory by ensuring there is no loss of life, no damage to property and no undignified behaviour. In this moment of grief let us emulate his ideals, his steadfast commitment to peace, freedom and respect for all humanity," the ANC said.

Tambo (75) died of a stroke at the Milpark Hospital in Johannesburg on Saturday, following his admission to the hospital on Friday for observation in con-

nection with a chest infection.

His body will lie in state in Benoni from 6 am on Sunday at a venue to be announced.

In a statement issued a day after Tambo's death, the ANC said that while he had been impressed with the restraint shown by the people attending Chris Hani's funeral, he had also been disappointed by the violence which occurred.

"Comrade OR was very disturbed by the looting, vandalism and violence that marred the occasion. No matter how deep our anger and grief, such

acts should not be repeated.

"We must not permit criminal and hooligan elements to desecrate the burial service of Comrade Tambo. He will be buried in a manner befitting a man of his stature," the ANC said.

Memorial services in the PWV region will be held at St Francis Church in Mamelodi this evening, at Vista University's East Rand campus at 1 pm today, at the Methodist Church in Meadowlands, Soweto, tomorrow evening and at Jabulani Amphitheatre at 11 am on Friday.

Courtesy surprise at Star 28/4/93 Treurnicht funeral

YESTERDAY I was one of a few blacks who attended Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's funeral at the Bosman Street NGK in Pretoria.

I went to Pretoria expecting to be given a rude reception, but that did not happen.

Instead, I was treated most courteously by the mourners, with some of them even making way for me at the end of the church service as I walked towards my car and they walked towards the Church Street West cemetery, where the CP leader was laid to rest.

I did not go to the cemetery, however, because I did not feel that would be a safe thing for me to do. I thought there would be people there — to the Right of the CP in the political spectrum — who might not take too kindly to my presence.

But inside the church I was safe. CP acting leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and his fellow MPs were in attendance, and so were some foreign government representatives and a sprinkling of homeland government representatives.

For the record, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was one of the mourners and guests of honour. And so was the Inkatha Freedom



KAIZER NYATSUMBA, Political Correspondent (above), attended the funeral of Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday.

Party's western Transvaal-based Humphrey Ndlovu.

According to the official invitation list, which I saw, the governments of Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa had also been invited. The names of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche and the Herstigte Nasionale Party's Jaap Marais were on the list.

Treurnicht's few black friends who attended the funeral all belong to organisations which are part of the Concerned

South Africans Group, which slowed down the pace of negotiations at the World Trade Centre on Monday.

Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok represented the National Party, and the Government was represented by Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

A relaxed Rev J E Potgieter conducted the service, showered Treurnicht — whom he said had "fought the good fight" — with praise, and preached about Abraham's willingness to kill his son Isaac as a sacrifice to God after he had been asked to do so.

Unlike slain South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani's expensive and colourful coffin last week, which was draped in ANC and SACP colours, Treurnicht's casket was modest. On top of it was the South African flag.

Hartzenberg paid a glowing tribute to Treurnicht, and said he was confident the late CP leader would say, like Paul in the Bible (2 Timothy 4:7-8): "I have done my best in the race, I have run the full distance, and I have kept the faith. And now there is waiting for me the victory prize of being put right with God." □

Star 29/4/93

Tutu urges reparation for evils of apartheid

By Brendan Templeton

Reparations for apartheid would be necessary if South Africa were truly to move to a democratic society, a panel which included Archbishop Desmond Tutu said last night.

The conclusions were made at the inauguration of the Students for Human Rights society at the University of the Witwatersrand. The panel included Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin and ANC negotiator Frene Ginwala.

"To ignore the past is to allow it to return to haunt you, and to deal with it inadequately is a sure recipe for it to re-emerge somewhere else," Tutu said.

While all South Africans had to congratulate President de Klerk on the brave steps he took in February 1990, it was necessary that more

steps were taken.

"We all want reconciliation, but some people seem to think reconciliation comes cheaply. Reconciliation depends on forgiveness. Forgiveness depends on confession and confession depends on contrition," Tutu said.

To show that the desire for reconciliation was genuine, it would be necessary for those who gained from apartheid to make reparations.

Ginwala said it was necessary for everyone to construct a new society after free elections.

Currin said taking away apartheid laws was merely like removing the scaffolding from a building. The scaffolding of apartheid may be removed, but the squat monument would remain. It was necessary to remove the monument of apartheid and all the evil it contained.

We'll quit if deadlock persists, warns alliance

Star 29/4/93

(11A) (11A)

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political
Correspondent

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance has decided to review its continued participation in negotiations if no binding agreements are reached in multi-party talks by the end of May.

In a statement yesterday, the alliance said the decision to engage in "a complete review of the negotiations process" was taken at a meeting on Tuesday at which its programme of rolling mass action was discussed.

The alliance said if no "finality" was reached

on an election date and the setting up of a transitional executive council "with far-reaching control of the security forces" by the end of next month, a programme of "unprecedented mass action" would be embarked upon. This could include a tax boycott and national industrial action.

The alliance said proposals for the nationwide mass action had been referred to its constitutional structures, and would be finalised at a meeting to take place before the end of May.

"(We are) of the view that these objectives are realistic, achievable and long overdue, and that if the Government acted irresponsibly and contin-

ued (to drag its feet) beyond May, a complete review of the negotiations process will have to take place.

"The Government will not be allowed to hide behind spoiling tactics of the Cosag (Concerned Southern Africans Group) forces."

The alliance said the first phase of its programme of action had already begun with regional actions in many parts of the country, including regional and local consumer boycotts, marches, demonstrations and occupations of certain buildings.

Although the alliance's rolling mass action was supposed to have started last Tuesday — a day after slain SACP leader

Chris Hani's funeral — no such action appears to have taken place.

The alliance said the far Right would be made "a special target" for regional mass action, including consumer boycotts and international campaigns against supporters of local right-wing organisations abroad.

Also targeted was the SABC — particularly TV1 — for its alleged biased reporting.

The alliance said May Day rallies on Saturday would launch regional programmes of action throughout the country.

The alliance also revealed it had discussed the formation of a peace corps at its meeting on Tuesday.

Winnie and Mokaba Star 29/4/93 may be prosecuted

CAPE TOWN — Consequent on investigations now being undertaken by the police, it was possible that Winnie Mandela, Peter Mokaba and Tony Yengeni could be prosecuted for their inflammatory utterances, President de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking in State President's Question Time, he said some of the recent statements made by the three ANC personalities could amount to a crime in terms of existing legislation.

All three were the sub-

ject of a police investigation being carried out in close co-operation with attorneys general, De Klerk said.

Also being investigated were statements by AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche and whether he broke the law by displaying a weapon in public.

De Klerk said political spokesmen should refrain from making inflammatory statements. Such that an irresponsible word could lead to violence, he said. —

Sapa.

South Africa can count itself lucky the ANC is the government in waiting, writes Stanley Uys from London

Star 29/4/93

Be thankful for Tambo, Mandela and Sisulu

Hani and Steve Tshwete began to attack "soft targets" Tambo publicly repudiated them.

South Africa's white leaders came to their senses in 1990, but even now there are still some who absurdly accuse the ANC of "mob violence". The ANC can be held responsible for unleashing a beast in its lair when it called on the townships to make South Africa ungovernable, but not to recognise that now, as a government-in-waiting, it has nothing to gain by mob rule, is grass folly.

Tambo's words are as true today as they were when I spoke to him in 1983 — that white South Africans can count themselves lucky that they are dealing with an organisation such as the ANC. It fumbled and foundered on its return from exile, but it is a more mature movement today, and for white South Africans not to recognise this is wilful blindness. □

the same organisations were still making the same appeals. It took South Africa 30 years after Sharpeville to come to its senses.

I shall never forget that interview with Tambo, as he regretfully shook his head, and said: "I think South Africa is lucky to have an organisation like the ANC. I really think they are. It will be a non-racial force ... the majority of people in South Africa will have to come round, and they will be looking for a new kind of society, and not a polarisation. The bitterness of the struggle will diminish support for the regime. I think it must."

Tambo, of course, belonged to the old school of ANC leaders, which includes Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu — remarkable men, in their wise and tolerant guidance. White South Africans indeed can count themselves lucky, not only that men such as these held the reins of power for so long,

but that they have been able to rear a new generation of ANC leaders trained in the same tradition of tolerance.

If white South Africans really want to know what race strife can be like, they should wait until Winnie and Peter Mokaba start their ritual fire dance.

In my lengthy interview with Tambo, he stressed the same point again and again: that the ANC pursued non-violence for as long as it possibly could. For 12 years, from the National Party's accession to power in 1948, it doggedly refused to resort to violence.

"Never had there been a more violent regime in South Africa," said Tambo, "but we stuck to our non-violence. As the years went by, the violence increased. We saw more and more of armed police — pistols at first, then sten guns, then the tanks came on. The whole situation was becoming very militarised."

Even after Sharpeville, the ANC decided to continue with non-violence. It called for a national convention to write a new constitution, and in 1961 embarked on civil disobedience, beginning with a national strike.

The government then mobilised the army "on a scale not seen since World War 2 ... the army had left its barracks and we knew then that the army had reached the end of the road of non-violence. We couldn't take it further than that, if the army was now involved. Police were no longer sufficient. It was then that we decided to embrace violence as a method of struggle," he told me.

Even then, "the strict rule was that the sabotage must be done in such a way that there must be no injury to life at all ... I recall the office of some Cabinet Minister in Pretoria could not be attacked because he happened to be there". In the mid-1980s, when Chris

The year was 1960. Sharpeville had just exploded and South Africa was in turmoil. I met Oliver Tambo, then deputy president of the ANC, in Cape Town. Tambo invited my opinion on whether the Unlawful Organisations Act, of which the then government had given notice, signified that this was how far the Verwoerd administration would go for the time being.

I suggested that the Act contained little that was not already available in the Suppression of Communism Act and that the Bill's main purpose, therefore, was to embarrass the United Party opposition. The conclusion I drew from this was that further measures against the ANC could be expected. Tambo returned immediately to Johannesburg, and on the instructions of the ANC leadership left the country to establish the organisation in exile. A few days later, the govern-

ment declared a state of emergency and took almost 2 000 leaders and activists into detention. If Tambo had been present he would have been one of the detainees. The Unlawful Organisations Act was passed, and both the ANC and PAC were banned.

In a tape-recorded interview in London on July 31 1983, Tambo — who lived in Muswell Hill not far from my house in Highgate — recalled with a chuckle my contribution to his departure for exile. The acknowledgement gave me little pleasure. In 30 years of exile, Tambo literally worked himself to death.

When Sharpeville exploded, many prominent South Africans, business leaders in particular, but also some Dutch Reformed Church ministers, implored the government to modify its policies. The fanatical Dr Verwoerd brushed them aside. Twenty-five years later, after the 1984 unrest,

There must be freedom, peace and jobs for all

Sowetan 29/4/93

Another asked if the so-called coloureds were committed to the liberation struggle.

Sowetan & Radio Metro **By Mzimasi Ngudle**

Talkback



with **Tim Modise**

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions last night threatened to embark on a "concerted and unprecedented" mass action campaign if the Government dragged its feet on negotiations.

Speaking during the *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show*, Cosatu spokesman Mr Neil Coleman said workers would embark on this campaign if the Government did not agree to an election date, a transitional executive council and the joint control of the security forces by the end of May.

He and Mr Mudini Maivha of the National Council of Trade Unions were host Tim Modise's guests on the show.

Coleman said Cosatu's main theme for May Day rallies would be: "Free-

dom, peace and jobs for all".

He said the workers who would take part in Saturday's May Day rallies would also commemorate fallen heroes, "especially the great leader of the working people, Chris Hani, and the great statesman Oliver Tambo".

Maivha said Nactu's theme would be: "Working class unity at factory floor". He said Nactu was carefully watching the transitional period to ensure that workers' rights were not betrayed.

"Workers must strive for unity to protect class interests because class interests may conflict at one stage or another," he said.

Maryha said Nactu was anticipating the

emergence of new interests in the post-apartheid South Africa.

He urged workers not to be complacent but to be "wary of equating political victory with their interests".

"Business is now busy canvassing political organisations for a post apartheid constitution. Workers should ensure that the constitution does not trench the interests of the bosses to the detriment of workers' interests," Maivha said.

Two callers questioned Cosatu's alliance with political organisations:

"We have different political affiliations and Cosatu should recognise our right to go to work."
Mr X, Durban

"Will Cosatu continue to fight for workers' rights when the ANC is in power?"
Baldwin, Wattville

"Cosatu and Nactu should urge coloureds to join us in the struggle."
Junior, Meadowlands

A CENTRAL committee meeting of the South African Communist Party tomorrow is likely to give the first clues as to who will succeed slain general secretary Chris Hani.

Whoever assumes Hani's mantle may preside over an upsurge in support for the SACP, which is riding a wave of sympathy after the assassination.

A Markinor survey of political opinion shows that 31 percent of blacks would perhaps vote communist in an election, while eight percent would definitely vote for the SACP. The figures for the Pan Africanist Congress are 23 and six percent respectively.

Officially, the SACP leadership has not begun to think about who will be the next general secretary. The issue is likely to appear on the agenda of the party's strategy conference in May, but party sources say initial discussions will take place at this weekend's political bureau and central committee sessions.

The short list will probably include the following:

Sam Shilowa. Highly articulate, he has been the assistant general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions since 1991 after a meteoric rise through the ranks of the Transport and General Workers' Union. His massive shaven head and deep, resonant voice were much in evidence during the Hani memorial march and the lying-in-state in the FNB stadium. Whether exhorting marchers to

Who will replace Hani?

W/Mail 23/4 - 29/4/93
remain peaceful, or leading 70 000 people in the singing of *Hamba Kahle Umkhonto*, he looked the leader.

But Shilowa is reportedly being groomed for Cosatu's top job when Jay Naidoo stands down.

Raymond Mhlaba. An old party stalwart who was a Rivonia trialist and a member of Nelson Mandela's inner circle on Robben Island, Mhlaba is a popular figure regarded as a solid party man. But because of his age, his appointment as general secretary would be no more than a stop-gap measure.

Jeremy Cronin. Politburo member Cronin, an able speaker and the party's leading theoretician, is also unlikely to

A number of contenders could replace Chris Hani as SACP chief, but his deputy, Charles Nqakula, is the frontrunner.

By STEPHEN LAUFER

make the running. He is an academic, and he is not an African. He has said on more than one occasion that he is "happy being an intellectual".

Thenjiwe Mthintso. Once a close confidante of Steve Biko's, Mthintso is well-liked, not least for her credentials which include a stint in Umkhonto weSizwe and as ANC representative in

Uganda. A member of the SACP's inner circle, she has been tipped by observers as a "woman to watch".

She is a good public speaker and a member of the party's negotiating team at the multi-party talks. But she is unlikely to make the top position because she is still "ideologically immature", as one observer put it.

Blade Nzimande. Described as "very articulate and an exceptionally clear thinker who takes the crowd along with him", Nzimande is deputy ANC chairman in the Natal Midlands.

