

â\200\230APRIL 4, 1993

UNDH"/

/RIBUME

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owan Cronje served the Ciskei and Bophi¬\201thatswana

P Sam Sole

i

' WAS Bophuthatswana kingpin

Rowan Cronje acting for the South

. African government when he went

to work, first for Ciskeiâ\200\231s ex-Presi-
dent Lennox Sebe, and then for Dr
Lucas Mangope?

In parliament this week Demo-
cratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan
again raised the question of
whether Mr Cronje and Inkatha
advisors Walter Felgate and Al-
bert Blauwstein were paid by the
state for â\200\234certain activitiesâ\200\235.

Mr Jordaan quoted from an â\200\234in-
telligence packageâ\200\235 he claimed
had been sent to him anonymously
in September 1990 and which
formed the basis for blowing the
lid off the Inkathagate scandal.

He said the package contained

denied the charges and challenged

his

Â£ but heâ\200\231s been accused of mainly acting for South Africa

Whoâ\200\231s

the names of people who were
used by SA intelligence commu-
nity to â\200\234turnâ\200\235 homeland leaders,
including the IFPâ\200\231s Mr Felgate
and Mr Cronje. Both men have -

Mr Jordaan to repeat them out-
side the protection of Parliament.

*. Mr Jordaan said Mr Felgateâ\200\231s

association with' Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi was described as an

absolute success story.

« On Mr Cronje, Mr Jordaan

-quoted the following from his doc-
uments: Cronje was sent to Cis-

kei but could not counter the negative influences (a number of

names are mentioned) around

Sebe. In Boputhatswana he is however extremely successful.

If Mr Jordaan's claims are true they would explain some of the circumstances surrounding Mr

Cronje's movements after he left

Zimbabwe where he was a minister

in Ian Smith's government.

In November 1981, shortly before

he left Zimbabwe, it was reported

that Mr Cronje had been appointed a director of Jalc Holdings and would be involved in the development of the Queenstown area.

Jalc was later revealed by the Harms Commission to have been used by Military Intelligence as a cover organisation to infiltrate agents into the homelands. Jalc director Chris van Rensburg told the Tribune this week Mr Cronje had been called in because of his industrial development expertise, but his directorship had never gone through.

boss?

In January 1982 Mr Cronje was appointed as a special advisor to Ciskei President Lennox Sebe, but was sacked suddenly after only nine weeks in office.

At the time President Sebe said the reasons for his dismissal would shock the country. Mr Sebe refused to elaborate at the time but would only say: 'The truth will come out' and 'he will be unmasked'.

Later the official reason given for the sacking was that Mr Cronje had been disparaging

about Ciskei while on an overseas visit accompanying Mr Sebe, but the deposed president told the Tribune this week that this was definitely not the reason for Mr Cronje's dismissal.

Mr Sebe, who said he feared litigation if he spoke out, said the real reasons were "very sensitive". He would not be drawn ex-

cept to say that the disclosures made by Mr Jordaan did not sur-

prise him.

A month after his sacking Mr Cronje was appointed an advisor to President Mangope in Botswana.

Meanwhile Africa Confidential, a British magazine with close ties to the British intelligence community, this week reported that Mr Jordaan's disclosures had weakened the hawks within Inkatha.

It said National Party supporters of dovish chief negotiator Roelf Meyer were privately jubilant at Mr Jordaan's questions, but that Law and Order minister Hernus Kriel had confronted him in the parliamentary corridors and asked him if he was intent on destroying the government's intelligence capability. Both responses were confirmed by Mr Jordaan this week.

- A e,

PLA is the latest dreaded acronym in the lexicon of South Africa's political violence.

It has emerged dramatically and g

rapidly, seemingly out of nowhere; in fact, it has been incubating for decades to become white South " Africa's Public Enemy Number One, as well as the tormentor of the African National Congress, the principal representative of black opinion. . .

So great is the ANC's hostility that Chris Hani, the former commander of the ANC's guerrilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and now General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, has angrily accused Apla of being a secret force working in collusion with the 'Boers' security forces.

Apla's killing of white civilians, including children, has met with blanket condemnation, but without any serious attempt to understand what it represents, or why its graffiti slogan, 'one settler, one bullet', is displayed so widely.

A year ago when I asked Clarence Makwetu, president of the Pan-Africanist Congress, how he justified the use of the slogan, he answered that it should not be taken too literally. 'It is something,' he said, 'which the boys

picked up from the liberation

struggle in Zimbabwe.'

It was seemingly useful as agit-prop; now it has become proper action. -

- APLA stands for the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the armed wing of the PAC. While the

. PAC works legally above ground, and is even participating in the all-party talks for a democratic constitution, Apla works underground as a violent movement. The two are umbilically joined, yet it is unclear whether the PAC exercises effective control over its armed wing, or whether it approves of its tactics. It has justified Apla's existence, and reacts to its more inde-

fensible attacks with ambiguous
and ambivalent statements.

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Vengetul young bl
Aplaâ\200\231s emergence a

acks have found
t this critical per

a vehicle for their ang

er and, as understandable as it might be,
iod in South Africaâ\200\231s history could have terrifying repercussions.

Although it is at odds with the major black players, and even its legal wing, the PAC, all
parties sense
the danger of alienatin

What is clear, though, is that
even if it chose to do so, the PAC |
cannot impose its discipline over
Apla. It is a force with its own |
leadership and agenda.

So, what is Apla? What is its ap--
peal? And what is its strength?

To find some answers to these
questions I went to Sharpeville to
observe the PACâ\200\231s commemoration
service of the cold-blooded killing
and wounding of 249 unarmed and
frightened civilians on that dark
day of March 21 1960 which be-
came a red letter day in South
Africaâ\200\231s political history. Apart
from a few media cameramen, my
wife and I were the only whites at
the gathering.

The crowd was small, no more
than 3000. Sharpevilleâ\200\231s other

| 20000 or so residents chose to

spend the day in Sunday relaxa-

tion, despite the attraction of PAC
| luminaries, including its president.

