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APRIL.

[Handwritten text]
Close friend hoped it was not true

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 pro-
gress, but he is not at the main
table where his colleagues Nel-
son Mandela, Cyril Ramaphosa,
Jay Naidoo, Joe Slovo, Gigli
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 out-
side 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 im-
portant 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."

Toyi-toyi... Hani dances at a political meeting.
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 paper "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, civic, 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.
Cosatu questions 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 1.5 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

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 Aplâ and the PAC." They requested a meeting with these bodies to discuss the matter. — Sapa
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, Kirghizistan, Romania, Zambia, Hungary and Vietnam.

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.
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 Ronitro 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 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 should 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.
A fresh beginning for talks

NEW start, but not on new stuff. This is Cyril Ramaphosa's colloquial characterization 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 gravity 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 this two-day multiparty negotiating forum, so that neither unmerited 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 where 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 Tranition 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 conference 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 Congress. 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 has 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 progress is made. Today's forum comprises four delegates and two observers for each group, and it will be charged with receiving and confirming reports from the negotiating council.

Some negotiators say it is possible, albeit unlikely, that some parties might "jump ship" if there is too much progress is made on the Government/ANC scenario for change - which they oppose. This would signal 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 CPs' 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 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.

Dr Frank Mdlalose expects the meeting to address the issue of violence and the form of state after a transition.
ANC’s Harry Gwala says he’s thinking of retiring

MARTIZBURG. — 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

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

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".

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 SAPC called on Goldstone as a "matter of urgency" to set up an 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 Hermus Kriel.

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 SAPC 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

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

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.

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

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

— Saps-AFP.
Violence on the agenda as talks resume

MULTIPARTY negotiations got underway 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 Roelf 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 avoid at all costs avoid devoting time to 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 question 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

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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.

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Violence to top today's agenda

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, report 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 P 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's 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 Maviindle 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 CP share limelight

By Kaiser Nyatsumba
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 Schalk 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:

“Like your outfit, Benny.”

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

“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 interventions of the day went to Arinachand Rajbansi, leader and sec. MP of the National Party. Unkind souls remarked that the “national Person’s Party” might be more appropriate.
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.
Azapo could join multiparty talks

By Lulama Luti

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 Ikamelen 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 "referees and players 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.
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 was 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 still 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 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 Makhuye 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 formation 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".

"Imaginative gesture"
NEWS  PAC leader’s excuse rejected

Alexandra taxi war escalates

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 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 Armsta had suspended its services in the morning to protest against the killings.

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

Seven lives lost in battle between taxi groups:

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.


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.

The prosecutor told the court a summons had been served on Alexander two weeks ago.

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.
ANC must preach political tolerance

By Isaac Moledi

A three-day peace summit organised by the ANC PWV region would focus on tolerance and discipline, an official, Mr Obelo 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 at their disposal?"

Miles, SA Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights

"We seem not to get to the reality of what is going on. The South African government will continue blaming the violence on the totsa 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."

Daniel, ANC PWV region

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?"
Colourful women pep up the talks

By Ruth Bhengu

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 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”.

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

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 let 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

By SANDILE MEMELA

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 toy-featured 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 tracts 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, institutional 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, backyard studios, farms and small towns, big cities of the world, post 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.

"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 artist's experience with apartheid."
Nqakula balances on point of spear

Hani's grassroots commitment will guide the SACP

By SEKOLA SELLO

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

Keeping to check a growing and restless constituency with a large radical youth membership is likely to be a tough test for the 54-year-old former journalist and Umkhonto military 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 in 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 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 of 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 Conscient South Africans Group (Coga) which comprises homestead groupings and white right-wing 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

By Esther Vaugh

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 6pm.

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 underway. 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 Benney Alexander declared: "Now we can begin real negotiations".

The forum yesterday moved swiftly through its agenda. Potential blockages were avoided because potentially explosive discussions on political violence and the group's process were "gently" controlled, and draft resolutions were adopted with minor amendments.

Right chairing of the meeting made it difficult for participants to raise issues 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 committee and the negotiating council. The proposed council will be referred to 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 advisors from each group. Its next meeting takes place on April 18.

On track to a new SA

Heading for democracy... delegates (from the right) SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, Local Government Minister Tertius De Kock, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Law and Order Minister Hermann Kriel, Transkei delegate Z Titus, and two members of the Transvaal delegation of traditional leaders.

The forum decided to place the issue of return to the list after it was proposed by Conservative Party negotiator Frank de Royaux. This has effectively ensured that the issue will stay on the list for the foreseeable future.

The issue of self-determination was included on the list after it was proposed by the PAC. The Transkei, Ciskei and South African governments, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront are at the negotiating table but are not signatories to the Accord.

The ANC, Government and National Party proposed that the issue of private armies be addressed in detail.
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A name for the new negotiating structure was also referred to the planning committee 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 advisors from each group. Its next meeting takes place on April 15.

Early in the meeting, the KwaZulu administration indicated 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 amendment to a national constitution, transitional regional and local governments, fundamental human rights during the transition, transitional executive council (TEC) and sub-committees 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 detail.

Picture: Ken Oosterbroek
Talks step closer to democracy

ing with political violence.

Law and Order Minister and Government negotiator Horace 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

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 injustices are re-dressed."
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.
Killed ex-Recce ‘caught off guard’

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 Capetivi 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 Recess — 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 Soyu 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 Soyu 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.
CURRENT AFFAIRS

PAC/APLA (1)

Playing hard to get

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 the 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 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-

-ivities.

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 Coetzee (a Johannesburg attorney). In addition, the proceedings were observed by a UN appointee, Prof Kwame Frimpom 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-

-Bantu homelanders.

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

Multiparty talks are due to resume at Ken-pton Park this week, against the background of a deepening security crisis and govern-ment’s plan for an unprecedented crackdown on crime and violence. Linked to the plan is an urgent need for government “sounders” for the resumption of administrative control 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 cau-cus and grassroots supporters to act ef-fectively against the current wave of killings and crime. The recent indiscriminate attacks on whites, in particular, have in-creased traditional NP backers and are menacing the election platform the party is try-ing to build.

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

A possible showdown over security issues between government and the ANC would be a seri-ous 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 solved only by negotiation.

Niehaus says the blistering attack on the ANC by Law & Order Minister Henris 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 involve-ment 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 situa-tion 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 con-trol 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 sepa-rately from organisations such as MK. Ne-gotiations on the issue were continuing, but this week’s speech by Kriel indicated a sig-nificant 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 Bophuthatswana 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 fundamen-tal 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 round of talks, the main obstacle to the talks continuing smoothly was seen as the possible intrusiveness 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 success-ful 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

Findings of the Goldstone Commission on Apla, the PAC’s armed wing, were made pro-visional in the hope of a positive re-1 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 16, made nine provisional findings. Those released revealed FW de Klerk in his wide-ranging speech to the joint
PAC gives Owen ‘14 days to explain’

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

PAC spokesman Zingiswa Mkhile 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”. {1007 21/4/93}

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

Mkhile said if no explanation was forthcoming in 14 days, the PAC would relaunch the boycott campaign. (UD)

Sunday Times deputy editor Brian Potter said a meeting between Owen and Mkhile 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.

Backning for urgent probe into new role of regions

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 proposals proportional representa-
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.
Anger at MK swipe

By STEPHEN LAUFER
CLEARLY angered by Law and Order Minister Herman 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.
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

WO 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 tripartite 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 Nederduits 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 full 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 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 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 closer indication of what concerned people on grass roots 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 agreement. "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 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

MK SIFHIWE Nyanda, chief-of-staff of umkhonto weSizwe (MK), this week refused to take Law and Order Minister Mr Hermus 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".

"It is quite inconceivable that a senior government minister could really seriously contemplate a situation where-by 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 perpetuated 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.
Khan to face hearing over racist remarks

Political Staff

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.
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 in 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. (AP)

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 responsible 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
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 local 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 Motloung 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 shoot-out. A third person escaped during the fracas.

Mahlangu's trial came under the international spotlight and his execution on April 8, 1979, led to a hardening of attitudes against Pretoria.
PAC's Benny leaves talks to answer licence charges

BY BERENG MTIMKULU

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 delegate at the political forum held at the World Trade Centre this week.

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 naïve."

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

The case was postponed to June 9.
By FRED KHUMALO

THE "Lion of Maritzburg" will roar no more.

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 withdrawing 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 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, as I said in my typically poetic fashion.

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

He gained prominence in 1980 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 hosannas, 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 ANC leaders of the ANC and other political organisations moved to the tranquil enclaves of erstwhile white suburbs, to exclusive middle-class black suburbs, Gwala still lives at KwaDumbaza in Edendale, in the "Valley of the Widows."

The "learned politician" 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 imprisonment.

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 respected 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, 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 in OFS

shanty town

By MOSES MAMAILA

FEARFUL things are happening in Ficksburg. Virtually the entire membership of the PAC in Mpheleng township outside Ficksburg has fled — probably into the Lesotho mountains.

Two weeks ago, in a crackdown on "Apla", the government detained 18 Mpheleng 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.

Thehlele Mohauu, 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.

Mohauu said the area was very tense. He said the police harassment would only drive youths into Apla's arms.

Community leader Sabats 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 Thehlele Mohauu (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.

Pics ANDRIES MOKHELE
Hani and Tokyo Sexwale ‘framed’

The SACP's central committee has labelled the alleged framing of Chris Hani and Tokyo Sexwale 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 Mqarqeni and two other accomplices facing charges of armed robbery, and illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

Mqarqeni 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 Mqiteme 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 BRITAIN and DIANA STREAK

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

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

- 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 in 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.

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 delink 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

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT
By EDITH BULBRING

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

THE SUNDAY TIMES, April 4 1993

IT WAS a strange spectacle. Inkatha's Joe Matthews backing communist boss Joe Slovo, the Indian Congress's Firuz Chagulla supporting the government's Terence Delfont 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-

positions 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 skillfully 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 Tripartite Commission 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

...
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.

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.
No arms found after blockade of Transkei, says ruler

Holomisa to mediate between Apla and SA

TSEKELA 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 unhinged, 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.

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.

"A special congress is to be held to re-evaluate its position on talks. Azapo president Professor Rhumeleng Mpila said."

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**

Organisation's National Council decides to halt contacts with other movements for four weeks: Thursday, 11th.

**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

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

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

Major-General Bantu Holomisa, and State President PW 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 Volksfront. This is because seating is in alphabetical order.

Therefore if and when the Azanian People's Organisation joins the process, it would flank the right-wing 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.
Final farewell to Tambo

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 8.30am.
Seeing the wood for the trees

By Mathatha Tsedu

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

What has started as a simple criminal act in which several men hijacked a car and went on a shooting spree, leaving three people dead, has 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 school bus 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 was "the hallmark" of PAC attacks. And as the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging narrowed its focus on the PAC, the ANC leadership was forced to change its policies.

Police spokesmen said the attack was "the hallmark" of PAC attacks. And as the AWB narrowed its focus on the PAC, the ANC leadership was forced to change its policies.

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 be held accountable.

President FW de Klerk convened an emergency special sitting of both houses of parliament and brought the PAC to its knees "with the political" attacks.

De Klerk has made his move. Saying Transkei was a haven for terrorists, he ascended on the Transkei with a ring of iron, blocking the border.

The action, in which vehicles in and out of Transkei were thoroughly searched, brought in another of the Lusapho blockade which left an impossible, deathstall of Lesotho.

The case of the three arrested men, and initial police refusal to confirm rumours that the men were linked to the ANC, actually started the PAC.

Until this weekend, when police eventually confirmed. And now there is talk of the "Congo diplomacy" at the river Kosi may end.

What happened to the Aplalammus in this attack in 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 goodwill 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, you must not assume anything.

Because if you do, and you are wrong, at the very least in this case, you end up with a lot of egg on your face.

But more seriously, you cannot hang any innocent people, such as those in Transkei, who suddenly found themselves facing with a border post where they had ever existed before since the birth of the banana republic in 1976.

An AWB protestor at the scene of the Ellenbok shootings.
ANC repudiates FW's latest plan for reincorporation

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."
We pledge peace, confirms ANC

By Musa Zondi

THE African National Congress and its allies have pledged themselves to creating a climate of "peace by 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 programmes of action around taxi and train violence, mass democratic movement structures, crime, self-defence units, local dispute resolution committees and business associations.

**Commissions to be formed to develop programme of action:**

- Youth and building organisations
- At the summit were delegations from, among others, the ANC, SACP, Cosatu, Sadtu, youth organisations, business organisations and also taxi associations. The summit noted that attempts were being made to delay the transition to democracy 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 Government 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 15 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 non sexist society.

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

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 investigate 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

Political Staff

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 reported that Umkonto we Sizwe and Apla representatives had met this year to establish cooperation.

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 Umkonto 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 Siphiwe Nyanda denied that a meeting took place between MK and Apla in Transkei in January and 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 governments 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 where 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 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.

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

Azapo president Professor Ithumeleng Mosela 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

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.

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."

...
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-}

Govt, ANC working on homelands deal

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.

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.
Impartiality pledge

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 Zanxhiya and former US judge Margaret Brumham would assist him.
**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."

Glen Reegan, 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 green light 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 coordinate 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 ESC

The Committee recommends that the Western Cape Regional Services Council, a remnant of the Apartheid system, be dissolved and all its functions and its powers be transferred to the Metropolitan Authority to provide two bodies to exist alongside each other: no conflict and no duplication of functions.

Who gets the vote

Under the proposed new system the present franchise, linked to property ownership will be maintained, all persons of 18 or older, with a valid identity card and permanent residence in the area to be eligible to vote.

Residents include tenants, family members and temporary residents such as students occupying informal housing and squatting, providing vital services, and those who have been in the area for less than 12 months.

Who gets the vote

The Constitutional Committee believes that greater opportunities for public participation and a greater sense of the decision-making processes of traditional leaders to nominated councillors on Council decisions will follow. It is hoped that this will improve the delivery of services.
ANC slices up South Africa — and PW smiles

It took months of braais and late night drinks for the African National Congress to persuade itself 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 veteran Dr Simon Baudin the DBSA slowly opened up its apartheid past, but still found it difficult to establishlegitimacy 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 to adopt 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 go into 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 undergone. “While we were mainly kept contact with the Pretoria/Western/Cape area. When we drove up car constitutional proposal in 1981, very little attention was given to regions and local government. But during the late 1980s other regions apart from PWV started reaching out to us while we were in Lusaka. When we came back from cote, it was with the realisation that a regional policy had to be worked out.”

Tough discussions followed, with critics from plateaup areas consistently arguing that the regional divisions should not exclude them in favour of the larger areas. At first, 32 regions were proposed by plateaup 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 unfeasible.

At a meeting two weeks ago the 16 region map was rejected on the same grounds. No official decision was taken to adopt the 16 region map as a 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 was expected that the regional dispensation decided on by a delegation, which included delegates from the multi-party conference, would be largely based on the map that was the result of PWV Bothe’s initiative.

ANC plan for ten regions

(JSON data)
No truth in breakaway army, says Hani

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

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 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 Siphiwe Nyanda denied meetings took place between MK and Apla in Transkei in January and 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 said 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 on-going talks but the meeting had not yet been confirmed, Holomisa said.
JOHANNESBURG. — One of two suspects still sought in connection with the shooting of three occupants of a car near Elkenhof, 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.

Mr Bapela said the two suspects so far arrested, Mr Sphiwe James Bholo, 24, and Mr Titu Ndweni, 19, had both alleged police had tortured them in Welkom, 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 Telo — 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 Elkenhof shootings. — Sapa
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 Siphiwe James Bholo, 24, and Mr Titi Ndweni, 19 — and the two suspects still on the run, Mr Samuel and Mr Vincent Telo, were members of the Evaton Self-Defence Unit.

Mr Bapela said 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.

“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.
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 the children’s 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 also 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 1983 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

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, Eurocentric 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 son’s 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 the divorce of her first marriage to Prince Rainier when she was 18. She has also divorced twice before marrying the Prince of Monaco.
ANC denies meeting Apla

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, Siphiwe 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 Hermus Kriel's statements against MK in parliament last week. — Sapa.
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.

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 their opponents on Sunday night. The attackers have accused Toise of "dictatorship".

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 straw, his skull crushed by a large rock. — Sapa.
Now Mandela admits violence

KILLING CONDEMNED ANC boss ‘not prepared to blame only Inkatha and Nat Party’.

By Josias Charlie

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 guerrilla Mr Solomon “Kahshi” 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,” 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 negotiations 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 years 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.
No agreement yet on meeting

But negotiations between BCMA and the State are continuing:

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 Mopotse 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 Thulenele 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 25.*
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. (H.A.)

Wolf Rinkegel, deputy director responsible for relations with, among other countries, Tanzania, said on Monday the topic was raised during discussions with his Tanzanian counterparts. — Sopa.
Sisulu calls for party discipline

DET sends security guards for memorandum.

By Musa Zondi

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 guerrilla 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.
Azapo agonises over negotiations

T

he call off of talks between the Government and the Azanian People’s Organisation indicates a serious difference of opinion among members with regard to talks with the Government.

The talks, which were due to take place in Botswana, were called off at an Azapo national council in Bloemfontein this week.

The groups that met were Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania on the one hand and the South African Government on the other.

About 40 delegates at Azapo’s national 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 bilateral congress held in November last year.

Since the 1990 Shawe world congress, Azapo has declared that it is not a negotiating principle, a position reiterated by the organisation’s president, Prof Luke Nkomo., 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 policy.

In a move that could signal a major change in policy, the congress decided to close the door on negotiations, whether bilateral or multilateral. What would be Azapo’s option? The answer could be found in Nkomo’s address, where he called for a “society of nations that is not based on the same principles as the one that brought us to where we are today.”

According to Azapo, the multiparty talks represent the reverse order of events. The correct way would have been for the Government to have obtained a mandate from the South African people through elections, to avert the risk that “the multiparty talks will lead to divisive consequences for the country.”

Delegates say they will go back to their constituencies to inform them of the “Mississippi Option.” They say they are not “interested in becoming the 20th party at the multiparty talks.”

Asked if Azapo would not be overridden by events or if the multiparty participants will have the patience to wait for the organisation’s special congress, Nkomo said: “I do not know if the Congress will be able to catch up with Azapo.”

Azapo’s position 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 accommodate such a deal because they see the talks as the last avenue to a settlement.

The demand for the removal of sanctions from talks led to Azapo being kicked out of the plenary session of the Patriotic United Front in 1990.

Azapo still insists on what it calls a “true patriots front of parties” who would go on against the Government.

Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, which is being arranged by the African National Congress (ANC) in Botswana, is believed to be still on track.

Sources yesterday said tomorrow’s deal was premature and that the talks are still being made with “interested parties.” According to Azapo, the meeting will focus on the talks are with the ANC’s handshere and there is no purpose in talking to them.

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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."
ANC involved in violence 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 re-burial 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.

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 Umtamvuna 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.

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.

"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

(14) ARG 7/4/93

Political Correspondent

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

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.

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.

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'

TRANSKEI military ruler Maj-Gen Buthelezi was unmoved yesterday by reports that Apla commander Sabelo Thaba 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 here as it is in SA - so what is the fuss about?"

He said he did not know if Thaba was telling the truth, but added he was not obliged to look into it.

Holomisa said he was in favour of reincorporation 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 addressed "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 PADOCK reports Holomisa said 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 Romeo 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

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 Conney said was in response to the "desperate" crime levels.

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.

Conney 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

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 Melodie, outside Pretoria, at the rebuial 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 PW 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.

ANC 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 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 ferment violence so that government could blame the conflict on ANC-Inkatha fighting.

Nzimande also took a swipe at the SA Police, brandishing 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.
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.

“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
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

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
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. During the two-day 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-Reuters
Chief of Apla denies race war

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 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.

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 dishonored, 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."
I’ll meet Mandela anywhere, anytime

By Lulama Luti

PRIVATE 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 proven 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.
ANC man is ‘sorry’ for Jewish slur

Western Cape organiser Thaywood 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.

Khan said his utterance was made in the heat of the moment and in no way reflects my true feelings.
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 racist 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 racistical 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 that 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 message amazes the crowd

On July 8th, 1993, 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
I am an Afrikaner and the ANC is my home

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 Kamerraad Ben Willemsen, 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 a 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 Nkosí 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: "Almaligie 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 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 irriated by the incomprehension that there is a place for Afrikaners, like me, in the ANC.

I would say that the ANC is the 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 unceasingly for that identity, it is 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 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 a 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 brain 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

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 0800-112113 or investigator WO Frik Breedt on (039) 255254.

The violence-related toll in Murchison this week has climbed to 12 with two more killings early yesterday. Police spokesman Lt Dawood Rader 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 Mngwane.

... 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 Bini Ndizamane that the Concered 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 Mduange on his way home in Umzazi, Durban, party spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday.

... Tillet said the car in which Mduange 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 Umzazi 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 Umzazi," Tillet 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 Ndumeni Bunenizi.

In Khayelitsha near Cape Town yesterday, a policeman was shot and two wounded men arrested when the police were attacked and involved in a 40-minute gunfight, according to police.

Sgt Issaca, Const N Ntongona and Const M Mbolekwa went to the scene in an armoured vehicle. Sgt Issaca 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 gunfight, Issaca was shot. Two men were later arrested trying to have their bullet wounds treated at a hospital.

... Police said members of the Internal Security 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:

... 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 MN S Sithole ruled yesterday that the terms of reference of the Goldstone commission committee investigating illegal importation, distribution and use of arms and ammunition will remain unchanged.

... But Sithole ruled yesterday that the terms of reference of the Goldstone commission investigating illegal importation, distribution and use of arms and ammunition will remain unchanged.

... Sithole said the committee could not fulfill 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

By DAVID BEIFSORD

ANC leaders have admitted — 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 criticize only the government and IFP.

"People who participate in this violence, for whatever reason, who kill innocent people because they 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 be wrong in the correctness of the position that you take on all major national issues."

The ANC also defended the automatic weapons fired by the ANC leadership on the issue of power-sharing with the National Party. Telling the crowd that the leadership had been criticized by the African National Congress (ANC) leadership, he said: "The ANC has defended the automatic weapons fired by the IFP and the ANC."

Mandela turned his audience to: "There are members of the ANC who are killing our people. We must face the truth... Our people are just as involved in this organization that are committing this violence. And people who are doing that are no longer human beings, they are animals," he said.

"Why do I speak? Because there is the truth for you to understand the situation. You must want me to blame the IFP only. I am not going to do that," he said, coming a round at the audience's command.

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 puts Khan on ice over Hitler remarks

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 democrats 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, his 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"."
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 unseemly 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 "stauchest 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

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.

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.

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."

CP representative Joseph Chloë (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 Orendaal 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 Mbi (42) of Bophelong was in a serious condition in the Vanderbijlpark Hospital after being shot in the back.

James Didiwileng (36) of Boipatong was in a satisfactory condition in the Sebokeng Hospital.
ANC bites bullet on gun laws

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 KwaZulu 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 immaturity 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 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.
WINNING the hearts and minds of the Western Cape’s voters will take 20 000 volunteers, 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 colourists 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 non-racialism 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 non-racialism, 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-Vic-limo 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

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 people 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 non-racialism 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 "Afrikan 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 non-racial 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.
A N 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 Lingelethu 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 Mbuyiseni 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, Lingelethu 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 Lingelethu West councillors and an independent commission of inquiry to examine allegations of council corruption.
Joe tells of Marksism-DP marriage

By Diane Coetz

JOE-MARK’S attempt on Tuesday to explain to the people of Stellen-berg 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 Area Housing Action Committee member could only point to vague allegations of “non-accountability and underdemo-

ocratic 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”.


Azapo’s deep anguish: Are we in or are we out?

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 conference attended by about 100 influential Azapo delegates. Shortly afterwards, Azapo president Ishelemang Monale 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 keep the rank and file from going in to negotiate at all.

Radical members who are co-opted to the council are said to be in a fix, given that the union is populated by the white minority, who retain power.

The struggle for the leadership is clear and unambiguous: “If you go to Kempton Park, you do not represent Azapo.”

African National Congress (ANC) leaders have repeatedly asserted that the product of the negotiations would be a new dispensation in which some black leadership are co-opted but the white minority retains power.

The party is said not to have the financial might or resources to translate the slogans into reality.

Even if Azapo 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 recognised by the UN and the OAU, which have beenmain financial backers of the ANC and PAC.

However, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanian) can boast a substantial foothold in rural areas.

The militants in the leadership are said to be “indefatigable.” He was confident that “the Azanian chimeras (war of struggle)” could still be waged.

On Azapo’s military operations, the cadre bluntly said: “Your problem is that you are unable to distinguish armed struggle from armed activities.”

He explained that armed struggle involved mobilisation and recruitment. He said Azapo 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 Monale issued a statement saying a meeting between Azapo, BCMA and the government this week in Bophuthatswana 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.

Meanwhile, the BCMA refused any place at a Bophuthatswana 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 chairperson, it now seemed that many in the leadership have come to terms with the reality that the negotiations’ process will continue with or without the movement.

They fear the process has the blessing of the ANC, whose leaders have been cerculating Azapo’s final stance on negotiations. They said a special congress had been called to discuss the issue.

Decisions, decisions...
"I want a free SA... even if I have to lay down my life for it"

By LEN KALANE and Sapa

DEATH always stalks 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 Hani's 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 we Sizwe 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. "If I want to live in a free SA... I have to lay down my life for it."

He later 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 returned to SA. He caused a stir when he indicated that despite the talks with the government, a ceasefire of power could not be ruled out if whites were not prepared to give up power.

Hani was born on June 28 1942 at Collembula, Transkei. He completed his Senior Certificate at the Lwandle Institute in Aliwal; attended Fort Hare and graduated from Rhodes University in 1962 with a BA in English and Literature, 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 to establish the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which helped him broaden his perception of the workers' struggle and of the need to achieve a redistribution of the wealth of the country.

In 1962 he joined the ANC Youth League in 1957 while at school in Lwandle, and was suspended for the following year for his involvement in protest politics. The ANC was banned in 1960 and in 1962 Hani joined its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (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 his appeal. When the appeal was turned down early in 1963 he skipped the country to undergo military training.

As Commissar of the Luthuli Detachment of MK, he fought in Rhodesia alongside comrades of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, then created in 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 Tzlojo in Western Rhodesia 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 Lecche, 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 its cadre carried out the political tasks of the ANC.

In 1983 he took part in the suppression of a mutiny by MK defeats 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.

The ANC was unhinged in February 1990, Hani re-entered SA under temporary immunity, 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 system," 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 backed directives from the ANC and MK by taking over from the acting 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.

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Hani knew death was near

By SOKOLLA SCELLO

Honesty might have cost Chris his life

HONOUR... Grieving neighbours and friends of the Hani family gathered at their Boksburg home yesterday where he was gunned down in cold blood.

Sharp-witted neighbour prompted swift arrest

By DESMOND BLOW

SWIFT thinking by a white woman neighbour of Chris Hani, who was shot and killed last night, led to the arrest of the suspected killer - a 40-year-old South African born in the Polish desert - within minutes of the assassination.

The SACP leader was shot four times - three in the head and once in the chest - while he was standing in the front yard of his house in Boksburg. The kill was so precise that he died instantly. No survivors were found at the scene.

However, Brig Gen Maxie bleib, of the SA Police, said Hani had visited the local supermarket to buy a box of coffee before he left his home. He was shot by unknown assassins in a car which pulled up next to him and fired shots at close range.

The suspected killer denied all charges and was arrested immediately after the shooting.

The ANC has also denied any involvement in the killing and has condemned the act as an attempt to disrupt the peace process. The PAC, whose military wing is responsible for the killing, has been condemned by the majority of the world's media.

The killing of Chris Hani is a major setback to the peace process in South Africa. The ANC has been working hard to secure a peaceful transition to democracy.

The PAC, whose military wing is responsible for the killing, has been condemned by the majority of the world's media. The PAC has been working hard to secure a peaceful transition to democracy.
 Appeal for calm as reaction pours in

By CP Reporters and Sapa

SHOCKED reaction to the murder of SAPC 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: "We remain undeterred by the work of people of goodwill from all political persuasions who have staked their lives 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."

