

THE CITIZEN

23/04/93

LETTERSThe Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Memorial service was political rally

I BELIEVE the reason Richard Urban advances in his questioning bishops' involvement in the late Chris Hani's funeral (The Citizen, April 22) is so cogent that it should be answered with a clear explanation by the relevant church authorities.

Be that as it may, it was at least consoling to finally see at the graveside some expression of a religious ceremony.

What preceded it at the FNB Stadium had been billed as a "memorial service". As its televised coverage showed, it was anything but that.

Even the official preacher used his turn at

the microphone to launch the most rousing tirade of the entire political rally.

Because Christ's view and personal experience of "man" is more complete than that of Communism, a Christian funeral service, of its very nature, must go beyond the grave and focus on the greatest freedom death brings: The victory of eternal life in our risen Lord and Saviour.

Given the party he believed in and headed, it wasn't surprising that Mr Hani's "memorial service" stopped short at only political freedom in this world (something Christianity also regards as important and essen-

tial).

However, when even a bishop stops short at only the worldly level, claiming (with supporting Bible text) God's sanction for such "limited" freedom, one is left questioning Christianity's cardinal belief in the resurrection from the dead.

My personal prayer is that Mr Hani, having fought and killed for earthly freedom, now enjoys, through the mercy of our loving Father, the eternal and complete liberation that only Christ's resurrection can achieve.

**FATHER KEVIN
REYNOLDS**

Pretoria

Hani: Church law flouted

PLEASE allow me to quote in full Canon 1184 of the Catholic Church's universal code of Canon Law:

"Para 1: Church funeral rites are to be denied to the following, unless they gave some signs of repentance before death:

"1. Notorious apostates, heretics and schismatics;

"2. Those who for anti-Christian motives, chose that their bodies be cremated;

"3. Other manifest sinners to whom a Church funeral could not be granted without public scandal to the faithful.

"Para 2: If any doubt occurs, the local Ordinary

(bishop) is to be consulted and his judgement followed".

As it is common knowledge that the late Mr Chris Hani, a public figure, openly confessed to being an atheist, he would certainly be regarded by the Church as a "notorious apostate" (one who had abandoned his Catholic faith).

Therefore, the Catholic Church's according Mr Hani its funeral rites, following its own ritual with holy water and incense, has certainly caused grave scandal among many of its "faithful".

May I respectfully suggest that Reginald Ormond, Johannesburg's Catholic Bishop, owes his flock an explanation — preferably in the columns of your newspaper — how he could have flouted the provisions of his own Church's law on Monday, April 19.

Surely Mr Hani's peace utterances in the final week of his life cannot be interpreted as a "sign of repentance" of his apostasy before his death?

**SCANDALISED
CATHOLIC**

Pretoria

Cap Times 23.4.93

Opinion

AS THE horror of the Hani assassination recedes and the anger and fear which it unleashed begin to ease somewhat, the country needs to move ahead quickly to a settlement.

How many more such traumatic episodes can South Africa survive without relinquishing all hope of a negotiated settlement and economic recovery for some time to come?

A transitional executive authority needs to be put in place in a matter of weeks, setting the scene for an election within 12 months or so — or else irreparable further damage will be done to the economy.

President De Klerk argued in Parliament this week that the TEC could be in place in six weeks. Is this really possible?

Is Mr De Klerk really determined to do a deal this time, in spite of the rumblings of myopic elements in his own ranks?

The next few weeks could be decisive. There is already broad agreement between the

NP and the ANC on the composition of the Transitional Executive Council and its functions in preparing for an election.

Five years

This agreement includes the delicate area of multiparty direction of the security forces during the transition. Even here a working compromise is already taking shape, although *de jure* control of the security forces would only change hands after an election and a new government is in place.

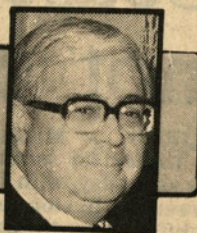
Before the countdown to an election begins, however, Mr De Klerk is also insisting on agreement on the terms of a power-sharing interim constitution which will function for five years after the election.

Here also there is common ground enough between the major players, even though the ANC rejects the terminology of power-sharing and prefers to characterise the arrangement as an interim (coalition) government of national unity.

Mr De Klerk also seeks prior agreement on the broad principles on which the final constitution will be based, and this is also within reach, although this whole area could offer much scope for prolonged haggling and further delay, as could the appointment of a commission to determine the regional boundaries.

Time to stop coddling pampered NP

**Political
Survey
By GERALD SHAW**



Given the new sense of urgency, however, the NP and the ANC could certainly reach an understanding reasonably quickly.

So what are the possible snags? The problem will be to persuade all the other players and particularly those with strong vested interests in the regions to go along with the scheme of things.

Further delay

The big players are close to a reasonable compromise, but some of the regional players, and Inkatha in particular could be tempted to go for further delay — in order to force a more favourable deal for the regions as well as buying more time for electioneering.

This is a dicey strategy in a country which is slipping dangerously close to anarchy. It is already agreed that the country needs a constitution which entrenches regional powers. The detail is a matter for negotiation. Further delay at this point in getting things moving will play into the hands of extremists who are determined to thwart a negotiated solution.

The threat coming from fanatics on both the right and left flanks of the political spectrum will increase rather than decrease as the country approaches the critical decision to go ahead.

The De Klerk government (and

soon, a multiparty committee) will have to decide what to do about inflammatory rhetoric of the kind coming from Winnie Mandela and Peter Mokaba, on the left, and Eugene Terreblanche and his associates on the right.

Startling

Mr Terreblanche's equestrian misadventures and platform histrionics are good for a laugh but he is able to stir dark passions among unsophisticated, disadvantaged and unstable elements in the white community.

As Radio Today reported this week in a startling live broadcast of one of his meetings, Mr Terreblanche is urging his followers to refuse to hand over their arms to the police and to prepare for war.

There cannot be many South Africans who would like to take over Mr De Klerk's responsibilities at Tuynhuys until the transition is behind us. He is having to endure a great deal of ill-informed sniping from fearful elements on his own side who need to be told the facts of political life.

Mr De Klerk, regrettably, has been hesitant and ineffectual in dealing with problem areas on the right and in the security establishment which he inherited from Mr P W Botha. The sinister culture of clandestine operations in Military Intelligence has yet to be convincingly exposed and may not yet have been entirely eradicated.