The most striking feature of the
crowd was that it comprised some
90 percent of keen-faced, alert
youngsters in their teens or early
twenties. Many wore T-shirts emb-
lazoned with slogans such as â\200\234One
Settler, One Bulletâ\200\235, â\200\234Arm the Stu-
dents for Liberationâ\200\231â\200\231, and
â\200\234Forward to Victory with Aplaâ\200\235.

While the older people greeted
us in a friendly manner, the young-
stersâ\200\231 reaction was more mixed. A

few were quiteâ\200\231 friendly with my
wife, but my reception was cold,
with many muttered utterances of
â\200\234settlerâ\200\235.

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and its aims. Africa

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decidedly militaristic.
It was an occasion
for the release of deep.

. anger which was pro-
- voked early by an el-

derly party leader
who explained that
her husband was ab-
sent because, the
night before, their
backdoor had been
broken down by secu-
rity forces, and her
young son was taken
away screaming. She
did not know what
had since happened to
him. Her statement
was greeted by angry
cries of â\200\234â\200\230one settler,
â\200\234one bulletâ\200\235.

One speaker, refer-
ring to the previous
dayâ\200\231s events when
four Apla cadres had
opened fire on a pass-
ing car, killing a
white woman and two
children and wound-
ing several other chil-
dren (after their de-
clared intention of
ambushing a bus-load
of schoolchildren had

he speeches, understandably
emotional in recalling what
pened in

were punctu
| settler,

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imaginary weapons accompanie

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when thousands of
children Were
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them now
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uth in their own ranks, all potential supporters of Apla
expert COLIN LEGUM

astray), de-
«The whites
en their
re killed; |

reports. -

â\200\224 There is strong evi
gest that, on "
youngsters only desire to seâ\202¬ an
end to the insecurity and oppress-

the whole, black

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of their lives,

make up for st}
pursuing their education and ca-

reers. However, there is also evi-

and want only to

the locust years by

dence pointing to considerable diÂ\$-
satisfaction among the ANCâ\200\231s

supporters over its concil-
olplg?es and its alleged

wgoftnessâ\200\235 in the negotiaing pro-.

cess which many. of them believe is

. leading nowhere.

The long years of

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legacies

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key of the
the lingering
of apartheid.

this is true,
little open,

One hears criticism of the ANC's policy having the effect of stifling the emotional feelings of its younger members, while Apla and the PAC encourages the release of this anger. Evidence of grassroots discontent in the ANC is to be found in the temper of its youth wing's resolutions, and in tensions between it and the older leadership. For example, black youngsters

seem to continue to defy the ANC's line

against organised school boycotts and some are actively involved in the political violence in the townships and homelands.

- However, Apla is engaged not only in promoting policies of revenge and in aggressive demands for the redress of age-old griev-

ances; its resistance is based on a

of non-racism and its active discouragement of revanchism:

belief that the current negotiations are premature and that it is necessary to continue the armed strug-

gle against the enemy to secure

true liberation; otherwise, it argues, the outcome of the negotiations between parties of unequal power 'will result only in a watered-down compromise that would leave most of the political and economic control in the hands of whites.

The PAC insists that there is no inconsistency between its reluctant involvement in the negotiating process and its support for armed violence. Its policies differ fundamentally from the ANC's. It rejects the ANC's decision to suspend the armed

s_struggleâ\200\235 which it in-
sists must be kept up
until â\200\224 and here its
conditions vary â\200\224 the
security forces are
disarmed, or until
there is agreement
about elections on a
universal franchise
for an interim govern-
ment.

While the PACâ\200\231s po-
sition is likely to be
weakened if the
â\200\230multi-party talks suc-
ceed â\200\230in achieving
these conditions, the
appeal of Apla to the
younger generation is
unlikely to be similar-
ly weakened before
the promised reforms
begin to show positive
results on the ground.

Meanwhile, the
PAC itself seems to
be divided into three
groups: those who be-
lieve the movement
will become margina-
lised if it is not part of
a negotiated settle-
ment; those who fa-
vour militant policies
but favour suspending
the armed struggle;
and those who give
unqualified support to
Apla. What seems cer-
tain is that if the PAC

GOVERN
L A R O

IEI (AS a strange spectacle. Inkathaâ\200\231s
Joe Matthews backing communist
boss Joe Slovo, the Indian Congressâ\200\231s
Cachalia supporting the govern-
mentâ\200\231s Tertius Delpont and the ANCâ\200\231s
Ramaphosa amicably agreeing

_with everyone. ;
t was agitating them was a sub-
t so arcane that the nuances es-
caped most observers: should the is-
sue of the form of the state of the new
Soqth Africa be discussed as a separ-
ate, 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 â\200\224
tedjous 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 â\200\224 the two key
plq;yers realise that unless all the par-

MENT-ANC DEALIS AT
F NEGOTIATIONS

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT
By EDYTH BULBRING

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

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

to the other parties.

They will attempt to keep all the

participants together for as long as
le. 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 se! the ANC-gov-
ernment package d begin.

Having skilfully managed to lock
all the parties into a process and
achieved agreement on an agenda and
body for constitutional talks, the le-
gitimacy of the process has been es-
tablished.

That body will be known as the
negotiating council. All 26 parties par-

ticipating in the talks will be repre-
sented 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
countryâ\200\231s future is being negotiated
openly and democratically by all the
parties.

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

closed doors to thrash out compro-
mises 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 op-
erate in conjunction with the govern-
ment. In effect, the government will
no longer have the unbridled power to
do as it pleases.

With the establishment of the TEC,

ban election date will be set and the

parties will begin their cam i
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. â\200\230

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

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

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

This government of national unity

will rule the country for five years under an interim constitution, which

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

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

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

We are also likely to see walkouts by negotiators, grandstanding and | deadlocks, even between the two key

. players. But the deal hammered out

by the ANC and the government is on

track and unlikely to be diverted.

NE&P\EMD il e e

/Reincorporation moves gain impetus

Bantustans

cost R16bn

MOVES to reincorporate homelands into South Africa come at a time when subsidies of all 10 rickety â\200\234bantustanâ\200\235 administrations are due to rocket to a staggering R16,8 billion this year.