Condolences 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."

by fellow SAPC member Ronnie Kasrils.

"I think it is the most tragic day for SA that someone with such outstanding qualities of a human being should be assassinated. It is the most shattering blow," he said.

The PAC, whose military wing Apal 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 tried to do what he believed was right... for that he has paid with his life."

Senior Inkatha official Dr Ben Ngubane 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, 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

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 a key staff officer of Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's armed wing.

Yes, he laid down his life for it, because all his life Hani was answering in 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.

Whosoever assassinated Hani and whatever his intentions were, he robbed the 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 and jettisoning the ANC.

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 published 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 astute.

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.

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 neighborhood of Dawn Park, said 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 tried to explain his actions to the police.

Two weapons were found in his possession. It is also believed that 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 worked for a small transport company in Pretoria.

He is unmarried and has a mother and brother in Pretoria. Yesterday his brother was shocked to learn from City Press that Janusz had been killed. "I hope he hasn't done it," he said.

He said his brother had promised to phone him after the Easter holidays, but had not done so.

He refused to say what his brother's politics were, but implied they were rightwing when he said he did not believe Janusz was a member of the AWP, as "he doesn't speak Afrikaans.

He said his brother had never served in the army - either in Poland or in SA - but knew how to carry a gun.

He said he did not know if his brother was a crack shot or not. He said his brother had a girlfriend, but refused to disclose her name or to give the name of 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 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 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 shooting press he was being interrogated by the East Rand murder and robbery unit.

Capt Craig Koste, spokesman for Minister of Law and Order Herman 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 hallmark of an individual who was 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 an atmosphere of fear among blacks and inflame violent unrest in order to abort constitutional talks.

Sources pointed that certain facts gave the impression that the killing bore the hallmark of an individual who was operating on his own.

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 the driver of a car did not drive 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 MALELEKE

HUNDREDS of whites joined blacks in Pretoria on Wednesday and stayed away from work to attend memorial services in honour of assassinated ANC/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, Bellville, Soshanguve, Hammanskraal, Winterveld, KwaNdebele and GaRamathe.

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 Alphonsus Cathedral in Pretoria and at the Sasa Sama in Ladismith.

Apart from barricades that were erected in towns in protest against the burning of cars in Soshanguve, services were held without further serious incidents.

Police turned up 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 white workforce stayed away from work.
- Members of the PAC and ANC participated for the first time in rallies under the banner of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance in all regions of Pretoria.
- Phophatshwane police turned a blind eye to marches.
- Trains were, for the first time in the history of Pretoria, withdrawn and no buses or taxis could be seen on the roads.
- All services speakers called for restraint.
- The "young lions", in a militant mood, expressed 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 condeminate 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-Gen Johnson said the services had passed without any serious incident.

Police spokesperson Maj Arno Vogel said one man was admitted to the Pretoria Hospital in a serious condition and nine others sustained gunshot wounds after police opened fire on a crowd.

Lethabo Chief Minister Nelson Ramodiki was escorted out of a service held in Pretoria after angry elements in a crowd hurled stones and bottles.

BURN BIKE, BURN... A mangled motorbike in Maritzburg's city centre burns furiously in the road while protesters casually mill about — oblivious to the smoking object of mass outrage.

PICTURES BY FAME JASON.

IN CAPE TOWN: THULANE SITHOLE IN JOHANNESBURG, AND RAES MAVETIA IN MARITZBURG.
T
HE 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 parties?

When Inkatha’s major catch in the Transvaal, Henk 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 Janie Mooreberg, 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, Henric Kriel and Tertius Delport 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.

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 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.

“Duinkink ship

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.

“They are not 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.
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 Newsline 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 guerilla 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, Sindle and Andile, who live with him in Dar es Salaam.

Normally after unsolved terrorist attacks on policemen 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."
Police Hold

CHRIS ANHAN

for calm

ANC calls

HOW HANI DIED

days after peace call

Tragedy strikes two

Chief after lone drive

Pur shrots Kill SACP

 Glock

Surgical gloves

REJECTED

Sunday Times

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WITH SABS MARK

SUNDAY TIMES

WINNERS

WEEKEND
ON THE ROAD OF PEACE

By CHARLES SMITH

Peace has not been the easy answer for the ANC. In fact, the road has been marked by conflict and divisions. The journey has been long and arduous, but the goal of a united and democratic South Africa has remained steadfast.

The bodyguard who wasn't there

The bodyguard who wasn't there...
'High-handed' ANC made allies into aliens

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 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 wayside 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 P.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."
THERE 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 of 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

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

WHENEVER Mr Chris Hani was in the field as an umkhonto weSizwe (MK) guerrilla, 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/SACP/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 “rebel” on television last weekend did not spark off the kind of manical 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 1989.

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 in the ANC leadership.

For journalists, Mr Hani was a delight. Friendly and humorous, he always had a direct answer to questions without waffling.

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 homelands’ 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.
PAC, Transkei miss deadline

JOHANNESBURG. — Transkei and the PAC failed to respond to the Goldstone Commission's Thursday, April 19, deadline.

Both were asked to submit counter-evidence to the commission's committee investigating the activities of the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, in the homeland.

The committee provisionally found that Apia 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 instituting 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.

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 reported to have been 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, 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 disperse 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 Levensal said police were investigating the killing.
Tragedy hangs over church service

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 reaction to killing.

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 guerrilla 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 murder 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

By KAIZER NYATSUMBA

CHRIS Thembile 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 settled 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 facing ANC in this trial

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 "Dwithe" Ramasimoeng, leader of the Three Million Gang which wreaked havoc in Maokeng in 1969/91.

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 Nlokosi 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.

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

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

Police seize ‘hit-list’

Staff Reporters

Police have found a "hit-list" in the home of James Watuzu (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 SAAP headquarters in Pretoria on April 14 1990, was found in Watuzu'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 Watuzu's hands had shown the weapon was the one used to gun down Hani in his driveway, and that Watuzu had fired a firearm on the morning of the killing.

Last night the police claimed the weapon was seized in Watuzu's Pretoria home, a name list, suspected to be a murder or so-called hit-list, was seized.

The name and address of Watuzu, and other people, appeared on the 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 or offered police protection.

A special police team of 14 is investigating and is probing whether Watuzu's killer acted alone or not.

Watuzu and police spokesman Brigadier Frans Malherbe said ballistic tests on the two firearms allegedly confiscated from Watuzu had shown that one of the weapons fired the fatal shots. It was found in the red Ford Laser, registration number PB321Y, which was driven by Watuzu, according to police.

Watuzu is a South African of Polish descent.

It was also claimed that "retribution" on the hands of the suspect indicated he had fired shots on Saturday morning.

Malherbe said a court hearing had been set down for Hani tomorrow, 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-Coasa 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 expressed 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.

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Politicians' security beefed up

By Kaizer Nyatsumba 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 Janiez 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 Hermus 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 Terreblanche 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.
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.

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

ADDRESSING a media briefing after an emergency meeting of the ANC-SACP-Co-"nata 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 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 murder had as much as “a ANC-led alliance would pull out of negotiations.

“T 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.

“Tn any people Hani was a hero. We don’ have many heroes in South Africa, and we should take good care of the few we have,” Matthews said.
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. I 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 arrangement 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 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.

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 operated 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 struggle is correct and is an important contribution in maintaining the momentum of negotiations.
Faith in ‘converting the unconvertible’

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 because 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.

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.
Hani’s assassination widely condemned

By Joshua Raboroko and Sapa

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 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 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 assassination also underscored 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 Entumeleng 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 “too hardy 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 Musebenzi 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 (Apala) in a statement from Tanzania said the assassination of Hani justified the “continued guerrilla attacks” being mounted by Apala against the South African Government.
- Apala chief-of-staff Mr Barney Msolo said Hani was the victim of “the vicious spiral of violence being perpetuated by the Pretoria regime through its notorious hit-squads and other hired forces”.
- Msolo said Hani had interacted with top PAC military officers and senior Apala 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.”
- The South African Students’ Press Union said: “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.

- 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 Masila said it showed the enemy was trying to harass the people into stopping the negotiation process by targeting the country’s leaders.

- 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.”
ANC pursues election date with renewed vigour

ANC's determination to hold its national conference before the end of the year has not weakened, party insiders say.

The party has been in negotiations with the government to determine a new date for the conference, following the postponement of the original date due to the pandemic.

ANC General Secretary Ace Magashule said the party was committed to ensuring that the conference was held within the year.

"The ANC is determined to hold its national conference this year," Magashule said in a statement.

The party has been under pressure from various stakeholders to hold the conference as soon as possible.

ANC President Cyril Ramaphosa was scheduled to address the party's provincial committees in Mangaung this week to discuss the party's plans.

Ramaphosa has been critical of the party's delay in holding the conference and has called for urgent action to ensure that the conference is held.

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Successor 'not obvious'

8/10/93  ALAN FINE

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 Nzankula would fulfill the general secretary's functions in the interim. The SACP 'politburo' 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

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 Hani’s assassination, mourn loss of ‘strong peace ally’

The international observer missions of the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Organization of African Unity have expressed ‘shock and concern’ at the murder of SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani.

As observers of the peace process in South Africa, we condemn uncannily this disturbing act and express our sympathy to the bereaved family in their moment of sorrow,” said a joint statement issued by Johannesburg by the missions.

“The incident 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 Mr Anton Gilea, said his organization had formed a strong ally in Hani in its quest for peace.

“Assassination on political grounds must be condemned in the strongest possible terms, particularly in the delicate political situation pertaining to South Africa. The NPS calls on all supportive of the peace process in South Africa not to take the law into their own hands but to allow justice to take its course.”

Gilea said the mission of peace and understanding achieved was not stopped by the killing.

The South African Federation of Business and Professional Women said it acknowledged the type of violence that resulted in the assassination of Hani.

The organization urged all South Africans to co-operate 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 organization said.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement said Hani’s assassination undermined the fragility of the negotiating process in South Africa.

AAM executive secretary Mr Mike Terry said in a statement from London that the assassination itself undermined the potential threat that political violence posed to the future of the Southern African territory.

The ANC Youth League said it offered its appreciation for the “courageous task of President P.W. de Klerk and his government” following their reactions to the assassination.

The National 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 organization said that even after the unbanning of organizations in 1990, the Government continued to portray the SACP as opponents of democracy and villains.

“We therefore cannot conclude other-
NEWS  Swedish aid of 14.5 million dollars will dry up before next election

ANC may lose its yearly grant

Start of election campaign may cost organisation financial support:


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 Inkhata 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. — Super-AP.
**Hani: Why I joined liberation struggle**

**OWN WORDS** Martyr describes how

“I ditched Christianity for communism.”

Chris Hani ... was in South Africa for only three years.

**Mourners and journalists throng SACP chief’s house**

Hani: Why I joined liberation struggle

I was born in a small rural town in the Transkei called Cofimvaba. This town is almost 200km from East London. I was 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 Transvaal, but he subsequently became an unemployed 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; we 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 introduced Bantu Education which was designed to indoctrinate black pupils to accept and recognise the superiority 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 arrestment of leaders 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 actively 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 deepened my nonracial perspective."

"My early Catholicism led to my fascination with Latin studies and English literature. These studies in these two courses were goldbids for 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 exploitation. The notion of tyranny 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, Brian Fisher, JB Marks, Moses Kotane and Ray Simons.

"In 1962, having recognised the intransigence of the racial regime, I joined the delling 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 which has brought about the present crisis of apartheid. In 1967 I went back to South Africa to build the underground and I subsequently fell for Lethabo, where I specialized 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 apartheid regime. The racist regime has explicitly recognised the illegitimacy 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 organisations to suspend armed action is correct and is an important contribution in maintaining the momentum of negotiations."

"I am one of the few who have been through the experience of this armed struggle and have seen both the positive and negative effects of it."
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:

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:

DE KL ER PU AF

FOCUS Are our leaders taking security too lightly?
ANC condemns Strand murders

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 sadistic 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.
A leadership style which will not easily be emulated

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 SAPC general secretary predecessor Joe Slovo put it yesterday: "Although he had resisted the "cosas" of popularity — and although, like all of us, he sometimes talked 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 even in 1985: "It has been part of the conventional wisdom in the three short days since his assassination."

There may be, as far as ANC ranks, individuals with similar leadership styles: but they would have only residual support bases. As long as there is no such individual with his national standing — a fact under-scored 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 SAPC background, enjoyed a similar reputation 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 damaged 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.

Incidentally, there was not much 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 have 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 stood 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 not entirely credible.

Hani's death creates a succession problem for the SAPC 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 list. And there is no natural successor to be borne out by the fact that Slovo — little more than a meeting chairman — 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 and the problem 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 concentration 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 actively in the socialism debate. He was primarily an on-the-ground organiser able to establish a unique rapport with actual and potential SAPC members.

That is a quality that will be sorely missed by an SAPC which faces difficult times and that will find a recently published strategy discussion paper adopted, the SAPC will have to answer in the context of the movement. 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 SAPC interventionist tactics even if they are made openly, as the paper stresses they should be.

The SAPC could also, in terms of the paper, have to build up its membership and devise a credible socialist programme while acknowledging that the "socialist dream" is after all a degenerate form of the "socialist dream"; one that is more moribund and will remain so "until" it is reasserted internally.

Hani's commitment to socialism was based more on the repugnance with which he viewed poverty and inequality — not so much on his own upbringing — than on the Marxist classics, although he delved into the classics, too, in a way that which made him accessible as he was to the common people whose interests he sought to champion.
Hani kept idealism burning against the odds

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 nomenklaturist, 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 acaráriated 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 CPFUSA. 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 who have had the 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-Jochanan, author of Africa, Mother of Western Civilization, who has been repeating his arguments, essentially unchallenged, since he first stated them in 1971.

There was no such thing as Greek philosophy, he told his audience, mostly impressive 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. Arisotle 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 Alexandria 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-Jochanan. 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
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 upcoming election campaign, a spokesman said this week. The organisation estimated its campaign would cost more than R200m.

Possible sources of assistance were currently being investigated, the spokesman said. Other sources could 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 countries 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 that a registration of voters would be needed. A more practical way would be to allow all South Africans 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 criticized 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 1994-95 fiscal year, mainly to aid the development of democracy.

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 204 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 untroubled during March, with only one fatality. Bus and taxi commuters, however, suffered 19 deaths and 23 injuries in 10 incidents. — Sapa.
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 to 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 undermine 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 1960'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 Muhammed 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 Bakako, 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 apparent 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 iron gate seemed to be waiting for the leaders, but the procession passed the building and turned from NY1 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 lasty 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.

Utilizing 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 Hermanns 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 Civic Organisation condemned the killing of Mr Hani and called for an independent judicial inquiry into his death.

At 3.45pm, 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.
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 attracted a chorus of agreement from a crowd of bystanders - many of them ANC supporters - which had swollen to more than 100.

"We should remember him for what he stood for. For peace, stability and cooperation."

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

Staff Reporter JOHAN SCHÖNEN monitors violent reaction in the Western Cape to the shooting of Mr Chris Han

STONINGS, petrol bombings, barricade-burning and tarring vehicles were reported throughout the Peninsula following Chris Han's murder.

A police spokesperson said the situation in some areas was tense. He said patrols had been strengthened in the areas affected.

Police said yesterday that villagers had set up a barricade at a roadblock near the village of Nieuwoudtville, where a group of armed men had attacked a police post.

A policeman was killed and another injured in the attack.

The police said they had arrested five people in connection with the attack.

LATE-NIGHT MARCH: Protesting University of Cape Town students march in Main Road, Rondebosch, at the weekend.

Yengeni lashes leaders

The ANC's regional secretary tells Staff Reporter VUYO BA-VUMA that the ANC and Communist Party leaders should consult their grassroots members in deciding the way forward.

Yengeni, a close friend of Mr Han, has been under threat since his murder.

He said he had been threatened by a group of men who had been following him.

EMOTIONAL MOMENT: Mr Tony Yengeni, a close friend of Mr Chris Han, speaks to a crowd before yesterday's march to Athlone police station.

TYRE PYRE: Marshals toy-toying beside a burning barricade in Guguletu.

"Waluz is a loner, but never aggressive."

Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg

A man who was arrested for participating in the traditional Easter breakfast was released on bail, according to the family.

Mr Waluz said he had been arrested for participating in the breakfast. He said he had not been able to identify the man who had been arrested.

Added to this was the fact that the police had not informed him of the charges.

"We just don't understand," he said. "I don't know what he did, but I don't think he did anything wrong."

Close friends also said Mr Waluz was not a loner, who kept to himself.

"He was not a man who kept to himself. He was a person who made friends and acquaintances," a friend said.

Another acquaintance, a former member of the KwaZulu Natal Police, said Mr Waluz was a black man who had been unsettled by his arrest.

Leticia Banda, who stayed at the same smallholding as Waluz and Han for many months last year, said she never knew he was aggressive or violent.

She said when he was on the farm, he was a good man and a good friend who never took sides in his political affiliations.
EMOTIONAL MOMENT: Mr Tony Yengeni, a close friend of Mr Chris Hani, speaks to a crowd before yesterday's march to Athlone police station.

TYRE PYRE: Marshals toy-toying beside a burning barricade in Gugulethu.

Yengeni lashes leaders

The ANC's regional secretary tells Staff Reporter Vuyo Bayuma that ANC and Communist Party leaders should consult their grassroots members in deciding the way forward.

Mr Yengeni, a close friend of Mr Hani, said there should be a serious and thorough consultation with the grassroots membership to decide on the appropriate way forward.

"It is the masses who should call the shots on what action is to be taken in the wake of Mr Hani's assassination. It should not be clever leaders who are negotiating on behalf of the people in smoke-filled rooms. The negotiations have effectively demobilised the people," he said.

The leaders of the SACP and the ANC should not only feel angry but should also display it, he said. "It is only when the leaders express their real anger that the people will listen to calls for calls," he added.

Mr Yengeni said it was important that the anger should be channelled towards constructive means aimed at achieving the demands Mr Hani lived and died for.

ONE such goal should be that the election date be brought forward. Delays will cause the country to be in ruination."

OVERLOADED: Only the wheels of this overloaded truck were visible after activists jumped on board for a free ride home from Athlone yesterday.
Anger turns to fiery violence
OVERLOADED. Only the wheels of the overloaded truck were visible after it jumped on the road for a free ride home from Atlantic Yesterdays.
A belief he was prepared to die for

HANI ASSASSINATION

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.

HANI PROTEST: The bridge across the railway line at Guguletu appears to have disappeared under the hoist of thousands of activists marching to Athlone police station to protest against the killing of Communist Party leader Mr Hani.

Many have called for peace and been ignored. Hani’s calls had a far greater chance of being heeded.

He was also, let it be said, a committed socialist until the end. He regretted never having been asked to be allowed to attend the Lenin School in Moscow because of the armed struggle.

He had picked up signs of it when he visited Lenzak under 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 thorny 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 Conta 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.

A MARKED MAN: Chris Hani ... knew it was more likely than not that he would meet a violent death.

Picture: QIOD ZUMA, The

A note of desk pad said ‘Peace Corps’...
A MARKED MAN: Chris Hani... knew it was more likely than not that he would meet a violent death.

A note on desk pad said "Peace Corps..."

"Peace Corps" is scrawled across a piece of paper on Chris Hani's Johannesburg office desk.

He was making notes on Friday about a peacekeeping force 16 hours before his life was stopped by an assassin's bullet.

His office is pleasant, sparsely furnished with a bookcase, a few paper plants, and a pleasant view of the city.

Joe Slate, once again in the...
ANC renews its call for calm

Mass protests to mark Hani assassination

PLANS for mass stayaways and protest marches around the country took shape yesterday as messages of concern at the assassination of SAPC 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 assassination 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 Lwandale 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 Joda 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 Reuters television crew.

The ANC said pickets planned for today would focus on Boksburg, where suspect Janus Walus is due to appear in court in connection with Hani’s death. Thousands of ANC supporters were expected to gather outside the court.

Protests

A crowd of about 8 000 ANC supporters marched from Vosloorus to the Hani home in Boksburg’s Davie 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 Pikitup peace desk official Mondli Gunguqele said a department 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 Thokozza 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.
Spoornt man stabbed, burnt

SASOLBURG. — A resident here was stripped, stabbed and then burnt to death in the Chris Hani camp in this Free State town yesterday morning.

Police spokesman Captain Helen van der Westhuizen said it did not appear the killing of Mr Leon Smit, a Spoornt employee, was in any way politically motivated.

Mr Smit was found naked but still alive by police at 9.30am and died about two hours later. He had apparently gone into the camp to look for spare parts for his car. — Sapa

Slovo: No successor in sight for Hani

JOHANNESBURG. — There is no obvious candidate in sight to succeed assassinated SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani, party chairman Mr Joe Slov said yesterday.

Assistant secretary-general and former Eastern Cape journalist Mr Charles Nqanku would fulfill the functions of the post in the interim.

The SACP “politbureau” was scheduled to meet today to discuss finding a successor.

“Chris made a major contribution to the growth of the SACP since he took over as secretary-general in December 1981. There is no one with his popular appeal to working people and the youth — our main constituency,” Mr Slov added.

Transkei deports Ugandan citizens

UMTATA. — Transkei has deported an undisclosed number of Ugandans following the discovery of a syndicate manufacturing bogus educational certificates, military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa confirmed on Sunday.

He vowed that those involved in manufacturing fake documents would have to go.

General Holomisa said his government was examining the credibility of other expatriates’ qualifications, saying arrangements were being made to send all Indian expatriates’ qualifications to the Indian High Commission in Botswana.

Ghanaians’ documents were being sent to their representative in Namibia and those of Ugandans were being checked with sources in their country.

General Holomisa added that 13 expatriate teachers — seven Indian women, five Ghanaians and a Ugandan — had been detained recently. The 13 had agreed to withdraw their court action challenging their deportation order, and would be allowed to resume teaching. — Sapa

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climate of uncertainty.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu appealed: “Please, please dear people, we don’t help our cause by actions of that kind (the killing of whites), and we call on our political leaders and all politicians: For goodness’ sake hurry, inject urgency into the negotiation process and let our people see South Africa free.”

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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 Sexwane.

“He fought for peace. How are we going to convince our people that it is right to fight for his ideals of peace,” said Sexwane.

Sexwane 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.”

Sexwane 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.”
Commoner who defied the odds

HAWKS and “doves” “militants” and “moderates”, “the unreasonable radicals on both ends of the spectrum” — these are the pigeonholes of much prevailing political commentary in our country. Chris Hani’s life defied their easy assumptions.

Martins Thembuule 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, summorized for an informal social meeting of Pretoria business people the prevailing common wisdom about a negotiated settlement.

“Why is a successful transition from authoritarianism 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 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 marginalize the majority. 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 Dave 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 secretaries 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 them 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 roots over heads.

Party man... 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.
Talks delayed over slaying

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 multiparty negotiating forum meeting two weeks ago. — Political Correspondent.
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.—

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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 condolences 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.
Reform 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.
Will Macbeth have his day?

MACBETH was harbouring murderous thoughts. Gaunt and brooding, he stood sullenly apart from the crowd of Afrikaner 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.

Unguarded images washed through my mind as I drove out to the township, 20 minutes southeast 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, smiling 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 increasingly 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, swelling 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 rescue 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 is 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 revealed 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.
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 to pro-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}
voking a racial war.

Speaking in a televised address as reports of violence 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 African origin, risked her life so that we may know, and bring to justice, this assas-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}
sin."

"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 social 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 Ango-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}
la."

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 con-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}doe ne continue to pour in", to reach out with understanding and join in the come-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}morations.

Regions which have spec-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}ifically called for a stay-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}away today include the PWV, the eastern Transvaal, the western Cape, the east-

'Time for peace'

\begin{proof}
\end{proof}era Cape, the Kei/Border re-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}gion and the Natal Mid-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}lands.

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 de-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}struction of property and at-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}tacks on security forces, cul-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}minating 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 Gilden-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}huys and his National Peace Committee counterpart John Hall said they would be asking church leaders across the coun-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}try to plead with their followers to be peaceful.

PAC deputy president John-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}son Mlambo, who visited Hani's home yesterday, called on em-\begin{proof}
\end{proof}ployers to grant workers a paid holiday today, but IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose warned that stayaways would have a negative effect.
Hani: Ordinary folk mainly speak of anger

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?

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-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, Reha 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 Soweto and Sebokeng, gained the impression that most preferred a re-sumption of the ANC’s armed struggle as a result of Hani’s murder.

Tsopo 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.

Simthembile 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 Madise (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 Wigitte
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.

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

Simmer, but be calm, says Hani's friend

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leaders called repeatedly for restraint as crowds vented their fury over Saturday's slaying of SAPC 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 comrades 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 SAPC (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 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 homes 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 "seriously 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 Dowerk 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 were 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 police man 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 in and the smugglers 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.
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.

“Their hands 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.”
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 buried at the Boksburg cemetery at 2pm.
— Sapa.
Sexwale alleges govt was involved in assassination

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 licensed 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 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

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 SAPF armory.

Prof Nick Haysom, appearing for the ANC at a Goldstone commission inquiry into the illegal importation, distribution and use of firearms, asked SAPF counsel Pierre Habib whether steps had been taken to improve security at SAPF arms depots.

Habib 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 SAPF 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 imposing sentences in order to avoid injustices.

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.
Police ‘cannot get Hani murder suspect to talk’

THE alleged assassin of SAPC 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.

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 list found at Waluz’s home, containing the names of eight prominent leaders from the ANC, SAPC 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 town council 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.”
Johannesburg:— The Pan Africanist Congress urged people to attend commemoration services in honour of slain South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani.

"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 countrywide 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.
ANC suspends Khan over insult to Jews

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."
Peacekeepers out in force

Mandela calls for calm as protests begin

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. Opponents had said stayaways had been called for in the PWV, eastern Transvaal, Border and eastern and western Cape, with 84 commemorative services countrywide.

RAY HARTLEY

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 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 Kaniu 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-

Protests

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.

Sabo 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, Sascoola 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 Ntlatseng said Saba 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.
Affluent blacks start shift to white suburbs

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-controlled suburbs like Dawn Park and Freeway Park in Boksburg, Lenasia and Rand- deburg in Germiston and Bedford Park in Vereeniging, have virtually been taken over by blacks.

It is almost a way of life for affluent blacks to settle in these suburbs and towns such as Sandton, Bryanston, Sandton, Houghton, Mountainview, Hyde Park and Kempton Park.

Top brass

Among top brass known to be living in the suburbs are National Sorghum Breweries chief executive Mohale Maphalle, Anglo American’s Don Ncube, businessman Richard Maponya, soccer impresario Kaiser Motaung, businessman Gaby Macomola and SA Black Taxi Drivers Association executive and Futurebank chairman Jabu Mabuza.

Leader . . . business- man Richard Maponya.

Moving up . . . ANC pre- sident Nelson Mandela.

Ensnched in better suburb . . . Joe Modise.

Living in “white” suburb . . . Oliver Tambo

Politics in liv- ing top suburbs include the ANC's Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, Pheko Sexwale, Pato 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 Zani Mahlali says the 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 previous white suburbs.

Cameron managing di-

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 is 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.

...
Torture inquiry kicks off

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
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 Makela 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 Zambiya — 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

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.
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.

Nelson Mandela ... country on the brink of disaster.

Chris Hani ... he made a supreme sacrifice

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.
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-Reuters.
Many faces of day of remembrance

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 split on to the street. The crowd grew restless. 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 bushed 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 protestors 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.

Cieniuch said yesterday that 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.”

Cieniuch however praised Mandela’s “statesmanship”. — Sapa.
Warning to speed up talks

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 far 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-Général 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 Coetsee yesterday said Chris Hani would not be buried in Boksburg but in the Elys Park 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 15/4/93.
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 booed 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.”
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 Pottering invited the PAC to continue discussions or pursue the matter as a public debate through the columns of the Sunday Times.
Solidarity messages
pour in over Hani

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 organisation “to carry forward the spear of peace and freedom”.