Against this background, the Hani assassination has undermined trust and imperilled negotiations. Mr De Klerk would do well to pay as much attention to restoring trust and healing wounds in the black community as to coddling his own pampered and privileged constituency.

Nkomo on warpath for Black business

HARARE. — Veteran political fighter Joshua Nkomo is again beating the war drums, more than a decade after leading Zimbabwe's guerrilla campaign for Black majority rule.

Mr Nkomo is still fighting for the cause that drew him into politics 50 years ago by trying to wrest control of the land and wealth from Whites and Indians and place it in the hands of the Black majority.

"We are not bringing the Whites down or being racist, but we want our people to be like them, up there," he told reporters recently.

The former guerrilla leader conducts his latest battles dressed in tailored



Mr JOSHUA NKOMO
... beating the war drums.

three-piece suits in boardrooms and conferences across the land, where he has a reputation as an uncompromising negotiator, especially on land deals.

"Land and farming is his first love," a government colleague said.

The grand old man of Zimbabwean politics, a burly figure from the warrior Matebele tribe and one of Zimbabwe's two vice-presidents, has become the most radical voice in a post-independence campaign by Blacks to own businesses.

The 75-year-old Mr Nkomo — commonly known as "the old man" or "the bull" for his abrasive style — recently raised the stakes by warning the government of a possible race war if Blacks continued to have no major stake in the economy.

Mr Nkomo has thrown his political weight behind a new business lobby which has been trying to steer Blacks from their current major interests in township bottle stores,

village grinding mills and small grocery shops into big industries.

With Mr Nkomo's help, the Indigenous Business Development Centre managed in the 1992/93 financial year to squeeze Z\$100 million (R46,8 million) in loans from a cash-strapped government to prop up its members.

But Mr Nkomo, who says his political career would be unfulfilled if Blacks remained poor, is demanding more concessions for his cause.

He said local authorities should introduce special long-term leases for Blacks to acquire business property in towns, arguing that more prosperous Whites and Indians had an unfair advantage.

"If we do not do this we shall find ourselves plunged into a pit far greater than the one that ended in 1979," Mr Nkomo said in reference to a bloody seven-year guerrilla war that ended White rule in then Rhodesia, and ushered in an independent Zimbabwe in 1980.

Mr Nkomo and Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe were co-leaders of a 40 000-strong guerrilla army that fought for independence. — Sapa-Reuter.

Friday 23 April 1993

CITIZEN

Local govt polls soon, says Delpport

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — Elections to establish legitimate local government should be held soon, and could take place ahead of national elections, Dr Tertius Delpport, Minister of Local Government, said yesterday.

Presenting government proposals for new municipal systems, Dr Delpport said he would introduce legislation at the present sitting of Parliament to provide for different election dates in different areas or regions.

At present, local government elections were postponed to October 1994. Depending on the progress made with amalgamations, the date could be advanced.

"I believe that we must

arrive at elections at the local level as soon as possible, so that newly-structured local authorities may begin to function."

The progress made with amalgamation and in agreements at the multi-party negotiating forum would ultimately determine election dates. But he believed local government elections could be held ahead of the first general election.

"The events of the past two weeks focused renewed attention on the fact that forces which lie hidden may destroy South Africa and reduce it to ashes. We have been made aware of the abyss that threatens, should we lose direction."

No political agreement at national or regional level could succeed in achieving a successful new South Africa. Only

local government could satisfy people's everyday needs, as it was here that people lived, worked and raised their children.

At a news conference yesterday, Dr Delpport rejected proposals by SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) that all local government should be abolished by June, and replaced by bodies nominated by the government and by Sanco.

Dr Delpport said the Local Government Negotiating Forum, set up last month between the government and Sanco, was not adequately representative, and had no mandate to speak on behalf of all the people of South Africa.

It would also not have the ultimate say in third-tier reform, as this rested with the multi-party negotiating forum.

ANC to rethink use of 'kill boer' call

The Citizen 23/04/93

By Charlotte James
and Sapa

THE "kill the boer, kill the farmer" call by African National Congress Youth League president Peter Mokaba at public meetings recently has become inappropriate and its usage at public meetings is being reassessed, the ANC and the ANCYL said in a joint statement yesterday.

The contentious chant, which has infuriated Right-wingers and caused concern among Whites, did not represent official ANC policy, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said.

This follows a meeting of the two organisations in Johannesburg attended by Mr Ramaphosa and representatives of the ANCYL led by its secretary-general, Rapu Mo-

lekane.

They jointly reaffirmed the ANC policy of non-racialism, which had always been the rallying call of the ANC "and what we had always fought for".

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC's policy on violence was both clear and well-known.

The ANC had suspended armed struggle, and did not advocate the killing of anyone, Black or White.

Both the ANCYL and Mr Ramaphosa said the chant that had been led by Mr Mokaba stemmed from the history of the ANC which had included armed struggle.

Such a chant had served a mobilising purpose during that stage, and its use should be viewed within that context.

However, Mr Ramaphosa said, it would not be correct to say that the slogan, even at that time,

was specifically intended to identify either White South Africans or farmers per se as targets for military action by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres.

The actions of MK had been directed at symbols of White power and the apartheid military machine and personnel, not civilians.

The meeting agreed that the chant had become inappropriate in the present changed circumstances, and that its usage in public meetings was being reassessed.

Both organisations made an urgent appeal to all South Africa's youth, Black and White, to not allow themselves to be used by "dubious forces" attempting to drive the country into a race war.

Mr Mokaba said the chant was an old song of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It had been used to

steel soldiers in training and create solidarity.

The MK hymn, which has a line "kill the Boers", was sung at the funeral of Mr Chris Hani because it had been decided to bury him in military fashion.

"The ANC's policy of non-racialism is not breached by the chant," he said.

It had been sung on many occasions, including after the massacres at Bisho and Boipatong last year, and had not driven people to kill Whites or farmers.

Mr Mokaba said the chant had never become an official slogan such as "People's Education for People's Power". It was different because it did not reflect policy.

He said the ANCYL were not trying to incite a race war, but that the spirit of non-racialism was engendered among its followers.