The impending reincorporation of the failed homelands was negotiated at Codesa and has gained impetus over the past few months. It has come

' to a head following the latest crisis between South Africa and Transkei over Apla bases in Transkei.

The government now finally concedes that the Verwoerdian dream has turned into a political and financial nightmare which has cost South African taxpayers untold billions in
) ï-\202 ing up corrupt and waste-

omeland governments.

African National Congress negotiators said that the moves to reincorporate the homelands were subject to discussions with various homelands.

â\200\234We must try to ensure that

The impending reincorporation of the homelands could save . South African taxpayers billions.
DAVID BREIER Â¥4/ %7

Weekend Argus Political Staff

in the move to reincorporation, the involvement of bantustan residents in South African elections must be secured as well as their right to free political activity,â\200\235 an ANC negotiator said.

The ANC is due to hold discussions soon with nominally-independent Bophuthatswana

and the Inkatha Freedom Party in the self-governing KwaZulu

the strongest homeland governments who both advocate strong regional government in the new South Africa.

With the estimated population of the four independent and six self-governing homelands now put at 16,7 million,

the South African taxpayer is subsidising each homeland resident by about R1000 a year. But much of this ends up in the pockets of politicians, bureaucrats and shrewd operators. Government sources this week confirmed plans to end the independence of the TBVC homelands within the next few months. The plan is to replace their existing governments with Administrator-Generals and Administrative Councils until an elected interim government takes over.

The exception could be Botswana which is the only

BVC state to have a civilian government and which has been less of a financial disaster than the other three. '

At the same time the government is engaged in drawing the six self-governing homelands closer into the South African administration with a view to reducing the sort of vast corruption and abuses that were exposed last year in Lebowa and KwaNdebele.

APRIL 4, 1993

armed cadres to as many as 7000 |
trained, though not yet fully |
armed, men. This latter figure was
suggested to me by a PAC sup-
porter who is 1f strongly op-
posed to Apla and therefore is not

likely to exaggerate the figure. But -
whatever the true figure, the reser-

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voir of potential strength fro
among the angry youth, is undoubt-
edly large enough to enable Apla
to continue waging IRA-
rorism. B

The present prospec

Apla will continue its

â\200\234killing whitesâ\200\235, and :
make a distinction between

and â\200\234hardâ\200\235 targets. In the words o
its commander, Sabelo Phama: â\200\234I
have a problem with the term â\200\230soft
targetâ\200\231 because even children are
taught in school to shoot, and that
there is a need for an armed South
Africa. In other words, immediate-
ly you teach a person to handle
a firearm, the issue of being a
civilian is subject to debate.â\200\235

He has promised that 1993 will be â\200\234The Year of the Storm; it means we will be increasing our activities and continue with our programme on all frontsâ\200\235. w

One of the troubles with this kind of statement is that 1993 has also been designated by ri%ht-wing Afrikaners as the year for blocking the negotiating process. K

Showing some understanding for what motivates Apla is one thing, but judfing its role in the present critica matter. Apart from the inhumanity of shooting children and other, mostly randomly chosen, white ci-

- vilians, however this is rational-ised, Aplaâ\200\231s policies are question-able for a number of other reasons. First, although an armed strug-

gle can be justified when no other constitutional alternative exists, it cannot be justified politically when opportunities for negotiating fun-damental change exist, as is Dow

the case in South Africa. Y

Second, in the existing highly-charged environment of political violence, a policy of â\200\230killing whitesâ\200\235 can lead only to inflaming racial passions and make the task of achieving a negotiated settle-ment even more difficult than it already is. {

Third, already one immediate invite an illegal

allegedly! â\200\234in defence of innocent whitesâ\200\231â\200\231, and so giving them greater credibility among whites.

Fourth, there is no possibility of Apla developing an effective mili-tary challenge to the security forces, especially since, in this in-

port of the ANC and other major

black political parties.

And fifth, Aplaâ\200\231s strategy under-â\200\230mines the PACâ\200\231s own political standing with everybody except

the angry minority of youths, and so weakens its potential of becoming a major political player in the current negotiations to build a democratic South Africa. For these five reasons, Apla's appearance at this stage is about as welcome as a

ra at a children's party.

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situation is a different .

stance, they would have the sup-

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However, there are those, and not only in the ANC, who do not believe that all the recent killings of whites have been the work of Apla. They argue it is possible that the crimes have been committed by white extremist groups intent on blocking the success of the multi-party negotiations by creating a racially-charged climate that would put a kaaibosch on the talks.

In the present suspicious climate, conspiracy theories thrive; but because so many strange and terrible things have happened in the past, these suspicions will remain until there is convincing evidence that Apla is the culprit.

By JACK BLADES

MUHAMMAD ALI will meet his friend and fan Nelson Mandela during his 12-day visit to South Africa, which begins on Saturday.

Yesterday's announcement ended speculation about when Mr Mandela's busy political schedule would allow an opportunity for the meeting.

Ali will call at Shell House, the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, on Monday, April 19. The meeting will be private.

They will no doubt recall their first meeting at a Hollywood banquet in 1990, when they embraced emotionally. An observer said they seemed very much in awe of each other.

Later, appearing on video at Ali's 50th-birthday party in Los Angeles, Nelson Mandela paid tribute to the former world heavyweight champion's support for the democratic struggle.

He said: "Ali's visit has my full blessing and I trust he will be

welcomed by the country's entire -

community."

Ali's tour will take him to Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg. As a Black Muslim, he will meet members of the Muslim community and in Johannesburg

and Durban he will be welcomed.

He will be guest of honour at three banquets, where celebrities like PJ Powers will sing and tributes will be paid by leading sportsmen.

The visit has been arranged by the Durban-based Boxing Development Network, which hopes to boost its trust fund for underprivileged boxers by R250 000. The eventual aim is also to build stadi-

ums in Johannesburg, Durban and

Cape Town.

Premiere

On Sunday, April 18, Ali will tour Soweto and see for himself gyms like the Dube Club, whose facilities were recently described by world heavyweight champion Riddick Bowe as "the worst I've ever seen". The club has nevertheless produced 20 South African champions.