But Nzimande is also described as being ideologically close to hardliner Harry Gwala. As one party insider put

The ANC generation gap that haunts Mandela

Guardian | w | in
w | mail 23/4 - 29/4/93
By Stanley Uys

SINCE Chris Hani's assassination, the ANC leaders have felt the hot breath of the "young comrades" on their necks. Nelson Mandela, a noble and earnest man, has cut a tragic figure, enduring the jeers of radicals as he tries to explain that negotiating with President F. W. de Klerk is the only game in town.

What South Africa is witnessing is the maturing of the liberation movement's leadership; the realisation that, for the interim at least, blacks must share power with whites because the leash on which the white constituency — and particularly hardliners among the politicians, in the bureaucracy and the security services — holds de Klerk is not long enough to allow for anything else.

In the past year, the ANC has changed astonishingly, as its management of the crisis that followed Hani's killing has shown. It maintained discipline in most of the 84 centres where demonstrations took place. Where it lost control partially was in the metropolitan areas, where radicals are thick on the ground.

Hani's role was unique. However chequered his career as a lifelong communist, however ruthless his reign as chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing, when the chips were down he came out for reconciliation. Even de Klerk has acknowledged his "constructive" role. More than most of its leaders, Hani made it possible for the ANC to sit round the conference table with de Klerk — because he could deliver the radical constituency. There is no one remotely comparable to take his place, and the radicals smell blood.

Dr Jeremy Cronin, a high profile member of the ANC's national executive committee and of the South African Communist Party's central committee, relates that a young black truck driver told him recently that the real Nelson Mandela was killed in prison. Today's Mandela is a lookalike. "He was trained for years by the Boers and finally presented to the public in 1990. The mission of this look-alike is to pretend to be against the system. But in reality he is working for it."

The idea that Mandela is de Klerk's Manchurian candidate — a leader programmed to lead his people astray — has been spreading among the ANC's young bloods, who believe the new multi-party forum (Codesa's successor), is little more than a microwave oven to warm up meals pre-cooked by the two elites in back rooms.

To accuse Mandela of being a Manchurian candidate for the president is a calumny on one of the most remarkable men South Africa has produced. Without him, the country would still be shackled to apartheid. It is currently fashionable to mock Mandela's frailties, but white and black South Africans alike can thank their lucky stars he emerged from prison to set them at least a flickering light to steer by.

The dissenters were gathering even before Hani's assassination: an assortment of militants in the key industrial areas; a cheekily defiant ANC Youth League; bitter resentment among all three ANC regions in Natal over striking any deal with Chief Buthelezi; ANC-inspired township "self-defence units" drifting out of control; guerrilla fighters, returning to neither a hero's welcome nor jobs,

turning rogue; "civic associations" in black townships threatening to become hostile; an embryonic socialist-trade unionist opposition; and on the outskirts the PAC and AZAPO hovering, maverick-like, for a breach to appear in the walls of the ANC fortress.

In the Johannesburg Weekly Mail, an ANC member asked how committed the ANC leadership was to liberating its people from poverty when Mandela lived in the plush white suburb of Houghton, Zinzi Mandela's luxury honeymoon was paid for by a white millionaire, "lavish" lifestyles were enjoyed by the Oliver Tambo and Allan Boesak households, and Steve Tshwete wore "expensive clothing".

"Who's paying for all this comfort?" asked the ANC member. "Are these gifts from the South African white economic elite? If so, why do these leaders accept them? Is our human suffering under apartheid rule so cheap to be bought by gifts from the white racists who vote for the National Party-led white alliance? . . . As for Cyril Ramaphosa 'sojourning in expensive trout-fishing retreats' . . . is he the general secretary of the ANC I voted into office?"

Professor Heribert Adam, one of the most experienced apartheid-watchers, added this comment: "On the part of the ANC/SACP, socialism has been reduced to anti-trust legislation and affirmative action. Lenin may still be quoted, but the World Bank, it seems, exerts an even stronger pull . . . The more far-sighted sections of the business elite ingratiate themselves with any political leadership . . . Favours are showered on them, ranging from free trips in Lear jets, gifts of luxuri-

ous houses, invitations to corporate retreats and conferences in Bermuda or Davos, seats on company boards, lavish fees for speaking engagements to preferential admission of relatives in educational institutions. To have Mandela attend the wedding of a daughter or to celebrate a birthday in the company of high-profile ANC executives, becomes a status symbol of the true corporate insider."

The material temptations that de Klerk and the business mandarins have put before the ANC leadership are peripheral to what has really happened. If Mandela has made concessions which stick in the gullets of "young comrades", it is because the alternative would have been to confront Afrikanerdom head-on — and for the "new South Africa" to inherit little more than an administrative and economic wasteland.

South Africa is not ready for a transfer of power from the white minority to a black majority. Apartheid, and white supremacy will be gone soon, but for the rest of this century the South African government will be like a dual-control car, with Mandela at one wheel and de Klerk at the other. The white lifestyle will erode but not before it has absorbed many upwardly mobile blacks.

There will be no repetition in South Africa of colonial Africa's historic rite of passage — running the foreign power's flag down one day and the liberation flag up the next. The powerful symbolism of a transfer of power, the catharsis of a sudden transition, so necessary for a young nation's psyche, will not occur.

It is not difficult then to foresee the shape of the future opposi-

tion. It will be the dissenters (above), orientated towards nationalism (to counter the duality of black-white rule), towards socialism (to settle accounts with a still dominant capitalism), and towards puritanism (to extirpate rising corruption).

But the centre should hold — just. Returning to the barricades has disappeared as an option for the ANC leadership. It would be a delusion, though, to expect the year 2000 to bring earth-shaking changes. South Africa's economic situation probably will be even more desperate than now, because the high expectations of the black population simply will not have been met. Then a political imperative will come into play: the need to divert more resources from the white to the black community, and this could play havoc with cabinet unity.

Mandela's "moderateness", however, will pay off in the long run, because it will save South Africa from self-destruction. The power-sharing cabinet will have to work, because there is nothing else on the table.

Eventually, though, the sheer weight of black numbers will overwhelm the remaining vestiges of white vetoes. With some luck, the government then will slip naturally into a genuinely non-racialist structure, held together by a common interest in a viable economy.

As for de Klerk's National Party, already it is rotting from within, as is the corrupt white bureaucracy. However, no one should underestimate Afrikanerdom's capacity to slough off the old skin of white superiority and re-emerge with non-racialism written all over its smiling face.

Culture to counter crisis

Soweto 29/4/93.
■ **NINE MONTHS** Programme for Saturday

mornings and one night a week: *(USA) (11A)*

By Mzimkulu Malunga

A MAJOR training scheme aimed at stimulating a "culture of development" is to be launched in Soweto next Monday.

This nine-month programme in development studies is championed by the Institute for African Alternatives, an organisation established to seek developmental options for African countries as many of the continent's economies plunge into crisis.

IFAA Soweto office's education officer Mr Danny Kekana says the programme aims to equip community-based organisations with the ability to transform different groups into developmental units.

The programme is being co-ordinated by former lecturer in development studies at the University of Dar es Saalam Dr Ernest Maganya.

Training has been broken into three categories. The major one which is compulsory focuses on stimulating the culture of

development, says Kekana.

Two other sections concentrate on basic issues of running an organisation effectively such as communication skills, organisational methods and office administration. These sections also cover gender issues and affirmative action and are optional.

Students have to complete seven courses to qualify for a certificate in development studies issued by the Centre for Continued Education at Wits University.

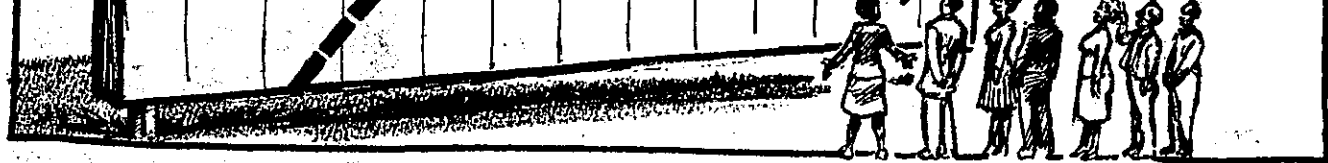
The fee for the course is R150 a participant.

Kekana says the participation of civic organisations, trade unions and other community structures in the running of the country is crucial for development in South Africa.

The course will attempt to answer questions relating to alternative strategies this country could follow to impact on lives of ordinary people.

Classes will run on Saturday mornings and once a week in the evenings.

The IFAA's Soweto office number is 938-1485.



focus on economy

SOUTH Africans face a Nongqawuse choice if political activists continue to batter the economy the way the do. This is the view of Standard Bank's chief economist, Mr Nico Czipionka, following the loss of production after Mr Chris Hani's death.

Hani, the slain SACP general secretary, was killed at his home at Dawn Park near Boksburg, allegedly by a Polish immigrant said to be opposed to Hani's communist beliefs.

Czipionka also suggested that even the political dispensation to emanate from the multiparty talks, might be negated by the poor state of the economy, exacerbated by the loss of production hours.

He admitted that the political dynamics were going on "fine" until the assassination of Hani, who related well to the radical youths.

"We were getting somewhere ... we were starting to be accepted by the international community but the positive signs may be lost," he said.

However, secretary-general of Cosatu Mr Jay Naidoo disagreed and suggested that it was apartheid that had brought about the stagnation of the economy.

"All evidence proves that apartheid is causing the lack of growth in the economy," Naidoo said.

He said the prerequisite for growth of the economy rests on a rapid transition to democracy.

Nonetheless, Czipionka insisted that the many holidays over Easter, and the fact that stayaways were staged to mark the death of Hani, could have a destabilising effect on the economy.

"There was very little productive activity during the past month. This may cost jobs, a factor that will worsen the state of economy," Czipionka said.

He said the planned mass action by the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance would have the effect of scaring away investors, both within the country and internationally.

"You cannot afford to disappoint the investors, the very people who are the lifeblood of any economy," he said.

The fact that the local labour force appeared to be unreliable, unable to meet deadlines, was one factor that did not augur well for the salvation of the economy.

And if Nongqawuse option came about, the country would discover it had fewer friends, so that even the new government may not be in a position to fulfil the demands that its constituency may require, he said.

He predicted that the mass action would not bolster the economy. On the contrary, political as well as economic chaos would ensue, with the result that the new order may not instil confi-

The Nongqawuse option faces South Africa if political activists continue to batter the economy, Standard Bank economist Nico Czipionka told *Sowetan* Consumer Reporter **Joe Mdhlela:**



Sowetan
29/4/93

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Nico Czipionka

dence, even among those who voted it into power.

Expanding on his Nongqawuse theory, Czipionka said just as the fabled Nongqawuse instructed the Xhosa to destroy their cattle, sheep and valuable things, the analogy holds true for all those who are calling for the destruction of the economy by promoting stayaways.

"The point I am making is that the call for stayaways may have the same detrimental effects the Nongqawuse deception had, with the result that thousands of people may be deprived the opportunity of getting jobs because of the inability of the economy to provide jobs," he said.

It is in this context that Czipionka thinks the tragic events of the past days, coupled with lost production time, have placed the economy in a bad shape that could only be ameliorated by sound decisions.

The South African Chamber of Commerce and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut appeared to back Czipionka sentiments.

In a statement, both organisations pleaded with the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance "to act with restraint and in a responsible manner in considering its proposed extended period of mass action."

The organisations said they fully endorsed "the need for a realistic outcome to the political negotiations because of the interdependence of economic growth, stability and political progress.

Sacob and AHI end their statement by saying: "We wish to emphasise that any future government which inherits an economic wasteland will find it impossible to meet even the basic expectations of all South Africans for jobs and improved standards of living."

These are pitfalls labour movements are aware of but over a period of time Cosatu has accused the Government of not showing interest in a negotiated settlement.

Naidoo insists that rather than blaming the decline of the economy on mass action by organised labour, employers should pressure the Government into ushering in a democratic order, replacing the "unrepresentative minority" Government of De Klerk.

He said Cosatu would continue to use their "feet" and street politics to make their point, given the intransigence of the Government.

Nongqawuse

The *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa* has this to say about

Nongqawuse: In 1856 the young girl declared that the ancestral spirits had spoken to her and that the Xhosas were to kill all their cattle and destroy their grain.

She went on to say that on a certain day the sun would rise blood-red, the cattle-pens and the grain pits would be filled again, the old chiefs would rise from the dead and whites would be driven into the sea.

Great numbers of cattle, estimated at between 300 000 and 400 000, were killed and grain was destroyed.

Norway 'will not abandon ANC'

1114
ARCT 29/4/93

STEFAANS BRÜMMER
Staff Reporter

THE ANC has been assured by Norwegian Foreign Minister Mr Johan Jorgen Holst that "we will not abandon friends when they are about to succeed".

At a Press conference yesterday to announce the Norwegian government's sponsorship of a violence-monitoring institute under the auspices of the Goldstone Commission, he said: "There is concern in the ANC that we will abandon them just as they are approaching the goal. I have assured them that will not happen."

But Mr Holst indicated that there may have to be a shift in "ways and means".

He said his government was constrained in giving money to political parties and when the ANC converted from a liberation movement to a political party other means of making money available for the same

purposes would have to be found.

The ANC had been given about R10 million this year — a fifth of Norway's funding for "anti-apartheid work".

Next year's budget had not been finalised and discussions would be held with the ANC.

"We will not abandon friends when they are about to succeed, thereby jeopardising their success ...

"We don't want to intervene in the democratic process in South Africa, but we want to help ensure that the process is democratic."

During his visit Mr Holst has met President De Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Zac de Beer and the Reverend Frank Chikane.

He said: "I have been impressed by the way people to whom I talked seem committed to the process of negotiations."

Picking up the fallen spear of 'comrade Chris'

BLOOM 29/1/95

NEWLY appointed SACP general secretary Charles Nqakula is destined to live in the shadow of his charismatic predecessor Chris Hani, but it is a role he is comfortable with.

While Hani was a high-profile orator who kept the party in the lime-light, Nqakula is a softly spoken man who prefers working quietly at the grassroots.

"If you have to take over from someone like comrade Chris, it increases the pressure on the incumbent that has to pick up the spear, so to speak. I am not a public figure. I'm more suited to working at the grassroots and my training abroad concentrated on the organisation of the underground," he says.

He describes the April 10 assassination of Hani as "a very, very major blow" to the SACP, but adds that the killers have underestimated the resolve among SACP members to "ensure that the party not only exists and survives as a party, but is going to grow".

"Comrade Chris developed a particular style around which all of us performed our duties. He left a very good collective — a collective that he was consulting consistently. We are going to continue with that, and in the context of that collective, I am confident that the comrades who are part of that collective are going to guide me," he says.

Nqakula, 50, worked in the ANC and SACP underground inside SA from the mid-70s before he left the country in 1984 to work in exile. He returned clandestinely in 1988, participated in Operation Vula and became the SACP's national organiser in 1991. Later that year he was appointed deputy general secretary.

He was appointed to the position of general secretary by the party's central committee last week.

Nqakula says that he will continue Hani's programme of increasing democracy within the party and strengthening the party's alliance with the ANC and Cosatu.