The Cape 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 his dying.
Mandela’s plea to youths

By Mzikulu Malungu

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 booted 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 Bram 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 Janaus Walus to the murder of SAPC general secretary Chris Hani had upset the Polish community. The Polish government has issued statements strongly condemning the murder of Hani.

“Sort of almost two days, the media reported Hani’s murder and the name of the person,” he said. “This created the impression that Poland is involved in the murder of Hani.”

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.

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.”

Cape chairman Linda Mtshali put a stop to youths looting shops. PAC eastern Cape chairman Knox Tsotso, 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,” Tsotso 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.”
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 Darr 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, Mandela 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”.

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 tense-dilled 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 Henk 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.

Ali bemused by chanting crowd
POLITICAL STAFF
CAPE TOWN — Militant youth protesters delivered a knockout blow to 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 turn to looting as Hani march ends in chaos

CAPE TOWN - A march to the memorial service in St George's Cathedral for assassinated SAPC leader Chris Hani deteriorated into a night of looting, stoning and arson as youths rampaged through the city yesterday.

Two people were reportedly 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 roof 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, was transported to the centre by specially arranged trains and buses, was to have marched from the Keizer-german Square police station.

But before the march was due to start, several hundred people following PAC banners moved off into the area between Canterbury and Bul- tenton streets, smashing car win-

dows while rushing towards Caledon

Square police station.

They then charged down Plein Street, past Parliament, damaging 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 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 Dowler 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 shot by fire, according to police — and peace monitor June Humphrey was admitted to City Park Hospital after being stabbed.

Ten members of the SAPD and one member of the public were slightly injured when a hand grenade exploded near the Castle.

"It seems that the march organi-

sers lost all control," Dowler said. "Given the number of criminal deeds — arson, looting and vandalism — there was a large criminal element present." At least one looter was stabbed, 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.

Toy-toy 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 vio-

lence," the Metro service said.

"The marchers made an absolute mockery of the assurances given by the ANC on the organised manner in which the trains would be used."

After an hour later a 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 state-

ment said.

Relative calm returned to the Parade by 4pm. — Sapo.

Outsiders to join SAP probe

PRETORIA - To allay fears of a cover-up, two experts would join SAP investigations probing the murder of SA Communist Party general secre-

tary Chris Hani, Justice Minister Ko-

bie Coetsee announced yesterday.

Sapa reports that he said the national peace secretariat had been asked to keep the two.

Coetsee said Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and Wilkan had been approached by "various parties with a request to consider the merits of appointing one or two experts to the SAP investiga-

tions 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 investiga-

tion possible with sufficient depth in these circumstances."

Coetsee said Lieres approved the requests. The two would be prom-

ted by Von Lieres "through the normal international channels".

"The attorney-general assures the public that everything is being done to facilitate the investigation as soon and as comprehensively as possible."

"BILLY PADDOCK says that Law and Order Ministry spokesman

Crag Kofeze said yesterday govern-

ment was sticking firm to its posi-

tion 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 implement-

ed, the government will still control the security forces."
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

Famous for their unwavering quality.

Consulate cigarettes are available in tins and regular packs of 20s and 30s.

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
Hani’s death raises US 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 township, 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, declared to wild cheers: “It is time we told the leadership that enough is enough and now it 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 fears of conspiracy.

It is argued, for instance, that as negotiations proceed those radical 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 part of the trouble facing the leadership. There were other statements from inside the ANC which greatly disturbed Americans and which some point to as evidence of how radicals apparently opposed to negotiations could be capitalising 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 vacuum.
Need for rapid talks progresses — Meyer

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
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 subcouncils would have, had yet to be agreed upon by all the various parties and organisations.

One of the 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

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, demoralized, 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 brutality and poverty of life, the potential for an already violent country to descend into a form of Lebanonization 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 fulfill 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 between 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.
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 Mabuza 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.
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 commitment 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
Monday will be work as usual

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.
Top political leaders to pray for peace

SA's major political leaders would soon come together to pray for peace, Rehema church leader Pastor Ray McCauley said in Johannesburg yesterday.

McCauley said President F W de Klerk, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and PAC president Clarence Makweny 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 announce 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.
SA at a crossroads after Hani assassination

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.

MR 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 SAPC 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 F W 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 reassure control over militant youth which hero-worshiped 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.

LETTERS

SEXWALE
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 II 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 revolutions. 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 untamed 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.
PAC bashes the media

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN of The Argus Political Staff

CHRIS HANI'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 Clarence Makwetsa 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 goes 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.
Mandela and Hani — tale of the tortoise and the hare

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-Reuters.

The youth are getting impatient.

"We expect him to be president by 1993. We are tired of waiting. Our leaders must lead us quickly,"

ANC secretary-general Dr. Cyril Ramaphosa insisted at a news conference that he understood the youths' anger and was not "overly concerned" about lack of staff loyalty.

But he added, leaders had to hurry and set up a "transitional government" and a "national council of elders" so that the "country will be plunged into chaos".

The youth

Nelson Mandela ...
pace too slow.

focus on

Negotiation

tells

PAR


Nelson Mandela has been given a loud and clear message by South Africa's black youth as they grew their thin idol Chea Hani: hurry up.

Three years after the parachute of the struggle-smart white rela was fired from jail, blacks still do not have the vote — and the kids who made the townships bare to topple apartheid are fed up with waiting.

The loss of the former guerilla commander they idolized, at the hand of a white assassin, has not been seized or depersonalized their hatred and distrust of white authority.

Mandela (70) was in jail for 27 years until 1990. The youth, whose township fight against white security forces in the 1970s — as much as sanctions and low-key guerrilla war — forced the white rulers to yield, never knew him.

They still find it difficult to relate to the icon, at times schoolteacher, rhetoric of the African National Congress leader.

Hani was the fighter wrapped in the same tunic and song of armed struggle. He was the leader young men left the country to join. When he retired from exile, his fiery speeches and magnetic personality drew the youth to the Congress Party banner, making it the only growing branch of Congress in the world.

At a Hart memorial service in Soweto's Jabulani Stadium on Wednesday, Mandela had to struggle to put across a message of peace and reconciliation to whites in an angry and parochial crowd of some 30,000, mostly young men and women.

He was booted when he mentioned President PW de Klerk's National Party, which implemented apartheid in 1948 to extend 300 years of white supremacy, but is now the ANC's main negotiating partner for a democratic South Africa.

He was rewarded by a silence when he urged the youth to go out and make their formula to their own.

Before the rally — where militant Pan African Congress leader Mr. Clive Derby-Lewis of the Inkanyiso — about 25,000 marched on the fortress-like Police 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 thousands inside the police station.

During the battle to Protea along Soweto's dusty streets, several expressed fear of whites still being in power.

"In these three years we expected nothing. Not one thing. Things have gone far worse since Mandela was released and still we do nothing," said Mr. Stanely Yakozi.

Youths chanted in jail and pushed our leaders because they were slow. Now it's our turn to push our leaders because we are the

ANC secretary-general Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa insisted at a news conference that he understood the youths' anger and was not overly concerned about lack of staff loyalty.

But he added, leaders had to hurry and set up a "transitional government" and a "national council of elders" so that the "country will be plunged into chaos".
Wednesday's violence could have been worse, says Mosala

Sowetan, Radio Metro Talkback

By Sipho Mthembu

The assassination of South African Communist Party general secretary 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 attacks shown by thousands of vigilante groups and many other organizations and militias could be understood.

"Events can only get worse. Although we are opposed to some incidents, we should not give them more prominence than the martyrdom of this sort of activity," said Azapo presidetn Dr Kunene Moshia.

PAC leader Mosala said the assassination and even increased doubts that the government was committed to the negotiation process.

Mr Jakie Soko of the PAC said that 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 that they have lost control over their supporters."

"The regime is also playing double standards. They are after all the ANC comrades but not MK and the AWB's private army." Mr Thembakho said 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 views on any matter on your mind.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063
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 Johannes- burg 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 announce- ment 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 3pm tomorrow and return at 6pm on Monday.

An ANC spokesman said mourners could also board the train at Paarl, Worcester and Beaufort West.

Tickets costing R57 each are available from the ANC regional office in Woodstock, the Food and Allied Workers Union office in Guguletu and the Kat- tric office in Khayelitsha.

Buses leave tomorrow night and tickets are R50 each.

The Western Province Coun- cil of Churches has appealed for calm and emphasised the need for healing and reconcili- ation between Cape Town peo- ple following Wednesday’s vio- lence.

The council’s call will be re- peated 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 de- centralised 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 sur- gery at 1pm on Monday “in sup- port of a call to commemorate the death of a truly great South African”.

Cape Town Chamber of Commerce president Mr Her- bert 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 employ- ers in good time.

Mr Hani's body will lie in state at the FNB Stadium south of Johannesburg from Sunday. There will be a memo- rial service at the stadium on Monday and he will be buried at Bekasi cemetery.

The ANC National Executive Committee has made no fur- ther call for mass action or stayaways beyond declaring Monday a day of mourning.
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 necessary 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 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 Kotte 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, Sipho 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 belittles 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 would not be another massacre over the next few days of tension.

A Polish-born South African, Janus Wautz, held in connection with the murder, appeared briefly in court on Tuesday. He was not asked to plead. It was at first thought
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

BILLY PADDOCK

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 FW 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 commemoration 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 supporters 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 leadership 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 showed "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 subcouncils 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 timetable 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.
BBC grills PAC man over racist murders

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The PAC's Mr Gora Ebrahim was grilled here yesterday over racist murders.

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 16/4/73.
Govt echoes ANC call for transitional council and election

GOVERNMENT has echoed the ANC's call 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 security 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
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 krigsdadigheid, 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 unemployment 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 Transkei’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 декreed. 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 Xhosa.

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

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 only call off unrest if the government initiated talks.

The announcement comes on the eve of the expiry of an amnesty and on the same day as an ANC rally in Cape Town.

ANC general-secretary Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa said the campaign was a response to the government's failure to act on the requests for talks.

He said the campaign would start on June 1 and continue until the end of May.

"This is a clear indication of our total commitment to the people of South Africa," he said.

ANC in W Cape joins stayaway call

PAGE 2

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In a country where words can kill, it's often best to shut up

Stern 11/4/93

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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 no longer 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 hatred of Natal's warriors and the roadside assassins. We have become so accustomed to interminable talk that I wonder whether we are still able to listen to quieter, less passionate reason.

I will forever feel ill at ease 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.
A new South Africa cop

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 Meintjes, the acting Regional Commissioner for Natal, and Colonel James Lowrens, the SAP's representative on the Natal-KwaZulu Regional Police Commission.

For Lowrens, this was not the first time he has come in for praise from the ANC. But the soft-spoken former Security Branch policeman is at pains to point out that he was no “rubber-hunter.” It is part of my work being a policeman and I cannot see why such a big deal is being made. Let’s get away with all the other policemen in the field. They have a part as well.

He said he was generally pleased with the behaviour of the crowd, which he estimated at between 40,000 and 100,000. “The majority of the crowd was well-behaved. It was a good crowd.”

The ANC’s Jeff Radebe and SACP’s Dennis Eksteen, who both said they had heard the “noise” of the crowd, agreed with Lowrens.

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 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 Lowrens.

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 Lowrens was named by the Daily News 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.

Rising to his feet, Lowrens said: “It is an era that I would not like to go back to.”

Suspicions and new-found closeness in Dawn Park

LOUISE MARSLAND

THE road to Dawn Park is like any other country road — uneven, with potholes and corrugations and the surrounding fields. The past week has been as rough for residents, who have lost a lot to crime, as for their neighbours, and now look at any stranger who lingers too long with suspicion.

There are fenced-in, middle-class homes, some with armed security signs and razor wire, others with low garden walls and open gates. Some have barbed wire more than usual in any suburb.

A sign on a nearby oak proclaims: “Dawn Park — The Sunshine Community — now selling!”

Harmony

Brightly painted jungle gym and swings stand empty. Apart from a lone soccer player, a couple of joggers and a police patrol car, there is hardly a soul in sight.

But this is normal, says residents of the suburb, which was a model of racial harmony and the conservative East Rand before it was fashionable, or even legal.

“A resident, who did not want to be named for fear of right-wing threats, told the suburb had always been peaceful. Nothing much had changed in the past week. But brave Keith Renne, whose actions led to the alleged arson attack, came home from jogging regularly without bodyguards.”

At home of the late Conrado Chris —as many residents knew him — the vigil continues, with people coming and going all hours.

Picking his way carefully around smashed glass from Wednesday’s attack, Keith did not have a word to say. He had been shot dead here more than two years ago.

An exception was an immigrant man, blemming a padlock on his driveway gates, as he said: “See — I have never done this before . . . I just want to be safe.”

Jogging in the sunrise, Punjadal Shangasi put it in perspective: “This has brought the community together. Some will feel more fearful, but most are not. We know another and now we are talking more to each other — much more than before.”

EARLY BIRD: Punjadal Shangasi lopes through the Boksburg suburb of Dawn Park this week.

Photographs: MYKEL NICOLACU
Hani's death widens gap

'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-scrapped 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 police of the killing that led to his murder were evident throughout a march of many thousands from Soweto and Kliptown to Boksburg, en route to Hani's home in Dawn Park, and back to the township again.

The theme was represented as a "surgical" act by ANC leadership and the masses, says Peter Mokaba, president of the ANC Youth League. "It was a matter of finding a replacement. There will have to be a reorganization 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 as 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 everybody went beyond that he could convince them and nobody would doubt his credibility," Mokaba says.

The thousands who gathered on Hani's memories in Boksburg did little that would have earned his condemnation. But the fact that the day passed in relative peace made it no less a day of rage.

"They tell us the murderer is refusing to cooperate," said one speaker with indignation, to the throng that had packed every corner of the Boksburg Civic Centre. "Shaye" came the cries from the crowd. Beat him. The walls were panted with grated posters which said: "We demand joint control of the security forces." Among them was a rough brown sheet: "We shall not bury alone.

Outside the civic centre, an even larger mass of people stood on the ground waiting to be addressed, one crowd after another trying to keep the crowd going on salt and "vivas".

A local cleric read a statement and then led a chant of "we want peace" joined in by chanting "we want Krits".

Then Thabo Mbeki took 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 is going to happen is if we accept the victory of the ANC in a disciplined fashion," he said to ringing cheers.

And yet in the nearby streets, where fresh arrivals pulled 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 failed. A group from Rivonia squatted camp marched in, armed with weapons ranging from the eccentric - a single teething glove in one hand and an exhaust pipe with a hewer's ax in the other - to the alarming. As they tramped back and forth, waving placards and axes honed razor sharp,

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JOHN PERLMAN, Chief Reporter

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marshall joined hands to keep them off the ghettos 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 38 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 Mbeki and Tokyo Sexwale to fill the gap.

Twenty minutes away, two street mothers from the ANC Women's League stood gawking at a group of young boys lurking around outside a locked-up chemist's shop. "There is nothing you can do 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 Mbeki.

"That task falls on our shoulders." Mokaba himself has played a major role in keeping the crowds in check.

Now the Youth League is embarking on a campaign which Mbeki insists will be militant but democratic. "We will not hesitate to act against those who go against this," he says. "You can't stay in the air."
News

Comrade Charisma rose above slander

By PETER WELLMAN

Hani's colleagues believe this campaign amounted to an open invitation to the...
Hani's death widens gulf

He was a leader like no other

If 20,000 people had marched in 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 sorrows of hand-scribbled 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 gap, not just in the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, but in the fabric of his beloved ANC. The period of testing that Hani was subjected to was a match of many kilos, from Johannesburg to Soweto, from Ladysmith to Krugersdorp—each step was to be remembered by his followers.

His death is a loss to the ANC. We will have to be prepared to fill that gap as much as we can. The youth could see themselves in what Chris was doing and saying, his hatred of the system which he expressed openly. As a member of the ANC, he was able to contemplate the limits of that system and to dream outside them. He was a great leader.

The comrades who gathered to mourn Hani's memory in Boksburg will have to think about what the future holds for the ANC. We have to be prepared to fill that gap as much as we can.

Major role

"It is the Youth League which is expected to control our movement," says Mokhaya, who is the national commissioner of the ANC Youth League. "But we can fill this gap. We can fill this void in our ranks."

The youth are being told that they must learn from Hani's death and that they must lead the ANC. There is nothing you need but to stand up. The ANC is the great leader, and we must take the lead.

John Perelman, Chief Reporter

"We want peace. We want freedom. We want a just world."

"We want peace. We want freedom. We want a just world."

"We want peace. We want freedom. We want a just world."

"We want peace. We want freedom. We want a just world."
Jo'burg steeled for mass march

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

The parties involved say the agreement — signed by ANC leader Thabo Mbeki and W/P region police commissioner General Koos Calitz — is a sincere effort 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 peaceful and dignified passing of these events. The agreement is valid until midnight on Monday.

The organisations have agreed to conduct themselves in a peaceful manner and recognise their accountability to 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 moving and stationary marshals deployed for each section of the crowd or march. In addition, stationary marshals will be deployed along the route of the marches. The Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat will be informed of members 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 pleased that agreement had been reached on the contents of the document, as he was very important to maintain law and order during the events.

LAST MINUTE ACCORD: ANC national executive member Thabo Mbeki and W/P police commissioner General Koos Calitz offer an agreement reached on the mass action planned for this weekend.

Photograph: GEORGE MASHININI

Ali parade postponed

MUHAMMAD Ali's tour of South Africa 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 Dixon for breakfast.

Hani burial live on TV

THE SABC will carry live broadcast on Monday of the memorial and burial service of Chris Hani.

Both SABC and Radio 2000 will start broadcasting from the FNB stadium at 8.30 am.

The second part of the broadcast will start about 1 pm from the burial site at the Johannesburg South Cemetery to Gates Neck. 

PATH OF PROTEST: The route of today's planned mass protest march through the centre of Johannesburg.
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 1000 policemen would be deployed, along with 1000 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."

"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."

The secretary-general, Rupert Lorimer, said a situation had been reached where Law and Order Minister Herus 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 headquartes 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.

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 in 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 "peaceeline". Anyone wishing to call the line with information on violent incidents or possible confrontations should dial 0800-115555 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

"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 KZ26673T, which belonged to her was impounded on Tuesday night by policemen stationed at Kliptown. At the time, the vehicle was being driven by Magau Madi- kizela, 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, Vuvisile Ma-falala, reported that they were confronted by the group of policemen who refused to release the vehicle, even after Mandela had 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: 'One 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 gestures 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.

Mazala 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."
Product of shattered dreams

CHRIS Hani’s dream of turning the controversial, militant township self-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 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 Mbelatsi (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”.

Joe Louw
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 Mangosutho 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 put 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."

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.

"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 testering 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.
**You have killed our leader**

"One bullet, one bullet" while women shouted and danced.

In a train to the city, people chanted songs calling upon "Gogo". "Moluba asebenza manqoba apho kwabulala e kwa Afrika Samalali. "You looters are dogs and they will remain dogs. They killed our soldier Chris Hani." People who disembarked before Cape Town Station were attua 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 station: "This is the day, tomorrow you'll tell your boss you are resigning." On the Grand Parade, where the crowd insulted 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 forces members were targetted 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.

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**No more peace**

LOOTING and muggings by "have-nots" led to no more than eight arrests on Wednesday.

Rather than combating 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 roamed 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 repeated angrily: "There's a first-degree crime going on here."

"The police would like to emphasise that it is not for the extreme restraint exercised by members in the face of extreme provocation, much nastier situations could have occurred," Dowd added.

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**The casualties of a battle**

**BY JUSTIN PEACE**

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 130 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, Lenney 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 shibboleth on the tarmac, as health workers from St John's ambulance and the National Progressive Primary Health Care Network battled to keep up with the seemingly unceasing 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.
Hani: Yengeni's brother-in-arms

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-peace-maker 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 Thembsile 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 1976.

This first meeting signalled what was to be a future bond. Unlike other recruits who were briefed on 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 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 SAPC.

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 1989, 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."


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.
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 felt 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.
Tribute to a leader

Tito Mboweni, who worked closely with slain SACP secretary-general Chris Hani, gives a highly personal tribute to a man who changed his life.

ARRIVED in Maseru, Lesotho, in mid-1980, I was very angry, politically raw, militant and somewhat uncertain and confused about what life held in store for me from then onwards.

I was sure about one thing, though. I would join the ANC and become one of movement's cadres for the freedom struggle.

Comrade Chris Hani, or simply Comrade Chris, as we came to know him, was the ANC chief representative in Lesotho.

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.

Soon, it became clear that Comrade Chris was no ordinary bureaucratic chief representative as most of them are, but that he was a political activist and leader with a deep political insight and sense of "righteous" yet firm commitment to the freedom struggle.

From my early contact with Comrade Chris, it became clear that he was an extremely brave and capable person who was willing to take on extremely dangerous political risks.

He was one of the Luckhoff Detachment communists and was active in the 1974 joint MK/PLF operations in Zimbabwe. He told stories about this campaign as if it was such an easy thing to be involved in.

In 1981, a couple of days after the MK/SADF attack, March 3, I suffered from pneumonia. The doctors prescribed that I stay in bed for four weeks. Comrade Chris came round to visit and check my progress.

I was very touched and could not understand how such a busy underground man could find the time.

That began the process through which I came to know a bit about him.

When we joined the ANC, we had a choice of either proceeding with studies in Lesotho, eastern Europe, other parts of the world or going straight to the army (MK).

Comrade Chris was instrumental in influencing me to choose to proceed with my studies first.

Early in 1982, I was stuck in Maputo. In the meantime, Comrade Chris had been advised by the leadership to leave Lesotho for security reasons.

I came to Maputo. How we actually spent more time discussing political than we had already been in Lesotho. I found that Comrade Chris was highly regarded in Maputo.

It was in Maputo that I discovered the other side of Comrade Chris. He was very impatient and wanted movement and an action-oriented programme. It also became clear that diplomacy was not one of his talents.

From time to time he returned to Lesotho even though he had become too dangerous for people like him. Even the Lesotho authorities did not want him in town but he was able to evade them and I think at one point even hid in the house of a cabinet minister.

In the last quarter of 1988, I was asked to come to Lesotho where I had frequent contact with Comrade Chris.

He hadn't changed his character, he was still impatient (usually, he was more impatient), always struggling to find the quickest route to freedom for his people and was extremely concerned about the well-being of the MK cadres.

Since returning home Comrade Chris, as is well-known, had been so busy that I had had no time to discuss issues at length with him.

I suppose we all sit down quietly and thoroughly discuss issues like we used to. It is pity, though.

If I were to sum up my impressions of Comrade Chris, I would say that there are very few ANC leaders who have had a major political impact on me. One such ANC leader was Comrade Chris.

Comrade Chris followed my work very closely and would feed time to time comment on it. Of course, Comrade Chris trusted every comrade in a special manner, always making me 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, it 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

I WAS born in a small rural town in the Transkei called Cufusana. This town is almost 200 kilometres from Port Elizabeth. I am the fifth child in a family of six. Only three of us are still surviving, the other three died in their infancy.

My mother is completely illiterate and my father semi-illiterate. My father was a marginal worker in the mines in the Transkei, but he subsequently became an unskilled worker in the building industry.

Life was quite harsh for us and we went through hard times as our mother had to supplement the family budget through subsistence farming. To have enough to eat was a never-ending struggle for my father who was always away working for the white capitalist interests. I had to walk twenty kilometres to school every five days and then walk the same distance back home 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 1960, while I was doing my secondary education, the apartheid regime introduced Basuto education which was designed to indoctrinate black pupils to accept and encourage the superiority of the white over the blacks in all spheres. This stirred up and outraged us and paved the way for my involvement in the struggle.

The arrangement for treason of the ANC leaders in 1956 convinced me to join the ANC.

On power-sharing:

If getting into bed with the government or rubbing shoulders with Roelof Meyer for a few years, is the quickest way to get rid of the government, the ANC should do so.

On the ANC government:

The government must ensure a peaceful climate by acting against right-wing violence. The right wing has all the rights. They can vote. Their violence is aimed at preventing us from being free.

On reconciliation:

There will be no Nuremberg-style trials in a future South Africa. We want reconciliation. South Africa has been bleeding for far too long. We should let bygones be bygones.

On onwering:

The government must ensure a peaceful climate by acting against right-wing violence. The right wing has all the rights. They can vote. Their violence is aimed at preventing us from being free.

On the legitimacy of our struggle by agreeing to sit down with us to discuss how to begin the negotiation process. In the current political situation, the decision by our organisation to suspend armed action is correct and is an important indication of maintaining the momentum of negotiation.

The reason why we have not been heard is because we have not been active enough. This is the reason why we are being persecuted.

On the South African Council of Churches:

The South African Council of Churches is shocked and saddened at the brutal murder of our friend and brother Chris Hani.

We join the many in our nation who pray that his death may hasten the peace process and bring us to a new democratic South Africa for which Chris Hani gave his energy, intellect and sadly his life.

The South African Council of Churches

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Tribute to a leader

Tito Mboweni, who worked closely with slain SACP secretary-general Chris Hani, gives a highly personal tribute to a man who changed his life:

When I heard the news I was convinced that I was somehow dreaming. But I wasn't. It was real. I rushed to his house. There lay one of apartheid's most fierce opponents, a brave cadre of the ANC, commander of uMkhonto weSizwe, political leader and above all a brother and part of the family. I bowed my head, struggling to reconcile myself with the fact that Comrade Chris was no more."

He was one of the Luthuli Detachment commissioners and was active in the 1967 joint MK/Zipra operations in Zimbabwe. He told stories about this campaign as if it was such an easy thing to be involved in.

In 1983, a couple of days after the SADF attacked Matala, I suffered from pneumonia. The doctors prescribed that I stay in bed for four weeks. Comrade Chris came round to visit and check my progress.

I was very touched and could not understand how such a busy underground man could find the time. That began the process through which I came to know a bit about him.

He came to Maputo. Here we actually spent more time discussing politics than we had done in Lesotho. I found that Comrade Chris was highly regarded in Maputo. It was in Maputo that I discovered the other side of him.

Chris, as is well-known, had been so busy that I had had no time to discuss issues at length with him. I suppose we all don't sit down properly and thoroughly discuss issues like we used to. It is pity, though. If I were to sum up my impressions of Comrade Chris, I would say that there are very few ANC leaders who can command the 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 backing and...
Hani in his own words

I was born in a small rural town in the Transvaal called Colmela. This town is almost 300 kilometres 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 their infancy.

My mother is completely literate 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 a mother, I had to supplement the family budget through subsistence farming, had to bring us up with very little assistance from my father. I was always away working for the white capitalist.

On death threats:

I’ve lived with death for most of my life. Nobody wants to die. I want to live in a free South Africa and I’m prepared to lay down my life for it. Part of the most acute suffering of my life has been the loss of MK cadres — whether through their lives or through imprisonment. There are times when I sit down alone to think about some of them and the price they had to pay. They were some of the best comrades I’ve had.

I had to walk twenty kilometres to school every day 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 rejected by my father.

In 1954, while I was doing my secondary education, I was also involved in student politics. I joined the ANC Youth League. I was fifteen at the time. The repressive policies of the white regime, the apartheid regime, had brought about the present crisis of apartheid. In 1967 I fought together with ZAPU forces in Zimbabwe as police commissioners. In 1968, I went back to South Africa to build the underground and I subsequently left for London where I operated under the pseudonym of the ANC leaders in 1956 convinced me to join the ANC.

On power-sharing:

If getting into bed with the government or rubbing shoulders with Roelf Meyer for a few years, is the quickest way to get rid of the government, the ANC would do so.

I went 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 deepened my anti-colonial perspective.

My early Catholicism led to my fascination with Latin 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 understanding of the struggle that was taking place underground inside our country. This four pillar-subsidiary of 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 negotiation process. In the current political situation, the decision by our organisation to suspend armed action is correct and is an important step in maintaining the momentum of negotiation.

This is an autobiographical account written by Chris Hani in February 1991.

The South African Council of Churches

"The Crucified God and the Easter God - Seeing the Light in the Darkness"

The South African Council of Churches is shocked and saddened at the brutal murder of our friend and brother Chris Hani.