On Wednesday, April 21, Ali will be guest of honour at the premiere of Mbongeni Ngema's musical *Magical City*, which is based on Ali's life.

Ali will be accompanied by his wife, Lonnie, who will talk to women's clubs about life with Ali.

| "Gunny" P Davis
the US

| sand and surf

t A
u's Sergeant
His is the envy of all
soldiers in Somalia.
As the newly 2nd
4th expel, he over
sees a beach "S
us troops"; the
L Bee:
After patrolling

v this is best
ever had, Davis d
balcony of the

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can dump the T-101

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funds and

Special Correspondent

KEMPTON PARK. â\200\224 Bapeti-
kosweti, a self-proclaimed â\200\234in-
dependentâ\200\235 homeland, is to be
reincorporated into South
Africa voluntarily as an â\200\234ex-
ampleâ\200\235 to the four other home-
lands cah

This development was an-
nounced at the start of the re-
newed Codesa talks in- Johannes-
burg by South Africaâ\200\231s
charismatic ambassador to Bape-
tikosweti, Mrs Evita Bezuiden-
hout. â\200\230

Accompanied by the Homelands
Foreign Affairs Chief Blanda
Giwendi and the Minister of Fi-
nance, Esra Ndaklamba, Mrs Be-
zuidenhout also announced that:

'@ All financial aid received
from South Africa would be re-
fused and refunded. ~

@ The controversial 35 percent
rise in salary and perks awarded
to all civil servants by the South
African parliament would be â\200\234do-
nated to education and health
charitiesâ\200\235. =

'Mrs Bezuidenhout hoped all
homeland and government offi-
cials would follow suit. - !

' Before addressing delegates,
Mrs Bezuidenhout was met out-
side the World Trade Centre bK
Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pi
Botha. The speech was televised '
live worldwide on CNN. |

' The immediate re-incorporationâ\200\231
of Bapetikosweti has drawn into
question Mrs Bezuidenhoutâ\200\231s fu-
ture as envoy to the homeland.
Mr Botha later refused to com-
ment on speculation that Mrs Be-
zuidenhout would be sent to Rus-
sia to represent South Africa
there.i 4. :

We e

/Asked where he w'c_)i~\2011â\200\230dâ\200\230li;l(iÃ@mrit;

~ send Mrs Bezuidenhout, Mr Botha

replied tersely: â\200\234Siberiaâ\200\235.

This is the full text of Mrs Be-
" zuidenhoutâ\200\231s speech: - e
â\202~ Good day, Dumela, Goeie
Dag. Gentlemen of the various

political, cultural and extra-military groupings, Menere in die Nuwe Nasionale Party, Here in die ou Konserwatiewe Party, Comrades in the ANC' and their allies, the two ladies present and all other interested parties, the Press, catering people and police. -Today is a great day for South Africa. It is on this day that in the past foundation stones of our country as we know it were formed. , e Sl

On this day in 1974 the Publications Act came to be and thanks to that we have a country that need stand back for no one when it comes to morals and mores. . On this day too, in 1983, the

homeland of Bapedi

came the fifth part of our beloved fatherland to be carved into small arid independent pieces and handed over to a democratic system of government, as it were.: = .

_ It has been my honour to serve my country as the South African representative in Bapedi for 10 years. It is my pleasure to-

. day to congratulate President Mankgole on his 10th year in power.

And it is today, on this very successful occasion, here with the re-launching of this titanic task of

negotiating a future nonracial democracy for all Peoples in South Africa

for a few who will always want to choose chaos and doubt be happy to

Africa (give or

above common sense), it is on this day that, on behalf of the president

of South Africa

"dent of this august homeland (who

can unfortunately not take his seat here with other homelands

G

Switzerland on important business

and 'deposits that I say to the Minister

of Foreign Affairs of South Africa: IC

Therefore, on this first day of
April 1993, as a senior member of

the South African Diplomatic
service: the follow-
ing notice: that the homeland of

Corpse, I h

Bapedi in all its eight

pieces, will return its precious so-

vereignty to Pretoria and be rein-

corporated back into the body pol-

itic of the Beloved Country.

This is a voluntary gesture of
faith in the negotiating process re-
commencing here today and I am
sure the other remaining home-
land republics: Transkei, Ciskei,
Venda and Bophuthatswana will
just be too happy to follow suit.
Bapedi will also refuse
all further financial help from the
South African government - the
few billion rand, secondhand Mer-
cedeses and zozo huts: in the
light of the greater financial
needs of the South African public.

The proposed 35 percent increase -

in salary and perks recently
awarded the Government of Bape-
dikosweti by the South Africa par-
liament will immediately be do-
to education and
the South African

nd * homeland
35 per-

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representatives, as he is in Ge;

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deposits), it is on his behalf

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use to the

ow that no

ne he â\200\234has any ambitions
er than tk nd mat)y to
ggâ\200\230g + woman and child in
South Africa regardless of colour
or creed. S -

We : t. power is

â\200\230not the issue here. | .

" We can assure the public that
they have the right to ask ques-
tions of us, and if we cannot an-
swer those questions, we, not they,
are the employed and we, not

" they, will be declared redundant.

If that becomes the alternative to
negotiation because of dishonesty
and confusion, it is analternative
too ghastly to contemplate. ;

" Remember -now, y&ll all have

seven minutes to make your
'speeches. Kort vis kragtig. We do
not want

nd argue and
Tiour, for to take
ly as mere pawns
ter plans of the future,
le the greatness of what
chieve here.

"a future where all

day |
o{ 'April 199AÂf 1 can say
> again at-| gay H
eship of a| Â¢an say:

e first day of the rest of
a! Vrystaat!)