He says the party will continue with its "two-stage" view of transformation in SA, with the first phase of establishing democracy being followed by a transition to socialism.

The fact that the SACP will jointly contest elections with the ANC will not damage its ability to put forward more radical ideas within the alliance, but SACP candidates will go along with ANC policy during electioneering, he says.

Nqakula's support for thorough transformation is tempered by the reality of the global failure of socialism in the last five years: "In the beginning socialist transformation may not be thoroughgoing. It is very, very difficult to predict exactly how this is going to come about."

RAY HARTLEY

(114)

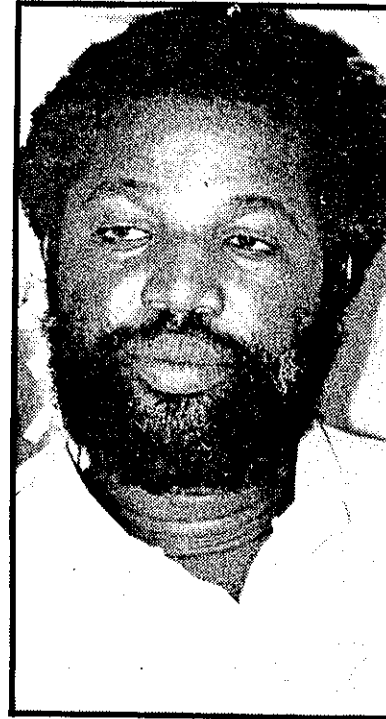
But Nqakula says the SACP remains a Marxist-Leninist party which still hopes to achieve communism in SA at some point in the distant future.

"There is no break at all, we are the same old party. We are saying that socialism is inherently democratic. Practices by various leaders (of former communist countries) did interfere to a certain extent with that principle of democracy.

"We still say that in the final analysis the working people of this country must play an important role in terms of the decision making processes and therefore they are key to what kind of an economy we will have in our country. We maintain that it is possible to develop a classless society, which is the main tenet of communism," he says.

Nqakula says the SACP envisages business, the state and labour as equal partners in the reconstruction of a democratic SA, but warns that business is not adapting fast enough to change.

"Business has not as yet taken a quantum leap with respect to the unfolding situation in this country.



□ NQAKULA

"Whether business likes it or not, it was they who have firmed up the apartheid regime. If business made the decision to cross the Rubicon ...

they would have applied so much pressure on the regime that many of the things that the regime has been involved in would have long been abandoned.

"We will have to sit down together with business and discuss how we are going to reconstruct this country — that is going to be the immediate job of big business," he says.

With reconstruction as an immediate priority, the SACP does not envisage state intervention in the economy in the short term, he says. "Of course at some point in the distant future we shall be looking at possibilities of intervention in the economy by the state, but that kind of intervention will mean some sort of partnership between the state, the employer and the worker."

He dismisses the idea that the party is a diminishing force in SA politics and refers to the rapid growth of membership from 3 000 in January 1991 to around 50 000 according to the most recent figures.

Nqakula says he does not allow himself to become obsessed with the possibility of attempts on his life.

"When we join the kind of struggle that we are involved in, you say to yourself that you may or may not see the dawn of freedom. If you fear death, it means that there is nothing you are going to be able to do," Nqakula says.

REVIEW

LETTERS

THERE have been two strange developments in the English language print media in the wake of Chris Hani's assassination.

Leader writers and columnists across the spectrum of the "English" Press first lashed out at the SABC for having demonised the slain SACP general secretary during his lifetime instead of informing the public at large about what the man really stood for, and then hit on ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba for making inflammatory statements during and around the commemoration services.

Both sets of accusations raise questions about the media itself. Questions like: where was the English Press during the past two years in telling its readership about Hani the negotiator, the man concerned about peaceful solutions, or, for that matter, the private man? Where was a reflection of the confidential briefings that Hani gave to journalists or of insights gleaned in off-the-record interviews, which we are now told took place? The SABC incidentally stopped demonising Hani a couple of years ago. Their biggest fault was not putting anything else in its place — exactly the same fault of omission the English language print media itself has been guilty of.

Perhaps even more disquieting questions are raised by the Mokaba affair. Not that the preposterous chant of Kill the Boer does not deserve the strongest condemnation. What the public is entitled to know is: why is that condemnation only forthcoming now?

The Not Afraid To Kill the Boers chant has in the post-February 1990 period been an integral part of every single alliance mass action happening, be it a march, a public rally, or any other kind of mass meeting — as PAC officials, piqued at being unilaterally taken to task for their equally repulsive chant of One Settler, One Bullet have repeatedly pointed out.

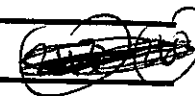
Not that anybody took any notice. I have had the same experience. Those to whose attention I brought those nasty songs included individual editors, organisers at Idasa getting-to-know-each-other meetings (once

It's time the print media took a long, hard look at itself

Domy 29/4/93

ANNA C STARCKE

(11A)



by way of explaining why I could not join in the happy toyi-toying of the assembled sisterhood, and organisers of a Five Freedoms reconciliation march through Alexandra (when my fellow white reconciliators appeared to think I was not showing quite the right spirit); and I keep arguing about it with senior alliance members themselves.

The former did nothing. ANC alliance members have at least the grace to be somewhat embarrassed, before offering the same explanations (shouldn't be taken literally, just a traditional mobilising chant, etc) that PAC officials routinely offer about the settler slogan.

So now everybody focuses on Mokaba, the man officially charged with mobilising the shock troops in the '80s for making SA ungovernable, and who could perhaps be forgiven for thinking he is being made a scapegoat. After all, most of the time when he (or, dare I mention it, other NEC members) have been leading the rallies in the Not Afraid To Kill the Boers chant, the rest of the alliance hierarchy has shared the platform with him.

Until Mokaba helpfully gave us the translation, the alliance killing chants, unlike that of the PAC, have been exclusively in Xhosa or Zulu. Obviously whites, those of the media included, could not be bothered to find out what black compatriots so

passionately sing about when they toyi-toyi in the stadium aisles or down Main Street, SA.

And while we are at it: could we please now have a line-for-line translation of the official MK dirge that was so movingly sung by Sam Shilowa at Chris Hani's funeral?

Still on the subject of Peter Mokaba, there was a previous eyebrow-raising remark of his that to my knowledge has never been followed up. Some two years ago, after (subsequently squashed) rumours that Mokaba was an informer, he stressed in an interview with the Weekly Mail that he enjoyed the full confidence of his comrades. If it were otherwise, he said, he would long ago have been eliminated, his death made to look "as if it had been done by the system". He was quoted as adding "as has been done many times before".

I am not the only one who thought at the time that this statement should have brought the combined political Press corps down on him. Instead — nothing. Have the dastardly deeds allegedly committed by the CCB led to the media going soft on the ANC, or was there another reason for such reticence?

Also underreported in connection with the Hani commemoration protests in Johannesburg on April 17

was the extent to which supposed ANC marchers — identified as such by T-shirts, banners and sashes, and including those in the lead car of the Alexandra contingent — were shouting mainly Viva Apla.

I should like to add for the record that I have personally heard Mokaba — the erstwhile prime proponent of no education before liberation — make a passionate plea in 1991 in front of a largely black audience for "putting the excesses of the past behind us" and turning the liberation struggle into "a struggle for knowledge, with respect for learning that will lead us to an understanding of constitutional options, as otherwise we will not have a true democracy".

Mokaba's speech was not reported in the mainstream media. Nor was that of MK chief Joe Modise in 1992 in which he argued in front of a similar audience for realistic expectations in relation to the structure of the anticipated integrated security forces. I have also not seen a word reported on a recent address by ANC legal expert Penual Maduna at the Institute for Multiparty Democracy; it was one of the most forcefully pragmatic arguments in favour of a government of national unity, in the course of which he impressively demolished the opposing PAC and Azapo positions.

Conversely, at a subsequent meeting a man who called himself an

Apla commander gave a speech of breathtakingly unbridled racist venom — and received the same sort of rapt applause from the same sort of black professional audience that had applauded Maduna. That is the kind of detail an informed public needs.

I would go as far as to argue that the mainstream media's past treatment of the PAC as a bunch of inconsequential clowns contributed to that organisation's outbreak into stepped up violence at this stage of our political development.

Last year's mainstream media silence on the political activities of Winnie Mandela once the ANC had declared her persona non grata — during a period when she toured the country making rousing speeches — left the average reader dumbfounded about her "sudden reappearance" in January 1993, when Mandela chose an occasion (Helen Joseph's funeral) that ensured she could not be ignored.

It must also be said that Eugene Terre'Blanche's much-quoted remark about wanting to have killed Hani himself was incorrectly reported in every single English language newspaper. What he said was abominable enough without a news agency making it worse.

Omissions of reporting by the mainstream media have another consequence. In my capacity as a political consultant I am constantly struck by the fears expressed by members of the business establishment concerning the depth of skills — or rather the presumed lack thereof — among, especially, the ANC and its alliance partners in relation to the incoming public service.

If there is one area in which familiarity brings pleasant surprises it is in discovering the breadth of new talent within the ranks of the alliance and other formations of the currently still disenfranchised. The general public should be told more about them.

Chris Hani's obscene death will not have been in vain if we draw the right kind of lessons from it. One of them should be the recognition of our urgent need for a more alert and less parochial media in this crucial period of transition.

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Mass action to go ahead if govt fails to meet demands

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WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance yesterday said it would press ahead with plans for mass action unless government met its demands by the end of May.

The alliance said it believed finality had to be reached on an election date, a transitional executive council and joint control of the security forces.

It said if government acted "irresponsibly" and continued to drag its feet beyond May, "a complete review of the negotiations will have to take place".

The organisations added that unless government met their May deadline, a programme of action, which would include a boycott of taxes and national strikes, would be embarked upon.

The first phase had begun with regional actions. These included consumer boycotts, marches, demonstrations and occupations. The far right would be made a special target of regional mass action, including consumer boycotts, as well as international campaigns against those supporting them abroad.

May Day would launch these regional programmes and alliance speakers would address more than 70 rallies throughout the country.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that ANC regional chief Tony Yengeni said yesterday that the alliance would include a consumer boycott in its mass action campaign in the western Cape.

Speaking at a May Day rally news conference yesterday he said: "We are still in

the process of finalising our mass action plans for the Western Cape but you can rest assure that consumer boycotts figure high on the agenda."

Yengeni did, however, give his assurance that consumer boycott action would not simply be directed at all white-owned businesses. "We will focus on specific areas of business," he said.

Yengeni said the mass action campaign would also be focused at the grass roots level of specific areas of power, such as local government, health services and the education crisis.

Our Durban correspondent reports that Natal is bracing for a month-long deluge of marches, rallies and city blockades by the alliance.

No stayaways have been planned yet.

Maritzburg looks set to become the focus of most of the rolling mass action, beginning with a lunchtime memorial service in Market Square in the city at noon today to mark the death of the ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo.

The events of the past three turbulent weeks have given impetus for what the alliance calls "the final push" beginning on Workers' Day.

□ Sapa reports from Cape Town that President F W de Klerk said a rolling mass action programme was in order as long as it was conducted with great responsibility.

Witnesses corroborate massacre accused's alibi

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Two men gave evidence in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday supporting the alibi of Nkanyezini massacre accused, Nkayiso Wilfred Ndlovu, 20, for the duration of an attack on minibus passengers that left 10 dead and four wounded.

Ndlovu denied that he took part or was present when the minibus was ambushed on March 5 allegedly to avenge the killing of Inkatha-affiliated schoolchildren a few days earlier.

He denied evidence by co-accused Mabhungu Absalom Dladla, 23, that he provided the firearms and forced Dladla to take part in the attack.

In evidence before Natal's Judge President Howard, Ndlovu said he had been at the home of Bonginkosi Ntombela in the company of KwaZulu policeman Michael Mkhize, on the day of the incident.

Ntombela and Mkhize gave evidence supporting

his version.

Ndlovu alleged that Dladla had arrived at his residence on the evening in question with a shotgun and had asked him to keep it. Ndlovu said he had concealed it behind a wall.

Dladla had also indicated a place across the river and had said he had concealed other firearms there, Ndlovu said. He later pointed out the spot to police who recovered an AK-47 rifle and an R1 rifle.

Les Roberts, SC, yesterday urged the court to convict Dladla and Ndlovu. He described Dladla as a "clearly lying witness" and said the version offered by Ndlovu was extremely improbable. Ntombela and Mkhize's evidence should not be relied on as they were clearly "sympathetic" to Ndlovu and vague about events.

Judge Howard is expected to deliver judgment in the case today.

Warning on timber use

MARIANNE MERTEN

THE Water Affairs and Forestry Department warned yesterday that at current levels of consumption SA's natural timber resources would be exhausted within 30 years.

It said about 30% of the population depended on wood as its primary energy source. It projected that from 2 000, about 8.3-million tons of firewood would be consumed every year.

For this reason, said Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Japie van Wyk, the department would move from promoting commercial timber growing to rural forestry extension schemes. This shift in emphasis was "a matter of necessity".

The department had identified more than 3 000 rural forestry projects to be implemented over the next decade. The success of the projects would, however, lie in community involvement and not with policymakers.

Mandela to appeal for investment

ANC leader Nelson Mandela will urge more British investment in post-apartheid SA when he visits London next week, the ANC said yesterday.

"His message will be that as soon as the transitional executive councils are in place and an election date is set, there should be additional British investment," said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

Mandela will address a joint session of the British parliament on Tuesday.

Niehaus said he expected the transitional councils to be in place by June.

Britain is the largest foreign investor in SA.

The latest trade figures between the two countries puts British imports to SA at \$1,8bn compared to \$1,5bn in exports during 1991.

Safto GM David Graham said an investment appeal by a man of Mandela's stature would be a tremendous boost for international confidence in SA and could only be a positive factor.

Mandela is due in Britain on Monday and will return to SA on Wednesday after meeting prominent British businessmen, government and opposition leaders and members of the British anti-apartheid movement. — Sapa-Reuter.

Call for selective boycott

SACP official Ronnie Kasrils told thousands of mourners at the funeral of 12 victims of violence in Sebokeng yesterday to implement a consumer boycott of Vereeniging, Vanderbijlpark and other "right-wing towns".

The 12, who were buried in the Evaton cemetery, were among 19 killed by unknown gunmen in the Vaal Triangle township on the eve of the funeral of slain SACP general secretary Chris Hani 10 days ago.

A section of the crowd ignored calls by Kasrils and ANC official Patrick "Terror" Lekota for them to channel their anger constructively and chanted PAC slogans throughout the service.

"The darkest hour always comes before dawn. Let us build our self-defence units, let us protect our leaders and organisations. Let us use the weapon of consumer boycott," Kasrils said.

Earlier, Lekota called on the crowd not

to attack members of the media, saying such attacks were not ANC policy. A foreign journalist was threatened by a knife wielding man who called him a "settler" during the service.

Crowds of youths chanting "one settler, one bullet" and "every settler needs a bullet" surrounded cars carrying journalists at one point, and gunshots were fired into the air at the graveside, but no other incidents of violence occurred.