We join the many in our nation who pray that his death may hasten the peace process and bring us to a new democratic South Africa, which Chris Hani gave his energy, intellect and sadly his life.
SA's choice: peace or violence

South Africa is at a crossroads between peace and conflict, a top anti-apartheid activist said on Monday in Johannesburg.

"Our country stands at the edge of a cliff," said Reverend Frank Chikane in his keynote address at a three-day conference, entitled "Competing in Democratic Elections".

The conference was convened by Matla Topu and organized with the Centre for Development Studies, the National Democratic Institute and the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD).

Delegates from parliamentarians and extra-parliamentary parties and organizations, trade unions, community and women's bodies heard how national and international speakers impact their experiences in elections.

Some of the international guests were Mr Frank Greer, media adviser for US President Bill Clinton, Ma Joyce-Goad, director of organisation for the Labour Party in the UK, and Prof Mutsu Dube, chairman of the Social Democratic and Labour Party of Northern Ireland.

South African speakers included Chikane of the South African National Congress, Dr Vincent Maphai of the University of the Witwatersrand and Prof Andile Dlamini of the University of Witwatersrand.

Delegates professed 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 internalized this violence to an extent that it is now burning out and being reflected on them by others," Chikane said.

He mentioned Angola as a lesson to show South Africans what the future could hold if they did not begin to develop tolerance now.

The Anglican Diocese of Limbo also showed South Africans the need for a level of human understanding and monitoring of elections that made it possible for any political party to reject the results of a free and fair election.

Professor Willem Kleynas 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."

"If people can't even recruit members, how are elections going to be free and fair? South Africa is not ready yet," he concluded.

Kleynas said with 15 million new "third world" voters more needed 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 party leaders need to change from electoral sincerity to programme-oriented parties.

"Enemies are people who only eliminate or oppress. 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 parties mean," he said, "because they are so ignorant about the various political formations in the country and what they stand for."

"Some of the people considered ignorance as the standard "we need more literacy in the electorate."

Maphai also warned foreign funding could be used to influence elections.

"Where it is given to parties with big constellations but no money, funding can be desirable."

But if funds are 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 tool for foreign funders and used to them to affect democracy in the country."

"It is only if we have a big constituency that foreign funders cannot manipulate it because office bearers must account to millions," he said.

The conference expressed concern over:

- Funding to mount effective election campaigns.
- The lack of free and equal access of all parties to the media.
- Who would draft the new electoral law.
- Who would administer and supervise elections.
- Getting access to farm workers.
- Elections delayed and ceased to exist due to election campaigns.

The strongest concern among delegates, emphasized 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 stage.

"We have been living and working together for the past three days and no-one has been fighting or killing each other like the newspapers say we do," Modise said.

He urged participants to encourage people to co-exist and talk openly and uninhibitedly about their views as delegates had done at the conference.

INTERNATIONAL SPEAKERS said the South African political process was confident voters would 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 agreements reached before any party addressed the media.

The Zambian public is now so used to freedom of political expression that it was not even comfortable to discuss its political affairs.

President Bill Clinton's media adviser, 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 Durban 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 observation of WARC and the OAU are supported by a statement from the International Republican Institute (IRI) which says early results pointed towards a democratic victory for the 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.

Lesotho poll was free and fair

Lesotho's first general elections in 23 years — and the first elections since the former rebel Basotho Congress Party (BCP) won with a convincing majority in March — were conducted.

International observers from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), churches and human rights groups agreed the elections reflected the will of the majority of the 1.8 million people in the small kingdom.

The OAU, through its election observation mission, 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.

The political parties contested the 65 constellations in Lesotho.

The military government of Major Phuthuma Ramonena is expected to hand over power to the BCP, a party which went into elections seen as 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."

"Hartzi Leuenberger of Switzerland, another WARC observer, said the tests were not used because voting was on the "following day and contested."

"The cooperation was magnificent."

The WARC delegation included Elia Tena from South Africa and Douglas Angii, a Canadian. The touchdowns eight polling stations in Mafeteng, Buthe-Buthe, Thaba-Tseka.

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Widening ripples of a murder

By Hussein Solomon

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 perspective of negotiation.

For the three major power groups — the ANC, the government, the business and the liberation movement — Hani’s murder brings home 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 was well for the peace process that all major political parties, from the PAC and the African National Congress to the IFP, were unanimous in condemning the assassination and expressing concern that there were groups in South Africa that wanted to disrupt the 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 wrenched 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 addition 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.

Uncharted militancy on the part of the “Young Lions” within the ANC could result in the alienation of militant youth from the moderate elders of the movement.

This could pave the way for the PAC to make gains in this former ANC stronghold — the youth wing of the PAC, which is receiving an arm’s length, a direct result of the assassination.

Hani’s murder has brought home to the ANC the fragility of the peace process and has underlined the need for tough government and liberation policies to move rapidly towards a peaceful settlement.

The result is the further marginalisation of the right far right, while far left or extreme left may result in the government undertaking drastic action against right-wing extremists as it was the case with the sort problem more seriously than it ever has before.

(Hussein Solomon is a Research Officer for the Centre for Southern African Studies, University of the Western Cape.)

Neither hawk nor dove, just Hani

By Quentin Wilson

A HUGE challenge that faces the ANC-led alliance in the wake of SACP secretary-general 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 constituencies.

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 staunch loyalists and militant members were immune.

In the ANC leadership spread, it was he who held the unquestionable trust among this vast consti-
tuency.

He could not sell them out, nor would he be corrupted by power — for example, his decision to lead the Congress Party instead of establishing himself in the ANC’s national executive committee, meant his salary was halved.

His integrity was 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 negoti-
ations.

Frustration is exploding throughout South Africa’s townships. ANC Western Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni summed up the widespread despondency over the weekend.

“Why are we sacrificing ourselves into the grave,” he said soon after Hani’s assassination.

While united in grief, tensions between the strategic approaches of national and regional leadership could unravel the widespread despondency over the weekend.

National leaders were quick to stress that the tragedy should not affect the talks.

On the other hand, both Yen-

gini and ANC Midlands chair-

person, Mr Harry Gwala, questioned the gains made at the table.

“Political parties are looking 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 PW de Klerk to echo calls for calls — he has not the credibility to do so.

The government will have to respond in a way that reaffirms

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

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 ensure the deaths and the safety of the coming weeks, the task of the ANC leaders is just as great.

Once again, they have to convince their members that negotia-
tions must not endanger violence.

After the Boipatong massacre last June and the clashes of Cod-
ese, the mood in the democratic movement was similar to what it is today — the Oppressed, the hopeless and the youth were all scepti-

cal 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 solution:

“All this talk about going back to the bush and relaunching the armed struggle is quite stupid.

“This is not a time to romanticise about revolution, to get starry-eyed about some kind of glorious revolution.

“The consequences of returning to arms are serious. And if we were to be honest with ourselves, it would not achieve a lasting 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 imme-

diately — to revert back to arms.

“We have the space to manoeuvre the regime into accepting democratic elections which, in turn, sets us free to achieve our goal.

“We have the space to manoeuvre the regime into accepting democratic elections which, in turn, lets us pool all our efforts into achieving that goal.”

But for someone who led MK for eight fighting years, the point carried a legitimacy far beyond its obvious weight.

For those who have been at the forefront of political violence for so long, this message is being given today.

This time through, there is no Hani to help in the delivery.
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 discretion 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 Accord.

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.

Meanwhile, 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 8am from Corlett Drive to the Harrow Road/Houghton oффramps.

Police have devised contingency plans to contain any possible 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 cortège 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 9am.

At about midday the funeral procession is expected to leave the stadium for the Elspark cemetery near the late Mr Hani's Dain's Park, Boksburg home.

The cortège 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 Elspark 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 Western Cape in response to the ANC's decision to march in Johannesburg.

The decision was made after the ANC yesterday criticised the government for failing to discuss the impact of the curfew on the ANC's mass action plans. The ANC said the police were not being given a chance to discuss the impact of the curfew on the ANC's three-day mass action plans.

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ANC will trounce the NP in W Cape

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 Mitchells 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 gevaart” 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 — a process and extremely damaging distortion of the principle of affirmative action.

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 colour 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-maneuvered by the ANC.

Has the NP been out-maneuvered 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 away over this region will burst.
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 Deputy President, insisting that, despite the violence in some places, the ANC had lost control of its 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, Sexwale, he left the country in 1974, at the age of 21, and received military training in the Soviet Union. After returning to the country in "the last week of 1985", 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. 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 naive 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 reargued. 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 see us as weak, 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."

Tokyo Sexwale: The ANC's PWV head believes in action. "We are a militant organisation. We are not a docile, feeble, pink-liberal organisation."

TOKYO SEXWALE: THE ANC'S PWV HEAD BELIEVES IN ACTION. "WE ARE A MILITANT ORGANISATION. WE ARE NOT A DOCILE, FEEBLE, PINK-LIBERAL ORGANISATION."
men fire

AK-47

at 'doves'

Elphin 18/1-73

Moses MAMALI

This was pretty much the case for trigger-happy people's militia in the Vaud, on Wednesday. Armed youths, visibly disappointed at vertexing to fitting shots into the air, booted to fight, resolved to firing shots into the air, fitting shots into the air, and shooting around the place. The police monitoring forces were in a state of total inability to do anything effective. The youths were found to have been firing shots into the air, not hitting anything. The police responded by firing shots into the air, but not hitting anything. The police were then surrounded by a throng of people who were not interested in the police trying to do their job of monitoring the gathering. The police were then surrounded by a throng of people who were not interested in the police trying to do their job of monitoring the gathering. The police were then surrounded by a throng of people who were not interested in the police trying to do their job of monitoring the gathering. The police were then surrounded by a throng of people who were not interested in the police trying to do their job of monitoring the gathering.
‘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 commissioner of police in Soweto Col Tienie Halgren about the alleged threats. Mandela is taking the threats seriously.

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).

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 Halgren 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.
Gold Fury: ANC Nationalists Marching in the Nick of Time, Moments Before This Week.

Young Blood!

people will decide on 18th.

Fiery Chairman's speech.

By Fred Khumalo
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 Johannesburg called by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, Cosatu’s Jay Naidoo said: “Employers who victimise workers will immediately be targeted.”
By ELIAS MALILEKE

HUNDREDS of whites joined blacks in Pretoria on Wednesday and stayed away from work to attend memorial services in honour of assassinated PAC secretary-general Chris Hani.

The mass stayaway by thousands of blacks turned Pretoria and its surrounding areas into a virtual ghost town.

More than 100,000 people, including whites, attended memorial services in Monument, 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 Albert's Cathedral in Pretoria and at the Seva Samaj Auditorium in Laudium.

Apart from barricades that were erected in towns and cities in the wake of the Hani killing, the burning of two cars in Pretoria, police said no further serious incidents.

Police turned out in force, but kept a low profile throughout the day.

The stayaway in Pretoria also saw many firms 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 away from work.
- Members of the PAC and Aazp participated for the first time in rallies under the banners of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance in all regions of Pretoria.
- Soweto police turned a blind eye to marches.
- 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, raised 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 Stadium to hear ANC president Nelson Mandela and PAC speakers condemn the killing and make impressive pleas for peace.

ANC NEC member Mac Maharaj addressed the crowd.

Pretoria whites join blacks at memorial services for Chris Hani.

About 10,000 people in Atteridgeville; 12,000 people gathered in Soshanguve and 3,000 marched in Hammanskraal.

Police spokesman I.E. 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 Pretoria Hospital in a serious condition and nine others sustained gunshot wounds after police opened fire on a crowd.

Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramokgopa was apparently not in the Pretoria crowd.

A memorial motorbike in Pretoria's city centre burns furiously in the road while protesters casually mill about — oblivious to the smoking object of mass outrage.
HAMBA KAHLE, QHAWE

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 PWP complex are expected to come from the country's Cape Town and Transvaal, where the “African 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, Bellfort, East and Worcester.

Traffic department officials said they expected at least three hundred buses to leave from the FNB stadium to travel to the Elspark Cemetery in
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 Organization of African Unity are likely to attend.

The highest number of mourners outside the PWV community are expected to come from the eastern Cape and Transvaal. In fact, the ANC president Nelson Mandela 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, Pretoria, and Durban to the FNB stadium to attend the Elspark Cemetery in Germiston.

ANC president Nelson Mandela will deliver the main address. The expected tens of thousands of people who are expected to attend the service have been asked to observe a minute's silence in memory of the slain leader.

ANC Youth League president Madiba, who is scheduled to be the first speaker, is likely to depart from his traditional address.

Other speakers include SACP chairman Joe Slovo, ANC Women's League president Ruth Mompati, and Contra president John Gomana.

Mourners were seen at the funeral service of SACP chief Thabo Kganyago. The service was held at the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg.

ANC members from the three regional offices were expected to attend the service. The Union of Independent Workers' Congress also sent its delegation.

ANC representatives from the region are expected to travel to Johannesburg to attend the funeral.

The ANC is expected to deploy around 2,000 marshall. Some of the mourners were seen arriving by train and bus.

Northern Nia ANC media officer Zinhle Mkhize said thousands of people from the region would also travel to Johannesburg.

To avoid chaos, most mourners will be allowed into the cemetery.
HE 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 Walus know it? I doubt it.

When the man pulled the trigger - together with those who may have assisted him - it seems it 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 rooigevaar 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.

It was inconceivable until this week that Mandela could be booted 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, Ohawe". Your gallant struggle was not in vain.
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 swelled to slightly over 40,000. The last count was made in December 1992.

No doubt this phenomenal growth had something to do with the personality 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, 33 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 tradition 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 denounced 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, Siphiwe 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 Gumede 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 reacted to 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.
Hani was tipped as next ANC president

By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

SLAIN SACP secretary-general Chris Hani may have been the next ANC president after Nelson Mandela.

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.
Tokyo Sexwale: A leader reluctant to walk in his hero's footsteps

In the region, saying, in the region, saying, in the region, saying, in the region, saying, in the region, saying, "ANC speakers were boring their audiences with long-winded speeches".

He also warned that the movement was alienating itself from its constituency's bread and butter issues: "The ANC has become a negotiations department of a struggle which concerns itself mainly, or only, with issues pertaining to the demand for an interim government, the constituent assembly and elections."

Now he says: "It's not as simple as that. The fact is, the constituency is important. It is important for the ANC to get (President FW) de Klerk to commit himself to moving fast to achieve that.

"Over Chris' dead body, we must get something. If we can't get joint control of the security forces, we will set up the Transitional Executive and the constituent assembly and elections.

"Sexwale was at the airport to meet him. 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 his command and the fact that, at home, he was concerned less with militarisation than with squatter camps, the unemployed and the poor."

"It was certainly not a flattering relationship. The two sometimes argued vigorously. After the Bishopu massacre, 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 on one occasion, five minutes later you were laughing together."

They debated every-thing, 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

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 R40 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 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 in 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 dialogue 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 grootskapi, he said. “Our constitution should begin with the ground, the earth.”

“It should say that the greatest and most important and binding commitment of every citizen of the future is to do all it can to preserve the health of the 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.

Dr Sam Motsuenyane, chairman of the commission, said that he, a Canadian associate justice, Margaret Burnham, and Zimbabwean David Zambiya 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 Motsuenyane has appealed to those who wish to give evidence to visit the offices, phone 832-1182 or fax 832-1236.
EDITH BULBRING says that after the slaying of Communist Party leader Chris Hani, 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, breaking a couple of braces as it crashed down.

A power mower in the middle of an excited crowd assisted the comrades in bending the remaining half由此

The windows of the car, already broken, had been shattered. The crowd roared with delight as they tore open the car door and searched behind the grating, looking behind seats.

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 SAPC chief Chris Hani's death.

Since the assassination of Chris Hani last Saturday morning, the primary concern of the majority of political groupings was the impact his death would 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 pragmatist and smash it to pulp—a thought which Mr Hani himself probably had in mind when he backed the talks.

The possibility that the talks might stumble to a halt in protest was dispelled by ANC president Nelson Mandela when he tried to allay the panic. But all were concerned that the talks might be broken off, and that any reconvening of talks would render them 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 no relief. Not only did it have the legitimacy nor the ability to govern the country alone, but it alone dealt with this crisis.

Past the grave, a test for the living.

It was clear to President de Klerk that his pleas for a sense of sacrifice among the black community. He had made them repeatedly.

Declaring a day of mourning — the South African thing — he had called on his people to dissemble in face of such a crisis. But to that end, he had condemned with contempt.

And in the face of that, the angry street crowds were the structural problem of the political circumstances would merely have further mobilized, leaving those seeking reconciliation for Mr Hani's killing and jeopardized talks.

The president of the country, faced with a national crisis, was powerless to do anything at all. This, because the political background and hand of responsibility for tempering the anger of the vast majority of people in South Africa resides with the ANC.

The ANC leadership, in turn, could not allow the traditional death of Mr Hani to destroy the progressive political set-up. First was the fact that, with months of negotiations, the parties to the talks approximated an appointment of a transitional executive council — just six weeks away.

Their task was to persuade their constituency to act peaceably 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 to 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 assassination 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 was one of the ANC’s success stories. It was an example of how it should have been done 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 5000 people who turned out. Police cordoned off the square, ANC marshals were put on alert and peace monitors, with their bright identification arm-bands, 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 5000 strong, was addressed by church leaders and then by the dynamic PWV region leader, Tokyo Sexwane. Mr Sexwane harmonized 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-committee on defense 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 event, 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 moved down on protesters outside Soweto’s Protea Hotel, stuck to restraint — the government’s contribution to dealing with the crisis.

But, appreciating the fear and confusion of their electorate, the next day the government announced that it would impose new laws 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 party and Order Minister Tertius Delport stressed in television reports Wednesday, peace depended on the cooperation of the other parties.

For the government and the ANC, the outstanding hurdle is the day of mourning tomorrow and the funeral on Sunday for Mr Hani (although threatened mass action, if it materialises, constitutes precedent for even more extreme left). Right now, there is no time to worry about the success stories — the peace talks 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, been the lifeblood of the government and the ANC. The struggle had been prolonged with extreme left and right. This has been the one form of consuming process which has involved much petty squabbling.

The murder of Mr Hani and the killings of whites in the Vaal Triangle in the past two weeks has added to the major parties that time is running out.

They might have succeeded in drawing the Conservative Party on the right and the PAC on the left, but both the Elternkopp killings and the slaying of Mr Hani are proof that the government can 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 the need of gambol and, if necessary, steamrolling through agreements towards peace and security.

It is not the most desirable course, but in the wake of the Vaal Triangle killings, the only solution is to reach a deal and get going. May God help them both in their task.
On Thursday Tokyo Sexwale closed Chris Hani's coffin: "He was cold and had a sharp smile, as if to say, 'Why did they do this?'"

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 Gungubele, 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: "If 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 analyse the people, implored a point he had, would sit back and let others argue the tactics, for example, to get there."

Both campaigned against apartheid and were, to a certain extent, involved in the politics of the ANC. Mr Hani was a member of the ANC and Inkatha for not doing more to stop violence and "gogs must be buried."

At last year's PWV annual general meeting, Mr Sexwale criticised poor administration in the region, saying, among other things, that "ANC speakers were boring and not to the point; national unity and to move fast to achieve that." He also warned that the movement was alienating itself from its constituency's bread and butter issues: "The ANC has become a battle department of a struggle which concerns itself mainly, or only, with issues pertaining to the demand for an interim government, the constituent assembly and elections."

Now he says: "It's not negotiations as usual — the strategic demand for negotiations is correct, but joint control becomes more important now. It is important to get (President FW) de Klerk to commit himself to an interim government of national unity and to move fast to achieve that."

"Over Chris' dead body, we must get something. If we can't get joint control of the security forces now and set up the Transitional Executive Committee and the electoral commission, we have failed this man."

The two tracked each other's careers for years. Mr Sexwale rose quickly in the ranks of MK after he left the country in 1974, he never met Mr Hani in exile. In 1976, Mr Sexwale was arrested on a mission inside the country and sentenced to 18 years in jail.

He was granted indemnity and released following the Groote Schuur Minute in June 1990. When Mr Hani came home, Mr Sexwale was at the airport to meet him.

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. He admired his command and the fact that, at home, he was concerned less with militarisation than with squatter camps, the unemployed and the poor."

It was certainly not a fawning relationship. The 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 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 is where 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 live that in the history of a people there comes a time when the music stays the same but the tempo changes. Our approach to dealing with negotiations must remain the same, but we must redesign our tactics."

"De Klerk has failed a man (Nelson Mandela) who called him a man of integrity."
Where, at this time of crisis, are our leaders?

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. Julius Malema'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 the explosive 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 Ramaphosa, 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 the crowds.

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 mulling the situation for political gain.

These radical forces, allied with the criminal underworld (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 pandem to right-wing prejudice. The Acting Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Tertius Delport, chose to bluster, issuing empty threats, and the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kobie Coetsee, resorted to a cheap-shotting 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.

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

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 16.5% of the 1,500 people polled would vote for the NP, while a mere 1.9% would support 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 of the new look NP and the DP, which expect to receive 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.

This could mean that after the assassination of SACP secretary general Chris Hani, the swing voters may have favoured the ANC, but Wednesday's incident of looting would have pushed them to the NP.

On the question of South Africa having a black president, 37% favoured the idea, while 33% 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 in 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 for 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 a 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 pressed group interests over national.
Filling the gaps with wild rhetoric

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.

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 Twisting 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 hailed square.

Chris Hani, the rhetoric lacked fizz. Only Ronnie Kasrils, his powerful voice booming through a bullhorn, ignited a spark.

With an ANC海滩ie like a moose round his neck, he had the crowd revelling in his slogans, some a city block long. Sample: "Viva the memory of our dead man, Chris Hani, the son of the soil, viva!"

And when he contemptuously 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, 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 puppet, away".

From the start, down empty and cavernous streets, there were marshalling problems, wrong turnings being made and marchers bursting from the security cordon and into side roads.

But without SACP leader
Winnie tells youth to take over

By AYESHA ISMAIL

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, spokesman 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 Roelof 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 PW 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

Laurens van der Post, a world-renowned philosopher, said recently that the political changes started there, world-renowned author of "The Innermost House," said in Cape Town this week that the optimism among South Africans three years ago when the political changes started was profound. He said, "We are only discovering today the extent of corruption that it caused in the Afrikaner soul."

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 "grootgeet," he said. "Our constitution should begin with the ground, 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.
Chris Hani's assassination deals body-blow to ANC

By NAZEM HOWA
This past 10 days have been the worst time for ANC/ANC Alliance in a long time. Not only did the organization lose one of its leaders, but also many ANC leaders have been killed, including Thabo Nhlophe, an ANC member who had been a victim of the violence in Natal. The reaction of the crowd was intense and angry, with some people setting fires on the streets. The police opened fire on the crowd, and Hani was shot dead by a police officer.

Van Eck slams presence of 'notorious' cop at protest

By DIANA STREAK
Van Eck slammed the presence of a 'notorious' cop at the protest. The cop was accused of using excessive force and causing damage to property. Van Eck said that the cop should have been removed from the scene.

OLD ADVERSARIES...Colonel Dolf Odendal and ANC MP Van Eck in an angry exchange over police action on Wednesday.
Picture: CLINTON ASARY
Booting

On Wednesday, the deep anarchy among the young was highlighted by the looting of Nelson Mandela at the Johannesburg memorial service when members of the ANC invaded to protest at the murdered ANC member. Mandela had been earlier accused of involvement in the murder of the ANC politician.

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. M. K. A. N. accused outside of national law? 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 they had evidence that the alleged gunman acted alone, but did not have enough evidence on Sunday to charge him? The ANC, too, have a role to play.

Another question that begs asking is why did the government decide to release the 3 suspects? And what is the government's policy on internment or detention? Are there any more cases of other internment or detention? Are there any more cases of internment or detention?

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 Mcclellan reports that a lady in high heels and handbags, simply unaware of the line of riot police, walked down the street. Another lady, dressed in a red dress, seemed blissfully unaware of the tension in the air. A man in a white shirt and tie was seen talking to a police officer on the sidewalk.

An American dressed in a black jacket and tie seemed to be oblivious to the commotion around him. As he walked through the crowd, he asked, "Do you come here often?"

While Eve Vosloo was watching a stream of people moving up Adderley Street and the Mall towards the cathedral, two men, each carrying a perfectly groomed poodle, sat upon church steps. They seemed to be enjoying the festive atmosphere, seemingly oblivious to the chaos unfolding around them.

A priest tries to stop a group of youths from looting

The Western Cape government claimed that the ANC's actions were to protect the ANC's reputation. The ANC was accused of involving in the murder of an ANC member. The ANC's actions were highlighted by the looting of Nelson Mandela. The ANC's handling of the murder investigation was questioned, with some suggesting that the slow pace to elections needed to be considered. The government decided to release the 3 suspects, and there was a question about the government's policy on internment or detention. Some citizens seemed oblivious of the chaos unfolding around them.
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, attended the funeral. Mr Hani was killed inustry at the FNB Stadium.

Today's funeral also marks the beginning of the six-week campaign of mass action called by the ANC-SACP-Coona alliance.

Two of Johannesburg's major highways will be sealed off for the funeral, which will be broadcast on CCTV.

In Cape Town, a rally will be held at a Fish Hoek sportsfield at 3pm. It will be addressed by PF Mr Jannie Mostert.

Other activities in Cape Town include the formation of a human chain along Liesbeek Parkway and a black 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 provincial secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said 10 monitors would be deployed at transport points to ensure that people were not intimidated.

In Cape Town, business and professional organisations have called on their members and other workers 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 funeral of the late Mr Hani, who was a former president of the Black Consciousness Movement, is expected to be attended by thousands of mourners.

Other dignitaries present included Transkei military leader Major-General Sane Holomisa, ANC Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala and former Zambian presidential candidate Mr Kenneth Kaunda.

The Mthwakazi said he was confident that the funeral would be peaceful and that the crowd would not cause any trouble.

Police presence at the stadium was low-key with a few vehicles patrolling the perimeter. A police helicopter occasionally circled over the stadium.

OWN Correspondent, Staff Reporter and Sapa

DAUGHTER'S VIGIL... Nomakhwezi 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 Sane Holomisa and former president of Zambia Dr Kenneth Kaunda, gathered yesterday for an all-night vigil.
IFP rejects call for an immediate elections

By Kenosi Modisane

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

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.

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

Storl 4/4/93
Echo of gunfire at night vigil

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’s 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 will 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."
Hani's last journey

Staff Reporters

Tens of thousands of people filled past the body of slain SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani as he lay in state near Soweto yesterday while the Witvaal Peace Secretariat worked 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.

But peacekeepers - estimated by sources 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...
Peacekeepers prepare for final journey

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 spokesperson Colonel Dave Bruce said the procession was likely to be emotionally charged, "no 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 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 missing 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, report
Power tussle behind killing

Winnie

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.
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.
Big farewell for Hani

Dignitaries pay last respects at vigil:

By Lulama Luti and Thembakole Molele

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 cortège 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 stadium 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.
60 000 join hands at stadium

By Lulama Luti and Thembeka Molele

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 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 Khuzo (15) who flanked their youngest sister Lindiwe (8). They all looked calm.

Attention also focused on a very collected Limpopo 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.
LP to fly ANC flag during polls

Bilateral talks lead to agreement on election strategy.

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 Hendriekse, 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 Lusaka there was a proposal from the ANC that we enter the election under their colours.” Mr Hendriekse 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 former general secretary of the SACP.

(Left) 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.

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 Mororo Nkomo
Thousands pay their respects
Work for peace ‘to honour Hani’

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.
Thousands gather to mourn Hani

SA braced for protest campaign

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 service, millions more are expected to watch its broadcast on CVC-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, Lindiwe, and their children.

Family members fought back their tears as the coffin was opened for viewing and a massive contingency 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’s military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and ANC Natal Midlands firebrand Harry Gwala.

While the crowd ululated, sang songs, toyi-toyied in the stands and chanted slogans throughout the day, the biggest applause was saved for ANC president Nelson Mandela, who arrived in a motor 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 police told Sapa that a 24-hour operations centre co-ordinating the monitoring of protests and demonstrations related to the funeral.