In a statement issued after meeting in Pretoria, Cosag said it was simply not sufficient for the ANC to distance itself from these statements, which were clearly premeditated and were repeated by Mr Mokaba, in what was clearly a calculated act to incite ANC supporters to kill Whites.

"It is incumbent on the ANC leadership to prove its commitment to non-violence and the peace process by dealing with Mr Mokaba accordingly," Cosag's steering committee said.

"In this regard, we also have to regrettably include inflammatory statements by certain members of the clergy, who should be messengers of peace."

Mandela urges youth to fight for freedom

By Vivian Warby

ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday urged youths from the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng to join the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), in order to fight for freedom in a disciplined manner.

Addressing thousands of Sebokeng residents at the township's stadium yesterday, Mr Mandela said the ANC was fully behind the people when they said they wanted to fight for freedom.

However, "you can only fight and win if you are part of a disciplined organisation, a disciplined army", he said.

He further urged the youth to get an education, saying that they would never be soldiers in the proper sense of the word without an education.

If the youth were serious about becoming soldiers they should, after getting an education, join the army of liberation, MK, which had all the facilities to enable them to become soldiers. They would be sent for training abroad.

"We've fought all along and never given up. We've never gone on our knees and begged. We want you to continue to fight even today . . . it's the only way to get your freedom," Mr Mandela said to clapping and cheers from the crowd.

However, he warned that if the people formed their own small groups to fight, they would be inviting disaster and innocent people would be killed.

"That is what the enemy wants. The Right-wing is killing our people. But the Right-wing knows that the ANC won't sit down if a hero like (SACP leader) Chris Hani is murdered and if 19 people in Sebokeng are massacred.

"We'll fight back. We won't sit with folded arms. We have our own plan, but I won't disclose that here," Mr Mandela said.

He said the people had to begin to understand in political terms the stage their struggle had

reached. "We have had a long and protracted struggle and we have achieved many victories over our oppressors. We are now in the dawn of our freedom," Mr Mandela said.

He said Mr Hani was killed in much the same fashion as senior official of Swapo Mr Anton Lubowsky, who was murdered in Namibia close to its date for democratic elections.

"What we are saying is that the oppressors don't

find it easy to relinquish power. There are elements among them who don't accept the prospect of majority rule.

"The task of the Right-wing is to attempt to divide people of South Africa and create so much chaos and havoc in our lives. This tactic has cost us many lives."

In urging the youth to get an education, Mr Mandela said "We expect you to try and go to school and get a matric

. . . to defend a democratic government. You are our leaders of tomorrow. The young people must go back to school and get the necessary qualifications," he said.

"Our friends in Asia and Africa have difficulty in training our youth because their education was low. But we don't blame the children. (State President) De Klerk does not want you to be educated.

"Try to go to school and get a matric. You

can't be a pilot without a matric. You can't be an officer without a matric."

Mr Mandela said MK would not give arms to individuals. These would be given to an army who were trained to use the weapons.

He said the ANC was angry and upset about the 19 lives that were lost in Sebokeng on the eve of Mr Hani's funeral and also by the fact that no one could give them any answers.

CITIZEN

23/04/93

Provoked anger

I WATCHED with great interest on television the memorial service held at the FNB Stadium for the late Chris Hani.

Mr Ramaphosa appealed for good conduct and I must say it appeared that things were reasonably calm until speaker after speaker, especially Archbishop Tutu, provoked the crowd into a mood of anger instead of a mood of dignity which one would expect when attending a funeral service.

vice.

Is Mr De Klerk going to instigate an inquiry into this provocation, or is he going to make fish of the Black people and fowl of the Whites?

During the prolonged service, criminal elements were busy in the surrounding areas of the stadium and much looting, arson and violence were taking place and the only action was a few rubber bullets, a few pellets and

some teargas — it appeared that the police were a totally ineffective force.

I consider this to be "appeasing restraint" and if it was at the instigation of the Commissioner of Police, then it is time for him to be retired with immediate effect.

Peace will never prevail as long as there is appeasement.

JUM

Pietersburg

'Speed up negotiation process'

Cape Times, Friday 23.4.93

JOHANNESBURG. — Multi-party negotiations have to be speeded up, a 10-member planning committee decided at a meeting at the World Trade Centre here yesterday.

The planning committee met in preparation for Monday's negotiating council meeting, when all 26 participants in negotiations meet for the first time since the assassination of SACP general-secretary Mr Chris Hani.

"We as the planning committee will stress the element of urgency on Monday," the chairman of yesterday's meeting, Mr Zam Titus of Transkei, said after a three-hour session.

The planning committee will meet again this morning to, among other things, decide which issues were urgent.

Participants in negotiations had identified different issues as being urgent. These included violence, the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, an election date, an interim constitution, and the form of a future state.

Mr Titus said the committee had opted for a "results-orientated approach".

The planning committee would also present a draft motion on Monday concerning Mr Hani's assassination.

It had been "clear to everyone" on the planning committee that events since Mr Hani's assassination had affected the spirit of negotiations and "we really need to speed up the process".

Today's meeting will mainly deal with a report by a sub-committee on violence and the transition process.

"The draft report will be presented formally on Monday to the negotiating council," Mr Titus said.

It dealt with recommendations on how Codesa agreements were to be incorporated into the enlarged negotiating forum.

A document outlining the way forward on the main issues had been presented to the committee.

The issue of a name for negotiating forum is also expected to be decided by the time the planning committee adjourns this afternoon. — Sapa

Buthelezi hits at govt members

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

MEMBERS of the government seemed determined to worsen the situation of decay and intolerance that existed in South Africa, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He singled out the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, for attack by accusing him of trying to destroy the confidence and trust that was being built in the negotiations process.

However, Chief Buthelezi did say, at a lunch for the media in the city, that "after an all-too-long impasse, negotiations are finally back on track, with promise for a successful outcome".

● The government and the Inkatha Freedom Party met in the city yesterday for high-level talks aimed at "clearing up misunderstandings", reports Sapa.

President FW de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi said in a joint statement the meeting had been a "penetrating discussion on a wide range of issues".

Protesters ejected by police

Staff Reporter

POLICE removed a large group of ANC supporters who tried to prevent IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi from addressing about 800 people in the Stellenbosch town hall last night.

The organisers of the meeting appealed to the protesters to give Chief Buthelezi a chance to speak and when this had no effect asked police to remove them.