"Those who seek to undermine the leadership (of the ANC) are participating in counter-revolution," Lekota told the crowd.

Police arrested a man on Tuesday in connection with the Sebokeng shootings, Vaal Triangle police spokesman Maj Piet van Deventer said yesterday. The latest arrest is the seventh in the case.


RAY HARTLEY

ANC told to provide own model

FINANCE special adviser Japie Jacobs has called on the ANC and Cosatu to release an economic model for public debate.

Responding to calls by ANC and Cosatu-aligned economists for the release of the mathematical basis of government's normative economic model, he said yesterday the model would be made public in its entirety only once other models had been put on the table.

The main architect of government's model, Central Economic Advisory Services head Jan Dreyer, said the unpublished details would be disclosed when the need arose in national economic forum discussions. Dreyer said business and labour partners in the forum were comfortable with his decision not to make public the econometric equations.

Jacobs said he would prefer to talk of a

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GRETA STEYN

"structural adjustment programme" rather than a model. He emphasised the figures generated by the model showed the country's potential economic achievement, rather than a forecast. The projection of 4.5% growth and 5% inflation by 1997 formed part of an optimistic scenario.

Responding to criticism that the model assumed real growth of 2% for this year — when the Budget assumption was 0.5% — Jacobs said the model's assumption was in line with the optimistic scenario.

Dreyer stressed: "A model is just a tool and it is only as good as the model builder's understanding of the economy. One does not need a model to talk economic policy." He was concerned that releasing the entire model now would spur a technical debate.

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Star 29/4/93

Mass ANC May Day rallies

The ANC alliance is to hold mass May Day rallies throughout SA on Saturday "in honour of the working class's struggle for freedom, peace and economic reconstruction". — Sapa (10) (1A)

ANC 'no' to schools threat

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC says it is not in favour of "occupying" white schools, spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

He was reacting to threats by the National Education Co-ordinating Committee on Wednesday that it planned to occupy white educational institutions, including schools and universities, "that support the status quo", from May 28.

National Education Minister Mr Piet Marais said yesterday he noted with "extreme displeasure" the totally unnecessary threats.

CP youth leader Mr André Vorster said the youth council would act in co-operation with other organisations, which he did not name, to stop the occupation of white schools.

The Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB) yesterday said that occupying white schools would cause a civil war. BWB leader Mr Andrew Ford said the "boers" would protect their children "to the death". —

Sapa CT 30/4/93

NGK in apology for Mandela article

Staff Reporter

THE Ned Geref Kerk yesterday repudiated the lead story in the April 30 edition of its official mouthpiece, Die Kerkbode.

In the article it was reported that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had said disciplinary action would be tak-

en against ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba for a racially inflammatory chant.

General Synodal Commission Scribe Dr Frits Gaum said in the article Mr Mandela was reported as saying Mr Mokaba's chants did not reflect ANC's policy and that

the matter was being dealt with internally.

"In the opinion of the management committee this does not mean — as Die Kerkbode concluded — that Mr Mandela indicated that disciplinary action would be taken against Mr Mokaba." The management committee expressed

regret at the misunderstanding, Dr Gaum said.

● In an interview with the Cape Times this week, Western Cape ANC secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said he had not received instructions from "head office" to stop singing the uMkonto weSiswe song. "I've made the point that you

CT 30/4/93 (11A)

should look at the Hani funeral — this song was sung by everybody, including ANC leaders, church people, church leaders, and it is being sung all over the country now at Oliver Tambo services and I'm sure that at the Tambo funeral on Sunday this song is going to be sung."

Tambo marchers dispersed

JOHANNESBURG. — Four vehicles were slightly damaged in Benoni yesterday by a crowd returning from a memorial service for African National Congress national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, police said.

In another incident, police fired rubber bullets to disperse a group of about 30 youths who stoned a police vehicle at the

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Watville railway station.

Television crews were disappointed when Mr Harry Gwala and Mrs Winnie Mandela failed to turn up at the Medical University of Southern Africa outside Pretoria for a commemoration service for Mr Tambo yesterday.

Meanwhile, Transkei leader

Major-General Bantu Holomisa said Mr Tambo's strategies had forced the government to yield to demands for social change.

● The ANC has announced an uMkhonto weSizwe unit and a larger contingent of marshals than that controlling the Chris Hani funeral will maintain order at the funeral service for Mr Tambo on Sunday. — Sapa

Three power blocs in struggle for future SA

Star 20/4/93

(11A) (11B) (11C)

The future of South Africa is being debated at the World Trade Centre. Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA explains what is happening, and why.

WHEN negotiations began at the World Trade Centre outside Kempton Park this week, many believed the negotiators would move with speed towards an agreement.

This would lead to a Transitional Executive Council (TEC), elections for a constituent assembly and, eventually, a government of national unity and reconstruction.

Expectations were high before Monday's Negotiating Council meeting, which proved to be a failure.

The two parties which matter most, the Government and the ANC, had told South Africans the next six weeks would be the most crucial in the country's history.

Not only would agreement on a TEC be reached, but a date for the watershed one-person one-vote election would also be set.

They had pointed out that the country continues to bleed economically, that the violence is scaring off potential investors, and that millions of South Africans are beginning to lose confidence in a negotiations process which has yet to yield meaningful results since it began three years ago.

After Monday's meeting, however, hopes began to fade.

Earlier, Inkatha Freedom Party's Joe Matthews had told other negotiators: "I am not impressed by talks of urgency

They leave me stone-cold."

The 104-member Negotiating Council — each of the 26 organisations and parties has two delegates and two advisers — convenes again today. Will it do better this time?

It is important to understand that there are three power blocs in the negotiations, and to know what they each want out of the process.

Until the collapse of Codesa 2 in May last year, there were two strong power blocs: the ANC and its allies on the one hand, and the Government and its cohorts on the other hand.

Siding with Pretoria on a number of issues were the IFP, the governments of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and QwaQwa, and some minor tricameral parliamentary parties. The ANC could count on the support of the South African Communist Party, the Transvaal/Natal Indian Congress, the Labour Party and the governments of Transkei, KaNgwane, Lebowa, KwaNdebele and Venda.

And so "sufficient consensus" meant an issue had to have the support of both the Government and the ANC, who would each sell it to their allies.

This explains why negotiations broke down in Codesa 2 when the ANC and the Government failed to reach agreement on the percentages needed for decisions to be taken in an elected constituent assembly.



Buthelezi ... angered by agreement

This situation changed, however, when on September 26 last year ANC president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk signed a Record of Understanding, which included the fencing-in of hostels identified as flashpoints of violence, and a ban on the carrying of weapons, including "cultural weapons".

The agreement so angered IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he consulted fellow homeland leaders Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, as well as right-wing groups such as the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

Together they formed the Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag). What they had

in common then was fierce opposition to Pretoria and the ANC, whom they accused of entering into secret deals. What binds them together now is their commitment to federalism — some say confederalism.

And so there are now at least three power blocs in the talks, comprising the ANC and its allies, the small but vociferous Cosag group, and the Government/National Party delegations. For "sufficient consensus" to obtain, an issue must now have the support of each of these blocs.

Not belonging to any of these groups are the Pan Africanist Congress and the Democratic Party, which fall somewhere between the Government and the ANC groups.

For the ANC and its allies, urgency is the name of the game. The Government shares this concern, but, as the IFP's Matthews said on Monday, talk of urgency leaves the Cosag group "stone-cold".

Concessions

Observers believe the Cosag group wants to slow down the process until it can extract concessions on regional powers in a future dispensation, and have the constitution written by the multi-party forum as opposed to an elected constituent assembly.

Except for the IFP, Cosag members are small parties, and they realise that by themselves they do not stand much chance of making it into the constituent assembly, which the Government calls a constitution-making body.

If, as some observers fear, filibustering is indeed Cosag's strategy, it might further delay the negotiations process.

The problem is complicated by the fact that each of the parties represented in the forum, regardless of its size, has the same say.

That means parties like QwaQwa's Dikwankwetla Party, Gqozo's unpopular Ciskei government and Amichand Rajbansi's "one-man" National People's Party have as much ability to slow down the process as either the Government or the ANC. □

The loss of Chris Hani, the SA Communist Party's general secretary and leading light, might have been a mortal blow to the party — had it intended carving out a separate role for itself by fighting next year's general election on its own, rather than as part of the ANC alliance.

Hani had a particular magnetism not nearly matched by anyone else in the party (or the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, for whom the loss is even greater). Yet, given its roots and style of operation, the SACP is not the kind of party that is especially dependent on one individual, argues Wits University's Tom Lodge. Hani's death, therefore, is unlikely to cause significant change in the party's fortunes or direction.

It believes, however, that "there is now a real possibility of pushing forward rapidly for the realisation of our basic transitional demands — an election date to be announced within weeks, a transitional executive council and joint control of armed forces."

The party's direction is to be spelled out at

a strategy conference on May 21, presided over by Hani's successor, the relatively obscure former journalist Charles Nqakula (50). Having been deputy general secretary, he was formally voted in by the party's central committee last week.

The SACP's strategic and tactical influence over the tripartite alliance is through members who are well placed in the ANC and Cosatu. It has always concentrated on having a core of quality cadres who are dedicated, talented and hardworking, rather than on numbers for their own sake. Those who join the SACP do so out of ideological commitment.

Significantly, however, the party has since the fall of Soviet communism, learnt certain lessons. It now claims to de-emphasise its traditional "vanguard" role in favour of a more democratic, transparent mode in which mass support for "the socialist project" is now stressed.

An SACP discussion document on the future of socialism says: "The party's vanguard role is more as a generaliser, unifier and strategist. It seeks to play this role by winning consent within the broad popular movement, the new historic bloc. We do not aspire to a monopoly of power, either in making the socialist revolution or in an ensuing socialist state. We do not operate through manipulation of allied formations, nor do we act as though we had some superior knowledge 'guaranteed by the inevitable outcome of history.'"

Though size is seen as less important than strategic role, "obviously the party needs to have a certain critical weight (and) with a membership of over 40 000 we already have such a weight." Nqakula says membership is closer to 50 000.

Reflecting the SACP's new approach, the document says: "It is important that we overcome the stifling effects of pseudo-Marxist dogmatism. The party needs to be built on real unity, not a dogmatic unity." The socialism that the SACP should be developing, says the document, should be "more pluralistic" because the SA working class is "not homogenous." It should seek to win over a wide range of forces.

Further, it will not be (one) party-dominated or State-centered. "Socialism will be essentially fought for, developed and defended, not bureaucratically (as in the old Soviet Union, where there was no place for wage bargaining, for instance, let alone trade union involvement in policy formulation), but by a popular movement."

Socialism, defined as a transitional social system between capitalism and classless communism, "may well be of long duration and marked by contradictions, stagnation and major reverses." There was no magic blueprint for socialism and it would have to be rooted in SA realities. A "reconstruction pact" which goes beyond traditional social contracts between business, labour and government, is seen as a major avenue for the party.

Remarkably, when it comes to that old

Marxist debate about whether it is possible to have "socialism in one country," given its international pretensions, the SACP believes that it is "highly improbable" that socialism can be established in SA "on its own." But this is no reason to be passive or defeatist. "Despite its dominance and resilience, the world capitalist system is presently in deep structural crisis," says the SACP, implying that capitalism is bound to crash at some point.

An enormous strength of the party is the fact that it is being built "within a broad ANC-led liberation alliance and within a still broader mass democratic movement" in which the SACP is deeply rooted.

The SACP, the document says, may well need to become "more autonomous" if the national liberation struggle "is successfully hijacked by some liberal project," or undermined by general chaos. It would then "be essential to focus on building a massive and independent electoral base for the SACP; to build the SACP as a major opposition force to the elected government." Such a strategic defeat is seen as a "possible, but far from necessary, medium-term outcome."

The SACP's best hope of survival is as an adjunct of the ANC. If negotiations fail and the ANC splits as a result, an independent SACP might be staring at the wilderness. On the other hand, it might, in alliance with other far-Left formations such as the ANC Youth League and PAC, become a formidable force — even if communism has become an anachronism in the rest of the world. ■

Star 30/4/93
NGK pulls (48)
back report
on Mokaba

CAPE TOWN — The NG Kerk's official mouthpiece Die Kerkbode has retracted a report that the African National Congress was considering disciplinary action against youth league leader Peter Mokaba.

In its April 30 edition, the journal quoted ANC president Nelson Mandela as saying action would be taken against Mokaba for a racially inflammatory chant "kill the boer, kill the farmer" (UA)

Dr Frits Gaum, scribe of the general synodal commission, said yesterday the management committee expressed regret that the misunderstanding may have caused embarrassment.

The ANC said yesterday no disciplinary action would be taken against either Mokaba or Tony Yengeni, ANC secretary in the western Cape, who also chanted a racially inflammatory slogan. — Sapa.

IT is normally the task of the parish priest to decide whether or not a deceased person is to be buried with the Catholic funeral rites. "If any doubt occurs, the local Ordinary is to be consulted and his judgement followed" (Canon 1184 #2).

Chris Hani was a Catholic and his family requested that he be buried with Catholic funeral rites. As he was domiciled in my diocese and because he was a national leader involved in the negotiations for a new South Africa, I was aware that if Catholic funeral rites were used, I would personally take part in such rites.

Canon 6 of the new Code of Canon Law (1983) abrogated the Code of Canon Law promulgated in 1917, including the termination of the validity of all disciplinary documents that were promulgated exclusively for the implementation of the same 1917 Code.

From the First Sunday of Advent 1983, ecclesiastical penalties (whether

Hani deserved Catholic rites

W/mail 30/4 - 6/5/93.

excommunications, interdicts or suspensions) are no longer incurred by those who are communists or marxists. Furthermore, in these times (and in Africa!) *all* communists do not deny the existence of God, of a spiritual soul, of a life after death, of an absolute moral law! Some might! Most might! But not necessarily *all*! And, of course, only God has full and perfect knowledge of the state of conscience of all men and women!

When faced with the question of whether Chris Hani was an atheist or not, a Catholic in faith or not, believed in eternal life or not, wanted a Catholic burial or not, and so on and so on — I had to be very careful not to presume that there were answers merely from the fact that he was secretary general of the Communist Party in South Africa. And what

Bishop Reginald Orsmond explains his decision to bury Chris Hani with the Catholic funeral rites

was equally important was that I should not make the mistake of judging him only on his past or even his dim-distant past.

We all know that our Father's love, mercy and forgiveness is infinite and that Jesus His Son, has taken *all* our sins upon Himself. Did not Jesus Himself pardon all evil and sin of the repentant sinner at the *end* of that sinner's life?

I made my inquiries from those who knew him best as a person and a Catholic person, such as some

Catholic laity and clergy — those to whom Chris Hani spoke openly about his inner feelings and convictions, particularly in the area of his religious convictions. Of paramount importance was his attitude in the last few days of his life. I got the impression that he no atheist, that he was a Catholic and believed in Christ as his personal saviour, that, although he neglected to practise his faith fully, he was of the firm intention to return to the regular practice of his faith.