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ed almost

fate which
all political ambition, ask only

has overtaken all Africa may
overtake us. If the Nationalists

have relinquished their vain
, and for jobs;

that drives both

y of life and property.
major parties towards a single

On both sides of the racial divide,
, we should have a gov-

ernment of national unity within

, if only at midnight, the pos-
a year or so. For good or ill

Closer to home, political prob-
lems have given way to economic

terrors. Black people in millions
Concern for order has dis-

human if they did not contem-
but it is he who warns against.
taking South Africa into a post-
the mood is edgy, volatile, and
impatient: get on with it! Concern
about the shape of the new South
Africa, its constitution and its
structures, is confined now to
elites, none of them especially

laced concern for liberty, and it

int: barring the most appalling

sions of revolution. Mr Joe Slovo,
democratic.

a poignant sight as he tries to
dreams of his youth, may still

talk up a storm about socialism,
vants. Bureaucracy, even Nation-
alist bureaucracy, is preferable
to chaos.

into the Stone Age looms over our
future; the negotiators at the
World Trade Centre would not be
plate

sibility that the same

hopes of eternal domination, the

ANC has relinquished the illu-
breathe a little life into the dead
revolutionary vortex, and who
pleads the cause of the civil ser-
ask only for order

whites, having abandon

for securit;

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ers, the National Party and the

divided societies.

ONSEeNSuUS

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The Âç

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roblems had been delegated to
ly anything so

wherever they
bi crude as a formal agreement be-

on Park this week, en-
arate parties to
gh a two-day agenda
and to depart happy in
ds of bureaucratic
â\200\234 committees. If this means that
g will be solved it also
perhaps, that no
forward, tend to be
l the fudging and
! evasion, the process is being driv-
rogress so long as
till on track â\200\224 it is neces-

Sutohy Times odâ\200\224 Oyâ\200\224 42
threatening

process came into play at

huthatswana nor Transkei

converting any democratic
conflict into a bureaucratic

HE South African genius for
The disintegration o

k throu
This does not imp

p
neither the Inkatha Freedom

i Party nor the Conservative Party

the World Trade Centre to the
. wider context in which the politi-

2 cians operate.

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African National Congress â\200\224 or
at least by their elites. Neither

â\200\230Yet, behind al

Bo

â\200\234 united in determination to es-

President de Klerkâ\200\231s timetable

i tween the two parties. To under-
. stand the fierce drive to keep to
! for elections a year hence â\200\224 and
.. sary only to lift oneâ\200\231s gaze from

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"ANC chief
denies link
with bank
robberies

- Weekend Argus Correspondent

| THE chairman of the ANCâ\200\231s PWV region and for-
i mer guerrilla cadre, Tokyo Sexwale, acknowl-
' edged that some Umkhonto we Sizwe members
have â\200\234gone astrayâ\200\235 and drifted into a life of crime.

But Mr Sexwale describes allegations that he
â\200\230and Chris Hani are behind bank robberies as part
| of a â\200\234deliberate strategy to discredit ANC leaders
in the run-up to the electionâ\200\235. [

' â\200\234The miracle of the whole thing is that all these
trained MK members have not gone off and
formed their own army and caused havoc.â\200\235

In his small office, with campaign material and
amphlets everywhere, the one-time Robben Is-
and prisoner is surprisingly candid about Umk-
onto we Sizwe.

â\200\234They are under tremendous strain, these peo-
le. It has now been -three years since the ANC
as unbanned and many of them returned home.
ut what they fought for has still not been:
chieved. They did get a little money when they
ame back, but we cannot provide for them. There
re very few jobs around and they cannot feed

emselves and their families.â\200\235 == Â¢]

The current hedging around the negotiations and
the apparently unbending stance by the white up- -
per echelons of the SADF on the question on of in-
tegration of MK gives the cadres little hope.

â\200\234They only have to look at these statements by
these generals. They end up frustrated and demor- |
alised.â\200\235 i '

In such a situation, he added, it was not surpris-
ing that some of them wanted to take matters into
their own hands.

He added: â\200\234Put yourself in their position. These
&)_eople you have fought against still control things.

hey still come barging through your home, slap-
g}lï-\201g your mother, kicking over your cooking pots.
at would you feel?â\200\235

Nevertheless, the ANC leadershi
plain that it would not defend any
volved in illegal activities.

â\200\234If they are guilty, they must be punished. Does
the government say the same thing about their se-

â\200\234curity forces which commit a huÂSe variety and
;nu;xber of crimes against the people of this coun-
I,y.â\200\235

had made it
K member in-

Allegations that he and SACP secretary general
Hani â\200\224 also a trained MK soldier, although, like
Mr Sexwale, now out of the mili leadership â\200\224
were involved in organising â\200\234fund raisingâ\200\235 bank
robberies were â\200\234ludicrousâ\200\235. :

â\200\234If that was true, I would be sitting on a beach
in the Bahamas.â\200\235)

Mr Sexwale was referring to allegations made
in court by a man appearing on charges of armed
robbery. The acc claimed that money from
bank robberies in the PWV was being channelled
to the ANC through Mr Sexwale and Hani.

Police detectives are saying privately that while
they are catchini:ank robbers, they are recover-
ing little money because it is being transferred to
bank accounts elsewhere. The inference is that the
ANC is controlling those bank accounts.

Mr Sexwale says the bank account allegations
should be proved and suggests the Goldstone Com-
mission be brought in to investigate all the claims,
â\200\234because who can trust the SAP?â\200\235 â\200\231

The court allegations came as Law and Order
Minister Kobie Coetsee accused MK of being in-
volved in a spate of criminal acts around the coun-

try.

Weekend
Corrrespondent

SINCE Mr Chris Hani became leader of the South African Communist Party and began sounding more like a sparrow than a hawk, the man the South African government loves to hate has become, pre-eminently, Major General Harrington Bantubonke Holomisa.

Indeed, when the history of the demise of apartheid is written, the role of General Holomisa may be seen to have been crucial.

For six years since he ousted the Matanzimas in a bloodless coup in 1987 General Holomisa has been using the sham independence apartheid conferred on Transkei as a stick to beat Pretoria. '

Transkei has been the domino which didnâ\200\231t fall into line with Boputhatswana, Kwazulu and Co to create black anti-African National Congress bastions buffering white South Africa. On the contrary, he set about turning Transkei into the first true â\200\234liberated zoneâ\200\235 where the liberation move-

Argus

M The man the SA government loves to hate, General Holomisa may have played a crucial role

in the demise of apartheid.

ments could operate with impunity, even before their un-

anning in South Africa. When Mr Hani was on the run from

_the South African Police fol-

lowing the disclosure of Operation Vula, he sought refuge with General Holomisa.