Chief Buthelezi called on regions to use their "political strength" to struggle for federalism.

In a speech at the inauguration of the Free Cape Movement he also rejected a constituent assembly and cautioned against unseemly haste towards elections.

He said the time had come for regions to take initiatives.

IFP/ANC

MERCURY joint plea 23/02/94 for peace

Political Staff

THE Natal Midlands chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mr David Ntombela, has appealed to his counterpart in the African National Congress, Mr Harry Gwala, to join him in the search for peace.

Mr Ntombela yesterday made a plea for calm and restraint in the area after a wave of renewed violence.

About 30 people have died in political violence in the Natal Midlands region in the past week and the IFP chairman said he condemned the violence, irrespective of the political affiliations of the victims.

Referring to the murder of 15 people at Creighton and the killing of another six people at Ntembeni, Mr Ntombela said the blood-letting had to be stopped at all costs.

Mr Gwala said last night that the IFP leader's call was a "very good idea" and he fully supported the idea of a peace initiative.

(Report by P Leeman, 18 Osborne Street, Durban)

IFP want massacre probe

MERCURY 23/02/94

THE IFP has said it will formally approach the Goldstone Commission today to investigate the massacre of seven IFP members, including a four-year-old boy, at Taylor's Halt on Sunday.

The victims were ambushed at Ntembeni, an ANC-controlled area adjoining Gezibuso while returning from Sunday's IFP youth brigade

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

rally at Taylor's Halt, the IFP said. Another six IFP members travelling to the rally were injured in two bus ambushes.

Police discovered the bodies of the victims on a remote dirt road at Ntembeni, about 10km from the IFP rally, on Monday. Spent AK-47 and R4 cartridge cases were

found.

The dead were identified by police as Mr Jabulani Xaba, 25, Smoyi Dlamini, 4, Mr Bafana Lambo, 48, Mr Zebulon Gwala, 38, Mr Calvias Zondo, 35, and a Mr Dlamini, about 48.

The IFP said yesterday the name of a seventh victim will only be released when his next of kin have been told.

23/02/94 NATAL MERCURY

Chief Buthelezi vindicated

SIR — The latest edition of the *African Communist* publication quotes Mr Joe Slovo as saying that the ANC/SACP alliance has gained total victory in its efforts to sway the National Party into accepting a centralised form of government.

This statement vindicates Chief Buthelezi's position on remaining outside of the TEC and the elections. It reinforces his position that constitutional guarantees pertaining to federalism need to be entrenched at the regional level. Without these guarantees, the ANC will be able to re-write the constitution at will after the elections, revoke powers at the regional level and monopolise power at central government.

President De Klerk has duped many white voters into believing that federalism will be guaranteed in the "new South Africa" and that fair and free elections can be held without the participation of those in the Freedom Alliance.

Clearly, there cannot be a federal system of government or fair and free elections until federal powers are entrenched in the constitutions of the different federal states. For this country to prosper and for true democracy to be entrenched, the powers of central government must be limited.

It is only through devolving power to the federal states that one can attain account-

able government and some level of transparency. For years the NP central government has abused its power and subverted the aspirations of those who opposed it.

We cannot afford to have the same scenario in the "new South Africa" with the ANC/SACP alliance at the helm.

Chief Buthelezi has stood fast in the face of a hostile media and ANC/NP double dealing in order to ensure a lasting peaceful, prosperous and democratic country. For this he must be fully commended.

KIM HODGSON

Former IFP Information Officer
5 Lester Road
Kloof

NATAL MERCURY 23/02/94

Secession option would benefit Natal/KwaZulu

SIR — Because socialism, and not free market economics, has been taught for decades in our universities, few people realise that secession would provide the opportunity for Natal/KwaZulu to become quite quickly the richest state in Africa.

African governments have destroyed liberty and created poverty throughout Africa. They embraced socialism because it gave them complete power over the people. The ANC/SACP will obviously repeat this tragedy in SA.

But an independent Natal/KwaZulu could go in the opposite direction and become immensely rich. It has good resources, but these are not necessary, as proven by economic miracles in resourceless Switzerland, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, etc.

All that is needed is complete freedom, with free markets and no controls whatsoever. Durban and perhaps also Richards Bay would be free ports, attracting trade from all over the world, particularly as an entry to all of Africa. There must be no taxes or subsidies on exports or im-

ports, no tariffs or quotas, complete freedom. Consumers would enjoy the cheapest goods the world could provide.

Private enterprise would provide everything the government now provides, at half the cost. This cost ratio is a well-established fact. Since the government would only protect the border and combat crime, only a small national tax on sales would be required.

Freed from the crushing burden and disincentive of our taxation and massive bureaucracy, people would work very hard, would save, invest in innumerable new enterprises, and become very wealthy.

The curse of government control of money would be ended. Inflation is theft, and throughout history every government controlled money has steadily deteriorated until it was worth nothing. Instead of being forced to accept the declining rubbish rand as legal tender, people would learn to choose better money such as gold, silver, Swiss francs, yen, British pounds, etc.

As in past centuries, competi-

tion would force banks to back their notes with gold or silver, thus ending inflation here for ever. One cannot multiply gold in a printing press. With free banking, money would pour into Natal/KwaZulu as in Switzerland or Hong Kong.

Switzerland should be copied in detail as it is truly democratic. The 26 cantons cater for four race/language groups according to local population, so here Zulus, whites and Indians could have their own cantons to avoid friction or domination. The canton boundaries are decided by the people themselves, not by remote officials.

Also, local taxation and laws would be decided locally. For example there could be polygamy in some cantons, monogamy in others. Being twice the size of Switzerland, Natal/KwaZulu should have more cantons. People would control their own lives and laws at the lowest possible level, national issues being decided by referendum.

LESLIE RIGGALL

Igwababa Road
Kloof

The SIAR 23/04/93

Derby-Lewis linked to world extremism

One of the most prominent international right-wing organisations to which Clive Derby-Lewis is linked is the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), of which he is the South African representative.

A position in such an extremist organisation would have put him in the forefront of the international far-right struggle against communism.

WACL, founded in 1966 by the dictatorship regimes of South Korea and Taiwan, has been exposed in a book, *Inside the League*, written by John Lee and Scott Anderson, as the foremost umbrella organisation bringing together unrepentant "terrorists, Nazis and Latin American squad leaders".