In his last words in the public media he called for peace, an end to all violence and a vigorous negotiation for true democracy in the new South Africa. Words that the Church can associate itself with.

Bearing all the above in mind I carried out the responsibility which was mine — I judged that Chris Hani was

entitled to a Catholic funeral. I stand by that decision.

The solemn and dignified funeral rites were an oasis of peace and love in the middle of the hurt, anger and highly charged emotions of the mass gatherings to honour and mourn Hani. There was a very clear message: our final hope is in the Lord and His dominion is over all!

Chris Hani fought and died for the destruction of the grievous evil of racism. May he rest in peace and may his and our sins all be washed away by the Blood of the Lamb.

I write this document not to apologise for burying Chris Hani — no apology is necessary — but because I believe that I owe to my people a message to clear up any possible confusion or misunderstanding. I pray for those who incite others to anger and confusion. May the Lord have mercy on them. — Reginald J Orsmond is Bishop of Johannesburg

Firebrand who breaks all the rules

TONY YENGENI, the African National Congress' firebrand western Cape secretary, is often shocked by his own strident political presentation when he sees himself on TV. And that is the official position, stated in a resumé supplied by the ANC.

In the resumé, Yengeni is described as "a non-conformist with strong views. His fiery political style often involves him in controversy ... In speaking his mind, he does not always stick to the rules. His strident political presentation — developed during his years as a military commander — however, often comes as a shock when he sees himself in video or television recordings."

This week Yengeni had enough to be shocked about. Addressing students at the University of the Western Cape, he led the audience in the emotive Umkhonto weSizwe song, *Kill the Boer* — and then said ANC national secretary Oliver Tambo did not die of natural causes but was killed by the apartheid regime. He saluted ANC militant hardliners Winnie Mandela and Harry Gwala. And he urged his audience not to leave their future in the hands of the

Tony Yengeni has urged ANC members not to leave their future in the hands of their leaders. But, the western Cape ANC secretary told CHRIS LOUW, he is just trying to channel the youth's anger constructively

ANC's leaders.

Yengeni's "strident political presentation" first landed him in the national spotlight during the recent looting and stone-throwing fiasco in Cape Town following Chris Hani's death. Accusations were made that a pistol-brandishing Yengeni was leading the mob on their destructive march down Adderley Street, ostensibly calming them down in English while inciting them to "burn Cape Town down" in Xhosa.

Who is Tony Yengeni? Born in 1954, the eldest son of Lesly, an assistant at the University of Cape Town, and Olive Yengeni, a factory worker, he grew up in relative poverty in Nyanga and Gugulethu. He left the



Nonconformist ... Tony Yengeni

country on Good Friday 1977, to be trained as a soldier for MK in Angola and Moscow.

In 1985 the ANC decided at its consultative conference in Zambia to pursue a new strategy for the people's

war. When Lizo Ngqyngwana, MK regional commander in the western Cape, was arrested in April 1986, Yengeni was sent to the area to replace him.

He was arrested in September 1987 and charged with treason. Thirteen others were arrested with him, including Lumka Nyamza, whom he later married, and Jenny Schreiner. In one of the longest and most publicised political trials in the western Cape, the trialists were finally granted bail in November 1990. In March 1991 Yengeni was granted indemnity by the government.

He was co-opted as a member of the interim Western Cape Regional Executive of the South African Communist Party. Last year he withdrew his candidacy for ANC chairman of the region in favour of Allan Boesak.

The Yengeni that one meets in the ANC western Cape office in Woodstock, is a completely different man from the public demagogue. Neatly dressed in grey trousers, blue jacket and suede shoes, he is softly spoken and comes across as self-effacing.

At the moment he is the most powerful man in the ANC's western Cape branch. Since Hani's assassination,

the power balance in the western Cape has shifted back decidedly from the "coloured" areas to the black townships that traditionally took the brunt of apartheid's brutalities. While Boesak — now living in Constantia — continued an interrupted visit abroad, it was Yengeni who gave expression to the anger of the black township youth.

A new spirit has taken root in the Cape Town area. Gone are efforts to placate the majority coloureds. As in the 1980s, whites and coloureds are again told by young comrades that their assistance is welcome — "as long as you remember that you are freelancers in the struggle".

In his sparsely furnished office Yengeni quietly agrees that there are people in the ANC "with stronger opinions on certain issues" than others. "Some people are more radical, but that is just normal in any political party or movement." He denies that he is challenging the leadership. "If I did that, I would be challenging myself, because I am also a leader," is the glib answer.

(A few days later, at the University of the Western Cape meeting, he tells the student audience: "We must strengthen our mass-based structures because it is a dangerous mistake to leave your future in the hands of the leaders of the organisation.")

Personally, he also has strong opinions. The youth of the country, for instance, "should be more directly involved in taking the lead in the liberation struggle".

An then, in a clear repudiation of ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, who publicly distanced the ANC from stone-throwing youths during Hani's funeral at Yabulani, and accused them of being *agents provocateurs*: "It is completely wrong to dismiss the youth as *agents provocateurs* and to distance ourselves from them. The realistic approach is to accept that the outbreak of violence was brought on by the situation following Chris Hani's death. Even if the violence is not in keeping with our strategy, we have to deal with it and channel it constructively. We cannot allow the youth to be alienated from the leadership."

Now, he says, is the time for the youth to re-emerge. "Look at the history of the struggle. Right from the 1940s to the 1980s the youth were always playing a pivotal role in driving the process forward. In this crisis we must not see the youth as anarchistic or disloyal to the leaders. We must rather see them as a potent force to be utilised."

His guideline in life, says Yengeni, is the thought of what Hani would have done under similar circumstances. "And I know he would have identified himself with the anger of the youth, and would then have channelled it constructively."

While the power in the ANC structures in the western Cape in the past weeks has decidedly moved back to the black townships — away from Boesak to Yengeni — the real question is how many coloureds, the majority of voters in the area, have been alienated from the ANC by the new, angry rhetoric.

Yengeni denies that there are leadership problems in the area, or that the ANC is rife with factions. "It is true that coloureds and mainly Xhosas come from different backgrounds and that there are differences. But these differences are limited to strategy, tactics and approaches. Our ultimate goal — a non-racial democracy — is still the same."

Personally he agrees that the ANC still has an image of being dominated by Africans. "We must get rid of that image. Our leadership must also better reflect the racial composition of the western Cape."

Will the real Tony Yengeni please stand up?

ANC MPs tackle the system from within

By CHRIS LOUW

A FORTNIGHT ago Tony Yengeni, the African National Congress' western Cape secretary, was portrayed in the media as a wild anarchist inciting violence in Cape Town after the death of Chris Hani. On Wednesday last week he was having lunch in the VIP Room in parliament, subsidised by South African taxpayers and compliments of the Speaker.

Seldom before have the contradictions between the ANC's extra-parliamentary street politics and its small and somewhat anachronistic band of "system" politicians been highlighted quite so starkly.

The occasion was the celebration of the first year of the ANC's unofficial representation in parliament. The events around the Hani funeral, when cars were stoned, shop windows broken and people attacked in Cape Town, seemed to have been forgotten while lunch and Cape wine were served by parliamentary staff.

Hosts of the lunch in the VIP Room, next door to the function room where Harold McMillan in the early 1960s delivered his famous "winds of change" speech, were the five white parliamentarians who a year ago, on April 21, joined the ANC after being kicked out of the Democratic Party.

They were joined for the celebrations by western Cape ANC officials, including Yengeni (secretary), Lerumo Kalako (vice chairman), Willie Hofmeyr (assistant secretary), national executive committee (NEC) member Reg September and invited representatives of the media.

For a short while parliamentary and extra-parliamentary ANC members enjoyed equal status in the heart of South Africa's power structure — those in parliament clad in customary suits and ties and those from outside mostly in leather jackets and ties.

For Jannie Momberg, Rob Haswell, Dave Dalling, Pierre Cronje and Jan van Eck it was a nostalgic commemoration of the day when they finally decided to "hit the politics of the real people of South Africa", to quote Dalling.

The MP for Sandton recalled the days in the early 1960s when he joined parliament as part of the right wing of the now defunct United Party. It was about the time (this he didn't mention) when Nelson Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment for harbouring the same political ambitions.

He recalled the first ever speech by a member of the ANC to be delivered in the parliament of South Africa a day after the five crossed the floor. It was made by Pierre Cronje — once, in his youth, an ardent supporter of Hendrik Verwoerd — who expressed the wish that his place could have been taken by leaders like Dube, Seme, Luthuli, Tambo or Mandela.

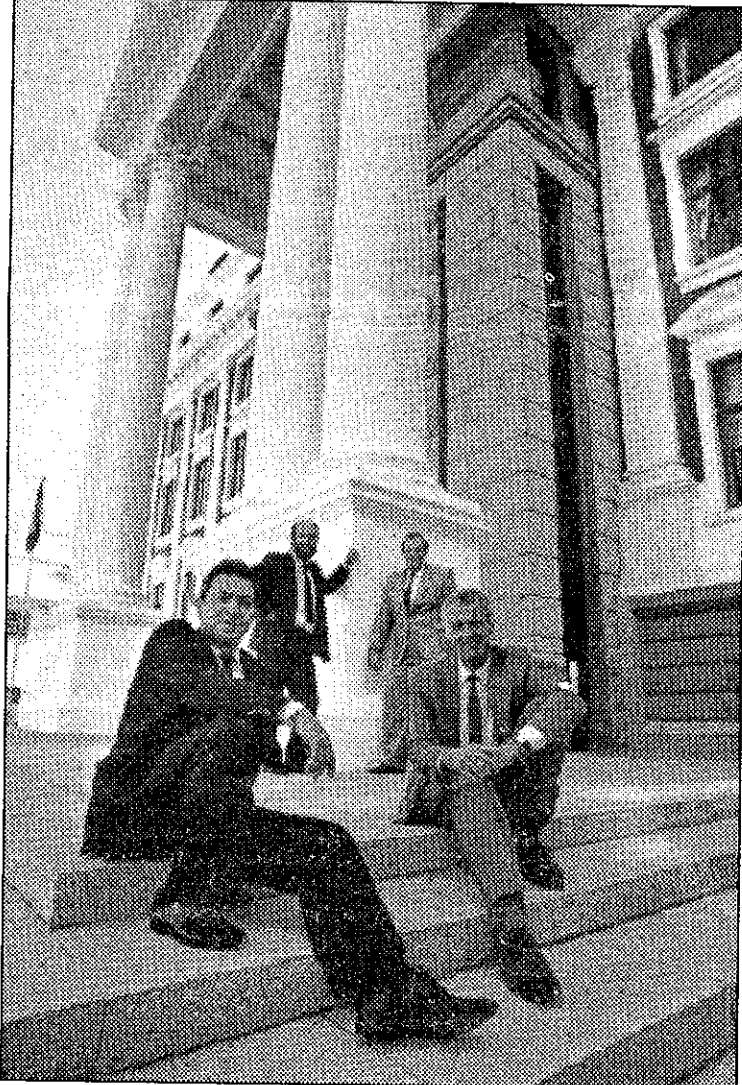
Yengeni smiled when he was referred to by Momberg as "our terrible comrade-in-arms". His smile broadened when Momberg welcomed him to the "parliament of our illegitimate regime".

To illustrate the difference in culture between "system politics" and "progressive politics", Momberg told the gathering how he once referred to the chairman of the house as "chairperson". Afterwards he was told: "You can call me chairman. There is nothing wrong with my gender, and I can prove it to you."

Dalling recalled the warm welcome the five of them received last year when they arrived at the ANC policy discussion meeting at Nasrec in Johannesburg. Before, the five white parliamentarians were warned that they would quickly be marginalised by the ANC. "But in fact we newcomers were allowed to play a role in the formulation of ANC policy — a policy that sprouts from the people and is not handed down from high mountains."

One of the few things that the five could offer the ANC, Dalling said, was their knowledge of fighting elections.

In what was probably the very first speech ever by a member of the ANC's NEC in the compounds of parliament, Reggie September referred to the different backgrounds from which South Africans came. He emphasised that it was



On the steps of state ... ANC MPs Pierre Cronje, Rob Haswell, Jannie Momberg and Jan van Eck outside parliament Photo: ERIC MILLER

possible for all to come together and work out a common future. "We must make sure that the character who now bears the badge of state president must move out," he added.

Earlier, in his office in the Marx Building, Cronje told of the "absolute frustration" in his first year as ANC parliamentarian. "This is an isolation unit, an intensive care unit with everyone on drips," he complained after hearing that he would be allowed six minutes to address the House on Wednesday afternoon.

Momberg, until 1987 a strong NP supporter and party official, was in a genial mood. "If anyone had told me four years ago that I would be leading an ANC march in Fish Hoek, I would have told him he was mad," he said. That was exactly what the former millionaire wine farmer did last Monday afternoon

when he was the main speaker at an ANC rally on the Fish Hoek sports grounds.

Forgotten were the days when he told *The Financial Mail* that he wouldn't come closer than 5 000 miles to any party to which Jan van Eck belonged. Over a glass of white wine both Momberg and Van Eck could laugh over past indiscretions.

Yengeni was his normal quiet self during the lunch. When asked at one stage when he was expecting to stand for parliament, he smiled once more and denied that he was harbouring any such ideas. "There must always be pressure on parliament to deliver to the expectations of the people, no matter who is in government. That is where I see my role — not in parliament."

Somehow, everyone seemed to take him seriously.

Star 30/4/93

Extra marshals to be on duty 11A

The ANC had no special plans for extra security arrangements for tomorrow's rallies commemorating Workers' Day, said ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa.

However, thousands of extra marshals would be deployed for Sunday's funeral for ANC chairman Oliver Tambo, he said.

Members of Umkhonto we Sizwe would also be deployed on Sunday to ensure the crowds did not get out of control.

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance has planned a number of rallies on Sunday.

— Staff Reporter.

Star 30/6/93

Tambo to lie in state at church

The body of ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo will lie in state for six hours at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg tomorrow, before the burial at Tamboville, Benoni, on Sunday, said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The funeral service will be at the First National Bank Stadium from 8.30 am on Sunday.

Afterwards the cortege will travel to Benoni for the burial, scheduled for 2 pm.

Tambo's body will lie in state from noon to 6 pm tomorrow. There will be no night vigil.

— Staff Reporters.

Call to train ANC, Inkatha peace marshals

~~NA~~ ~~ANC~~ ~~ANC~~ ~~ANC~~ RAY HARTLEY ~~ANC~~
ANC and Inkatha marshals should be trained jointly under the supervision of peace accord structures, delegates to a peace secretariat assessment of events during the burial of SACP leader Chris Hani said this week. *Blom 30/4/93*

National peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said the proposal was made during a meeting attended by police, ANC, Inkatha and peace accord and international observer delegates.

He said a "major catastrophe" had been averted by co-operation between marshals, police and peace monitors during the funeral, but the assessment found that advance planning should have taken place to protect "vulnerable" houses and buildings around the FNB stadium.

Delegates said police needed to consult marshals before taking action against crowds, but they also praised the police for the low-profile monitoring they maintained during most events.