It appears that this weekâ\200\231s blockade of Transkei and the governmentâ\200\231s continuing public barrage against the general may have less to do with the issue of Apla bases in and attacks from Transkei, than Gen-

eral Holomisaâ\200\231s avowed intent to act as a watchdog to ensure the birth of democracy and counter Pretoriaâ\200\231s attempts to manipulate the negotiating process.

It is significant that, according to reports, none of the Apla suspects arrested last week originated from Transkei.

â\200\234Transkei will assist the _birth of democracy,â\200\235 General

Holomisa promised this week just before his meeting with the President De Klerk. â\200\234We

shall never allow ourselves to be pitted against the people. If the leaders who have spent decades in jail and are in their 70s are still committed to achieving freedom, how much more determined are we in our prime age?â\200\235

The 37-year-old general appears unconcerned by the â\200\234ring of steelâ\200\235 thrown around his territory and emerged from this weekâ\200\231s crisis meeting with President De Klerk apparently pleased that he had got what

he wanted: an independent Transkei commission to investigate the activities of Apla in the homeâ\200\231land, but one which would â\200\234co-operateâ\200\235 with the Goldstone Commission.

The Afrikaans Press suggest-

ed the Transkeian military leader had buckled under the

pressure from President De Klerk but, according to General Holomisa, he was equally frank.

He informed Weekend Argus that he had told Mr De Klerk bluntly, in the presence of Po-

lic FENCING PARTNER: Transkeiâ\200\231s General Bantu Holomisa.

lice Commissioner Johan van der Merwe and SADF chief Kat Liebenberg, that he was being misled and â\200\234set upâ\200\235 by his secuocrats.

â\200\234I 'told the president that

when the allegations about
Apla bases were made I

honed the generals and offered to put a helicopter at their disposal so they could point out these bases in Transkei. Mr De Klerk asked General Liebenberg if this was true and he confirmed it.

In addition, General Holomisa told Mr De Klerk that Transkei would resist unilateral re-incorporation into South Africa.

â\200\234We will not return to an apartheid South Africa,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234On the day the tricameral parliament is disbanded, that day Transkei will disband.â\200\235

He said Transkei would accept re-incorporation under a transitional executive council, as envisaged in secret government proposals leaked this week, only if the the TEC had real executive power.

â\200\234I suspect they (the government) are driving us towards a big deadlock. They want to have control over everybody. Now the ANC is inside the

orn in SAâ\200\231s flesh

country it is under their influence. In Transkei they have no control. They want Transkei inside the net so they can deploy their security forces and extend the strategy of control.â\200\231 Then they will create a deadlock (in the negotiation process) and we will be powerless. We won't allow that. Transkei is an insurance against that kind of manipulation.â\200\235 -

With General Holomisa such a thorn in Pretoriaâ\200\231s flesh, it is .surprising he has lasted so long. Indeed, there have been! several counter-coups and assassinations attempts, all of which he lays at Pretoriaâ\200\231s door.

â\200\234Our survival has been based on good intelligence,â\200\235 he said, having last week claimed that security forces in East London were re-spraying vehicles and switching number plates in

preparation for a cross-border
attack on Apla members in
Transkei.

He laughs at the government
denial and explanation that Ca-
spirs were being routinely re-
sprayed: â\200\234At least they admit
that part. The public can de-
cide where the truth lies.â\200\235

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SDUs turning into monsters

IN THE early 90s the ANC
looked to self-defence units
fo protect communities â\200\224
today they are mosily
renegade bands of erimi-
nals who barricade roads,
rape women and held wp
shop-owneis,

The typical SDU mem-
ber in the PWV area is
either a disgruntled re-
turned Umkhonto we
Sizwe membÃ©r who has no
money, no status and years
of accumulated grudges,
an ANC-organised Easl
Rand peace summil heard
this weekend

Or he may be a youth
who through demosstra-

By CHARLENE SMITH]

tions apd siriking teachers
has bhad little education,
cannot {ind a job and car-
ries a Makarov

Â® Daveylon, near Ben-
oni, bas a renegade SDU
which is in the middle of a
bloody leud with the ANC
Youth League.

Â® Katlehong, the ANC's
biggest branch with 25 000
paid-up members, exper-
iencs atacks from a PAC
anti-negotiations faction
which calls itself the Revo-

lutionary Watchdogs.

@ Vesloorus has an SDU
thal regularly emgages in

gun battles withthe police

While ANC organisers
insist there are ome *
SDUsâ\200\235 the baed \$)Us are in
the majority.

This weekenl's Peace
Sammit explord ways o
bring SDUs undr centrol
But it did not h:ve its task
made easier by receiving
conflicting ladership
opinions.

Southern Naal chair
man Jeff Radele said the
ANCâ\200\231s tmability to defend
people in vielentcommuni-
ties affected iÂ« standing.
He supported tle deepen-
ing of SDUs ad under-
ground ANC fructueres
saying these wewr a neces-
sary back-up lo peace
agreements.

SA Communist Party |
leader Chris Hani called |
for SDUs (o be trans
formed inte a peace corps
He suggested a paid or
volunlary civic service
where â\200\234say 500 people
from a lownship conld do 3
two-year stint assisting
wilh crime contrel, clean
up campaigns and service
to their townshipâ\200\231

He eritivised SDIs for
not being non-partisan and
said wundisciplined ele
meats should be expelled.

in truth, the ANC has
discovered that SDUs have
become unconirollable
menslers thal, aside from
their criminal activilies,
will also dampen ANC
election chances

<

THE SUNDAY TIMES, 04 APRIL" 1993 |
Hani fears for

escape

THE escape of bank robber
Solomon Mgapgeni and a
group of fellow prisoners
must surely go down in the
Saunals of prison breaks.

. The ease with which the
'16 prisopers escaped from
Diepkloof Prison has left
many questions unan-
swered â\200\224 even for officials
at the prison.