Among the most notorious Nazis and death squad leaders connected to WACL were Klaus Barbie, the Butcher of Lyon, and Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, leader of the Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA) party in El Salvador.

Sponsored

Derby-Lewis himself has said that South Africa has a fully fledged chapter of WACL and as such would have been entitled to financial support from the organisation.

According to *Inside the League*, the WACL is at least partly sponsored by the Rev Sun Myung Moon's controversial Unification Church and is known to have financed extremist organisations and right-wing guerilla movements, throughout the world.

The Moonies also fund Jean-Marie le Pen's neo-facist French National Front. Derby-Lewis has

Detained Clive Derby-Lewis is not only a leading figure in the Conservative Party, he also has extensive international links with neofacist organisations. JACQUES PAUW reports.

met Le Pen on various occasions.

WACL activities in South Africa can be traced back to the 1960s when it had Ivor Benson — formerly chief press censor for Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith — as head of its South African chapter.

Other South Africans closely associated with WACL's activities in the country were the former editor of the South African Observer, S E D Brown, and former NGK leader Dr Koot Vorster, brother of former Prime Minister John Vorster.

Derby-Lewis's fellow detainee, prominent rightwinger Arthur Kemp, is also known to have links with WACL.

WACL has since 1990 changed its name to the World League for Freedom and Democracy (WLFD), although it is still referred to as the Anti-Communist League.

Derby-Lewis is also vice-president of Western Goal (UK) and has links with other extremist elements in British conservative politics.

Western Goal, founded in May 1985, described itself in one of its own press releases as "a London-based right-wing organisation devoted to the preservation of Western values and European culture, opposed to communism, liberalism, internationalism and the multicultural society".

Western Goal is affiliated to WACL. It handled the public relations exercise of the visit of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Derby-Lewis to Europe in June 1989.

The organisation has recently been described as an unofficial ambassador for the South African Conservative Party, the German Republics (a far-right political party), the French National Front and the El Salvadorian ARENA party.

WACL has close ties with the extreme right-wing National Students Federation (NSF). Kemp is also known to have links with the NSF.

In June 1985 the NSF held an international conference of right-wing forces, with the co-operation with the SA Defence Force, at Unita's Jamba headquarters in southern Angola.

The conference was attended by representatives of the Nicaraguan Contras and the Afghan Mujahdin. It accepted a motion to fight communism to the bitter end.

Neofacist

Derby-Lewis is also known to be a member of the conservative Heritage Foundation, a powerful American right-wing organisation whose members have been linked to financial support for the Contras.

He is on the address list of the World Apartheid Movement (WAB), a neo-facist South African organisation which has links worldwide.

It is known that Polish-born Janus Waluz, alleged assassin of Chris Hani, was regularly seen at meetings of WAB, an organisation which has always attracted large numbers of foreigners.

Negotiators meet to prepare for talks

By Esther Waugh and Political Staff

For the first time since Chris Hani's assassination, key negotiators met yesterday to set the agenda for Monday's crucial meeting of the multi-party negotiating council.

After Hani's murder two weeks ago, both ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk asked that momentum be given to negotiations.

The ANC also called for a transitional executive council (TEC), with a sub-council to deal with multiparty control of all armed formations, and an early election date.

Speaking in Parliament on Wednesday, De Klerk said "great progress" could be made within the next six weeks. The Government remained committed to an election early in 1994 or even at the end of this year.

But much depended on whether negotiations could progress more quickly.

Consensus would first have to be reached on the further development of the constitutional process and on the nature of institutions to be elected.

"About the Government's

own commitment to the speedy finalisation of the negotiation process there is no doubt. We are in a hurry."

De Klerk said the Government was equally committed to the urgent installation of a TEC and sub-councils.

He believed it should be possible to reach agreement within the next six weeks on matters such as:

- The process leading up to the election.
- The establishment of a TEC and an independent electoral commission; a new Electoral Act; and delimitation of electoral regions.
- The functions and powers of regional authorities.
- Constitutional principles and a constitutional court.
- A charter of human rights in a transitional constitution.

On the homelands, De Klerk said the Government felt Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei should be reincorporated into South Africa as soon as possible. Talks were being held with those territories.

The planning committee — 10 negotiators appointed for their expertise and not representing their organisations — met at the World Trade Centre yesterday.

Govt presents plans for regional reform

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Government's reform plans for nonracial local government are founded on separate voters rolls: one for owners of property and one for other adult residents.

This was disclosed in Parliament yesterday, when Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delpert released details of the Local Government Reform Bill, which will soon be published for comment.

Irrespective of the ratio of property owners to other residents, seats in town or city councils should be split on a 50/50 basis between those candidates elected by voters on the propertied roll and those on the general roll, the Government suggests.

In addition, ward councils — intended "to maintain the 'own character' of smaller communities" — should be set up on a voluntary basis and be given statutory powers, the Minister said.

Among other things, such councils or "sub-municipal" structures should set norms and standards in their areas, regulate the use of property and deal with "security affairs" and civil protection,

said Delpert.

In addition, they should be empowered to levy additional rates on residents to undertake specific community projects.

Where interest groups in a given area negotiated a "local option" which deviated from the Government's framework, such solutions should be given legal recognition, the Minister said. It was possible the Government's position should be a "fallback position" where local negotiations failed to produce results.

Delpert rejected the notion that the dual voters roll and ward councils were designed to protect the privileged classes.

"There's no way you can entrench privileges."

Other proposals in the Government's reform package include:

- Consolidating legislation and removing all racial references in law.
- Creating metropolitan councils or services boards.
- Prescribing a process to amalgamate local authorities and set areas of jurisdiction for municipalities, metropolitan councils and services boards.

Right 'becoming desperate'

Right-wing politics in South Africa is entering a new phase of resistance and mobilisation that may lead to widespread violent resistance against a future, democratically elected government.

So says political analyst Dr Wim Booysse, who, over the past few years, has made an extensive study of the right wing in South Africa.

He believes there is more emphasis on unification of the Right than ever before. Where, at the time of the referendum in March last year, there were 186 right-wing organisations, structures and cells, there are now fewer than 20.

Most rightwingers, even those in extremist organisations such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Orde Boerevolk (OB), see the Conservative Party (CP) as the mother organisation.