He said much of the violence during the funeral had been caused by "small groups who were not always part of events".

Delegates pointed out that:

- The ANC had given insufficient notice of planned events;
- Attention needed to be paid to the dispersal of crowds and public transport after mass events;
- Marshals should be better equipped to deal with violence involving guns, stone-throwing and petrol-bombing;
- Advance information on "police contingency plans" needed to be made available to peace structures; and
- Public radio should broadcast the "logistics" of protests, such as where marches were at any given time.

Gildenhuys said co-operation between police, political organisations and monitors had improved as a result of the joint monitoring and control. "A team spirit and camaraderie was built up... you had senior NP members planning monitoring on the ground with Cosatu shop stewards."

He said the agreement reached between the ANC and police on the Friday before the funeral had been instrumental in the relatively peaceful nature of events.

No hassle over white president

Sowetan 20/4/93
ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela would be prepared to serve under a white president in a future South Africa, he said in an internationally televised interview yesterday.

Speaking live on CNN, Mandela said he did not believe the African National Congress was losing touch with its grassroots supporters and accused the mass media of being selective in their reporting of his being booed at the memorial of the late

■ **Nelson Mandela is prepared to serve under one:** (IA)

South African Communist Party chief Chris Hani.

Replying to a question from interviewer Brent Sadler, Mandela said the ANC was concerned with ideas and not with colour.

"If the people of SA want a white man, we will consider ourselves bound by their verdict," he said.

Restraint urged at Tambo funeral

Guardian Weekly w/insert 30/4-6/93

By David Beresford
in Johannesburg

THE African National Congress, announcing plans for a mass funeral for its former president, Oliver Tambo, on Sunday, used the occasion to hammer home what is now becoming a forceful campaign to discipline its supporters in the townships.

Mr Tambo, who died of a stroke last weekend, is to be buried in the town of Benoni, east of Johannesburg — just a few miles from the site of last week's burial of the South African Communist Party general secretary, Chris Hani.

Announcing the funeral, the ANC said Mr Tambo had been "very disturbed by the looting, vandalism and violence" which accompanied the Hani funeral.

"No matter how deep our anger and grief, such acts should not be repeated. We must not permit criminal and hooligan elements to desecrate the burial of our father, Comrade Oliver Tambo," it said.

The statement is the latest in a series of actions by the ANC aimed at controlling its wilder supporters. Seven people were killed on Sunday when gunmen, said to be ANC supporters, shot two Inkatha Freedom Party members at a funeral vigil

for an Inkatha regional leader, Caiphus Dlamini, in the Natal province village of Kwa Mbonambi. Mourners chased the attackers and killed five of them.

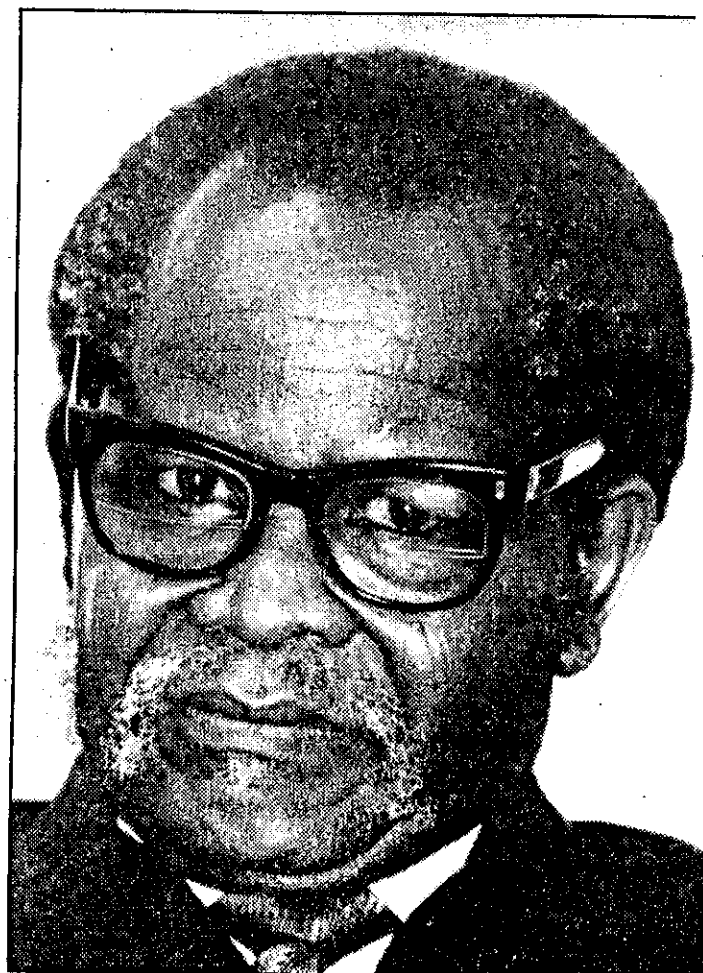
Mr Dlamini was shot outside his home last week. Inkatha members blamed ANC supporters.

On Saturday, the ANC handed over to police three suspects in the murder of a black journalist in Sharpeville. Calvin Thusago, a journalist working for the South African Broadcasting Corporation, was attacked in his car by youths in the township on Friday.

The statement warned that "any person who uses the name of the ANC in attacking journalists, irrespective of their colour, will be dealt with and, if need be, handed over to the police."

The incident follows an initiative by the ANC national leadership last week to force its militant Youth League to stop chanting "Kill the Boers, kill the farmers" at rallies.

Although Mr Tambo is likely to be deeply mourned, his death is not expected to have any serious political impact. He had been ill for some years. In Tanzania in 1984 he suffered the first of the series of strokes which led to his death.



Dove in the grave, page 11

Oliver Tambo: combined passion with patience

OLIVER TAMBO

By Ronald Segal

OLIVER Tambo, who has died aged 75, was born to a peasant family at Bizana in Eastern Pondoland, one of those impoverished black rural areas designated by pre-apartheid white rule as a "Native Reserve". He went to school at the Holy Cross Mission in Ludebe and then to St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg, where he matriculated. There were few enough Africans who reached secondary school at all. There were far fewer who found at Fort Hare, the only African university college. Oliver was amongst these, graduated in 1941, then got his education diploma and went on to teach at St Peter's until 1947.

He was and remained a committed Anglican. For a time he even considered studying for the priesthood. Instead he studied law and in 1952 he established with Nelson Mandela the first African partnership law practice in South Africa.

Both men had already risen to prominence to oppose the country's racist system. Oliver had been among the founders of the Youth League, a radical pressure group within the African National Congress (ANC), in 1944. In 1949 he

was elected to the National Executive of the ANC; served as Secretary-General (1955-1958) — and was then elected deputy to the President-General, Albert Luthuli.

The government was not slow to honour his political importance with an order under the "Suppression of Communism" Act that banned him from all gatherings for two years and restricted him to the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Benoni. In 1956 he was among the 156 arrested for high treason. That charge was dropped, as with some of the others, a year later; and the government case subsequently collapsed altogether. Then, in 1959, he was banned for a period of five years.

One week after Sharpeville, on March 21, 1960, during the upsurge of black militant protest that followed, the government outlawed the ANC. Oliver had secretly travelled to Cape Town and we were together when we heard the news. The ANC's national executive had decided that, in this event, he should try to establish an organisational base abroad. I offered to drive him back to Johannesburg and then over the border into what was then the British High Commission territory of Bechuanaland, now Botswana. It was the start to more than 30 years of exile for us both; for me, a friendship that I

will prize as long as I live; and for him, a series of challenges to which, I believe, only he was capable of so creatively rising.

It is no belittlement of Mandela's cruel sentence to say that Oliver may have had the more difficult role. In long earlier years in exile, when resistance within South Africa seemed all but crushed and the appeals from the ANC abroad met empty assurances of solidarity from so many African governments, it was Oliver's leadership which sustained and promoted the movement's purpose. When the townships blazed with rebellion from 1976, and young revolutionaries were driven by government repression to redeploy their resistance from abroad, it was Oliver's leadership which drew and held them within the disciplined militancy of the ANC. When frustrations emerged in factionalism, Oliver's leadership contained and confronted this in a way which minimised the damage. That the ANC should have been commanded for so long in exile, while confirming its pre-eminence in a resurgent revolutionary challenge at home and without experiencing a single serious split, was an achievement which few would have believed possible. Oliver himself must be given the primary credit and no one recognised this more eloquently

than Mandela after his release.

Oliver combined passion with patience, strength with gentleness, and determination with flexibility. For all the reverence with which he came to be regarded within the revolutionary movement, he remained genuinely unassuming. His workload as President-General of the ANC seemed overwhelming, yet he somehow always found time and energy to see those whose only claim on his attention was their need to bring their personal problems to him alone. It kept him accessible, while some of his colleagues, bureaucratically insulated and so considerate of their importance, were not. All this carried a price of which his first stroke was a warning but which he continued ready to pay. His second, more serious stroke left him physically damaged but with his intellect undimmed. Nelson Mandela consulted with him frequently in the period of ANC negotiations with the South African government, not as a gesture of deference or compassion but in reliance on Oliver's wisdom. It is this wisdom and so much else that South Africa has lost by his death. For some of us, that death is a source of more personal loss. We loved him.

Oliver Tambo, born October 25 1917; died April 24, 1993.

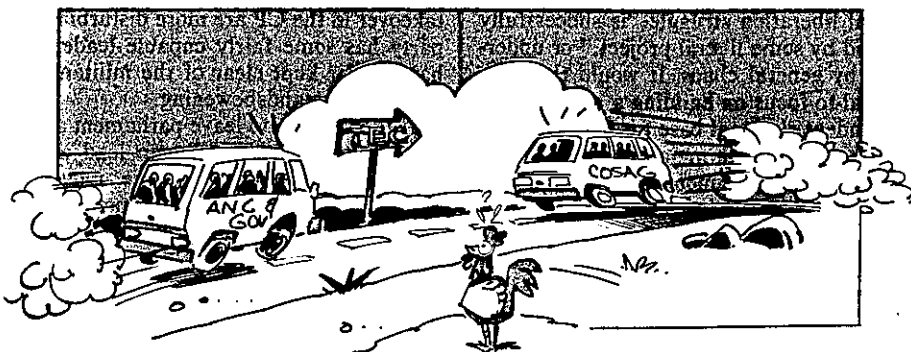
NEGOTIATIONS

Who will blink first?

FM 30/4/93

Government and the ANC may have seriously underestimated opposition in the multi-party negotiating forum to their efforts to whip other delegates into line behind bilateral agreements reached in private meetings. It now seems that they will have to offer significant compromises to ensure commitment by the IFP, at least, and others in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) to the

id, it was simply a useful tool that presented itself on the day. Had it not been available, another reason would have been found to stall the proceedings. Says Andrew: "There is a need for urgency, but important underlying problems are being glossed over. The ANC and government may be under pressure, but some other parties don't see the situation in the same light."



six-week schedule laid down by President FW de Klerk.

This week's first meeting of the negotiating forum at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park stumbled over a relatively petty administrative issue (some delegates claimed they did not receive their documentation in time to study it thoroughly), but the underlying dissent among Cosag members over the entire process was palpable, according to some observers.

The attitude was summed up by IFP negotiator Joe Mathews, who told delegates bitterly that talk of urgency by the ANC and government "leaves me stone cold."

In addition, IFP delegation chief Frank Mdlalose issued a document in which he accused government and the ANC of conspiring against it.

At the end of the day, a frustrated ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa accused the IFP of trying to wreck the talks. Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, said he was "disappointed" at lack of progress on the first day. But both men seemed to miss the real issue: Cosag's concern that it is being bulldozed into positions which members have neither discussed nor accepted.

DP negotiator Ken Andrew says a "fundamental problem" is that the ANC and government pay lip service to a multilateral process and inclusivity but really reach bilateral agreements and accuse dissenters of being obstructionist. He says the two parties must decide which process they want to follow.

Though the complaint on Monday about not receiving documents in time seemed val-

Andrew says there are also problems of organisational insecurity and ambivalence, in that not all parties want to work towards a truly nonracial democracy. There are also vested interests. Groups represented by two-thirds of the 26 delegations will probably disappear after elections; so they want to maintain a platform for as long as possible.

The nature of the process is different to that of Codesa. It is more inclusive, having drawn in the CP and PAC. The IFP is no longer a lonely and sometimes insecure voice of dissent as it often was on various issues at Codesa. Inkatha now has a number of vocal and confident allies to bolster its opposition and challenge seriously the "sufficient consensus" needed to reach agreement when it wishes to do so.

In addition, says Andrew, the current talks did not begin with a declaration of intent. "These talks are based on the assumption that all delegates agree with the Codesa declaration of intent, but some don't. We are not working towards a goal that has been agreed on and that's problematic. If you don't know what you are trying to achieve, it's difficult, if not impossible, to agree on how to achieve it. That's the position we are now in."

Today's meeting of the negotiating council (a scaled-down version of the negotiating forum) will attempt to break the logjam by debating the formation of six or seven technical committees to examine key aspects of the transition. The issues that have been proposed are: an independent electoral commission; the State-controlled media; the scrapping of repressive legislation to ensure unrestricted political activity; the Transi-

tional Executive Council (TEC) and its sub-councils and also the security forces and other armed formations; the strengthening of the peace process; and the establishment of a peace corps. It is possible that a seventh committee will be established to concentrate on constitutional issues.

If they are established, the committees will work independently and report initially to the 10-member planning committee.

Andrew says the formation of the technical committees would be an important mechanism to achieve multilateral consensus on the issues but they are not a foregone conclusion. As is the case with the overall process, the committees are based on the assumption that all parties agree with the issues they will investigate.

Based on Monday's meeting, it seems that government's six-week timetable will be difficult to achieve. It wants agreement on the formation of a TEC and an election date by the end of May. Whether the IFP and other Cosag members will continue to stall the talks — and possibly even pull out — depends largely on what concessions government and the ANC are prepared to make.

On the other hand, says Andrew, withdrawal from the process would carry a high price for the IFP. It is unlikely to pull out unless no reasonable alternative is available — and then only in conjunction with its Cosag allies. ■

SACP FM 30/4/93
Biding time

The loss of Chris Hani, the SA Communist Party's general secretary and leading light, might have been a mortal blow to the party — had it intended carving out a separate role for itself by fighting next year's general election on its own, rather than as part of the ANC alliance.

Hani had a particular magnetism not nearly matched by anyone else in the party (or the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, for whom the loss is even greater). Yet, given its roots and style of operation, the SACP is not the kind of party that is especially dependent on one individual, argues Wits University's Tom Lodge. Hani's death, therefore, is unlikely to cause significant change in the party's fortunes or direction.

It believes, however, that "there is now a real possibility of pushing forward rapidly for the realisation of our basic transitional demands — an election date to be announced within weeks, a transitional executive council and joint control of armed forces."

The party's direction is to be spelled out at

THE planned occupation of white schools on May 26 has highlighted rifts in education strategy between hawks and doves in the mass democratic movement.

Yesterday, the headquarters of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) and the South African Students' Congress (Sasco) called the campaign a "southern Transvaal initiative". Asked for his view of the campaign, NECC national information officer Desmond Thompson said he knew nothing about it.