Monitors are expecting about 200,000 people to attend the ceremony 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 police 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

situation, but if they failed, international police monitors would intervene. Police would act as a last resort.

Hundeds of traffic officers from Johannesburg, Bloemfontein and Germiston will monitor the cortège of mourners from the stadium to the ground.

The mourners, using 500 buses and a convoy of private cars, will travel on the M1 north between Nasrec and town, and the M3 east between town and Bloemfontein. Both highways will be sealed off to all other traffic from 1pm.

Johannesburg traffic chief Mike Davis said police traffic measures were decided on because of concerns for the safety of the mourners and in the interests of maintaining traffic disruption.

The Johannesburg traffic department would be responsible for the procession from Nasrec to the Goldenlaws Interchange on the M2 east, where its Germiston and Bloemfontein counterparts would take over, he said.

Germiston traffic chief Tolkele Sibanyoni said an operation involving about 150 traffic officers would then escort the cortège 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 and fire chief Graber, 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
Hani has left a yawning gap

**EASY GOING** A man of rare quality, he struck a chord with people in all walks of life:

He was the first man across the Zambezi when MK joined the fighters of Zup in the Wankle 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.

**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 to face the MK members who questioned his position in a revolutionary struggle as not out of place provided it was guided by the compass of reason.

**Balding!**

Hair Loss = Endrulf = Dry Hair = Ettles & Damage Hair

**ACCESSIBLE TO ALL**

He was the first man across the Zambezi when MK joined the fighters of Zup in the Wankle 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.
This is 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:

Chris Hani

It is imperative that we learn from our weaknesses, and that we take steps to correct undisciplined elements.

We also need to think creatively about the future of SUDUs. We have never seen SUDUs as private armies for the ANC and its allies, but have thought of them as an important element of the liberation struggle. We now need to think how we can use the SUDUs in a more effective way.

Peace structures

We need to bring the forces of peace and development into the fold of the movement. We need to rebuild and restructure peace structures within the ANC and its allies.

In conclusion, we must remember that the struggle for peace and development is a continuous process. We must constantly strive to improve our structures and methods in order to achieve our goals.
Celebrities drive crowds wild

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 midnight, 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 Matshane-Metsing and Miss Thelji Mntso 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 kalalo Mkhonto”.

The irony was apparent when Mr Carl Niehaus, who is an Afrikaner, sang “Thina aboMkhonto sizimisele ukubulala amabhuma” (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 Bhuda, 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 Mhali 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, Limpopo, with Mrs Adelaide Tambo at her side, arrived at the FNB Stadium where her husband was lying in state yesterday.

TEARS FOR CHRIS

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

Chris Hani was a radical. There are those who have come to the view that radicalism is 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 root of apartheid oppression and to be unashamedly committed to its elimination. Chris’s commitment to democracy was neither formal nor abstract. He fought for democracy—first with the people of each and every colour of his. He wanted the people to be masters 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 hotel 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 an 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 that 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 the country. He understood that the democracy that we strive for, that democracy that our children will inherit, is dependent on the quality of our young people. He sought to harness it towards constructive tasks. That is why he constantly sought ways to galvanise the youth of today to organise themselves as forever for peace and reconstruction.

Chris was a leading figure in the building of Umkhonto we Sizwe, but his commitment to MK was rooted in his politics. That is why he understood the need to use the right weapons for the right moment of time.

Without wavering in his commitment to MK, he was able to see and communicate the changing character of the political terrain.

Comrade Chris was always clear about the need for peace. Throughout his life, whether as a MK combatant, in the offices of the SACP or as political office bearer, he was a constant voice in the pursuit of peace.

In keeping with this understanding, he was committed to the organisation, he was ready to serve wherever the organisation directed him and in whatever capacity.

Comrade Chris was himself a brave soldier. He fought in the Witsit Campaign. He returned to the country in 1974 at great risk to himself. This was a crucial step in the rebuilding of the liberation forces 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.

FUNDAL PROGRAMME

9 am: Cultural tributes
9.30 am: Drill by cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC’s armed wing
10 am: Singing of the national anthem, Nkosi Sikelela Afrika, and the Communist anthem, the Internationale
Opening prayer
Messages of support: Baleka Ng解决问题 nightlife and Nonleko Lunga of the SACP
Speakers: Mr Peter Mokaba, president of the ANC Youth League
Mrs Ruth Mompali, president of the ANC Women’s League
Mr John Gonwane, 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 Archdiocese of Cape Town Desmond Tutu
Closing prayer
Internationale and National Anthems
Coronation leaves for burial service at Elspark Cemetery, Boksburg
2 pm: The burial service at the cemetery is limited to family members only
A daughter mourns

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 Limpopo Hani, and their grandparents.

They had supported each other as they followed the casket into the FNB Stadium, standing quietly beside 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

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 that 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 multi-party 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 pace 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 injuring two others. The man was arrested soon afterwards.

ANC PWV region deputy chairmain 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 Nogbeni said the 53-year-old suspect was still being questioned. Witwatersrand police spokesman Capt Wikus Weber said he was being held under Section 39 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 Mokete'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.
Jittery Germiston prepares for burial

Germiston residents were yesterday battening 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 outskirt of Dawn Park, the suburb in which Hani lived, yesterday evening. Troop carriers, jeeps and cassettes were spotted about 5km 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 AHW leader Eugene Terre Blanche said yesterday he had given orders to the two AHW commandos in Johannesburg, which he claimed to be 20,000 strong, to line the route from the FNB Stadium to Germiston.

The men would 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 be in a cattle yard."

The cemetery is split into several sections: Greek, Catholic, Dutch Reformed. The plot chosen for Hani is away from the 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."

Boerestaart Party leader Robert van Toonder 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 Stromdom said his organisation would definitely take certain actions, but would not give further details.

The CP and right-wing organisation Volksmobilisatie have offered to help the SAP protect the people living around the cemetery. The SAP declined the offers.

Hani refused police protection — Kriel

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel last night hit out at the ANC 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.

"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.
Negotiations are the Lifeline

Patrick Lawrence assesses the political situation after the murder of Chris Hani.
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. Peaceful rail links between Pretoria and Johannesburg were severed and anti-communist demonstrations were reported at least nine people being killed and dozens injured in sporadic incidents of violence.

While the enormous crowd of mourners at the funeral was not the largest in the country's history, Pretoria was tense. Pretoria-De Doorns is a hotbed of violence between police and protesters. The police fired on the crowd with rubber bullets but were restrained by a hail of stones.

A large crowd of mourners and right-wing supporters were overpowered and killed in violent clashes. A man was shot in the head and another in the chest.

The ANC's top brass, including Mr. Mandela and deputy President Thabo Mbeki, arrived by helicopter and a large crowd gathered around the funeral site.

The funeral was a massive event with many important dignitaries in attendance. President Thabo Mbeki spoke about the violence and said he would not comment further.

The coffin was carried by Sikh and Indian funeral guards and covered with the ANC flag.

Mourners continued to arrive throughout the day. The funeral was a day of national mourning.

Stayway

At least one ANC official was injured in clashes with police. The ANC has announced that it will not comment on the events.

The police have arrested more than 100 people, including members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Democratic Alliance (DA). The ANC has called for calm and urged its members to stay away from the funeral.

The funeral was held in the Soweto township of Johannesburg. The casket was placed on the back of a truck and taken to the nearby stadium for the service.

Funeral was not spoiled

The funeral was not spoiled and the ANC said it would go on with its plans. The coffin was carried through the crowd to the waiting hearse.

The funeral was attended by thousands of people, including President Thabo Mbeki and ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa.

The funeral was a significant event in South African politics, with the ANC and other political parties expressing their views.

The funeral was also attended by the South African police, who promised to maintain law and order.

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The funeral was also attended by the South African police, who promised to maintain law and order.
Funeral was not snubbed

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 Tuyana 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 MPs joined the DP MP's in the walk-out.
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 re-
counts the sometimes
poulignant, sometimes
violent proceedings.

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. 70 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 hon-
our behind the coffin. The girls
are smartly dressed and their
faces composed. Immediately
behind them is their mother,
Limpopo, and their grandpar-
tents.
The silence in the stadium is
unbearable.
1.25 pm: The family files past
the open coffin and all except
18-year-old Nomakhwezi sit
down. The young girl who saw
her father shot dead outside
their Boxburg home last week-
end stands at the foot of the
burnished coffin while the lead-
ers and churchmen pay their
last respects.
She leans wearily on the cof-
fain and — with huge eyes —
acknowledges the gentle touch of
Cyril Ramaphosa.
2 pm: "Hambo Kahlale Ubhonz-
ito" echoes around the stadium
as MK combatants take their
turn in the file-past. Several
wipe their eyes or sob open.
The composer of Nomakhi-
wezi, 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 immedi-
ate family follows. The rest of
the family are in two minivans.
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 literal-
ly rocking the stadium in its en-
thusiasm. I am alarmed to note
bits of plaster coming off the
walls of the Argus suite. The
built-in cupboards are quiver-
ing. 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 vibra-
tions.
3.30 am: I finally drift off to
an uneventful sleep to the sound
of gunshots ringing round the sta-
dium in response to another bel-
lowed 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 scat-
tered 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 moni-
tors. I then move to another
battle scene at the entrance to
Natsel where two young teen-
agers attack a building with a
massive sledgehammer. Others
pelt police with bricks and pet-
rol 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 sta-
dium.

On my way back, a group of
youths in PAC T-shirts con-
fronts me. "Hey, Settler," they
yell, "We've got your bullet
here!" I decide it is wise not to
reply and try to watch the battle
from a ramp leading up
to the stadium.

Several international diplo-
 mats are ushered past me. Tak-
ing 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
unreal. Crowds pound up the
hill at Natsel and across the
Soweto Highway to Sharaworld,
only to be driven back by po-
lice. 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 our car,
I no longer find the innovative
mode of transport so amusing.
An ‘army for democracy’

The funeral service for slain revolutionary leader Chris Hani began with a race and a procession of mourners and a crowd that had swelled to at least 100,000 people by the time the procession reached the stadium.

Mourners packed the stadium, which was overflowing with people, a scene that reflected the mood of the country.

The crowd was led by a procession of 100 water bottles, each containing a flower, which was led by the body of Chris Hani, draped in the South African flag.

On the perimeter of the stadium, a large crowd of mourners gathered, with many of them holding candles and signs.

The funeral service was a mix of speeches and music, with many of the speakers paying tribute to Chris Hani and his contributions to the struggle for freedom.

He said: “Chris Hani was a true leader who dedicated his life to the struggle for freedom and democracy. He was a man of great courage and determination, who never gave up in the face of adversity.”

The speeches were followed by a procession of water bottles, which were led by the body of Chris Hani, draped in the South African flag.

The procession was accompanied by the national anthem, which was played on the stadium loudspeakers.

A large crowd of mourners gathered outside the stadium, many of them holding candles and signs.

The atmosphere was one of sadness and loss, as people came together to pay their respects to Chris Hani.

The funeral service was a moment of national unity, as people from all walks of life came together to mourn the loss of Chris Hani.

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The funeral service was a moment of national unity, as people from all walks of life came together to mourn the loss of Chris Hani.

The crowd was led by a procession of water bottles, each containing a flower, which was led by the body of Chris Hani, draped in the South African flag.

The procession was accompanied by the national anthem, which was played on the stadium loudspeakers.

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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

The Star Tuesday, July 20, 1993

HANK FUNKHAUSER

Hank Funkhauser is the editorial cartoonist for The Star. His work has appeared in many newspapers and magazines, including The New York Times, The Washington Post, and The Chicago Tribune. His cartoons have earned him several awards, including the Pulitzer Prize for Editorial Cartooning. Funkhauser is a graduate of the University of Michigan and has been a cartoonist for The Star since 1988.
White doves for a former guerilla

THE YOUNG white woman asked incredulously: "Are you going to watch the little devils?" Her mother intoned a prayer to protect us.

"We interrupted their stroll yesterday in Elspark, Germiston, to ask for directions to South Park cemetery, where murdered com- munist 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 groaning 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 suddenly 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 as 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 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 red dish 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 proclaiming 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 10 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 African 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. These 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 shanty towns — 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 in 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 symbolisms were apposite. It evoked memories of two aspects of Hani’s life: the guerilla who fought against apartheid and, later, the soldier of peace.
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. (iiA)

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 Gomomo, SACP chairman Joe Slovo and ANC president Nelson Mandela. Gomomo 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, Gomomo said.
Mandela greeted with stomping cheers

By Peter Weilman

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 Gumede 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 toy-toy.
HANI FUNERAL

Chris Hani was a soldier who embraced peace and lost his life for his country.

Sowetan 20/4/93

Pacifism

They talk of peace as if it is a natural phenomenon. But peace is a generation of millions, who have sacrificed their lives in the struggle, which is the fruit of the work of the African National Congress. Peace is ours, and we will fight for it with all our might.

We want a world of peace, where the rights of all people are respected and protected. Where there is no discrimination based on race, creed, or color. Where every human being is valued and treated with dignity.

Black lives are cheap. Black lives matter. We will not tolerate violence against anyone, regardless of their background. We stand for justice and equality.

Bully boy tactics

It is not just the government and its supporters who are responsible for violence. We must hold all parties accountable for their actions.

We demand an end to the violence and a commitment to peace. We will not accept anything less.

In our heart, as in the heart of all our people, you are irreplaceable.

We mourn with the families of all those who have lost their lives in this senseless violence. We stand in solidarity with those who are suffering.

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.

Amandla!

Nelson Mandela paid tribute to Chris Hani.
Hani: Callers slam looting, violence

By Lulama Luthi

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 PW 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 Sipho Maphanga 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.

HANI: “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

“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

“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

with Tim Modise
Glowing tributes to Hani

By Esther Wang, Political Correspondent

Moving tributes were paid to the ANC general-secretary, Chris Hani, by friends and colleagues yesterday at one of the largest funerals in South Africa's history.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said, "Chris Hani was one of the greatest revolutionaries this country has ever known.

ANC secretary general UIT dealt with in his contribution to free our people from bondage. He was a man of vision and strategy, with a clear understanding of the needs of the people.

He was taken from us, as he was a man of the people, of the land, of the people's struggle.

Mandela also added, "Chris Hani's passion for justice, for fighting the causes that plague the rural poor, was central to his commitment to free our people from bondage. He was a man of vision and strategy, with a clear understanding of the needs of the people."

By the end of his address, Mandela said, "I would also like to address a final word to Chris himself — you are missed by all.

We worked together in the national executive committee of the ANC.

We had numerous debates and discussions about the future of the country. You were always clear and consistent in your views.

Your commitment to peace and unity was a source of inspiration to us all.

See you soon, Chris."

The funeral was held at the FNB Stadium yesterday. A number of national and international dignitaries were in attendance.

According to reports, thousands of people attended the funeral, making it one of the largest ever in South Africa.

The funeral was a somber occasion, with many remembering Hani's contributions to the struggle against apartheid.

By Sapa-AFP

Vandalism in Volksrust

A man was killed, several injured and homes were burnt in Volksrust, a town near Pretoria, on Monday.

The 35-year-old victim, who was a member of the Volksrust Progressive Union, was shot dead by unknown assailants.

Witnesses said the attacker was a man wearing a black shirt and pants.

According to police, the incident occurred at a house on the outskirts of Volksrust.

No arrests have been made and investigations are ongoing.

By Sapa

Aussie held in Harare raid

An Australian tourist was arrested when law enforcement officials raided a hotel room and seized cocaine, police said yesterday.

Kevin Howard Brown, 30, of Sydney, has been charged with drug smuggling after he was arrested in September when he arrived in Harare from a flight to Johannesburg.

By Sapa-AFP

'Showbiz' replaces Strydom

A television show featuring a female actor, Barbara Strydom, broadcast from M-Net's 90th birthday programme at 8.30 pm tomorrow, has been dropped because of the sensitive nature, M-Net said yesterday.

The programme was scheduled to feature interviews with well-known celebrities and was part of M-Net's celebrations to mark its 90th birthday.

By Sapa-AFP

Killing: four plead not guilty

Four men appeared briefly in the Meyerton Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of murder.

The men were arrested last month in connection with an attack in Meyerton in which three people died and two were wounded.

Three of the accused, 18-year-old Maswane Makhosana (18), 21-year-old Samson Sithole (18) and 20-year-old Sipho Mkhize (18), are facing three charges of murder and one of attempted murder.

The accused pleaded not guilty to all charges.

The case was postponed to April 27 for further investigation. The defence will challenge the charges.
Glowing tributes to Hani

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

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."

Sabelele, 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 Sabelele. 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. Faced 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 person, 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 comrade."

"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. You ready smile and warm friendship was a source of strength and companionship."

"You lived in my home, and I loved you like the true you were."

"In our heart, as in the heart of all our people, you are irreplaceable."

"We have been struck down by wounds so deep 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 for will dawn. We all..."
Close to the FNB Stadium yesterday. A number of homes of stadium employees were gutted when mobs rampaged through the area.

Picture: Stephen Davies, from the Radio 702 traffic helicopter.

**Star 201493**

**Tributes to Hani**

He may be free.

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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 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."

"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 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."
Gutted... pall of smoke rise from houses and trees close to the FNB Stadium yesterday. A number of homes of stadium embl during the funeral of Chris Hani.

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"We have been struck down by the wounds of death."

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Picture: Stephen Dlamini, from the Radio 702 traffic helicopter

**Tributes to Hani**

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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 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 look "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.
Vandalism in Volksrust

A man was killed, several people injured and homes were burnt in Vulkurst township near Volksrust yesterday. The SAP's General Chris Smith said petrol bombs were thrown at a police station, and two people were injured when they arrived in Volksrust on a flight from Pretoria. - Sapa.

Aussie held in Harare raid

An Australian tourist was arrested when his car was searched for drugs, and a man who had been in custody since his arrest on April 11 after drug squad officials received a tipoff, according to police. - Sapa.

'Three held in drugs snatch'

Narcotics detectives from Cape Town and Wyp-berg arrested two men and a woman and seized cocaine with a street value of more than R1 million at 17 Fancy Street, Wynberg yesterday. Police said a 25-year-old woman from Hout Bay and a 32-year-old man from Stellenbosch were arrested when they arrived in Cape Town on a flight from Doha, Qatar. - Sapa.

‘Playboy’ replaces Strydom

A television feature including freed killer Barred Strydom, scheduled for broadcast on M-Net’s 60 Minutes programme at 8:30 pm tomorrow, has been dropped because of its content. M-Net said yesterday. Instead: The Prince of Fashions will be screened. - Sapa.

Glowing tributes to Hani

Enquest

The Glowing tributes to Hani

The funeral of the South African anti-apartheid hero Chris Hani was attended by thousands of mourners who gathered at the Freedom Park in Johannesburg. The funeral procession passed through the streets of Johannesburg, surrounded by the South African Police. Hani was assassinated in 1993.

The Glowing tributes to Hani

Chris Hani's passion for justice, for addressing the problems that plagued the rural poor, was rooted in his childhood in Soweto. He was one of the greatest revolutionaries this country has ever known.

ANC President Nelson Mandela called Hani "one of the greatest revolutionaries this country has ever known."

Soweto, in Tshwane's Co-Facilitating district, has produced three of South Africa's greatest leaders: Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko, and Chris Hani. Their fight against apartheid and their commitment to freedom for all remains a source of inspiration for generations to come.

Today, thousands of people filled the streets of Johannesburg to pay their respects to Chris Hani, the man who gave his life for the cause of freedom and justice. His legacy will continue to inspire those who believe in the power of non-violence and the importance of unity.

By Esther Waugh, Political Correspondent

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. The Prince of Fashions will be screened. - Sapa.

Killings: four plead not guilty

Four men appeared briefly in the Meyerton Magistrate's Court last month in connection with the last month's pretoria shooting attack in which three people were killed and two were injured. The four men are Sabina Mhlanga, Sihle Maleka, Dlamini Sibiya, and Sibhelehi Mhlanga. They pleaded not guilty to all charges.

The trial is set to continue on April 11 for further investigation. The four will remain in custody until then.
LET US PRAY FOR OUR COUNTRY IN THESE DIFFICULT TIMES

This is the address given by ANC president Nelson Mandela at the funeral of Martin Thembisile “Chris” Hani at the FNB Stadium yesterday:

Chris Hani ... had a passion for justice.

That is why the Klerks retired armed police generals with golden handshakes — but neither we nor the country knew what activities they were discreetly funding.

Criticism

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 was ridiculed. Often from those same stolen weapons were used to kill him.

This acts of harrassment and covert operations is funded by our taxes. While we remain ignorant, without knowledge, without food, without education, almost nine billion rand was spent in the last two years on those secret operations.

And yet we taxpayers do not know what it was spent on. We do not know that our people continue to die in violence in the streets, in massacres and by assassinations.

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.
This is the address given by ANC president Nelson Mandela at the funeral of Martin Thembisile "Chris" Hani at the FNB Stadium yesterday:

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 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 Minister of Law and Order and the Chief of the Army both have a great deal to answer for.

Culpability

But culpability does not stop there. The indecent haste with which Minister Kobie Coetsee pushed through the Indemnity Bill through the President’s Council granted licence to kill 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. We will not accept that a murder can be committed and the assassin can 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.

Only then will we be able to begin the task of training, upgrading and developing a South African Army and Police Force that serves all...
FOCUS Nelson Mandela pays tribute to a colleague and son of Africa

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Western Cape mass action 'towards weekend' — Cosatu

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

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.

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 Siphiwe Nyanda, carry the coffin of Chris Hani on to the pitch at FNB Stadium yesterday.

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 member of the crowd in the thousands-strong crowd took out their own firearms — AK-47 rifles, pump-action shotguns and handguns — and fired their own tributes.

Hani's family and the ANC leadership, including president Nelson Mandela, filed past the grave to pay their last respects.

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 Katlehong when gunshots opened fire from buses on people on their way to the Hani funeral.

Police shot and killed a youth who allegedly looted 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.
Let us build a new nation as a tribute to Chris Hani

NELSON MANDELA

in Sablele, in Colenso 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, addressing the problems that plagued the rural poor, was rooted in his childhood in Sablele. His murder was no aberration. It was consistent with the patterns of the past. Scores of assassinations remain "mislabeled", because the criminals investigate themselves.

The regime has announced the arrest of a leading member of the CP. Oliver Desby-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", we were being responsible for the violence, we were ridiculed and criticized by everyone. Now both SA and Zimbabwe reject 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 goldened shakes, but neither we nor the country knew what activities they were disclosing. When Chris Hani criticized the theft of weapons from the National Air Force base, and said those weapons were not stolen, but taken to be used in covert operations, he was too right. One of the guns from those 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 is spent on. We only know that 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 to combat this is for the police to be made more professional, to protect our lives and properties, to respect us as citizens.

We want an army that is professional, that does not regard us as its enemy. It is only this way to get this that we can have national security forces and armed formations and immediately effective immediate effect.

Chris Hani also made the case for peace. He proposed developing an SA army and police forces that serve the people. Saids he can only begin to change the situation 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 Chris Hani's assassination. His first response was to call a meeting of the State Security Council. His second response was to disband 23,000 more troops, telling South African blacks that they had enough troops for them to feel secure. But why deploy troops against noncombatants?

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 tactics of the AWR to go unchallenged, who have been responsible for every single murder, for all the violence, who have been responsible for every single murder, for all the violence, who have been responsible for every single murder, for all the violence.

We, the victims of violence, have been blamed for the very acts that take our lives. Yet you treat the fair with kids by allowing them to publish their files. Your police do not protect marchers from guns who mow them down, as in Dobokeng.

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 violent, as a belligerent, as a radical, as a threat. They want to present us as a great evil that must be destroyed.

This government is legitimate, representative, correct and untied to govern. We want the immediate withdrawal of the international executive council and its decision to hold free and fair elections held in the shortest possible time.

Above all, we want an agreed electoral date to be set. And if an election will be held we will do our utmost to win.

The 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 reformulated, but uprooted in its entirety.

In the interests of all of our people we will build national unity, drawing on the wealth of our human resources, the courage and strength of all of our people. We want to build a new SA free from fear, hunger, disease and poverty, free from ignorance, homelessness and humiliation, a SA 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. Forward, 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 statement seriously to make an earnest appeal to all political leaders organizations to recognize 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 had tasted our patience too long. Where were the police during the four hours when gunmen rampaged through Soweto last night leaving over 15 people dead and many injured?

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 let us down. We have found them to be less lacking in both leadership, vision and ability.

Chris Hani has a very special place in our hearts. Each and every one of you is precious to us. Yes, we are people, our pride and our anger. We love you all. But we are not going to let you all of you to reach hatred. When we leave here, let us say it 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 the Hani family, who are not unique to Chris Hani.

This is an abridged version of Mandela's address at the FNB Stadium yesterday.
Cosatu ready to begin 
mass action campaign

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 stain 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 baukskap."

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.

Marianne Merten

"Monitor's 'keep violence in check'"
Monitors ‘keep violence in check’

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 Naree's, 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.

London embassy service

CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON — The entire staff of the SA embassy yesterday attended a service of intercession to pray for peace and remember the bereaved relatives of SAPA's general secretary Chris Hani.

Resident pastor Dr 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 interviews yesterday as images of violence in Soweto were 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 Soweto killers.
Let us build a new nation as a tribute to Chris Hani

NELSON MANDELA

In 1991, when we spoke of a "third force" being responsible for the violence, we were ridiculed and criticized by everyone. Now both the ANC and the world recognize not only the existence of that "third force", but also the extent of its activities. That is why De Klerk retired army and police generals with golden handshakes, but we are not yet the country. The world recognizes the activities of the "third force", but also the extent of its activities. That is why De Klerk retired army and police generals with golden handshakes, but we are not yet the country. The world recognizes the activities of the "third force", but also the extent of its activities.

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 Indent Revolts were led with the cooperation of the President's Council. But the Chief of the Army who led the attack on the ANC on the ANC 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 Indent Revolts were led with the cooperation of the President's Council. But the Chief of the Army who led the attack on the ANC as the man who pulled the trigger, and the conspiracy that plotted his murder.

This secret web of hit men and covert operations is funded by our taxes. We know that our people continue to die as a result of violence on the trains, in marches, and by assassination.

This killing must stop. A major initiative that Chris Hani proposed shortly before his death was for police brigades to be established under the national police accord. Let us pay tribute to his memory by forming such police brigades throughout the country. Let them be part of the reconstruction of our country.

There has been a deliberate and massive propaganda offensive against Umkhonto we Sizwe, its cadres and leadership. No effort has been spared to criminalize both MK and Chris Hani. This has deliberately created a climate of fear and confusion to muddle political assassinations and to create a climate of fear and confusion to muddle political assassinations.

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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 25,000 more troops, telling white South Africans that they had enough troops for South Africa to feel secure. But why deploy troops against massive propaganda offensive. We have all been subjected to by the ANC their members.

They say we cannot control our forces. We are not able to control our forces. But why deploy troops against massive propaganda offensive. We have all been subjected to by the ANC their members.

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They say we cannot control our forces. We are not able to control our forces. But why deploy troops against massive propaganda offensive. We have all been subjected to by the ANC their members.
Calm prevails at emotional Hani funeral

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, Limpo. ANC president Nelson Mandela was at her side, Reuters 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, Makhov 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 helicopters 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.

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 racist violence, whether black or white."

ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba had been scheduled to speak but instead led the crowd in an impromptu 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 decision had been taken some time ago, all 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 suburb of Elspark, Daw Park and Rondebuilt, 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

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.

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 Gomomo.

However, Mandela attacked the Government and specifically Law and Order Minister Hermus 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 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 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 Myburg, told Parliament yesterday.

The inflammatory remarks in Khayelitsha 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 consistent with maintaining peace in the Western Cape and demanded the ANC in the region publicly apologise for and distance itself from the remarks.

The Conservative MP for Pratia 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 Nyatumbha and Esther Waugh

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, 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

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-SACF-Co-satu 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 de Toit and Bronwyn Wilkinson

Rudolf Botes, who hurled to death when rampaging youths set his house alight outside the FNB stadium on Monday, had called the police for help shortly before he was killed, his angry wife Marilyn said yesterday.