Booyse believes that the CP's Mobilisation Council is, in the future, going to play a major role in unifying and mobilising the Right.

He is convinced that it would be able to pull in the AWB and other extremist organisations.

The council was recently formed under the leadership of former SADF general Koos Bishchoff, who said at its launch that his ideal was the unification of the Right.

Leading CP member Clive

The assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani has once again put the spotlight on the right-wing threat in South Africa. JACQUES PAUW reports that the Right is mobilising against a democratic election that will signal the end of white rule.

Derby-Lewis, detained in connection with the murder of SACP leader Chris Hani, has been a major force in getting the council launched.

Another organisation striving for unity on the Right has recently been launched.

It is called the Eenheidskomitee 25 (Unity Committee 25), and includes powerful military figures such as former Military Intelligence general Tienie Groenewald and former Commissioner of Police General Mike Geldenhuys.

Since the police started their campaign against rightwingers three years ago and arrested 136 leaders and supporters, the

Right has undergone major changes, Booysse says.

It was broken up and many of the smaller organisations disappeared.

Members have since then got together again but now exist in smaller cells without names or constitutions.

Out of fear of infiltration by the police, they don't advertise their existence and are very cautious who they allow to join them. It is within these cells that violence is planned and hit lists compiled.

It is possibly a nameless cell like this that planned and executed the assassination of Hani.

Booyse says that because of utmost secrecy it has become more difficult for the authorities to expose and act against these cells.

Most cell members will, however, still hold membership of the CP, the AWB or other known organisations. Many have joined the commando structures of the AWB which enables them to receive training. The AWB remains by far the biggest and probably most dangerous para-military organisation. Although AWB leader Eu-

gene TerreBlanche claims that he has more than 40 000 men under arms, its commandos have no more than 5 000 members.

The second largest para-military organisation is the Boerekommando under the leadership of Gawie Volschenk. Although the Boerekommando has only about 600 members, they are

well-trained

Piet "Skiet" Rudolph's Orde Boerevolk (The Order of the Boer Nation) has less than 80 members, but they are all well-armed and trained, and have been implicated in large-scale right-wing violence, including murder and sabotage.

There are smaller organisations. Because of existing divi-

sions on the Right, there are, for example, three Boere Weerstandsbewegings (Boer Resistance Movements).

There are also smaller, more "intellectual" organisations such as the Boerestaat Party of Robert van Tonder and the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (Boer Freedom Movement) of Jan Groenewald.

The World-Apartheid Movement of Koos Vermeulen has always been popular among neo-Nazis and foreigners, especially eastern European anti-communist fanatics.

Booyse says that until a year ago Vermeulen had an address list of 4 000 rightwingers. It also has a military wing and gives training to members. It is said

to have lost support because Vermeulen is suspected by the Right of being a police agent.

He became famous for the birthday celebrations for Adolf Hitler held on his fort-like farm outside Pretoria.

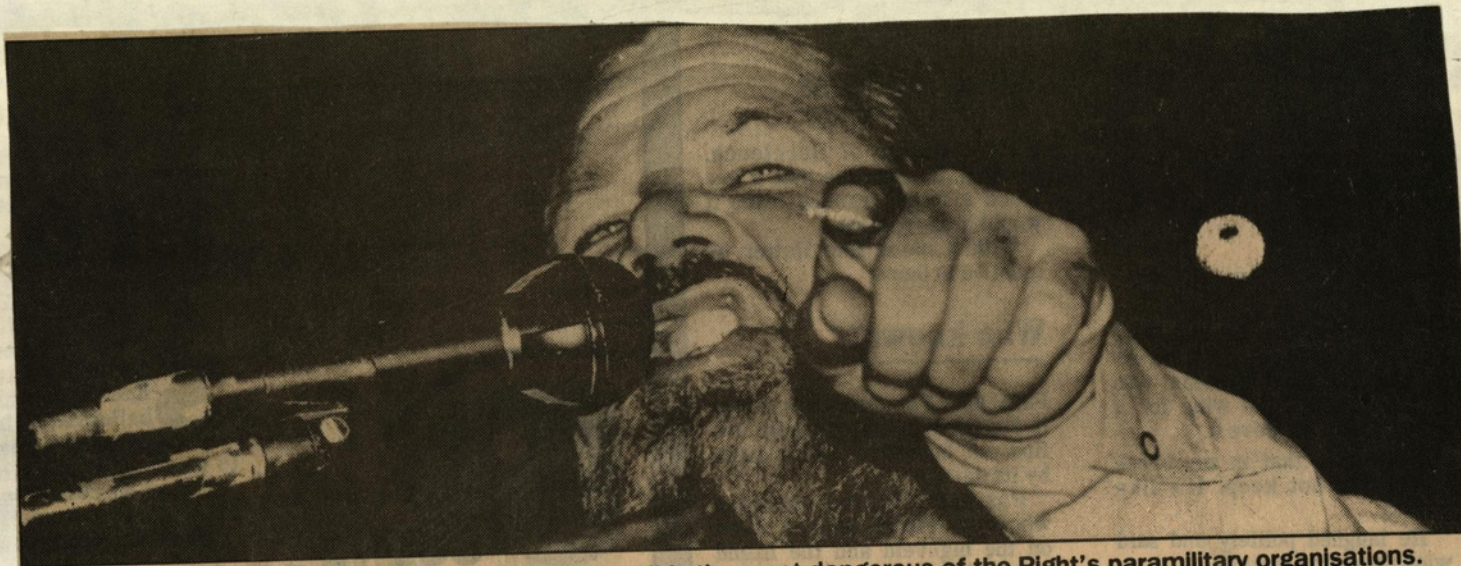
Neo-Nazis celebrated Hitler's birthday last Sunday, but apparently only 13 extremists pitched up.

Booyse says what has become significant is that right-wing organisations have abandoned their Afrikaner exclusivity and now welcome English-speaking South Africans and foreigners.

Derby-Lewis plays an important role in mobilising English and foreign rightwingers. His Republican Unity Movement of South Africa (Rumosa), which has 23 branches and 15 000 English-speaking members all over the country, plays an important role.

Booyse believes that although the assassination of Chris Hani may have brought the right wing's "plan of action" forward, it has always regarded the holding of nonracial elections as the time for large-scale resistance, both armed and peaceful.