Insiders confirm divisions over the strategy between head office and the region.

And yesterday, Ahmed Essop of the National Education Conference — of which the African National Congress is a member — described the planned occupation as "totally detrimental to what we are trying to do".

The ANC last week formally distanced itself from the action.

Planning is clearly being left to leaders in the southern Transvaal, who announced that a day of protest would be held on May 26 and that it would include the mass occupation of white schools and the disruption of classes.

Amon Msane, southern Transvaal NECC secretary, said the southern Transvaal region would be divided into zones and that black students would occupy white schools nearest to where they lived.

NECC members at Wednesday's press conference said the government would only take the education crisis seriously if it was taken to white schools. But meetings would take place with "education and parents' bodies" in white suburbs to "reach an agreement to minimise violence".

Rifts develop on schools strategy

W/Mail 30/4-6/5/93.

The ANC has distanced itself from a plan to occupy white schools — deepening divisions on education strategy within the left. By **FERIAL HAFFAJEE**

During a student march through the centre of Johannesburg last month, property was damaged, hawkers' goods were looted and people were hurt. A schools occupation in the white suburbs, which will be significantly more difficult to co-ordinate, could result in bedlam.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall warned of violent implications of the action and said all interested parties should come together urgently to discuss the education crisis. The Transvaal Education Department has said police will be used to prevent school disruptions, and the organised right has warned of a backlash.

The government's refusal to discuss the estab-

lishment of an education forum, where education policy would be negotiated and decision-making reached consensually, lies behind the occupation threat.

Essop said it had deadlocked with the government on April 1 on the issue of the forum. "It became clear that the government was playing for time," he said, adding that "(education) negotiations have been undermined".

The call for a forum was first put to the government last October and militant students are becoming impatient with the lack of progress.

The schools occupation campaign confronts the ANC with a Catch-22 situation as it cuts

across an ANC resolution against the disruption of schooling and jeopardises the organisation's organising initiatives in white suburbs.

But the movement cannot afford to alienate organisations like the NECC, Sasco and the Congress of South African Students, on whom it depends for mass action muscle and where there is much overlapping membership.

Msane this week said the campaign remained part of the rolling mass action package of the tripartite alliance (ANC/Congress of South African Trade Unions/South African Communist Party), despite the fact that the ANC opposed their action. "What is the alternative?" he asked yesterday.

● An alliance "summit" this week endorsed the end-May deadline for a range of political negotiations. These include a final election date and concrete plans for the establishment of a transitional executive council and joint control of the security forces.

If this deadline is not met, the alliance announced plans for "a complete review of the negotiations process. The government will not be allowed to hide behind the spoiling tactics of Cosag (Concerned South Africans Group) forces".

Mass action plans — if the deadline is missed — include a tax boycott and a national strike.

ANC looking to UK for

ARC 30/4/93

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Support for the old links

■ Nelson Mandela tells why he still harbours a fondness

JOHN CARLIN

WHENEVER Nelson Mandela has a choice he flies British Airways.

Partly because, unlike its South African rival, BA had the wit right from the start of his world travels three years ago to pamper him as it would a head of state.

But mainly because, it turns out, the president of the African National Congress retains a historical esteem for Britain, a strong sense of identification, which the vicissitudes of present times have not dimmed.

On Tuesday, Mr Mandela will visit London for the fourth time since he was released from prison on February 11 1990 and for the fifth time in his life.

His first visit was in 1962 after he had gone underground in his capacity as the head of the ANC's newly formed armed wing, Umkhonto we-Sizwe.

He smuggled himself out of the country, toured Africa and arrived in London in June.

His biographer, Mary Benson, wrote: "The sense of freedom he felt for the first time in his life was, he said later, a freedom from white oppression, from the idiocy of apartheid and racial ignorance, from police molestation, from humiliation and indignity."

Thirty-one years later, aged 74, the indignities are almost over.

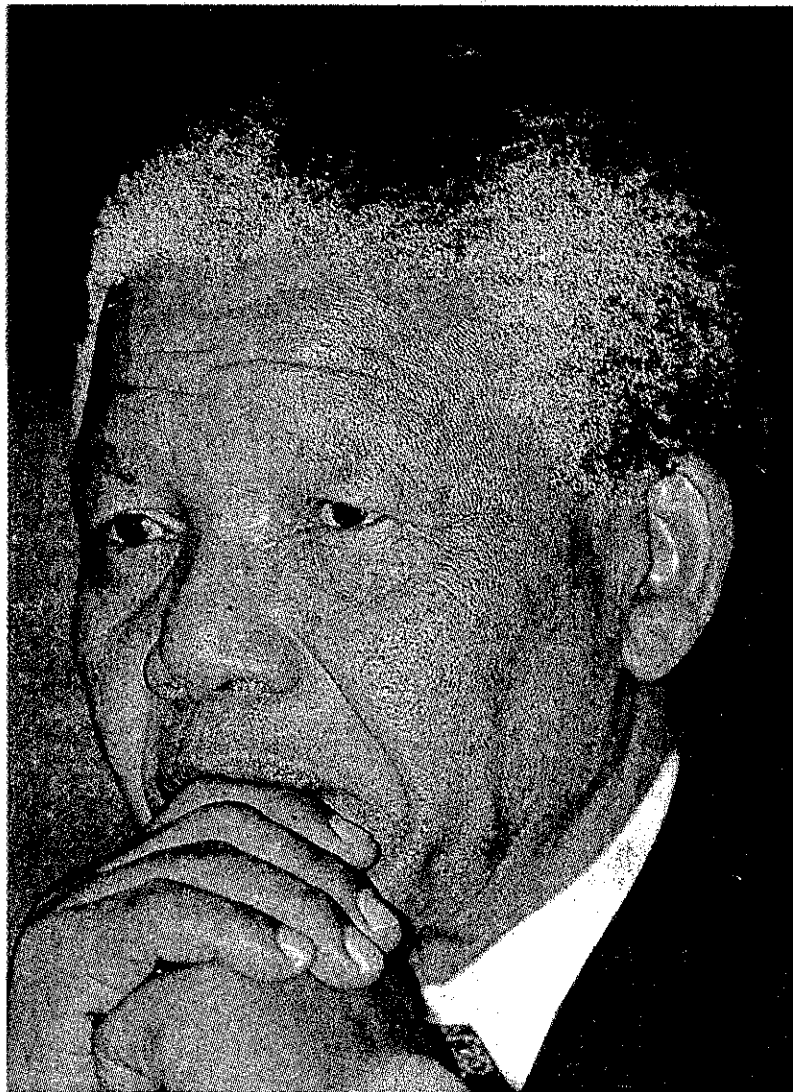
Even Mr F W de Klerk is in little doubt that Mr Mandela will take over next year as South Africa's first democratically elected president.

His health, contrary to rumours, does not seem to be an impediment. At his office in Johannesburg this week, at 7.30 am he stood tall, fit and slim as he recalled his first trip to Britain.

"It was a very exciting experience for me. You must remember I was brought up in a British school and at the time Britain was the home of everything that was best in the world.

"I have not discarded the influence which Britain and British history and culture exercised on us.

"You must also remember that Britain is the home of parliamentary



ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

democracy and, as people fighting against a form of tyranny in this country, we look upon Britain to take an active interest to support us in our fight against apartheid."

That will be his message when he addresses members of both houses of parliament in the Commons' Grand Committee room on Wednesday evening.

The point has been made often that

"Mr Mandela cannot control the angry youth". He rejects the notion.

"There is more than 40 percent unemployment in the country. Crime is rocketing. Many of our youths are not going to school, are in the streets, are without jobs. People wonder where they are going to get their next meal. That is a situation which has caused a great deal of bitterness, especially in the cities.

"But what is important is their response when you come out now to explain, to spell out the dangers of their behaviour. Invariably they have listened and thought, and I think that should be regarded as significant."

But what about the mood, prevalent since the assassination of Chris Hani, against persisting in negotiations with the government?
"I say to people, I understand your anger and, myself, I don't like the National Party. But if you are building a new South Africa, you ought to be prepared to work with people you don't like, to work with De Klerk to bring about this new South Africa."

So did he really not like Mr De Klerk?
"De Klerk, however illegitimate and discredited his government, runs the de facto government of this country. There can be no peaceful change without him being involved and it is therefore our task to work with him in order to bring about the democratic changes we envisage."

His biggest criticism of Mr De Klerk is that he has failed to rein in what he calls the third force — "elements in the security forces: Military Intelligence... a covert organisation working underground."

They are the ones who, operating with a right-wing agenda, murdered Mr Hani, Mr Mandela believes, and have been behind countless political killings in recent years.

"In my view one of the problems of De Klerk is to get the full support of his Cabinet for the reforms he is bringing about. There are hawks in this government and I think they are quite strong."

"He is a smart chap, confident, accessible and a man who compromises but he is in this stalemate because he still thinks that he can unite the Afrikaner in this country and he doesn't want to go down in history as the man who split the Afrikaner. He must give that up."

"But if he does not take bold action and join the democratic forces he is going to put across this image of a man who has no backbone, who is chicken-hearted." — The Independent, London.

'Psychosis of fear' fuels rumours

ANC and police spokesmen yesterday expressed concern about a spate of false rumours claiming that senior ANC officials had died.

Yesterday a message on a local paging service falsely claimed ANC peace desk head Sydney Mafumadi had died. The message, placed by someone called "Beverly", was false.

In recent weeks rumours that ANC president Nelson Mandela had been assassinated led to a flurry of activity at the JSE, leading to speculation that the report had been initiated by a dealer.

Last week a rumour that ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala had been shot dead was circulated falsely on the JSE floor.

The ANC described the false message as "a clear attempt to create a psychosis of fear, and terrorise ANC leaders, their families and the ANC in general".

RAY HARTLEY (IA)

"In the light of the assassination of comrade Chris Hani the ANC sees these messages in a very serious light, and calls on members of the public who can provide any information about this disinformation campaign to come forward," the ANC said.

Police spokesman Capt Burger van Rooyen said police were taking the issue of false rumours "very seriously", but that it was difficult to trace their origins.

A spokesman for the paging service said people who placed the false messages were "utterly disgusting".

The spokesman said precautions such as noting the name and phone number of callers were always taken, but it was difficult to separate genuine calls from false alarms.

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MK unit to keep order at funeral

610m 30/4/93
DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE ANC will try to avoid a repeat of the Chris Hani funeral chaos by deploying a large unit of MK cadres and additional marshals at the funeral of ANC chairman Oliver Tambo on Sunday.

At a media conference yesterday, ANC information chief Pallo Jordan called on mourners to pay tribute to Tambo by ensuring there was no loss of life, no damage to property and no undignified behaviour. He said the fact that there would not be an all-night vigil would make it easier for the marshals to maintain control.

Tambo's body would lie in state in St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg from noon to 6pm tomorrow. A funeral service at the FNB stadium in Soweto would start at 9am and he would be buried in Benoni.

Speakers at the funeral service would include ANC president Nelson Mandela and veteran anti-apartheid campaigner, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

At another media conference ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba called on the youth to intensify their struggle against apartheid — saying Hani's assassination had played a role in Tambo's "untimely death", Sapa reports.

Mokaba also called for strong discipline from mourners at the funeral.

Police spokesman Maj Ida van Zweekel said police in Benoni fired rubber bullets at 30 youths who damaged four cars and stoned a police vehicle after attending a memorial service for Tambo yesterday. No one was injured.

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De Klerk and Mandela are ready to share power

B/DAM 30/4/93

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday they were ready to share power despite their differences, but De Klerk said the ANC was unfit to run SA alone.

In back-to-back interviews with CNN, both leaders were unusually conciliatory towards each other following two weeks of bitter accusations in the wake of SACP general secretary Chris Hani's assassination.

"The atmosphere is again improving," De Klerk said. "Obviously we went through a very bad patch... but things are calming down again."

Despite repeated questioning, neither man would say who should be SA's next president, but Mandela said the ANC was willing to accept anyone chosen democratically — even if that person was white.

"We've made it clear we are concerned with ideas, not colour."

De Klerk said Mandela had the personal qualities of a president, but the ANC lacked the experience necessary to rule SA. "I think Mr Mandela has the typical qualifications, personal qualifications and qualities, expected of people who fill high office."

But the ANC was unacceptable "because of their adherence to communism".

However, Mandela said the ANC

was ready to govern. "This is the organisation that is best equipped to pull the country out of the present situation."

De Klerk said the ANC leadership had not done enough to distance itself from radicals in its ranks.

The NP had shed its radical element 10 years ago when it had undergone fundamental reform. It had found that accommodating conflicting views had had a stagnating effect on the NP and since it had taken a clear line, there had been a new dynamism and direction in the party.

Asked if right-wing radicals posed a threat to the negotiations process, De Klerk said it was up to responsible political leadership to reach an agreement that did not play into the hands of right- or left-wing radicals.

"Negotiations must give rise to an accord offering security, stability and peace to the overwhelming majority of South Africans."

He denied that there was a plan to arrest thousands of right-wingers before an election.

Government was moving away from detention without trial and wanted a state where people were charged under existing laws. Government was acting firmly, justly and in a balanced manner to address violence and was avoiding strong arm

methods, which would only increase the eventual conflict.

Both men committed their parties to a negotiated settlement and said the issue of a specific election date was not significant. "I don't think we should attach any significance to the fact that no specific election date has been set," Mandela said. De Klerk said an election date could be set as soon as negotiators had agreed what voters would be asked to elect.

Mandela expressed optimism about the outcome of negotiations, and said he did not believe the ANC was losing touch with its grassroots supporters.

□ In an interview in yesterday's Independent newspaper in London, Mandela said De Klerk must take bold action to join SA's democratic forces or risk being branded "chicken-hearted".

He said he respected De Klerk's integrity as a negotiating partner, but he blamed De Klerk for "his timidity towards the entire (white) right wing". De Klerk still clung to the belief that he could unite the Afrikaner nation, Mandela said.

Mandela warned that right-wing extremists posed a serious threat to SA's transition. "They want to plunge this country into a racist, bloody civil war." — AP-DJ, Sapa-Reuter.

NELSON MANDELA had to visit and give pep talks to various African National Congress departments this week in order to boost morale. The combined effect of the deaths of two senior leaders, Oliver Tambo and Chris Hani, the violence of the past fortnight and the slowness of negotiations were taking their toll.

It was a tribute to the standing of ANC national chairman and former president Tambo that his death was still felt so acutely by the organisation, despite his having been precluded by ill health from the hurly-burly of politics for four years.

This was partly because Tambo's death represented the end of an era. The gentlemanly, old-school arch-diplomat was the living embodiment of the ANC-in-exile. Tambo's personal style combined firm principal, unbending determination and an old-worldly grace that came to characterise the ANC as a whole — and is inevitably changing as the ANC prepares to take part in government.

The shock in the ANC can also be attributed to the man's popularity. From battle-seasoned Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) guerrillas, through jail-hardened cadres to the grey-suited negotiations team, one struggles to find ANC members who do not express heartfelt respect for the man who led the organisation during 30 years of difficult and bitter exile.