Just hours before the es-
capÃ©, a statement was read
outip the Rand Supreme

Coarf that Mr Mgangeni
had given some of his loot
to the ANC.

* SA Communist Party
leader Chris Hani smells a
rat, and says he fears for
Mr Mgangeni's life

.. â\200\234Did he disappear?â\200\235 Was
he quietly eliminated? He

.. showld have been placed

: ynder heavy guard after

making such allegations,â\200\231
said Mr Hani.'

-Prison officials say they

| By CHARLENE SMITH
cannot recall a similar es-
cape. Only one prisoner got
out of â\200\234Sun Cityâ\200\235 last year

Â® How did the man who
claimed he gave some of
his joot to the ANC manage
ta overpower tweo armed
policemen and two prison
warders without the alarm
being raised?

Â® How did he and 15 oth-
er escapers rnanage lo
drive out of the high-secur-
ity prison without being
stopped or questioned?

Â® Why were the prison
gates left open while the
prisoners were off-loaded
from their police van?

Mr Mgqangeni's statement
which was admitted as evidence in the
Supreme Court last Friday
said that Mr Hani and
ANC PWV chairman Tokvo Sexwale had master-

ful accused

planned two bank robberies
in which he had been involved,
and which left three people dead.

Mr Hani and Mr Sexwale say they have never
met Mr Mgqangeni.

Hours after his court appearance, he and 13 other
prisoners were taken, having overpowered their
guards and driven out of the top-security prison.

All were dressed in civil

- wear clothes.

After the court hearing,
the van entered the prison
grounds and drove about
1 km to the gates of the
Medium A prison within
the complex

They were let into the
gates of that prison. The
gates were contrary to normal
prison requirements
and remained open while the
two policemen let their 16

3 To Page 3

70

The great escape-

On From Page 1
charges out. Two armed
prison guards helped them.

Then the prisoners, according to the police and
the Department of Correctional Services, overpowered
the four guards and disarmed them.

They leapt back into the
van and raced out through
the still open gates to the
main gates.

No alarm sounded, and
the van was not stopped at
the main gate.

This was because the
prisoners were dressed in
private clothes and travel-
ling in an official SAP
vehicle, according to the
Department of Correctional
Services

But the usual practice is
to stop all vehicles official or otherwise and
question the drivers before
allowing them in or out of
the complex

Three of the escapers
have been recaptured, and
the police say they are

searching for the other 13

The ANC's security de-

partment is delving into
the background of the
chain of events.

nade his sensational
claims about Mkhosi and
Mr Sexwale, he was ap-

pearing on 22 charges

including murder, at-
tempted murder, armed
robbery and possession of
illegal firearms with
two alleged accomplices,
Daniel Motaung and Wil-
liam Makhosi (also known
as T-Man).

Mr Mqongqeni's claims
immediately raised a
storm. Law and Order Min-
ister Hernus Kriel used
them as the basis to attack
Umkhonto we Sizwe as a
criminal organisation.

The SACP said the
Mqongqeni affair had all the
hallmarks of being a stage-
managed operation

Mr Ham and Mr Sex-
wale said the affair
seemed to be the beginning
of election dirty tricks.

SUNDAY . - XS y 15
APRIL 4, 1993 TRIBUNE B3 100 A

Father died to save his little daughter by distracting demented elephant O<

T~ Brendan Seery - .l U e : ; S|

.+ EVERYBODY knows how painful and
| tormenting a toothache can be.
Hans-Richard Zilligen had no way i
of knowing the eight-ton bull ele~ el
phant he had just finished recording ="
on video had a jumbo-sized toothache
and that, in its pain-crazed state, it
was about to hit back at the world.
That it was plain' bad luck that
caused-the 30-year-old chemical
company executive to die a horrible
and lonely, death will be small com-
fort "to'his wife, Ursula, 29, and his
. daughters â\200\224 Jenny, 3, and Jamne, 1 ! ! : :
months. ! 7, R 1 Â¥ : . Â¢ o Â¢ g e 1 5 W e
But when her daughters are old i 4 % Â¢ s : : : :
enough, Mrs Zilligen has vowed to
tell them'the â\200\230full story (with all the
newspaper cuttings she can find)
about how their father died giving
them the chance to live. i
Itâ\200\231s a story, though, which will be:
told far from the heat and dust of
Africa:' Mrs Zilligen has said she'isâ\200\231
taking her husbandâ\200\231s body back 't

pam as each day passed \ :
When!the animal vented its anger :
n the closest foreign object â\200\224 the y i

lllllgen family's car â\200\224 it did tremen- b I
ous damage. The medium-sized sa- "

l e
Germany, where he was born,"and 'â\200\231 " #'loon was tossed like a'toy when'the 5| . &
that she and the family will also go- ;Â¢ animal charged. It'rolled at least ' i s B
back to Euroj R M s il L A ' â\200\230three â\200\230times and crumpled like . T e b
When Mr glellllgen stopped his'me- took.wlth him on the game drive. ~ '/' fracture in one of
its tusks â\200\224 caused, .+ .cardboard. â\200\230' [2 : -
talhc silver Jetta car on a dirt road | | He didnâ\200\231t know that the elephant Bop Park
s Board experts surmise, As it rolled the couple s elder o

through either a mock battle with: i! ldaughter,Uenny. was flung out. Mri | .07
another bull or by crashing into a. .. Zilligen'crawled out of the wreck to :
tree trunk. The fracture led to an - go'to her. Snatching her up, he ran to
abcess â\200\224 an abcess causing' more . a nearby bush, pushing her down be- -
- . -fore running off to try to distract the
l demented attaclung ammal i â\200\230

he was recording on his vldeo cam-
-era had a problem Â¥ e

That problem was a comprmlon

Eophuthatswana s Pilanesberg
, National Park last'Saturday he was
doing things according to the book â\200\224
the Parks Boardâ\200\231s brochure which he..