“The police were there, the man was there and nobody came to help him,” she said.

She said when she went to the Springs police station on Monday night, police had confirmed that 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.

BMIT liaison officer Major Eugene Oppersmass said police would investigate the allegations fully.

Rudolf Botes’ brother, Bakkie, and his wife, Suzanne, who lived two houses away in the Crown Mines village, picked the ruins of their home yesterday.

They found one of their dogs and a kitten alive.

Their chickens, pigeons, budgerigar and cat were burnt to death. The dog, a bull terrier, was lying charred next to a tree, his body charred. A fire had been made on top of his body.

Suzanne, 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 house because of stone-throwing youths.

Gerr Botes, father of Rudolf, was told by Suzanne when he arrived at the scene that his son was dead.

Bakkie took pictures of his 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 scarf around its neck.

In front of one of the charred houses the words “Boers, oor 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’ corpse.

The ruins... Suzanne 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 Raykliff
Free funeral but top publicity

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."
Hani investigators named

By Michael Sparks

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.
State President replies to ANC leader’s attack

FW fires broadside at Nelson Mandela

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.

De Klerk said his first reaction had 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

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation is to hold its special national congress in Johannesburg on May 8 and May 9. (MA)

Azapo deputy president Mr Pandelile Nefolovhodwe yesterday said the congress would focus on negotiations, the armed struggle and Azapo's programme of action for the year. - Supa.
Crucial SACP indaba delayed

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

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 certain 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

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 young Afrikaners, 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 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 Tourapis at the grave of Christos's sister. The tombstone was smashed by crowds attending the Chris Hani burial on Monday.

Picture: Joao Silva
Blacks and whites saw the tragedy of Hani’s assassination through different eyes

Viewpoints were totally different

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

CHRUS 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 Wolus, 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 attention has been paid to economic issues.

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.
By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

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ius 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 Wals, 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 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 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.

This brings credence to the theory that President PW de Klerk’s reform initiatives are cold-hearted accounting moves and bear no signals, even, of any humanitarian consideration.

It was in the Government’s response, first to Hani’s assassination and then to the failed commemoration service in Cape Town and subsequent mayhem, that nonethless 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 list, found in the home of the alleged killer, on which Hani’s features, 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 inimical 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 most news media, which concentrated on 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,” Owen wrote in his influential Sunday column.

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 cruel,” 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 Hermus 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, “kragdadheid”.

The difference (or similarity) between De Klerk and Mr PW Botha or even Mr John Vorster was there for everyone to see...
Mass action begins to roll on May Day

Government accused of vacillating:

By Themba Motete

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.

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 15 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.
**NEWS** Warning that campaign could hamper negotiations

**Action a setback — IFP**

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 any use of 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 S.A’s violent past, he said.

De Klerk denied Mandela’s claim that 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.
FW fires broadside at Nelson Mandela

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.

De Klerk said his first reaction had 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.

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** Is insensitive De Klerk a Gorbachev waiting to be toppled?

**Focus on Hani**

In its hour of need, it was not FW de Klerk but Nelson Mandela that the country turned to for assurances and explanations.

Sowetan's Day Editor Barney Mthombothi asks whether this marks the start of the National Party's demise.

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**Chris Hani**

Death. Resolution had been confirmed.

In the township the explanation for that statement was quite simple: a white right-wing had killed a council and black leader in the presence of the ANC and the Government was involved in a damage limitation exercise to protect its infrastructure. It was an anti-apartheid march.

The Government came into its element after the aning during last Wednesday's showdown. This was a terrain they know very well, back-pedaling and talking tough. It was a well-drilled performance.

Mr Terence Delport, the hero of Operation Katya who was standing in for the absent Louis Kriel, lied the blame squarely on the ANC for failing to stop the atrocity. His own supporters for putting 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 sequence. He is not a man to make a move 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 seven people and injuring more than 300 at Pretoria police station on Wednesday.

Myburgh's reaction was not to offer condolences to the victims but to denounce 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 loot represented a black day for SA. What worried him was the destruction, not the plan.

The violence is obviously unacceptable but it should also be seen in its proper perspective. More than 50 people were killed and of some R39 billion caused after the acquittal of the police officers who shot dead Rodney King in Los Angeles last year.

So it could have been worse here. Yet in the streets, patience has run out. Only time will tell whether the ANC will be able to contain 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 on millions of black South Africans.

He has apparently apologised to the Japanese, although it's unclear what theJapanese 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?
Alliance meets tomorrow to plan mass action

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."
Corporation cuts grants
WILSON ZWANE
THE SA Rail Corporation 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
RAY HARTLEY

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 Heyns said that a full report was expected to be made available today.

Maria Gouws, the owner of Veggiland, 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

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 65% of deaths and 88% 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 18 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 immense 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

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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 69% of deaths and 80% of injuries according to the statistics.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Rama- phosa said the ANC was investigating the carrying of dangerous weapons by some 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 38 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 Kau 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, Kau 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".

Kau 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".
ANC, government in urgent meeting

By BILLY PADDOCK

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.

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 hit back 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

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 Mngwengwe 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 Mngwengwe’s safety after his “convenient court appearance and the alleged escape”.

They linked the Law and Order Minister Herma Kriel’s attack on Umkhonto we Sizwe in Parliament on Monday to the allegations.
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 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-G

‘FW’s not on top, he’s on holiday’

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.
Planning committee to meet

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.
SA owes thanks to ANC

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 the country and over South Africa, but was not hesitant to chide and chastise those within the alliance who terrorism 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 1992 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 potential 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 Mosimane "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.

Billions 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 his command, and 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 reaffirmed 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 Mandela'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-blooded 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 raising a nearby mailbox 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
By Luilama Lutl

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 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 negotiations process has delivered nothing. The longer we wait a settlement, the better for Sizwe," he said.

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 impatient.

Phosa said the ANC was pleased to note that the commission of inquiry 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.

"Janius Walus executed a pre-planned 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.

Party chief Mr Chris Hani.

"Janius Walus executed a pre-planned 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?"

Sinko, 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, Tubuhle
Elections 'may be held this year'

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".

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**BREAKTHROUGH Election date**

could be set within six weeks:

"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 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 Zambiya, 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.
Accused blame shooting on others

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 Tam-sanaqा 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 Kolisi Ncize (a former accused in the case who recently died of an AIDS-related ailment) to join him and others on the robbery. 24/4/93.

He said Ncize 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 Kolisi was a friend. He said when he and Stemele realised "things were going" they fled the scene of the robbery.

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.

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 Han'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 Han's funeral was taking place.
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."

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".

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!"

The ANCYL president was yesterday addressing students at the Northern Transvaal Technikon in Sophiatown, north of here.

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

Stan 23/4/93

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 perpetuated a shameful miscarriage of justice.

What happened this week was the redressing of a glaring and undeniable wrong — a process initiated not by the liberals of the Clinton administration, or by the media, but by that fallen acolyte 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 deserve 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 rape 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 booking 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 ANC's Nightline? More than the violence, the video and sound of a demonstrator 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 opportunistic 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 Charles Makwetu at the same rally at which Mandela's words were booed.

The balance of probabilities suggests that there was some justification 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 — that 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 distort the truth? Or did their work describe a present and forecast 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.
Speculation begins on who will occupy the highest post in the SACP

Who will fill Hani's shoes?

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

When Chris Hani took the reigns 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 that the latter is a puppet of the party is to ignore the historical significance 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.

Politbuero

Raymond Mhlaba is the current SACP deputy chairman and a member of the party's politbuero. 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 vacated 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 Gomono, 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 politbuero 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 status in the ANC NEC, preferably but not necessarily with an MK background, and with the magnetism needed to maintain popular support.

Said Siphwiwe 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 politbuero 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 Organisers, 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 Thembile Mthetwa, a politbuero 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

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.

Mokaba and Eugène Terreblanche of the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging 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.
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 Natal/KwaZulu.

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."

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."

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.”

Perhaps more important, Frost reckons, 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.”
ANC youth announce radical programme • ANC catering costs over R1 million

‘Young Lions’ hit out

By Sipho Mthembu

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 include 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.
Cultural weapons at the ready

IKE most debates around the future of culture in this country, the future surrounding the African National Congress (ANC)’s upcoming Culture and Development Conference is full of sound and fury. But 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 Theater 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 walls of protest in the cultural community. The reasons are as various, 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 that have often been hard-won.

Ironically it is organisations which the DAC itself set up after the fall of apartheid which are most concerned about what is going on.

In the aftermath of the neo-Black Star Alliance of the late 1980s and early 1990s was the cultural desk, the dominant thinking in the ANC as culture had been that it should function within the realms of civil society. Art should no longer be seen as the bludgeoning weapon of the struggle, but in the creation of the cultural youth. Instead, a new, progressive, politically 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 darly comic story short, the discourse of cultural organisations has taken strong root over the past decade, notably in the fields of music, film, drama, literature and dance. And loyal to the anti-apartheid movement, groupings like Sama, Fawo, Powe and Crowe have focused increasingly on the interests of artists rather than on the interests of politicians.

During the course of the past year, a series of meetings between the new generation and representatives of the old regime led to the National Arts Policy Plan (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 wide range of groupings, all away from the performing arts councils and the Federative van Afrikaanse Kultuur tot die lewens, would come together to frame arts policy.

Co-ordinator Mike van Graan defended the guiding excision that: “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 principles.

However, this approach has led to its own set of difficulties. For example, when being prosecuted by the state for holding demonstrations at Pact, was sitting in committees with Pact 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 non-wink rules which were supposed to apply to all the sorts of 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.

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 elaborating from the proto-organisation spells it out that the NIA states it does not “belong to, associate itself with or favours 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 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 conceptual point of view, the NIA is guilty of what might be construed as the most distressing liberalism in relation to the concept of independence.

Such shows of independence, as well as concern that the NAI was dealing with apartheid structures at the expense of the real interests of the arts community, had led to a series of stand-offs and conflicts even before the NAPP was held. It was during the course of this year that a series of meetings culminated in the formation of the NAI, a coalition of cultural leaders which, instead of working with the DAC and the NAPP, decided to form its own independent forum. The organisation consists of 17 members, including major cultural groups and some of the key figures in the arts community.

One particularly noteworthy occasion, Sama representative Randall Lanie was kicked out of a meeting of supposedly "familial" organisations with the DAC. Let us spell this out: a meeting with those non-aligned and non-sector 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 discuss the arts and which had grown between the ANC and the organisations, the ANC’s cultural representative on the national working committee, Abie Louis, called on the organisations in question “to walk the last mile” with the ANC in 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 late leader’s constant complaints from other organisations, including Pave and Fawo, the prevailing assumption was further fuelled by a meeting which Serote was said to have called and 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.

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 Carolon and Alan De Vries — were delivered to the DAC by several organisations. These included the NPP, the SAFW and the National Arts Council.

Meanwhile the DAC has been breaching its own problems for the future. Originally conceived (possibly 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 now developing into an event redefining the political outlook of the ANC: that the ANC would institute an expedition for the arts and culture, and then use it to bring about a new South Africa.

But then, the DAC is anxious to know 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 Jabu Xambo, such an intervention should not be seen as sectarian in nature. The DAC has decided on its own terms in consultation with its allies, and the board is an instrument of civil society,” he insisted.

How the board would 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’s and its history of fighting apartheid and of having long designated culture as an area of activity appropriate to civil society.
Death, be not proud

Y et Hamlet’s death was not to be reduced to meaningless words. 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 struck away in some townshrewish cobweb, he was freighting with South Africans to confront their countrymen. To have been buried in a ghetto, as many thousand a day are, would have been an insult to the fury and the pain — and at the end of it all — the relative restraint of black South Africa.

The message that was etched in the remnant and fear of the future was that whites, for once, were also people, and not just the black leader, a price that will make consoling indifferent further next time.

Certainly, if ever South Africa is put to the test, it was along the R544 and Heidelberg Road east of Johannesburg on Monday.

At 8 a.m., not far from the South Park cemetery were the coils of razor wire and a ditch. The houses at first appeared empty, but once the procession was underway hands started to pop up over the concrete walls. Large meers overheard.

An assortment of babekies and were parked in the streets of Bloemfontein, men sitting on top. The women and children had been sent away for the day.

The men had balaclavas on their eyes, and guns at the ready. “There’s a lot of advertisements all over,” said one man, a member of the AWB.

The crowd moved along the highway like a bunch of hungry locusts. A few clocks were locked and a lot of food and beer. A maize field was picked empty of corn. A vegetable patch was where there should have been. Yes, you say why, complaining. The process, and the crowd, remained overwhelmingly peaceful.

Only once were the barricades breached. An ancient Vaillant tank truck along with the weight of its passengers, its front bumper festooned with a news project from the shooting in Vandeuilpark, “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 a bolt-defiant face. And it passed back out of the white neighbourhood, passengers giggling nervously. Everyone was studiedly polite.

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 Hamlet’s death, as in the great Shakespearean tragedies which he studied, Hamlet’s death mirrors the political life of the entire nation. And, far from saving waste to the achievements of his life, his graveside message ensured South Africa will never be the same again.

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Death be not proud

by PHILIP VAN NIEKERK

As in the great Shakespearean tragedies, which he studied, Chris Han’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.

Only once were the barricades breached. An ancient Valiant saloon slouched low with the weight of its passengers, its front bumper festooned with a news poster shouting from the shooting in Vanderbijlpark, "Marchers shot — white man held," took a wrong turn into the white neighbourhoood. Everyone’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 Han’s death, as in the great Shakespearean tragedies, where a death mirrors the political life of the entire nation.

Han’s is the most political of plays, but not in the crude sense the Soviets and a large man stacking bricks on top of 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 coming of another grave.

"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 rocked at the surrounding tombstones, "if he was in a grave here and they came and knocked it down?"

A group of Alexander Weerstandsbehang supporters stood on the road opposite the cemetery in the gathering high-dusk dark, neon 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 Han’s body lay in state in the FNB Stadium, his face elongated and distorted by death. Robbed of its passions and its ambition, the face could have belonged to somebody else.

Han had been a scholar of Shakespeare. His favourite works were those that should be extensively on the subject of death. One of the most powerful scenes is set in a graveyard, where Hamlet laments 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 hole?"

Han’s death was not to be reduced to commonplace. Like a ghostly message from the past, it was lived out by being buried in a formerly winoes-only cemetery.

Instead of being stuck away in some township churchyard, he was forcing white South Africa to confront its countryside. To have been buried in a rift, as many thousand victims of the system have been since Sharpeville in 1960, would have been to corrode the final, and at the end of the day — the relative restraint of black South Africa.

The message that was echoed in the paranoia and fear of the suburbs was that whites, for once, were also paying the price. At the same time, the black leader, a price that will make condemning indifference harder next time.

By the time of the funeral, the Transvaal was putting it, the test, it was along the R534 and Heidelberg Road east of Johannesburg on Monday.

A white farmer from Bolokoppies near the South Park cemetery were the roads of razor wire and a dock. The houses at first appeared empty, but once the procession was underway heads started to pop up over the concrete walls. Large men poured over.

An assortment of bakkies and cars were parked in the streets of Bolokoppies, 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 armaments 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 furniture. A mairie field was picked empty of its grain. A vegetable patch was hoed. Ysies toyied along, chewing on carrots, but the procession, and the crowd, remained overwhelmingly peaceful.

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The orphans never forget

By PAT SIBLEY
PEW among the tens of thousands crowded into the Pinel Stadium on Monday paid their respects to the memory of Mrs. Hani, with the funeral of his husband, who passed away on Thursday.

When African National Congress president Nelson Mandela called out the name of Richard Turner, his son - who was 13 when his father died - in the company of the Zulu family, the moment married to the idea of the moment she described it as a time of immense pain. She talks about the moment when she and her sister Kin-then 10 - were staying at their father's house in Durban. Their parents were divorced and they were visited by their mother in Cape Town.

“I woke up and heard my dad in the bathroom saying: ‘What’s that?’ And then he came back to the room where Kim and I were sleeping.

‘I heard a window. I hadn’t heard any knock. I got in my car and just went straight away. I was certain that if there was someone in the car, there was a huge explosion, which I thought was a bomb.‘

She said now, "My father fell. He was washing on the ground in a way that I can’t even describe. He tried to get up and it seemed as though he couldn’t because his lungs were full of blood. He picked himself up and ran back away. He ran back away."

She ran after him. "He collapsed in the road and was trying to breathe.‘ Scrambling for air, he bent over, bent over, taking in those three words that were repeated to him: ‘the bomb, the bomb, the bomb.‘ In vain she tried to revive him."

He was the target of rights groups and others. "I have no voice to be able to speak for him in the court of law,“ she said, "but there was something that was done after then, the time of the bomb attack on the house."

By ALEX DODD

The recent spate of killings in the PWV area has been blamed on a ‘third force’ wishing to destabilise the townships and rural areas.

By ALEX DODD

The shooting spree which left 19 dead in Soweto on the eve of Chris Hani’s funeral was part of a broader pattern of violence in the townships of the PWV.

The timing, and random nature of the attacks - which left at least another seven dead and ten injured in the townships of Vosloorus and Kathe- lingen - was seen by some to be part of a strategy to destabilise the townships.

Commented African National Congress PWV leader Cyril Ramaphosa: "There are elements within the communities and armed forces establishment who want to use violence to cause the anger and reaction to Hani’s death to destabilise traditional negotiations and slow down progress towards elections."

In Soweto, the deaths of police officers were added to a long list of attacks on known ANC members in the Vaal by a handful of pro-government police- men calling themselves "Coetzea". Vaal police commissioner Elizabeth van Deventer confirmed the existence of such a gang, but declined to comment on any specific attack.

She added that there was no evidence of direct SAP involvement in the Vaal attack, in which 10 people were killed and 23 injured in the darkness of Sunday and Monday. "As a police force, it would not do us any harm if there is solid confirmation that individual police were involved. We would act," she said.

But the ANC agrees that the situation is similar in many respects to those leading to last year’s Bekasi Massacre.

The operation that set at 6pm on Sunday police to drive around Soweto ordering people to remain indoors. At 10pm men came knocking on doors claiming to be ANC comrades and said: "In some cases they introduced themselves through the door at popular leaders in the townships," said Hotze.

When people opened their doors they were shot at; others were taken from their homes and to the Vaal, which was turned into a fortress to keep them.

People have been killed and injured in recent attacks.

The shooting began in Soweto Zone 11, then the killers drove on, firing sporadically. When they came across a cop in a Jeta, they stopped, shot him dead and stole the Jeta, which was used in the killings in Zones 10, 13, 14 and 14. Four black people were spotted inside the car. The Jeta was later abandoned and set alight.

The shooting began in Soweto Zone 11, then the killers drove on, firing sporadically. When they came across a cop in a Jeta, they stopped, shot him dead and stole the Jeta, which was used in the killings in Zones 10, 13, 14. Four black people were spotted inside the car. The Jeta was later abandoned and set alight.

This was the shooting attack on the night Saturday in the East Rand and Vaal Triangle. In Vosloorus, two taxi drivers fleeing from a gang of armed men were killed instantly. The bodies of the two were found with bullet wounds on the street.

Police also report that two more were killed and injured at the taxi rank in which they were returning home.

In Katlehong, two residents of the ANC-aligned Kuthlatala hostel standing on a stationary platform were wounded when they were fired on from a train on Monday night. They claimed the assailants were hostel dwellers from the Khosani Hostel, an IsiXhosa stronghold.

On Monday night, police say a taxi leaving from a taxi rank in Katlehong was hit by gunfire.

Police are on the lookout for the men involved in the incidents.

The gang phenomenon, calling itself "Coetzea", according to Bapela, comprises ex-police officers who pulled out of the Bekasi Massacre to escape the police.

In the late 2000s, after a number of gang killings, including one in which a teen was found dead in a Soweto hostel, several people were arrested.

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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. Saps APP 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 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 homes and in hospital.

LOYD 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 say sorry for all the deaths.” He said blacks held the key to enabling white South Africans to go 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.”

Saps reports a row has erupted between police and the ANC over alleged SAP colli- 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
Violence gives 'hawks' advantage

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 king and queen 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 effect."

On Tuesday a rising star in the NP, the sergeant Chris Fisher, 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 Terence De Klerk, 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

By Lulama Luthi

The struggle for liberation in South Africa would not be complete until women had been emancipated, the convenor of the National Women's Coalition said last night.

A studio guest during the Sowetan Radio Metro Talkback Show, Dr. Frenne Gwamba said one of the reasons for forming the women's coalition was to ensure that non-sectarianism was written into the new constitution.

She said if the coalition was not all-inclusive, the constitution would not be a reflection of the political, economic and social spectrum that it was that they would like to see changed and entrenched in the new constitution.

Research programme

To this effect, she said, the coalition would form a research institute to study women's issues.

She said the coalition was born out of a realisation of the diversity of women in the country. She said women were organisationally 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?" Jojo Letsoalo, Vaal Triangle

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."

"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." Mike Maja, Carletonville

(Why is it that) you hardly ever find any women in the different negotiating teams in the country, particularly in the mining sector?"
NEWS  ‘Defend yourselves’

Mandela’s call to Vaal youths

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**

"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-

- **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

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 Rapa Molekane. They reaffirmed the ANC’s policy of nonracialism.

Mokaba’s militant statements are believed to have angered senior ANC leaders, including Ramaphosa and Molekane, 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 Coetzee 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.”

The ANC and ANC PWV officials suggested yesterday a national strike could be called if government demands 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 cooperate with communities. The occupation of ANC offices, demonstrations and picnics 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 army was said at yesterday’s media briefing police had killed Soweto ANC secretary Sam Tambani and six others without provocation at Pretoria police station last week.

“It is clear from all sources 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 armed wing Apia being responsible.

Also on Wednesday, a nun had petrol poured over her in the Vosman squatting community in Delft, when she got out of her car after youths hurled a petrol bomb.

On Wednesday a Boksburg woman was shot dead while delivering wood in Daventry, near Benoni, while in Katlehong a woman was assaulted.

Also on Wednesday a woman was assaulted in the Vosman squatting community in Delft, when she got out of her car after youths hurled a petrol bomb.

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

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 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 woman was shot dead while delivering wood in Daventry, near Benoni, while in Katlehong a woman was assaulted.

Police have offered a R100,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the attack on a house near the FNB stadium on Monday. Two people burnt to death in the incident. — Sapa.

KATHRYN STRACHAN
Symbolic city reburial for Hani planned

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." Mr Yengeni called on a group of MK members to join him in singing an MK song, Hamba Rahlie Umkhonto we Sizwe, 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 remembrance 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 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, the ANC's armed wing commander 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 a two-day onslaught 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 Soweto township by anti-riot police. Two white men burned alive a few hundred yards away from the funeral service in Soweto, where two white youths were burned to death by a mob of looters.

It was estimated that half of the country's black workforce 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 80,000 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 fear in a regional conflict. Reports 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 right-wing threat to exhume the corpse and throw it out of the formerly whites-only cemetery. Cables 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 Tompson 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 eastwards, 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 loafed down the road, chewing on carrots.

Fred Johnson, a white resident watching the thousands of black streams 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 60,000.

But outside Mr Hani's home in Boksburg, one man was shot dead as several thousand people later on from the cemetery to pay their last respects to the family. The police had been thought to have been abandoned buildings during clashes with the security forces.

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 of course.'

Accusing the ANC, the SAPC, 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 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 become independent members of Parliament.

The five — Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Dave Dalling, Mr Janie Mostert, 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 presence.

Their prospects 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 tear-gassed 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, Cronjé 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 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 Nata 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 PW 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... too... say: ‘Hamba Kahle Amabhengu’.”

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 “comradeship”.

They have been ostracised by their former colleagues and constituents and are still being treated in Parliament as lepers, the statement, obviously written by Mostert, 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 Mostert’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.
Who will replace Hani?

A number of contenders could replace Chris Hani as SACP chief, but his deputy Charles Ngakula is the frontrunner.

By STEPHEN LAUFER

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 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 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 Mhlatzhisa. Once a close confidante of Steve Biko’s, Mhlatzhisa 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 Ngakula. The party’s deputy general secretary. Described as “a very able organiser,” Ngakula 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.

Ngakula 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.
There is no time left

Guardian [W in W] wait ... 23/4-29/4/92

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 Soweto teenager waving an ANC flag knows, logically or instinctively, that it puts South Africa at the crossroads.

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 under-funded 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

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 FW 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 Walusz, a Polish immigrant, and Clive Derby-Lewis, a Conservative MP, are being held in connection with the killing.
When the earth shakes, the tree tops vibrate

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 CHOTHA

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 Makoba made full use of his toy-toying skills to revive a weary crowd at 10pm on Sunday.

It was not that their speeches were so militarian. 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, Makoba 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.”

“If (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 Makoba) 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 the stronger.

If he allows Nelson Mandela to take something tangible back to his constituency, as evidence of the fruitfulness of negotiations, then the ANC’s president’s strategy will have been vindicated — and talks will continue.
Cultural weapons at the ready

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.

Since the DAC let us spell this out: a meeting with those non-aligned and non-sectional organisations which the DAC had helped to found - to which we had been invited as Sana representative.

Apparently it was discovered that Lameko 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 Carolan, called on the organisations in question to “walk the last mile” with the ANC to the ballot box. Subsequent calls have indicated that the DAC representatives, though not in their official capacity, for Sana and its member groups to subordinate their own interests to those of the ANC’s election campaign.

From walking arm in arm singing together into the council, though, relationships have become 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 its head Wally Serope. Growing out of the Lameko incident and various complaints from other organisations, including Pave and Pave, the prevailing assumption was that Serope was further fuelled by a bizarre anomaly which came to light when it was discovered that the DAC, in its role as cultural organisation, was also helping to give direction to the glitz opening of the Limpopo Arts Festival while most of the rest of the ANC satellite was actively boycotting it.

As it has turned out, ranks have been closed and the inquiry held over until after the council

But only after letters of apology - at the behest of Caroline and ANC representative with Publicity chief Pallo Jordan - had been disapproached to offended individuals.

More recently, this has been breeding its own problems for the future. Originally conceived (notably by the DAC’s Jonathan de Veer) as a vehicle for African culture in a series of the words which are strictly distinguished from the arts, it was to have focused on issues relating to development how the DAC would arrive in policy formation to do away with the inequalities of apartheid and promote democracy, etc., and on such issues as heritage and language policy and the new South African flag.

Subsequent to the series of clashes which have emerged out of the NAI’s further existence, however, its direction has been substantially changed. It will now involve itself directly in areas relating to democracy sponsorship of the arts in the hypothetical new South Africa.

More than this, the DAC was due, on the day after this meeting, to announce the nomination of a board of trustees to oversee the development of culture in the new South Africa.

But, despite appearances, according to DAC spokesperson Mervin Rognholz, such an announcement should not be seen as a step forward.

“The DAC has decided on its trustees in consultation with its allies, and the board is an instrument of affiliated society,” he informed.

How the board could be ANC-appointed, independent, non-aligned and representative of all South African cultural groups, was 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.

Cultural commissar ...

A sculpture by Bruce Arndt

Cultural 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 sustained 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 Serope was, for example, repeatedly less than charmed by the fact that the DAC was granted only observer status at the NAPP, and made its displeasure clear.

But the National Arts Initiative (NAI) - which grew out of the NAPP as it broke up into regional committees to transistorise the future - stuck to its guns. A recent position paper emanating from the proto-organisation spells 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 out its own set of difficulties. For example Pave, while being prosecuted by the state for holding demonstration in Pucet, was sitting in committees with Pave representatives.

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 constitutional point of view, the NAI is guilty of what might be construed as the most demeaning liberalisation 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 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 Serope being lodged with senior members of the ANC’s national executive committee.

On one particularly notorious occasion, Sana representative Rashid Lameko was kicked out of a meeting of supposably “infraternal” organisations representing the ANC’s Cultural and Development Conference this weekend.
THE ECONOMY AND MASS ACTION

Lighting a fire

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 conniving foreign businessmen about the state of our society.