He also says that rightwingers believe that a time will come when the Government will have to activate the full might of the security forces against them. That day, they believe, individual soldiers and policemen will have to make a choice on where they stand.



Eugene TerreBlanche . . . heads what is possibly the most dangerous of the Right's paramilitary organisations.



Treurnicht . . . underwent heart operation.

Treurnicht dies in hospital

CAPE TOWN — Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, died in the City Park Hospital in Cape Town yesterday evening.

Treurnicht was admitted 11 days ago and underwent a heart bypass operation from which he had reportedly been recovering well up to Wednesday. But he died unexpectedly yesterday evening with two of his daughters at his side.

Treurnicht, the man who was also known as "Dr No", was blamed for South Africa's worst black riots in 1976 and was the senior National Party leader who finally also said "no" to that party's decision to go for power-sharing with blacks.

He staged a dramatic walk-out of right-wing MPs from the NP's parliamentary caucus in 1982, left the Cabinet, and founded the right-wing Conservative Party. It was a party which was to become the first viable alternative to the NP in Afrikaner politics and which became the official Opposition in 1987. — Sapa.

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 we must beware of simplistic assessments of how much the economy "loses" by holidays and stayaways, which sometimes seem to be calculated in no more sophisticated a manner than simply dividing annual GDP by 365.

But the fact remains that an economy facing its fifth year of recession just does not need these additional shocks to the system. And they come when, for the first time, there are signs that some fundamental problems are being overcome.

Inflation, for example, despite the latest blip in PPI (see *Economy*) and an imminent boost from the higher Vat rate, seems to be under control at last. Internationally, even though not all the portents are favourable, there is hope that the US, UK and Japan at least may be over the worst.

If a political settlement could bring renewed access to IMF and World Bank facilities, even the balance of payments squeeze that has taken over from inflation as the main reason for Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals's continued tight monetary policy could be relaxed.

But whatever the fundamentals, no economy can grow unless those who take economic decisions enjoy a feeling of confidence in the future. And even if the tragic events of the past fortnight have concentrated the minds of politicians (from all points on the spectrum) on the need for a settlement, they can only have heightened businessmen's lack of confidence.

That, in the long run, is far more serious than any loss of output or wealth creation caused by stayaways and other mass action. Experience has shown that, within reason, lost output can be recouped remarkably quickly; deferred investment decisions can take not just months but years to make up. The key phrase, of course, is "within reason" — occasional days are one thing, but a programme extending over six weeks goes well beyond the bounds of reason.

Then, it's all very well to say (with justification) that the unrest of the past week has been a lot less than many people feared, and to commend the

ANC marshals for their handling of a near-impossible task — mostly, with a good deal more sensitivity than the security forces showed.

Trouble is, even one TV shot of burning houses, overturned cars and rampaging mobs is one too many — which, of course, is no argument for not reporting what actually happened. There's no long-term benefit in conning foreign businessmen about the state of our society.

What is significant about the rampaging mobs is that they consist largely of the lost generation of unemployed youth, who have nothing to lose by disrupting — even destroying — a system that gives them nothing. The *FM* has said before, but it cannot be repeated too often, that this will be one of the most intractable problems facing any new government.

The suggestion of a Peace Corps-type youth corps is a good one; but even if it's named after Chris Hani, there is little point in even considering it till a transitional government is in place. Any action by this government would automatically damn the idea in the minds of the masses, raising comparisons more with Hitlerian forced labour than the contemporaneous similar projects of the US New Deal.

And it can never be more than a palliative, a short-term expedient to keep people off the streets and give them some sense of dignity. It can neither create nor form part of a soundly based sustained period of genuine economic growth.

It's significant, though, that the suggestion has been endorsed by senior ANC figures, indicating that the economic education of the ANC has progressed another important stage. Having already come to accept the importance of a vibrant private sector, they are now coming to realise that in future they will bear the brunt of unfulfilled expectations.

The assassination of Chris Hani has no doubt swung some black potential voters from the ANC to the PAC, but is unlikely to have a decisive effect on the first election under a new constitution.

But, as in their different ways both post-colonial Africa and post-communist eastern Europe and central Asia have found, the second election is what counts. If too many expectations remain unfulfilled, the extremists move in. The ANC won't want that; nor will the business community. As the white government becomes more and more a lame-duck regime, so the interests of business and the ANC — and the economy as a whole — will converge.

Only lingering (and understandable) fears of government's reformist sincerity can still justify ANC actions that will damage the economy. If mass action lights a fire under the politicians, maybe we can live with it for a while; but fires like that, once lit, can be difficult to put out. ■



STATE OF THE NATION

Searching for the centre



The fear in Johannesburg and the Reef towns on Monday was palpable and vivid. The people who live there have been through some tense times: the Rand Revolt of 1922; the Ossewa Brandwag

brawls of the Forties; the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre and the attempted assassination of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd in the early Sixties; the 1976 Soweto uprising; the States of Emergency of the Eighties; and the volatile mass action of the Nineties. But it is doubtful whether any of these periods saw the widespread tension experienced on Monday, the day of the funeral of murdered SACP chief Chris Hani.

The black stayaway from work was almost total, despite previous declared days of mourning on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday. By early afternoon even big department stores in the great modern shopping malls had closed their doors. The centre of Johannesburg, strangely quiet for a Monday afternoon, saw a steady stream of white workers and executives heading early for home.

The mainly white suburbs and towns were eerily deserted, with few cars on the streets and even the corner cafes closed. People went home and locked their doors. A silence descended, of a kind not normal even on Sundays and public holidays, and broken only by the occasional sound of a police helicopter.

To be sure, some householders — those along the route of the Hani cortege, and in the vicinity of the cemetery and the Hani home in Boksburg — had something definite to fear. They were understandably anxious; some took elaborate and fearsome precautions. But the lives and property of the overwhelming majority were not in any exceptional danger — yet the fear grew and was almost tangible. In other cities, too, there was an unusual tension.

The explanation may be that a sea change has finally taken place in our politics. We have entered possibly the most dangerous and fragile phase of the transition.

What has happened is that the ANC has demonstrated that it can do much as it likes. But, as this realisation has sunk in, the ANC has also found that its power, too, is not absolute — even though it steadily subverts the instruments of governance and good order. It does not have the strength to overthrow the government. In turn, the Nats may seem to control the firepower, the civil service, the keys of the kingdom — but they can too easily be prevented from maintaining

order and protecting lives.