b The.. : ; et)
Zilligens' -+ Â«) ~ . Â\$ ke ey â\200\230
family car* it P liâ\200\224 - _ 7 e Last words ; ! 4
was tossed | \ Â¢ He managed to run about 800 metres o
like a toy . * before he was caught and savaged by #
by the i . the enraged bull and:its' companion. -
enraged Mrs ZilligÃ©n escaped.with Janine to a
eleplgants) 1,;lear3y nrlrâ\200\230lbtorÃ©;t and Jenny was later
ey ound unharm })
It rolled at * Jenny has said little more than one i N B
least three * g < % or.two. sentences since the traumanc SRR 4y i
timesand ' * i 3 . H +;,incident. Ã© 3 ? S 4 3
crumpled. - PNY o8N i it s 2 But she! did tell her- mother that ; : ok i e
ke â\200\234her falherâ\200\231s last words were: â\200\234Tell ; - Â¢ W SR i
cardboard. Â¢ Yo s B A i

R R T

3

;Parks Board experts explaln iy e

exclusive picture, {
- Bophuthatswana *,

"

Why the youngbullzâ\200\230 turned rogueâ\200\231

\companion was being attacked nnd" and establshed there were no other . the anmall had gl
ass embedded in its ' tourists about cars being charged, and he was aware, he added, there
had been

Brendan Seery =/ may have come to its assistance... " elephants in the vicinity. As the
air- . ioot -h glass that could have come - plants at the rest camp being ripped ' no repor
ts of' ";xtreme delinquencyâ\200\235 " parks Board deputy
o TRy i rom the car. * t . up. ; among Kruger Park elephant orphans ;
l&,â\200\230,_229:3& hg;: Ellâ\200\230;:lll:nztll;l"i-â\201gkl:dc?:e- g::{{t s{t}i:l:s cg;)
slflot:d tch:uIt dwgea;:;llag; Mr Johnspn said the discovery of the The two animals were tak
en to Bot- ' which had been translocated to either ' Jsllrector Steve .

BOP Parks Board oï-â\201ncndls believe two

K 3Johnson shows why 1
bull -elephants â\200\224 aged between 16 and

,â\200\231abcess had |â\200\234gone a long way towards , = swana on March 16 by elephant tr
ainer Natal or to pnvate land m the Trans-

car, Parks Board trackers established tusks, and the decision was taken toÂ@ lexplainng t
he behaviour of the ele- Randall Moore and the Parks Board vaal,

* lhe elephant went -

" fore
â\200\23418 (still juveniles in elephant ',em,s) atâ\200\224 ithat there were two sets of â
\200\230prints " shoot them. This was done)ust be ! ph antâ\200\235. â\200\234thought that
was the problem taken Thias was also lho substance Rl .craz with aln He

d hicl o L " < Y p
ugâ\200\230:rdk:hï-â\201fï-â\202;â\200\230f)'f utv DirÃ@ctos:Steve :::usl;tstï-â\201g ::slÃ@:
:a?in?n;l';::etiwhgl 2â\200\230;- {i "-dusAkâ\200\230poat mortemâ\200\231 examination - o
f the ;. He alsoâ\200\231 demed allegations th?t the ,â\200\230caâ\200\230l:svofâ\200\230hs
sld Mr JOhl:)SfOlll(s there ; â\200\230mours that Mr Zilligen may have been points'to a; :
" Johnson :told. the: Â\$â\200\231u,,,{,, Tribune that */Â¢ing holes in the carâ\200\231s bo
dywork. 3/ elephant skulls, conducted by: veteri-. , i: â\200\230Parks Board had been negli
gent in the â\202- SIRCC 0 Ay of) KHowing responsible by being out of his car #4â\200\235 c
ompression fracture

handlmg of problem elephants in the < ../ was this ammal with a problem roam-

B
" reserve. He said the park had imported . ing around.â\200\235 #5%%in the tusk, caused

his experts believe the elephant with Trackers followed: the â\200\230two anlmnls 21 narian
:Dr R Keffen, revealed the " â\200\234Everything we have seen doesâ\200\230not

the tusk abcess attacked the vehicle . about/two kilometres from the scene of / abcess be' {
â\200\230â\200\234d L tusk on_one of tbeÂ» â\200\234two â\200\234semi-tameâ\200\235 elephan
ts frof Ma- . He also dismissed suggesttlons that = support those allegations.â\200\235 poss
ibly in a fight.*
and may have screamed out in pain at':?the 'tragedy, and 'a helicopterâ\200\230was foanimal
s.i = | i 9t 9 hula Lodge!in the Northern Transvaal the:behaviour of the rogue animal â
\200\224 Mr Johnson added that the incident ;' :-The fracture in turn
the contact between the lnjured tusk called: â\200\230to survey l.he area from the i Examin
ation of the carcasses of the â\200\235â\200\235'which had caused problems near where ~ Wwh
ich-came originally from the Kruger ~ was â\200\234very unfortunateâ\200\235 andâ\200\230wa
s ex- 4 y :
and the car body. e alr e B s DR Y Lanimals killed also â\200\230confirmed they ' ' the Zil
ligen'tragedy occurred. These - Park as an orphaned cull survivor â\200\224 tremely rare in
his experience and that ' *
The other: nmmnl mĩ-\202y have inter-~: - *"The chief wnrden at Pllanesberg, i { were the c
ulprits: Tusk shapes matched * : animals were recognised-as problem had anything to do wit
h the trauma it of a number of colleagues â\200\230he had spo- 4
preted this cry of pain as a sign its " Koos Herbst, went up in the helicopter . puncture h
oles in the car, and one of . " ones after a number;of reports from " went through early in
its life. As far as ken to, 7 Ak R R G
. B # = 3 T 'y e Enp i gn s - - T T -
K & N g i TR : 'lâ\200\230. 1 { iR | T 3 "
Lok bt TEE BBk B P B I F A PN ET r e ey â\200\230
5 b d Bl B Vg R e Bt BY Raw b By B Y bl e
! \ S & { i % : Â¢ ! ; y i R ; R
lj ; g o g 3 Â¥ b ; i & : 5 I TH T | â\200\230 v b % oy
{ Â\$of ; g e O Â\$ 7 i 3 [0t o4 i
o R % l ; & â\200\230 E I N I O ! F yid â\200\230 Â¢ Food B b : L.