What is significant about the rampaging mobs is that they consist largely of the last 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 unfilled 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.
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 cortège, 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 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 properly; 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.

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 meaning 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 suspension 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 curb opinions, and to prohibit the human race from thinking, will find their weapon snap short in the hand, when most they need its protection.”
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
Pressure on to pick up pace

Billy Paddock

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 uncertainty 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 leaders were shocked to account the substantial opposition from Inkatha and its allies who reject the notion of transitional structures.

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 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 stance Inkatha and the Concered 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."
ANC speaks out against plan to occupy schools

By Phil Molefe

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.
Only the efforts of a handful of ANC marshals 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 tremble 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.
Nqakula tipped for SACP's hot seat

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.

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 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 Ntshangele, Cosatu deputy general-secretary and central committee member Sam Shilowa, and SACP central committee member Thosjiwe Mntso.

Nqakula, a former journalist, was banned in the 1980s and restricted to Ciskei. He later left the country for military training.

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Correspondent
BUT I HAVE NEVER CALLED FOR LOOTING AND KILLING

Tony Yengeni, ANC regional secretary, said on his return from Hani's funeral that the murder of Hani was a double blow for him. He also stood by his statement the previous week that the ANC had not authorised the assassination of Hani.

"But I have never called for looting and killing," Yengeni said. "I have always been against violence and destructive influence."

Yengeni said he had always been a moderate and had never supported terrorism. He said he was shocked by the assassination of Hani, who was a close friend and colleague.

Yengeni also said he had always been involved in the struggle for democracy and had never supported violence.

"I am a peace activist," he said. "I have always been against violence and destructive influence."

Yengeni said he was proud to have been a part of the ANC and had always been a moderate. He said he was shocked by the assassination of Hani, who was a close friend and colleague.

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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 4-8pm. The unlicensed pirate station will broadcast to Cape Town in English, Xhosa and Afrikaans.

The community-based station plans to give voice to the popular call for freedom of the airwaves.

By Diane Coetzee

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 hard hit. Lucklof and Cheetahville have been ordered to retrench 17 and 14 teachers respectively.

Among the others, Groenvlei has lost 14 teachers, Grassy Park 13, South Peninsula eight and Woodlands nine.

The move has drawn angry reactions from principals, teachers and parents who currently marched 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 its own hearings in schools nationally over the retrenchments and the five percent wage increase.

Western Cape education strike committee met this week to prepare for the ballot-taking and parent-teachers consultative meetings on the issue have been taking place for several weeks. Western Cape leaders say they do not know if they can continue teachers' anger until then.

"Our efforts have been flooded with calls from desperately worried and angry teachers who don't know if they will have a job after July 1," Sadtu's regional chairperson, Ms Vivienne Carless said.

Sadtu members are determined to fight the early retirement deal as being 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.

Carless 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.

Adriaans 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.

By Justin Pearce

MINISTERS in the House of Representatives (HoR) are being treated to overseas holidays under the guise of fast-finding tours, according to sources in parliament.

Tours for cabinet ministers in all three houses of parliament cost South African taxpayers R27.7 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 Lockery. Previously all ministers qualified for two first-class overseas trips 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 Nats (who defected from the LP to the NP) for giving him control over the House of Representatives,\" said Lockery.

Of the R2.7 billion, by far the majority was spent on HoR MPs. The HoR is half the size of the House of Assembly.

Lockery said the "greater part" was spent on holidays for Mr Abe Williams, Mr Gerald Morkel, Mr Cecil Hendrikse, Mr Peter Saayman and Mr Andrew Jafie.

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, Lodsey said. Additional return airline tickets alone cost taxpayers R30 000.

According to requests for comments, House of Representatives spokesman Mr Thams Dempley said he was having difficulty getting the required information from the appropriate minister.

O Jaco Monness..
Mokaba’s “kill the boers” slogan and Mandela’s calls for revenge.

“This does not mean I endorse calls for revenge, which incidentally 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

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.

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 undisciplined 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.
Cosatu admits march ‘problems’

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.

Arendse points to other factors which contributed to the day’s chaos.

These include:

- the early arrival of many mourners, and
- heavy-handed police action.

“A very big 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

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 harbouring 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 organisations had succeeded in gathering so 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 unified 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 calls and short-sighted 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, cooperation 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 “tramps”, “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 inadeqate.

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 chaos 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 isolated 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 Mitchell’s 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 mens goed, 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 crowd. Once again an opportunity for mobilising this section of the community was missed.

We need to assess the loss of the stature 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 channeling 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 Memberg, 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 weSizwe 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

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 2.30pm 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 INSA stadium and the graveside service ran smoothly.

ANC organisers and 14 000 marshallers 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 marshallers.

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 1993 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 Fish Hoek memorial rally on Monday which was peaceful and disciplined

Photo: Yusuf 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 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.

but emphatic toy-toying and chanting session.

Within the ANC tripartite alliance, Mokaba’s radicalism and desire for “action” are matched only by Natal Midland’s 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 North 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 BSc 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

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 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. "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 bloodthirsty 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
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 Shikowa, central committee member Mr Thembekile 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 ‘action’ plan

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 Manoepe 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' talks set to start

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 Coresha that a TEC and various sub-councils would be formed to help retain 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 with 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 Eglit 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, Botswana 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 Mdlinose 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 to democracy.

It is understood that the report on the transition proposed forming a technical committee to draw up 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 Zani 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".
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 Limpopo, and their three children.

At the time, the SADF released a statement insisting that Limpopo had definitely been among the people killed during the raid. It turned out not to be true. The Hani’s 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.

“He 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 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,
My dawn patrol with Africa's leading gent

By ZB MOLVEE

OLIVER Tambo was a gentleman politician who
had a special respect for the black press.

This writer should know. It was in Bot-
swana's Gaborone during the crucial 1984 So-
uthern Africa Development Co-
norating Committee (SADCC) summit when
the aspect of Tambo's personality emerged.

The big guns in moun-
ters Africa's political
scene were present: Nyer-
ere, Mugabe, Machel, Kaunda.

And, of course, during
such events in those
days the press - bond
and forges - trained its
spotlight on the happenings.
The ANC and the PAC
came in as observers.

In those dark, apartheid
days when stringent censorship
laws against the press, our
liberation movements held a special interest and
fascination for black jour-
nalists.

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 con-
ference with the ANC.

We knew the foreign
government would be in a
dilemma to "deny" this story.
They had got wind of our
arrangements 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
ended without word from
the ANC: We speculated:
Maybe it was the security
risk involved. They
without warning, late at
night on the second day of
the summit, we were told
Tambo would hold a press
conference for us.

One thing stood out:
Tambo never came across
as a pompous politician,
as we see in lesser ones.
Instead he could have been
anybody's father or grand-
father in the township.
Only the deep-kneed
furnace in his face - set in
a face whose cheeks
were marked by tribal
marks; thick glasses; a
wry mouth gave the
secret to Tambo's..."I don't
know why"..."I don't
know what"..."What
about the ANC?"..."Mr. Mc-
key, the vision of a
liberated SA was..."...

DEEP TOLERANCE ... Oliver Tambo in deep conversation with City
Press deputy editor ZB Molvee in 1984 in Gaborone.

FREEDOM'S CHAMPION

IT WAS the gentle-man-
nered Oliver Tambo who,
almost single-handedly,
upped the ante in the
struggle against the SA
regime.

Tambo was born on
27 October 1917 in Bizana
in Transkei, and grew up in
Harare, where he was
attended mission schools in
the territory be-
ginning his studies at the
Afric-
can St Peter's Secon-
dary School in Juba-
numa in 1933. In
1938 he
entered at
Fort Hare, where he was
respected as a brilliant
student and graduated
with a BSc. He went on
to London for an education
diploma, but was expelled
after a few months before exams for
organising a student pro-
test.

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
parliamentary approach to
the struggle.

Tambo steered ANC in the dark years.

CPress 25/14/98

Farewell to a
man of "peace
and integrity"

By ELIAS MAULUKHE

The ANC has been
saddened by the death of its
chairman, Oliver Reginald "OR"
Tambo, less than a week after
the burial of its former
secretary, Chris Hani.

The ANC confirmed Tambo
died early today in Milpark.
His wife Adelaide and
daughter, Sizile, were at his
side.

Ailing Tambo, 73, who
suffered a stroke in early
days of this month, was
as the father figure of the
ANC and Unilateral
Pre-
paratory Committee
which kept the flame of liberation
burning during the absence of
Nelson Mandela, Walter
Sisulu, and many other
leaders in the country.
He was vio-

CPress 25/1/92

bered for his sacrifices for
the cause of the other.
His forbearance, his
tenderness and his lack of
bitterness.

A statement by the
committee yesterday said
Tambo died on his way to
the airport for a
"conference in exile".

"He was a gentleman who
should be remembered for
his leadership in his
organisation during the trying
times of the
exile," the statement
said.

Oliver Tambo's death
was a great tragedy for
the people of Africa. An
"anti-apartheid" move-
ment and close friend of
Tambo, said in a state-
ment that "with his death
we have lost a leader who
could have contributed to
the liberation of all South
Africans."

Somehow, when the
press conference ended,
Tambo remained the
symbolic figure of the
journalists' struggle..."What
matters is what he had done."

Breaking into a fater-
by smile, he said: "Well, no
one would understand our
position. But we must
keep on talking..."
In 1945 he was appointed a member of the ANC by the ANC national executive.

In 1952 he joined Mandela to form the African National Congress.

In 1955 he was elected secretary-general of the organization, and in 1956 was arrested and briefly held on charges of treason. The charges were dropped in 1957.

Also in 1955 he married Adelaide Tshwete, with whom he had 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, which was released just in time for the ceremony.

In 1959 Tambo's banning was renewed and the ANC, suspecting that the state was about to have the

OLIVER TAMBO (*07.07.1917-†04.04.1993)
Farewell to a man of peace, \textit{Félix Pyramus}\textit{Champion}

My dawn parted with Africa's leading gent...
Shopping Victim Awarded £1 Million

Hi, I'm writing to let you know about a recent case that could impact your business. In 2019, a company was awarded £1 million in damages after being defrauded by a supplier. This is a reminder of the importance of conducting thorough background checks on suppliers and partners to prevent such situations.

Consider using a platform like the Enterprise Training Centre, which offers free financial assistance to eligible businesses. This service can help you navigate the complexities of business growth and investment. For more information, visit their website at www.etc.com.

Don't forget to take a note from our book 'The Art of Selling' for tips on effective communication and presentations.

Over the last five years, the company has tripled its revenue, thanks to strategic investments and a focus on customer satisfaction. As you plan for the future of your business, remember to stay informed and adapt to changes in the market.

Comment: The increased competition in the market means that businesses need to be agile and innovative. It's important to stay ahead of the game by investing in new technologies and exploring new markets. Keep an eye on the latest trends and be ready to pivot when necessary.
Fantastic escape raises tears

The man escaped from the nanocell and ran into the arms of his family. In a world where humans are trapped in nanocells for their entire lives, his escape was a miracle. His family was overcome with joy and tears of relief. They hugged him tightly and promised to never let him go back in the cell again.

In the nanocell world, where humans are forced to live in small, overcrowded spaces, the man's escape was a beacon of hope. It showed that there was a chance for freedom and a way out of the oppressive system.

The man's family thanked the people who helped him escape and promised to use their power to help others in similar situations. They knew that they had to keep fighting for the rights of all humans in the nanocell world.
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,
derunder gunboat diplomacy,
were forced by the Botha
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
greets 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.
To change their lives.

More people have the pc

Get that posturbedic!

Feeling - double or queen at

CITY PEOPLE

City People

his home turf

recognition on

Chromega wants

Rhythm and

MoAN S. TRAM LE 199
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 fourway 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 Pietersburg, and has been employed by the SABC from 1983, is survived by his wife, Andrea, 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 Journand, has requested an urgent meeting of local and foreign press to discuss the danger faced by journalists of all races.

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.
My dawn patrol with Africa’s leading gent

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. These spy-gatherers of intelligence were picked up by the ANC, and the national liberation movements held a special interest and fascination for the press.

Particularly the high-profile ANC. 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 journalists we were, we took our chances and reported a press conference with the ANC.

We knew the foreign press would beat us to the ANC, but we could not be late. We knew our hands were tied. We could never let out what the ANC said or give it the major focus in our stories. Being the journalists we were, we took our chances and reported a press conference with the ANC.

We knew the ANC and the PAC were watching us. But we knew we had to be there.

One thing stood out: the ANC never came across as a pompous politician, as we see in lesser ones these days. Instead he could have been anything but a grand old man in the township. Only the skin-tanned fingers of his hands were not even jealous of him. When he joined the liberation struggle — save for the late Stompie Seipei, the veteran South African as he was — in the ANC, he stood up and carried on with his work.

Once the press conference was over, Tambo looked fresh as a daisy and very alert. “My, 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 was the head of the liberation struggle — save for the late Stompie Seipei, the veteran South African as he was.

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”
Sowetan 23/11/93

Blow for ANC as Tambo dies

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 2am 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. Limpopo Hani, Mr Hani's widow, who was supported through her ordeal by Mrs Tambo, rushed to the side of her close friend.

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

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.

A little love for a dog from the street of tears

MY SHOW ... It's all happening for Kate Normington in the West End.

Our Kate in Lloyd

Radical

Even members of Mr de Klerk's own party wonder if progress can be achieved.
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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]
Tributes pour in for Oliver Tambo as his death strikes the liberation movement

Many honour Tambo

African National Congress (ANC) founder Oliver Tambo, who died in London on May 24, 1992, was remembered with tributes from around the world. South Africa's President F.W. de Klerk, in a statement, said Tambo was a great leader and a visionary who had played a key role in the struggle against apartheid. The Azanian People's Organisation (APO), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and other organisations also expressed their condolences and remembered Tambo as a great leader.

The Soweto-based daily newspaper Sowetan led with a story on May 26, 1993, highlighting the tributes received by Tambo following his death. The article mentions the response from the Commonwealth Secretariat, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, and the African National Congress (ANC), among others. The Sowetan also quotes Oliver Tambo's widow, Mrs. Adelaide Tambo, who said in a statement that her husband's death was a great loss to the ANC and the South African people.

In another article, the newspaper highlights the tributes from the South African religious leaders, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who described Tambo as a man of deep spirituality and a weekday attendant at the Evangelical Church. Tutu's statement is a testament to Tambo's impact on the South African society.

The Sowetan also draws attention to the impact of Tambo's death on the international community, with tributes coming from various countries and organisations. The newspaper quotes Cosatu spokesperson Neil Coleman, who said Tambo’s death had dealt a “nation in mourning a double hammer blow... after the death of Chris Hani.”

The article also mentions the role of Tambo as 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 (COSATU) also paid tribute to Tambo, describing him as a great leader who had left “incredible footprints in the sands of history and his immortal contributions to our struggle will be written in all pages of the history books.”

To receive your FREE copy of the Cambridge Tutoial College prospectus, please fill in the form below and return it to the address provided.
ANC economics head Trevor Manuel says the restructur-ing 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.
ANC national executive member Mr Dullah Omar has called on "all those capable" to join the organisation's military wing, umkhonto we Sizwe.

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’

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 resistance 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 Afrikaner 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.

25/1/93
SACP boss’s blueprint for township peace corps

By BRIAN SOKUTU

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 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 current 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 funeral 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 communities 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”.

(End)
Ngakula to replace Chris Hani

By CHARLENE SMITH

CHRIS HANI’s right-hand man, Charles Ngakula, 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 cowards”. State President FW de Klerk was also warned that the SACP would not take attacks on political activists “lying down”.

Mr Ngakula, 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 Ngakula was born in the Eastern Cape.
Assassination or killing frenzy: faces of chaos

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 been 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 flittered away in manoeuvres to release notorious killers, attempts to placate revulsive 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.

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 skillfully 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).

If 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
in run-up
to voting

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 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 arbiter 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.
SOLIDARITY ... an ANC Youth League member flies the flag during Chris Hani's funeral this week Picture: JOSE SEFALE

IN a country riven by racial fear since the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Carl Moses, the song chanted by Peter Mokaba, ANC youth leader, chilled many white South Africans:

"Kill the beer, 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, 1988 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 disenfranchised 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 followed 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 too close 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 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 percent of the population that is unemployed and the 84 percent 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 Weerstands beweging 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 have "retaliation squads" to hit back at assassins and their organisations.

Western Cape chairman Tony Yengeni, whose constituency the most bloody and destructive march took place after Mr. Hani's death, is also toying 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."
Tambo — the architect of the struggle

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 Sowetan 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 Sowetan news conference yesterday.

In 1944, 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-acquitted in the 1956 Treason Trial with Helen Joseph, who died this year, and 13 others, and through nearly three decades of Mr. Tambo's exile and Mr. Mandela's incarceration they remained in close contact.

By CHARLENE SMITH

When Mr. Mandela and his wife, Winnie, parted it was to the Tambo's 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 Nelsa 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 Luthuli in 1967, and president from 1969 until 1980, when he became national chairman and Mr. Mandela's president.

RELIGIOUS

In 1955, as racist laws bit deeply into South Africa, Mr. Tambo, then secretary-general of the ANC, prophesied that "as long as it is not recognised that the only real bulwark against dictatorship and fascism is the will of the one-white people for democracy, all opposition of white voters alone will continue to be shadow play, marred and ineffective."

A deeply religious man, he provided the ANC with a moral base. Civilian leaders were never an official target of Umkhonto we Sizwe — he spoke out against mass killing in 1986 — but newspapers were refused permission to publish his words.

The 1969 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 Zanzibar, Tanzania and other parts of Africa building the ANC.

In 1950 he married Esther Tshwala, a nurse. On the way to the church, bride, groom and best man were arrested for a pass-law offence and bundled into a police van — they were released just in time for the ceremony.

A powerful, sensitive woman, Mrs. Tambo brought up her three children, Tambi, Dall 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 Dall, 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 1980, 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.
Struggle's strategist

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 Zambian years before, "That is the kind of man he is," Dikgogo 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.

Self-taught and self-taught, Tambo was a respected strategist, and is credited with having masterminded the 1983 Harare Declaration that paved the way for negotiations with the South African Government.

Born the son of a peasant farmer in Zimba in eastern Zambian 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 centre of African leadership, that Tambo became politically active. It was there that he met Mandela. A long-time friend, who later saw him become partners in the first black law firm in Johannesburg in 1932, began.

Tambo obtained his BCom degree from Fort Hare, and later enrolled for an education diploma at the same university. He was not to complete that diploma as he was expelled a month before his final exams for organizing a student protest.

Together with Mandela, Anton Lembede and others, Tambo was a founder member of the ANC's Youth League in 1944, and the following year he was elected its vice-president. He went on to become a member of the ANC's Transvaal executive committee, and in 1950 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 was thrown into arrest and banning, 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.

He married Adelaide Tambo, 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 1959 to attend the ANC's constituent conference in the country.

Over two years Tambo became a major international figure, and was received as a head of state in many countries. He was succeeded in isolating the Government internationally, and by 1974 the ANC had more diplomatic representatives 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 London had claimed responsibility.

In August 1979 Tambo suffered a major stroke which left him partly paralysed, with his speech impaired.

He returned home permanently on June 23, 1981, and the following month was succeeded by Mandela as ANC president. Tambo, however, was appointed as executive 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."
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From there his rise in the ANC was rapid, and like his colleagues in the leadership he had his share of arrests and banishments, until he slipped out of the country in 1962 – just before the ANC and the PAC were banned – to rally international support against Pretoria and form the ANC’s underground.

In 1964 he married Adelaide Tshabangu, 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 conference in 20 years.

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 1990 the ANC had become more diplomatic and representative abroad than the Government.

He had built MK into a formidable fighting force, and whenever bombs exploded in the country, Pretoria was quick to blame the ANC even before there was any shred of evidence. ANC headquarters in Lusaka had claimed responsibility.

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Before handing over the reins, he urged the ANC to adhere to the principles 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 the University of Western Cape.
Tamba of Oliver takes life
A Stroke
In Mourning... Mrs Adelaide

Life of Service to ANC

President and in 1977 President Tamba was elected acting the Chairman of ANC. In 1979, ANC's Abel Mkhize died and Tamba was elected acting the Chairman of ANC. In 1985, ANC held its 20th National Conference. The conference was attended by 2,764 delegates from all provinces of the country. It was attended by 2,764 delegates from all provinces of the country.
Benoni funeral service to be held on Sunday
Omar 'did not make arms call'

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.
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 fearful, 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-haired 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 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 Kapitans 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._

*Aggrey Klaaste’s On the Line*
Tambo funeral: plea to youths from ANC

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, Polly Jordan, Barbara Masekela, Cheryl Carolus, Baleka Ngcokotha, 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 Dalil 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 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 Mossugas, 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.
World pays tribute to Oliver Tambo

By Katzer Nyatsumba
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 Volksnieuwe 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).
Tambo a terrible loss, says Mandela

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."

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

Oliver Tambo 1917-1992
A lifetime devoted to our struggle for freedom and justice

**focus on Tambo**

It was the gentle, measured 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 movements through the three decades it was burned in the country that gave birth to it.

And it was Tambo who materialised the Harare Declaration which in 1969 paved the way for negotiations with the South African Government.

Tambo was born on October 27 1917 in Biza in eastern Pondoland. The son of a peasant farmer, he attended mission schools in the territory before going on to the Anglican-run St John’s Secondary School in Johannesburg in 1935.

In 1938 he enrolled at Fort Hare, where he was recognised as a brilliant student, and graduated with a BSc. He went on to study for an educare diploma but was expelled a month before examinations for organizing a student protest.

It was at Fort Hare that Tambo met Mr Nelson Mandela.

In 1944 he became a full 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 he was elected to the ANC national executive.

In 1953 he was appointed to a law firm in 1950 and in 1952 joined Mandela to form the first black law partnership in South Africa.

In 1952 he ran for a seat in Parliament, losing despite the support of the South African Government.

In 1955 he was arrested and briefly held on charges of treason. The charges were dropped in 1957.

Also in 1956 he married Miss Adahide Tshabuza, with whom he was to have three children.

On their way to the church, bride, groom and best man were arrested for a presentation and thrown into a police van — but were released just in time for the ceremony.

In 1959 Tambo’s banishment was rescinded and the ANC, suspecting that the State was about to ban the movement, decided he should leave the country to seek international support against the South African Government.

“With this he created a viable base for our struggle,” he recalled later years.

He slipped across the border into the Transkei in 1959, 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 African agents.

Threats by Government agents, ill-health and a nomadic lifestyle fraught with danger failed to nudge his determination to forge the African National Congress into a major political force, reports *Sapa*.

Oliver Tambo ... built the ANC in exile.

In 1960, 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 short-lived South African United Front, which included the ANC, PAC, SAPC and what was to become Swapo.

He also began to organise the political and military training in Umkhonto we Sizwe 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 newly-appointed 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, said, that by 1989 the organization 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, missing 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 opponent of the armed struggle.

In an address on the 75th anniversary of the ANC in 1987, he said: “The road to freedom is a long and arduous one. The struggle to protect our freedom will never end until we have won our freedom.

And yet, if the opponents of democracy have their way, we will have to wage this struggle in order to achieve our goal of freedom, justice and peace.”

In the same year he publicly described “new-fangled” freedom as barter for a statement which South African newspapers refused permission to quote.

Tambo restated the 1969 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 resumed to South Africa permanently on June 23 1991. At the ANC’s national conference that followed a few months 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.

“For too many years we have been too weak and we should not be any stronger because it would be unwise. To do so would only mean the destruction of a new South Africa.”

In July 1991 Tambo headed an ANC delegation to talk on forming an anti-apartheid “political front” with some leaders of the black alliance 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 chairmanship of Fort Hare.

He was also treated that year in a Johannes- burg clinic for pneumonia. — *Sapa*.
ANC's Oliver Tambo to be buried in hometown Benoni

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.

A committee headed by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and including Joe Slovo, Thabo Mbeki, Fallo Jordan, Barbara Masekela, Cheryl Carolus, Baleka Mgostrile 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 1950s 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’

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,” the ANC said.

“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

ON his first official visit to the United States in January, 1987, when he travelled to Washington to hold talks with then Secretary of State George Shultz, Oliver Reginald Tambo also paid a 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 organisa tion, 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-wing mountebanks demonstrated outside the State Department, protesting against Mr Tambo's official presence in Washington.

They carried cardboard coffins to draw attention to the exekution in South Africa by "communists" through the "method", of people regarded as self-avowed.

The State Department, at Georgetown University, where I happened to be studying at the time – Mr Tambo impressed his large audience.

Although, however, he was a Christian, and with his long-time friend and lawyer Colleague Nelson Mandela had had a battle with his cellmates as well as with the Government, Mr Tambo refused to respond to a question when a Republican student asked if he was a communist.

At a length reception after the address, I was invited to sit at the table where he, Mr Mbeki and his Georgetown University authorities were seated. Upon hearing that I was a South African, Mr Tambo engaged me in conversation and told me that his other name was "Kaiser".

In September that year ANC leader Tiidi Dithogo was elected as the new head of the Mandela's office in Johannesburg – enrolled at the same university.

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The political life of African National Congress chairman, Oliver Tambo, who died on Saturday aged 75, epitomized the ANC's strive for peace, and was a key player in the peace process. ANC 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.

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ON his first official visit to the United States in January 1987, when he travelled to Washington DC to hold talks with US Secretary of State George Shultz, Oliver Reginald Tambo also paid a lightning visit to Georgetown University to address a select gathering of students and members of the academic staff.

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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 executions in South Africa by "Communist"-led regimes, through the "undecisive" method, of people regarded as "traitors".

A stone's throw from the State Department at Georgetown University, where I happened to be studying at the time, Mr Tambo impressed a huge audience.

However, although he was a Christian, and with his long-time friend and former legal colleague Nkosazana Dlamini having already formed any collaboration with communists in his youth, Mr Tambo refused to respond to a question when a Republican student asked him if he was a communist.

At a luncheon reception after the address, I was invited to sit at the table where he, Mr Mbeki and General-secretary North were sitting. Being told that I was a South African, Mr Tambo engaged me in conversation.

He related a story of a graduate student in Johannesburg who had been asked if his other name was "Ratel".

In September that year ANC radio "Talk Dlakama" - now employed in ANC president Nelson Mandela's office in Johannesburg - was asked if the name was "Ratel".

Mr Tambo, he said, had told him his other name was "Tiso".

"That is the kind of man he is," the laughing Dlakama 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 weacksona (MK), in exile.

Self-doubting, mild-mannered, Mr Tambo was a respected strategist, and is today credited with having masterminded the 1999 "Naboomspruit Declaration" which paved the way for negotiations with the South African government.

Born the son of a peasant farmer in Bizana in eastern Natal on 21 October 1917, Tambo attended mission schools in the region before going on to the Anglican-run St Peter's Secondary School in Johanneshurg in 1932 - 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-lasting friendship, which later saw them becoming partners in the first African-led (he joined the university in 1938 and graduated in 1933).

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 in 1933 the ANC had more diplomatic representation in the government.

He had built MK into a formidable fighting force and had been part of the government negotiations.

In August 1989 he had been arrested and spent many months in prison.

He returned home permanently on January 2, 1991, and the following month was succeeded by Mr Mandela as ANC president. He, however, was appointed the organisation's national chairman.

At the time of his death Mr Tambo was a member of the University of Fort Hare and had been awarded an honorary doctorate in law by the University of Western Cape.

Tributes to Mr Tambo have been paid by political organisations and parliaments in South Africa, as well as from foreign governments and international organisations.

Many have expressed regret that he had died on the eve of a non-racial democracy for which he had fought hard.

Mr Mandela said Mr Tambo had done more than any individual to build the ANC through the years. He was his brother, his comrade, his friend and his colleague, an emotional Mandela said.

President Thabo Mbeki described Mr Tambo as a "remarkable political leader who was a giant among giants".

His passing away takes place at a time when South Africa is going through a crisis. His legacy should guide the way forward," said the UN chief.

Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Ethan Janeiro hand his wife would be more fitting tribute to Mr Tambo than that South Africans of all races should work more vigorously to achieve the ideals to which he devoted his life.