This should come as a surprise, because he was better known as a diplomat than a military leader. It was in the field of diplomacy — gaining international acceptance for the ANC and isolating the Pretoria government — that his achievements were enormous. He will be remembered most of all for his meetings with world leaders, his protégé Thabo Mbeki almost always at his side, slowly and graciously working to undermine Western resistance to the ANC's links with the Communist Party.

And it was this manner — and his unquestioned integrity — that won over arch-critics in white South Africa during the first contacts with the establishment in the critical years of 1985 to 1990.

However, MK leaders, like Ronnie Kasrils, say that Tambo was loved by MK cadres because he showed unwavering commitment to their role and skilfully managed the delicate balance between military and political struggle. He often visited the camps and kept track of the details of military strategy.

But it is his political leadership and strategic planning that stand out. He was the person who, when the black consciousness upsurge of the 1970s threatened the ANC, convinced the organisation it must adapt and reach out to these people, rather than see them as political competitors.

And it was he who, foreseeing the need to prepare for negotiations and ensure that the ANC set its own agenda for the process, began the planning that led to the Harare Declaration of 1989.

And it was he who campaigned, in crucial meetings in the late 1980s with United States secretary of state George Schultz and Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev, to take the South

A great thinker who laid fertile grounds

W/Mail 30/4 - 6/93

Oliver Tambo's death represented the end of an era — but among his enormous achievements was preparing the ANC for its new role.

By **ANTON HARBER**



Though better known as a diplomat than a military leader, Tambo was loved by MK guerrillas because of his unwavering commitment to their role

African struggle outside the context of the Cold War, which had deadlocked talks over Namibia and Angola.

Tambo's greatest achievement was in ensuring that during the long and traumatic years of exile, when progress was hard to demonstrate, the ANC never suffered from the kinds of debilitating splits that characterised most other liberation movements.

There were periods in which his leadership, style and policy faced serious challenges from below. The first was in the late 1960s, after the failure of the Wankie campaign, the ANC's first major military push.

It was a mark of Tambo's hands-on style that he travelled to the Zambian border with his troops to bid them farewell as they crossed into the then-Rhodesia and headed south for home in 1967.

And when the campaign failed dismally, bringing to a head frustration and discontent within the ANC, he summoned the Morogoro conference of 1969 to try to keep the organisation united. That conference led to the formation of the ANC's revolutionary council, which brought together political and military leadership to plan future strategy, and opened the doors of the ANC to non-blacks.

That was followed by the breakaway of what

became known as the "group of eight", a core of nationalists that challenged the Morogoro decisions. Tambo summoned what became known as the "conference in the bush", which brought all the key ANC leaders together in the Zambian countryside to thrash out the problem and keep the organisation in one piece.

At both these meetings, Tambo and his associates faced harsh criticism from below and direct challenges to their leadership. At both, he heard out his opponents, responded and held on to the reins of authority.

That was his style: to listen a lot, to seek conciliation, to understand his critics and to accommodate them.

It was also his weakness. He kept the organisation together because of his consensus-seeking style of leadership, but it also meant he had enormous tolerance and seldom cracked the organisational whip.

"If someone misbehaved or broke the rules, Tambo would always try to talk them round and rehabilitate them. Sometimes we wondered why he never came down harder on them," one of his closest colleagues said this week.

That was why anyone who visited the ANC in Lusaka during the 1980s found an amiable and friendly organisation, marred by elements of gross inefficiency.

And it accounts for the great black mark in Tambo's leadership history: his failure to stop the abuses in ANC camps in Angola. There is now little doubt that even when he knew about the conditions in the camps, he did not use the authority he enjoyed to make sure that they came to an end and the culprits were punished — a major error that is still plaguing the ANC.

He has also been criticised for the fact that Operation Vula, the major attempt to re-establish an ANC underground after the Nkomati Accord drove the organisation out of neighbouring states, came so late. In the end, it was his political work that counted, but a stronger military position and a stronger underground could have changed the balance of power before the 1990 unbanning of the ANC.

He was often slow to decide and was given to careful consideration, detailed planning and lengthy discussion rather than swift action. Mbeki, who was almost always at Tambo's side during the 1980s, describes him spending many hours thinking through problems, making extensive notes and ensuring he came to meetings with carefully prepared positions and strategies.

"He was not that good at reading prepared speeches, but he was excellent when he spoke off the cuff. People often wondered how he was able to speak so fluently and so carefully when he cast aside his notes. But then they didn't know that he would have spent three days writing the speech, so he knew exactly what and how he wanted to say it," Mbeki says.

Tambo's style stands in marked contrast to Mandela's stronger, more direct leadership. Where Tambo sought consensus, Mandela seeks support for decisions he has already made.

Tambo was, Kasrils says, a workaholic and expected the same of those around him.

He also had an element of the purist. Tambo never drank — except during a visit to Cuba in 1987, when Fidel Castro insisted he toast the revolution with rum. He closed his eyes, threw it back and later remarked: "That was very nice."

He also often told a story of the first time he ever wore shoes, as a Transkei child. At the age of nine, he found a pair of shoes which he put on to walk the great distance to his home. He found it difficult, but put this down to inexperience. It was only when he got home, blistered and sore, that his mother pointed out they were high-heeled women's shoes.

The picture that emerges is of drive and determination that saw him through a difficult childhood and the many sacrifices of exile.

This came partly from a driving sense of mission: his closest friend, Mandela, had gone to prison for the cause and it was only luck that had Tambo selected as the organisation's external representative, enabling him to avoid prison — something that plagued him over all those years. Says close associate Frene Ginwala: "He would often say in difficult times, 'I have been given a task and nothing is going to stop me from fulfilling it'." Tambo died last week, aged 75, knowing that that task — the achievement of non-racial democracy — was nearly, but not quite, complete.

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NEGOTIATIONS towards a democratically elected constituent assembly by early next year are on track, despite last-ditch efforts by homeland leaders and conservatives to delay the process.

Angry public utterances this week by political leaders amount to pre-negotiation posturing, belying an underlying realisation that they have little option but to follow the democratic process through. They included:

● Strong statements by kwaZulu's Inkatha Freedom Party and Bophuthatswana's president Lucas Mangope, which are little more than bravado. Inkatha accused the government and the ANC of collusion in murderous attacks on IFP followers, while Mangope said there was no "question whatsoever of Bophuthatswana giving up independence".

● The African National Congress' threat to resort to unprecedented mass action if its deadlines are not met. This was equally hollow and served only as a warning and a show of force.

● President FW de Klerk's assurance on Wednesday evening that South Africa would not unilaterally reincorporate the TBVC states. This was little more than diplomatic posturing.

The reality is that the "independent" homelands will in the end have no option but to become part of a unified South Africa. Their bluff will be called the moment the two major players — the National Party and the ANC — start implementing the transitional executive structures on which they have agreed.

The TBVC states are almost entirely dependent on South Africa for their annual budgets. If the government and the ANC go through with the agreed process, the "independent" homelands will depend next year for their budget allocations on an unsympathetic ruling constituent assembly dominated by the ANC.

The mere thought of losing their financial privileges — including membership of the Southern African Customs and Trade Union — will help concentrate their minds.

Despite the air of political uncertainty created by tough rhetoric following the postponement of the negotiations on Monday, government officials are privately confident the process is on track. Undisturbed by the bluster of the past week, they say only that it would be "preferable" to take along all the negotiating parties — and especially the IFP — rather than strike a bilateral agreement with the ANC.

But if push comes to shove, there is no doubt the government and the ANC will go it alone.

A countrywide referendum to break the deadlock and to approve the transi-

tional process, as suggested by Dr Frederik van zyl Slabbert this week, has now become a distinct possibility. The advantage would be that the major parties in the negotiations could phrase the referendum question to suit themselves, as the government did when it embarked on the present road of reform.

If an overwhelming majority vote yes to a question such as "should we proceed with an elected government of national unity?", the no-voters will immediately lose the moral argument, as happened with the Conservative Party after the last white referendum.

The government's insistence on implementing its agreements with the ANC was confirmed on Wednesday when De Klerk repeated his assurances that a transitional executive council (TEC) would be in place by June.

Addressing parliament, he said: "If it appears at the end of May or early in June that we are close to a deadlock, the government will very seriously consider whether initiatives can be undertaken to allow the process to continue."

Addressing a news conference at Tuynhuys on Wednesday after talks with visiting Norwegian Foreign Affairs Minister Johan

Jorgen Holst, De Klerk said it was for the new structures in the TEC to set an election date. If good progress was made, he said, elections could take place by the end of the year.

Ironically, De Klerk may find more resistance within his own ranks to his plans to force through the process. Many Nats, both in the cabinet and in the caucus, believe strongly that the form of state must be finalised by the present negotiators, rather than by an elected constituent assembly which they accept will be ANC-dominated.

They want the boundaries, powers and functions of regional states in a new dispensation to be determined by the present multi-party forum, and the principles of a new constitution to be referred to experts and approved by a referendum before elections for a new government.

The differences find expression even within the NP's negotiating team, with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer preferring a constituent assembly to make the final decisions, and Local Government and Planning Minister Tertius Delport insisting that the present forum finalise the constitution.

Caucus members who are unhappy with the government's strategy include cabinet minister George Bartlett, who wants closer co-operation with Inkatha. Other Nat MPs who would prefer to accommodate Inkatha in the process include Natalians Piet Mathee, Aubrey Thompson and Jaco Maree.

Tough talk: A blast of hot air

*W/Mail 30/4 - 6/5/93
Angry public statements by political leaders this week amount to little more than pre-negotiation posturing, reports*

CHRIS LOUW

Multiparty row looms as committee prepares to steer debate to real

TODAY's multiparty talks could erupt in a row between government and the ANC on one side and Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group on the other.

The 26 parties are meeting to focus on violence and the transition process.

Sources in the ANC and government said they were concerned that the Cosag parties were intent on stalling the process and could latch onto "any conceivable excuse, as they demonstrated on Monday".

This would cause "a substantial row"; ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa in particular did not intend to allow a re-

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peat of Monday's proceedings, at which no real negotiations took place.

The planning committee met last night to prepare the groundwork for today's meeting. The committee was looking at ways of ensuring that debate was concentrated on substantive issues of process and constitutional matters.

Violence is the most sensitive agenda issue. Parties are concerned that Inkatha will pursue its claim of a conspiracy between the ANC and the security forces to undermine it and kill its members.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose raised this in his speech on Monday.

BILLY PADDOCK

When the matter was postponed to today, the text of his speech was released to the media. Inkatha refused Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's request to withdraw the document.

One source said that even if Inkatha did not pursue the matter in the forum, government and the ANC would release statements today on the document, making counterclaims to undermine Inkatha's position.

On Wednesday, after a Cosag meeting, Mdlalose insisted that the issue of violence had to be addressed correctly and openly and indicated that his party would not back off from Monday's position.

Government and the ANC are known to be keen to avert mud-slinging in the talks, and they will attempt to steer controversy to committees.

Today's meeting of the negotiating council will try to break the logjam in talks by discussing the formation of six technical committees to examine key transitional issues. These are an independent electoral

commission; a media commission and telecommunications authority; a transitional executive council and subcouncils, covering control of armed formations; the repeal and amendment of repressive legislation; strengthening the peace accord; and the formation of a peace corps.

Government and the ANC are pushing to establish these, while Inkatha and its allies reject the terms of reference. The committees are largely based on "agreements" reached in Codesa. Inkatha rejects these on the grounds that no transitional structures

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Talks

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are required. It also rejects elections for an interim government.

There are indications that Inkatha will not — at this stage — turn this into a make-or-break issue. ANC and government negotiators believe that with the international community and the media watching today's events closely, the Cosag alliance partners will try to avoid a repeat of Monday. Instead, they will wait until the matter returns to the council in the form of planning committee recommendations.

(11A)

From Page 1

Cosag nonetheless warned yesterday that government and the ANC were heading for confrontation if they tried to force the pace and turn the council into a rubber stamp. It insisted on dealing comprehensively with its key concerns: to negotiate first the form of state for the new SA, and regionalism.

The council will also be discussing the setting of an election date but is not expected to decide on this today.

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PEOPLE

(11A)

Though they were both MK commanders, they didn't know each other until Sexwale met Hani at Jan Smuts airport on Hani's return from exile.

Sexwale is an eloquent and intelligent man who talks from his heart. "I am a strong nationalist — I believe in the nation," he says. "Something for which (President) F W de Klerk and his government cannot have any feelings."

He says though socialism is a philosophy of the working class, it's somewhat different from the ANC's position of national democracy. The ANC's link with the SACP has come about because of the SACP's "steadfast belief in democracy, human rights and the eradication of apartheid." Sexwale says he is not a member of the SACP but an ally.

He has been a member of the ANC since the Seventies when he worked under Thabo Mbeki in Swaziland while studying for a certificate in business studies at the University of Swaziland. He became an Umkhonto we Sizwe member but when this was discovered by the SA security forces he left for the USSR for military training. There, he spent two years specialising in army engineering. On his return, he was arrested at the Swaziland/SA border by two policemen from whom he escaped by throwing a grenade into the front seat of their bakkie. When caught soon afterwards, he was charged with sabotage and conspiracy and imprisoned on Rob-



Sexwale ... believes
in the nation

ben Island, where he served 13 years of his 18-year sentence. In June 1990 he was released under political amnesty.

Sexwale notes that the ANC has unilaterally suspended the armed struggle but says this might resume if demands aren't met. "The country has reached the brink of disaster," he says. "If another ANC leader is killed, God save us all."

Sexwale lives close to the Hani house in Boksburg, with his wife and daughter — "a son is coming in June." He is a compulsive reader of novels and business books. Shakespeare, however, is his favourite.

TOKYO SEXWALE

(11A)

Comrade in arms

FM
30/4/93

Tokyo Sexwale, head of the ANC's PWV region, got his nickname because of his interest in karate when he was a young man growing up in Soweto. His real name is Mosima Gabriel Sexwale.

Sexwale has been particularly prominent since the death of his friend and comrade, SA Communist Party (SACP) head Chris Hani. He is at great pains to point out he is not a replacement for Hani and says he prefers not to talk about himself during a time which belongs to Hani. "Chris and I were very close but not to the extent that I will climb into his boots," says Sexwale.

Mass action

Star 30/4/93
coercive, (2/2/93)

probe told (11A)

The ANC tripartite alliance's proposed mass action campaign was intended to "coerce political change" and should not be permitted because of a real threat of increased violence.

This submission was made yesterday by SAP counsel Flip Hattingh at a Goldstone Commission preliminary inquiry into violence that erupted during mass action in the wake of Chris Hani's murder.

Hattingh said that not only criminal elements had caused the large-scale violence, and that ANC marshals seemed to have had little or no control.

There had also been breaches of agreements between the mass action organisers and the police involving illegal marches as well as non-adherence to guidelines set out by previous Goldstone Commission reports.

He referred to Goldstone committee recommendations which said that "in order to avoid physical conflict and violence, mass demonstrations should not be used as a means of causing serious and non-temporary disturbance, or as a means of direct political intimidation". — Sapa.