The British government said South Africa had lost "a great national leader in his fight against apartheid, and the attainment of democracy."

The Nigerian government said Mr Tambo's death was a "great loss to the struggle for democracy, and the attainment of democracy."

Mr Tambo's leadership was an example of "comradeship, maturity and dedication", according to the ANC Youth League, which appealed to the youth to pay tribute to the former ANC president by emulating his "outstanding attributes of morality, discipline and selflessness."

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Many have expressed regret that he had died on the eve of a non-racial democracy for which he had fought hard.
THE SACP has announced that Charles Nqakula will succeed the late Chris Hani as party general secretary. The party said on Saturday that 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 agitations, 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.
Seize land back — Makwetu

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 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.

“Both parties committed themselves to doing everything necessary to restore good working relationships,” the statement said.
Date set for Tambo burial

By Thembeka Molefe
Political Reporter

A new National Congress leader Mr. Oliver Tambo, who died quietly at the weekend, will be buried in Belozi on the East Rand where he lived before going into exile three decades ago.

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 the ANC secretary-general Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa has been formed and would provide details later today.

Tambo died aged 76 after suffering a severe stroke at about 3.30am on Sunday at the Milpark Hospital.

His death came two weeks after the assassination of ANC national executive committee member Mr. Chris Hani.

The secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, was also killed. He was buried near Bophuthatswana on April 19.

In a statement at the weekend the ANC said: "This is a moment of profound grief for all South Africans. The death of ANC national chairman OR Tambo, following so soon 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."

The ANC NEC and its regions should hold simultaneous memorial services. They would hold render services at their discretion.

The NEC said that in view of May 1—May Day—falling on Saturday, Tambo’s body would lie in state from noon the next day at regional and local public vigils which would also be announced later in the week.

Tambo’s death came as constitutional negotiations had been delayed by a week because of Hani’s murder. The talks began at the World Trade Centre today.

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.

The ANC’s call for an early election date has never been louder than since Hani’s assassination.
A guiding light through the long years of exile

BEN MACLENNAN

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 master-minded the Harare Declaration which in 1989 paved the way for negotiations with the South African government.

Tambo was born on October 27, 1917, in Bicima 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 1936 he enrolled at Fort Hare, where he was recognised as a brilliant student, and graduated with a BSc. He went on to study for an education diploma but was expelled a month before exams for organising a student protest. He 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 1949 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 1956 he was banned from attending political meetings, although this did not prevent him from continuing to work for the ANC. In 1956 he was elected secretary-general of the movement, and in 1960 became deputy president-general.

In 1966 he was arrested and briefly held on charges of treason. The charges were dropped in 1967.

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 peas law offence and handcuffed into a police van — but were released just in time for the ceremony.

In 1968 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 1968, 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 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, SAPC 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 1969 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 1966, remained an uncompromising proponent of the armed struggle.

In an address on the 75th anniversary of the ANC in 1967, 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 wage 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 1989 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.
A guiding light through the long years of exile

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Hard bargaining starts today

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 164-member council.

It is expected that the recommendations will be accepted by the council.

The committee has suggested the four

To Page 2

Bargaining 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 Randal Foa MP Pieter Mulder and hardliner Schalk Pienaar.
Successor to Hani named

The SA Communist Party elected Charles Ngakula to succeed Chris Hani as general secretary at a meeting of the party's central committee at the weekend.

Ngakula was elected deputy general secretary at the SACP's national conference in 1991.

He is a former journalist restricted to Ciskei in the 1970s. After military training abroad he returned to South Africa as a member of Operation Vula. After military training abroad he returned to South Africa as a member of Operation Vula.
There will be no policy change in the SACP

I will continue Hani's style, says new boss Charles Nqakula:

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 Dispatch 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.
By Stanley Uys

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 the organisation in exile.

A few days later, the state of emergency and the death of almost 1,000 people in Sharpeville were followed by the arrest of 12,000 of the country’s most prominent figures. This came as a shock to the country and the world. It was a signal of the Government’s determination to crush the ANC and its supporters.

In London, on July 31, 1961, Tambo appeared in court charged with treason. He was acquitted, but it was a Pyrrhic victory. The ANC was banned and its leaders were arrested or went into hiding.

As the months passed, the ANC’s outlawed became more determined and more ruthless. The Government’s response was to加大 repression, including the use of violence.

Tambo, who was a member of the ANC’s National Executive Committee, was one of the few leaders who remained in South Africa. He was frequently arrested and interned, but he never gave up his struggle for freedom.

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Tambo’s great sacrifice worked himself to death during exile.

TOLERANT GUIDANCE He literally same tradition of tolerance. If white South Africans really want to know what race strife can be like, they should see what happened in South Africa. He literally worked himself to death during exile.

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 “to a scale not seen since World War II... 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.”

It was then that we decided to embrace violence as a method of struggle.”
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:

Focusing on talks

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:

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

Hearing 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.

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 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-
FOCUS  Negotiations enter decisive period

IF JOURNALISTS ARE HARMED
DEMOCRACY WILL BLEED TO DEATH!
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 Hayson said yesterday.

He said the force, which would be an "enormously credible and visible 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, Hayson 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.

Hayson, 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 marshals, 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 Rynveld 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 overly 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 Rade- meyer 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 Mlidana 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

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".

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.
New negotiations bogged down by row over administrative hitch

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 steamroll the process.

The problem arose when the consolidated 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 relying 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 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 parly 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.
ANC reviews ‘racist’ songs

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.

“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 president 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.
Content to wait for day he knows will come.

Patrick Lawrence profiles Charles Natalja, Chris Harris' successor as SACP general secretary.
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.

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, scarred 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, 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 wayajabula 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:

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 Mosenekete 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 thing or worse, and none of the vociferous complainers of today will understand what he is saying.

Which one will it be? Mokaba’s next address to the young lions will show.
ANC, NP warned of bully tactics

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". — Sopa.
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."
Fear for farmer’s safety is mounting

MARITZBURG — Fears are mounting for the safety of Campedown 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.

In other incidents, police said a man was shot dead in Ladysmith’s Eshakheni 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 Nqutuza.

Sapa reports that police arrested 10 men and found a large cache of firearms and ammunition at Mehlomnyama in the Port Shepstone area.

RAY HARTLEY reports that the Witvaal peace committee officially launched a 24-hour toll-free telephone service to collect information on violence at the opening of its new Braamfontein head-quarters 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 spokesman 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

CAPE TOWN — ANC Western Cape head Tony Yengeni said 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 chipped 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,” he said.

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 reasserted 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.
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. 28/4/93

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.

Meyer denied claims by Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group that the ANC was trying to steamroll the process, saying that the timeframes and the way forward had been discussed with their 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
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, 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."

"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 that offers of assistance were nonprescriptive and reflected the international community's wish to ensure the success of SA's first democratic government.

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 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, he said.

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

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 TradeUnions 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

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 misspent 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.

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 those of Phola Park, a shanty settlement south-east of Johannesburg.

Phola Park residents, who call her “mummy”, say she visits them 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 impracticability 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

THE ANC will not tolerate any further delays in the negotiating process and yesterday warned the IFP it may be sidelined if it continues 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 we-Sizwe 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 senior Inkatha leaders had been killed in the last month, including KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member Siphiwe Gumede of Umqom流转.

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.

Mangope firm on freedom

WATCH OUT. — 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.

Own Correspondent
Hani's successor says he sees hope amid Red rubble

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 combative ness frequently in his voice, Mr Nqakula is softly spoken and almost gentle in his politeness.

But the pair have much in common. Both were the sons of 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 16 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 tough and go because we were very, very poor."

He speaks fondly of his first headmaster at St James Primary School in Cradock, the Rev James Arthur Calata, a former general-secretary of the ANC.

"I 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."

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 Iziko Zabanianda and the East London Daily Dispatch.

While working for the Dispatch, 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 genuine political influence. But he denies ever abandoning ANC ideology for black consciousness.

"I'm not sure. These were the days when the ANC was still divided in that area in which I worked. The ANC was trying to deal with the issue of black consciousness."

He tells of a banning order which he was first set on as a computer scientist. He moved into a new house and his birth, when "Fakazi" became nominally independent in 1911: 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."

IN HANI'S SHOES: The new general secretary of the SA Communist Party, Mr Charles Nqakula.

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 reassess 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 in the ANC list of candidates in the elections seemed 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

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.
Govt 'hijacking forum'

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.

The delegation, comprising civic groups, the ANC and Coasa, told a news conference the non-statutory organisations wanted it to be a negotiating forum to draw up interim local government structures.

The delegation met yesterday to draw up a formal response to Local Government Minister Tertius Delport's proposals, made in Parliament last week, on 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 also rejected a number of Delport's proposals, including one that a voting list be drawn up according to property ownership rights. 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 Nyatsumba
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.

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 connection with a chest infection.

His body will lie in state in Benoni from 6am 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 1pm today, at the Methodist Church in Meadowlands, Soweto, tomorrow evening and at Jabulani Amphitheatre at 11am on Friday."
Courtesy surprise at 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 South Africans Group, which allowed down the pace of negotiations at the World Trade Centre on Monday.

Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Viljoen 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 SAPC 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.”
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 Frere 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

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 multiparty 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 already 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 continued (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 spoliting 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 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 subject 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.
Be thankful for Tampico, Mandela and Sinu

South Africa can count itself lucky the ANC is the government in waiting. Wittingly or unwittingly, the events in London

South Africa can count itself lucky the ANC is the government in waiting. Wittingly or unwittingly, the events in London
There must be freedom, peace and jobs for all

By Mzimasi Ngudle

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) 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 Modise 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: "Freedom, 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.

Maivha said NACTU was anticipating the emergence of new interests in the post-apartheid South Africa.

"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 clue 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 rising 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 shaved 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 remain peaceful, or leading 70,000 people in the singing of Hamba Khale 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 step-gap measure.

**Jeremy Cronin.** Politburo member Cronin, an able speaker and the party's leading theoretician, is also unlikely to 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 negotiations 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

By Stanley Uys

THE Guardian Weekly

23 April 1993

SINCE Chris Hani's assassination, the ANC leadership has felt the hot breath of the "young comrades" on their necks. Nelson Mandela, a noble and earnest man, has cut a tragic figure, enduring attacks of radicalism as he tries to explain away the ANC's corruption scandal.

In the past year, Mandela has often been 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 the ANC's Manchurian candidate—a leader programmed to lead his people astray—has been spreading among the ANC's young bloods, who believe that the new multi-party forum (Codenca's success) 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 presidency is a calumnious one of the most remarkal men South Africa has produced. Without him, the country would still be suffering under apartheid. He was the leader of the ANC, which was fighting for a better country. He is the general secretary of the ANC I voted into office.

Professor Herbert Adam, one of the most experienced apartheid watchers, added: "The ANC has been reduced to anti-trust legislation and affirmative action; it has no clear goals, just a coalition of power. The world, if it seems, exerts an even stronger pull. . . . The more far-sighted members of the ANC realize that they have to change their strategy. . . . They will not succeed 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 on one day and the liberation flag up the next. The powerful symbolism of the flag, however, the catharsis of a sudden transition, is necessary for a young nation's psyche, will not occur.

It is not difficult then to foresee the shape of the future opposition. It will be the dissenters (above), oriented towards nationalism (to counter the legacy of black-white rule), towards socialism (to settle accounts with a still dominant capitalism), and towards purification (to extinguish corrupt and criminal tendencies). But the centre should hold—just. Returning to this position.
Culture to counter crisis

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.

IFAAS 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.
South Africans face a Nongqawuse choice if political activists continue to batter the economy this way and the way.

This is the view of Standard Bank’s chief economist, Mr. Nico Czyponka, following the loss of production after Mr. Hansi’s death.

Hansi, the slain SAPC general secretary, was killed at his home at Dawn Park near Boksburg, allegedly by a Polish immigrant said to be opposed to Hansi’s communist beliefs.

Czyponka said that the political dispensation emanating 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 Hansi, 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 the apartheid that had brought about the stagnation of the economy.

“All evidence proves that apartheid is causing a lower flow of growth in the economy,” Naidoo said.

He said the prerequisite for growth of the economy rests on a rapid transition to democracy.

Nonetheless, Czyponka insisted that the many holidays over Easter and the fact that stayaways were staged to mark the death of Hansi, could have a destabilising effect on the economy.

“There was a lot of productive activity during the past month,” he said. “The economy is in a bad state. The state of the economy is a factor that will worsen the state of the economy,” Czyponka 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 and 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 fulfill the demands that its constituency may require.

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 confidence, even among those who voted it into power.

Expanding on his Nongqawuse theory, Czyponka said just as the famed Nongqawuse instructed the Xhosas 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 of the opportunity of getting jobs because of the inability of the economy to provide jobs,” he said.

It is in this context that Czyponka 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 Czyponka sentiments.
Norway ‘will not abandon ANC’

STEFANUS 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’

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 limelight, 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 am 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 SAPC, 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 SAPC 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 SAPC’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 SAPC will jointly contest elections with the ANC will not damage its ability to put forward more radical ideas within the alliance, but SAPC 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, but it is very difficult to predict exactly how this is going to come about.”

But Nqakula says the SAPC remains a Marxist-Leninist party which still hopes to achieve communism in SA at some point in the distant future.

“There is no brake 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,” he says.

“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 process 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 SAPC envisages a 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. 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 SAPC 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.

Whether business likes it or not, it was they who have firmly up the apartheid regime. If business made the decision to cross the Rubicon...
It’s time the print media took a long, hard look at itself

by Anna C Starcke

The 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 SAPC general secretary during his lifetime instead of informing the public at large about what the man really stood for, and then hit out at 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 mistake has been 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 about the ANC itself. What the public is entitled to is the truth — why is that condemnation only forthcoming now?

The Not Afraid To Kill! The Boers chant has in the past-February 1989 period been an integral part of every conflict action happening, be it a march, a public rally, or any other kind of mass meeting — as PAC officials, piqued at being unilaterally taken for granted by their equally despicable chant of One Settler, One Bullet have repeatedly pointed out. Nobody rocks the boat, nobody upsets the applecart. I have had the same experience. Those to whom I brought those nasty songs included individual editors, and they railed at the lack of getting to know each other meetings (once

by way of explaining why I could not join in the happy toiyi-toiyiing of the assembled brotherhood), and organisers of a Peace Freedoms reconciliation march through Alexandra (where my fellow white reconciliators appeared to think I was not showing quite the right spirit), and I kept 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 mollifying chant, etc) that PAC officials are so anxious to offer about the settler slogan.

So now everybody focuses on Mokaba, the man officially charged, heretofore almost totally unknown. Who is he? I have been keeping up with the translation of “be the bomb in the series for making SA ungovernable”, and who could perhaps be forgiven for thinking he is being made a scapegoat. After all, most of the time things are forgotten (or, I am led to believe, NCE member) 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 helped us with the translation, the alliance killing chants, most of which of the PAC, have been exclusively in Xhosa and Zulu. Obviously whites, those of the media included, could not be bothered to find out what black counterparts so passionately sing about when they toiyi-toiyi 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 Mokaba that was so movingly sung by Sam Shilowa at Chris Hani’s funeral?

Still, on the subject of Peter Mokaba, there was previously some raised eyebrows raising no small amount of the truth 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 teeming masses”. He was quoted as adding “as it has been done many times before”.

I am not the only one who thought that this statement should have brought the combined political Press corps down on him. Indeed — 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 under threat 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 badges, and including those in the lead car of the Alexander contingent — were shouting mainly Viva Apla.

I should like to add for the record that I had 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 there that of Dr 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 secretary-general Thabo Magwede at the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, that 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.

Consequently, at a subsequent meeting a man who called himself an Apla commander gave a speech of breathtakingly unabridged racist venom — and received the same sort of rapt applause from the same sort of black political audience that had applauded Madumile in 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 Terreblanche’s much-quoted remark about wanting to have killed Helen Joseph because her newspaper was 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 expressions of members of the black community concerning the depth of skills rather than in the presumed lack thereof. That the ANC and its alliance partners in relation to the incoming public service.

If there is one area where amalga-

misation brings pleasant surprises is in discovering the breadth of new talent. We now rank the alliance and other front organisations and politically recently disenfranchised. The general public should be told more about the future.

Chris Hani’s obsequies death will not have been in vain as 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 informed parochial media in this crucial period of transition.
Mass action to go ahead if
govt fails to meet demands

THE ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance yesterday said it would press ahead with plans for mass action unless government meets 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 assured 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 grassroots 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

MARITZBURG — Two men gave evidence in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday supporting the alibi of Nkanyiso 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 and alleged that Inkatha-affiliated schoolchildren and their drivers were responsible.

He denied evidence by co-accused Mathabang Ab- solom 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 his home of Bonginkosi Ntombele in the company of KwaZulu policemen who escorted him on the day of the incident.

Ntombele and Mkhele gave evidence supporting the 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 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 discovered AR-47 rifles and an R1 rifle.

Lea 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. Ntombele and Mkhele'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 all current levels of consump- tion SA's natural timber resources would be exhausted within 50 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 logging 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 put British imports to SA at $1.3bn compared to SA's $1.5bn in exports during 1991.

Sasfo 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 Verwoerding, 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 ANO) 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.
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 "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 0.8%, 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.
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
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 26.

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 Boer 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
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 taken 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 should look at the Hani funeral — this song was sung by everyone, 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 Waville 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

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 Transnational 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 organizations 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 tri-cameral 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.

The situation changed, however, when on September 26 last year ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W 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 Onpa 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 realize 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, stalling 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 Dikwankwela Party, Gqozo’s unpopular Ciskei government and Amniend Hadjabani’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 or 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) 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 left organisations 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.
NGK pulls 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 beast, kill the farmer".

Dr Frits Gaunt, 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.
Hani deserved Catholic rites

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 midst 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.
ANC MPs tackle the system from within

Tony Yengeni, the African National Congress (ANC) western Cape secretary, was portrayed in the media as a wild anarchical thug and violent Cape Town-born after the death of Chris Hani. On Wednesday last week, however, he was having lunch in the VIP Room in Parliament, subsidised by South African taxpayers and complimented of the Speaker.

Seldom before have the contradic- tions between ANC’s extra-parlia- mentary street politics and its small and somewhat anarchical base been so explicitly highlighted.

The occasion was the celebration of the first session of the ANC’s official delegation in Parliament. The ANC MPs were on the floor, when cars were stroked, shops were looted, and people were broken and people in Cape Town, seemed to have been forgotten while lunch and Cape were served by parliamentary staff.

Hosts of the lunch in the VIP Room, next door to the function room where Harold McMillan in the 1960s delivered his famous words of “change” spoke, 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’s secretary, Abigail Kakoalo (vice-chairman), Willie Hofmeyr (party assistant secretary), national executive council (NEC) member, Reg September, and invited representatives of the Left.

For a short while parliamentary and extra-parliamentary ANC members, faced the heart of South Africa’s power structure — those in white suits clad in customary suits and ties and the ANC MPs in mostly leather jackets and t-shirts.

For Janice Memmberg, Rob Philippsen, Sylvia Bacher, and Jean and Jann van Eik, it was a nostalgic, comforting feeling. They were finally able to “hit the politi- cal real people of South Africa,” as quoted Dalling.

On the steps of state... ANC MPs Pierre Cronje, Rob Haswell, Janice Memmberg and Sylvia Bacher stand in Tshwane Outside Parliament Photo: ERIC MILLER

Tony Yengeni has urged ANC members not to leave their future in the hands of ANC’s 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 pre- sence” reminded him of the national spotlight during the recent Black stone-throwing-fiasco in Cape Town. He was caught in its wake.

Assumptions were made that a panel-bashing 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 Yengeni? Born in 1954, the eldest of Lesh, an assist- ant professor at Cape Town University, and Olive Yengeni, a fact that he grew up in relative poverty in Nyanga and Gugulethu. He left the war. When Lizo Nkomo, MK regional commander in the western Cape, was arrested in April 1989, 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, includ- ing Lumka Nyama, whom he later married, and Jerry Schreiner. In one of the longest and most publicised political trials in the western Cape, the trialists were finally granted bail in mid-August in 1990. In March 1991 Yengeni was granted immunity by the government.

He helped convince him of the need for a stronger ANC in the western Cape branch.

At the moment he is a man of the ANC in the western Cape branch. Since Hani’s assassination, the power balance in the western Cape has shifted back decidedly from the ANC to the National Party, which traditionally took the brunt of apartheid’s brutality. While Bosbok — nowrenamed the PWV in Groenlo- k — an interrupted visit abroad, it was Yengeni who gave expression to the anger of the public.

A new spirit has taken root in the Cape area. Some are efforts to placate the public, but not in the 1980s, whites and coloureds are again able to live side by side, as if no assistance is welcome — “as long as you remember that you are freelancers in the hands of the ANC,” he said.

In his sparsely furnished office Yen- geni quietly assures that there are people in the ANC with stronger opinions on certain issues than others. “Some people are more radical, but that is nor- mally in any political party or move- ment. He denies that he is challenging the leadership. “I did think 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 told his student audience: “We must strengthen the ANC, because if violence is to be ended, I hope we can deal with it constructively.”

He said, “The youth of the country, for instance, should be more directly involved in taking the lead in the liberation struggle.”

An an, in a clear repudiation of ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, who publicly accused the ANC from stone-throwing youths as “unable to control their youth” and accused them of being agents provocateurs. “It is completely wrong to dismiss the youth as agents provocateurs,” he said, “and to distance ourselves from them. The realistic approach is to accept that violence is part of life and work with them to solve the problem.”

Now, he says, is the time for the youth to come together. “Look at the histo- ry of the struggle.”

The 1980s were the Youth 1980s. The 1990s are to be the Youth 1990s. The process forward. In this crisis we need to see the youth as an anarchistic or disloyal threat. We need somehow to mould them into a potential force to be utilized."

His guided line, says Yengeni, is the sight 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 have then channelised constructively."

While the power in the ANC structures in the western Cape in the past was determined by the black townships — away from Bosbok to Yengeni — the real question is how many whites, the majority of voters in the area, have been alienated from the ANC by the new, angry rhetoric. Yes, there are leadership problems in the area, that the ANC is not in the black township — away from Bosbok to Yengeni — the real question is how many whites, the majority of voters in the area, have been alienated from the ANC by the new, angry rhetoric. Yes, there are leadership problems in the area, that the ANC is not in the black township — away from Bosbok to Yengeni — the real question is how many whites, the majority of voters in the area, have been alienated from the ANC by the new, angry rhetoric. Yes, there are leadership problems in the area, that the ANC is not in the black township — away from Bosbok to Yengeni — the real question is how many whites, the majority of voters in the area, have been alienated from the ANC by the new, angry rhetoric. Yes, there are leadership problems in the area, that the ANC is not in the black township — away from Bosbok to Yengeni — the real question is how many whites, the majority of voters in the area, have been alienated from the ANC by the new, angry rhetoric.
Extra marshals to be on duty

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.
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.
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.

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;
- 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

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 South African Communist Party chief Chris Hani.

Repeating 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

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 Soul Brothers 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 disrupt 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. Mourneres 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 Tusago, 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

By Ronald Segal

OLIVER Tambo, who was murdered on April 25, 1977, was born in Bizana in Eastern Pondoland, one of those impoverished black rural areas designated by pre-apartheid whites as a “homeland”.

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 for fewer who found at Fort Hare, the only African university college. Oliver was amongst these, graduated in 1941, then got his education in the United States and he went on to teach at St Peter’s until 1947.

He was and remained a committed Anglican. For a time he even considered converting to the Church of England. Instead he studied law and in 1952 he established with Nelson Mandela the first African partnership between the two races in South Africa.

Both men had already risen to prominence. The country’s racist system. Oliver had been among the first to organise the Black 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 begin the politics of repression 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 1958 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 1960, he was banned for a period of five years.

One week after Sharpeville, on March 21, 1960, during the upsurge of black protests that followed, the government outlawed the ANC. Oliver had secretly travelled to Cape Town and we were together we were together. The ANC’s national executive had decided that, in this event, he should try to establish an organisation based abroad and to drive him back to Johannesburg and then over the border into what was then the British High Commission territory of Bechuanaland. He 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 embellishment 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 redouble 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 compulsion 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?

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 six-week schedule laid down by President F W 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 valid, 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."

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 Cosag. It is more inclusive, having drawn in the CP and PAC. The IFP is no longer a lone and sometimes insecure voice of dissent as it often was on various issues at Cosag. 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 Cosag 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 Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and its subcouncils 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

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 SACP's congress.
Rifts develop on schools strategy

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 establishment 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 Cosas (Concerned South Africans Group) forces".

Mass action plans — if the deadline is missed — include a tax boycott and a national strike.

THE WEEKLY MAIL, April 30 to May 6 1993

Reportage.
ANC looking to UK for support

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 1962.
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 that was good in the world.
"I have not disclosed the influence which British and British history and culture exercised on us."
"You must also remember that Britain is the home of parliamentary 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."

ANC leader Nelson Mandela.
"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 messages as "a clear attempt to create a psychosis of fear, and terrorise ANC leaders, their families and the ANC in general".

"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.
MK unit to keep order at funeral

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 Zweel 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.
De Klerk and Mandela are ready to share power

PRESIDENT FW 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 then 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, Sapo-Reuters.
NELSON MANDELA had to visit and give pep talks to various African National Congress departments this week in order to boost morale. The combined effects 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 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 who was the embodiment of the ANC-in-exile. Tambo's personal style combined firm principal, unbending determination and an old-worldly grace that came to characterize the ANC as a whole — and in particular, as the ANC prepares to take part in government.

The shock in the ANC can also be attributed to the man's popularity. From state-room sessions Umshikwento weleka (MK guerrillas) through jail-hardened cadre to the grey-suited negotiator, Tambo struggled to find ANC members who do not express heartfelt respect for the man who led the organisation for 30 years of difficult and bitter exile.

This should come as a surprise, because he was better known as a diplomat than as 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 prtecteg 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 unassuming, almost folksy ways — that won over arch-critics in white South Africa during the first contacts with the establishment in the critical years of 1983 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 stood 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 peace, began the planning that led to the Harare Declaration of 1985.

And it was he who campaigned, in crucial meetings in the late 1980s, with United States secretary of state George Schultz and Soviet premier Michael Gorbatuchv, to take the South 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 and style and policy faced serious challenges from below. The first was in the late 1960s, after the failure of the Winterkop campaign, the ANC's first major military effort.

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 Monogram 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 breakdown of what became known as the "group of eight", a core of nationalists that challenged the Monogram 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 hard criticism from below and direct challenges to their leadership. At both, he heard out his opponents, responded and held on to his reins of authority.

One was his style: to listen a lot, to seek consultation, 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 usually 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 atrocities 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 Vaal, the major effort 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 discussions rather than swift action. Mbeki, who was almost always at Tambo's side during the 1980s, described him as spending many hours thinking through problems, making extensive notes during the seemingly carefully prepared 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 austere, more direct leadership. When Mbeki sought consensual, 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 pariah: Tambo never drank — except during a visit to Cuba in 1987, when Fidel Castro insisted he taste the revolution with rum. He closed his eyes, threw it back and later remarked: "That was 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, blisters and all, that his mother pointed out they were high-heeled women's shoes.

The picture that emerges is one of drive and determination that saw him through a difficult childhood and the many satisfactions 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 happened during all those years.

Says close associate Frene Giwatsa: "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 near, but not quite, complete.
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, bellying an underlying realization 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 murder 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 more as a warning and a show of force.

• President FW de Klerk’s assurance on Wednesday evening that South Africa would not unilaterally incorporate 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 more 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. Undisputed by the cluster 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 “Do 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 plan 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 principle 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 NFP’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 de Jonge 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 Mathebe, Aubrey Thompson and Jaco Maree.
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 Cosas 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 repeat 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. 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 Cosas 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, governing 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 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 the international community and the media watching today's events closely, the Cosas 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.

Cosas 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.
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 SAPC has come about because of the SAPC’s “steadfast belief in democracy, human rights and the eradication of apartheid.” Sexwale says he is not a member of the SAPC 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 Robben 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.
Mass action coercive, probe told

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.