This situation has, of course, applied ever since the ANC was unbanned and its president Nelson Mandela released from prison — but the death of Hani has finally stripped away the illusion.

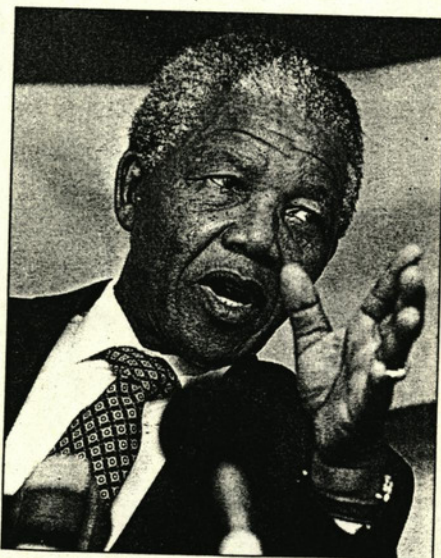
The result is paralysis. It has been expressed in various ways. Last week Mandela appeared on national TV to appeal for calm, just as if he were head of State. Hani's body, said ANC spokesman without a trace of irony, would "lie in state" on Sunday; SA was effectively compelled to mourn for over a week. These are words and arrangements normally associated with a world statesman like Winston Churchill. By giving Hani this status, the ANC was sending a message to the country and expressing its perception of our politics.

By Monday the shift was almost complete. The political centre of gravity was on the East Rand, relegating the proceedings of parliament to a sideshow — and those who watched on TV knew it.

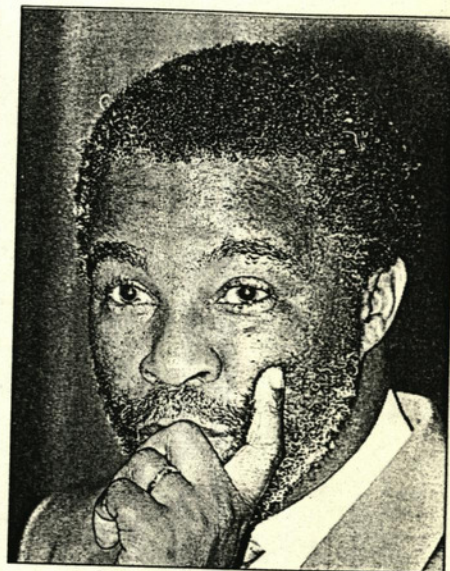
Whereas on Saturday President F W de Klerk had spoken with reasoned assurance about events following Hani's murder, on Monday evening his performance in parliament seemed uncertain and pointless. Mandela assumes the trappings and the manner of power, but takes no responsibility; De Klerk is in charge but not always in control.

By Monday evening the dominant political image was not of parliament — the dignified seat of sovereignty, whatever its flaws.

It had been replaced in the common mind by the vision of a Putco bus, windows shattered and probably hijacked, plastered and with young township radicals waving



Mandela ... time to tackle the mob



Mbeki ... moderation a liability?

clenched fists — immune to the rules of the road, the law and the ANC leadership, even to thoughts of their own safety.

This is why fear swelled. People did not, generally, feel any threat of direct assault from the Hani funeral proceedings. But they did get an intimation of anarchy. The fact that, in SA terms, the day went off relatively peacefully was no consolation.

None of this is De Klerk's fault. Indeed, it is remarkable that he has sustained his presidential role for so long; without his courage and honesty, he might not even have survived long in office after February 1990. His problem is that his party's apartheid policies have left a massive moral deficit which whites are still paying off (and the ANC is still spending freely on credit).

In Los Angeles or Bombay or Beirut, looters and arsonists run the risk of being shot by police. It is the accepted way, because society cannot tolerate such subversion of law and order. Condone the looter and nobody's property is safe; the next step is the collapse of social order.

Yet it is clear that, on Monday, our security forces were not instructed to protect property; they would only do their best to save lives.

For not a few innocent bystanders — one of whom was burnt to death in his own house — their best was not good enough. The reason is simple: there is a massive political cost whenever a black is shot by police. De Klerk feels he must avoid paying it wherever possible; history has never been on his side.

The irony is that the police and army are quite capable of keeping order, without resorting to the excesses of the Eighties.

LEADING ARTICLES

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 representatives of "the people." Violence could 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.



Sexwale . . . romance and responsibility

Cyril Ramaphosa — cool, intellectual and correct — appeared composed. But he appeared to lack authority. Has he grown in the powerful position of secretary-general to someone of whom the masses might be in awe? Unlike Hani, he has not become a popular idol; a tough negotiator, certainly, but perhaps better suited to the bargaining table than the hustings. He will soon need to assert authority — and be seen to do so successfully.

Tokyo Sexwale was thrust into prominence partly through his organising role as the ANC's PWV chairman and partly through being a close friend and neighbour of Hani. He appeared to relish the limelight and his MK uniform; the crowds seemed to accept him. But his speeches were sometimes reminiscent of those by SRC presidents on unruly campuses — long on romance and short on responsibility. His sensible appeal for the ANC to avoid racial revenge attacks was undermined by his reckless assertion that government was linked to Hani's murder.

Thabo Mbeki, perhaps the most urbane ANC leader and certainly the least threatening to whites, was not in evidence on Monday: was his moderate image regarded as a liability on such a volatile occasion? The only other personality to make any impact was Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who must have appalled many Christians with his lack of dignity and his inflammatory remarks. Anger is one thing: making a clown of yourself is another. The Church, with a TV row of toyi-toying priests, did not make a good impression on Monday.

And that was about it, the best the alliance could offer in a dramatic and dangerous week. It was not the performance of a government-in-waiting.

Mandela has made it clear that the ANC is still committed to negotiations — but what is not clear is how confident the ANC leadership is about its support. Not having been tested at the polls, it is not sure just how much appeal the PAC has for the restless youth.

By Tuesday afternoon nobody in the ANC

had dared to condemn the outrageously inciting remarks by Peter Mokaba and Winnie Mandela about killing white farmers. Lame references were made to people speaking in "a personal capacity."

Untempered by electoral politics and the intractable demands of office, the moderate ANC leaders appear to confuse too easily the ranting of the demagogues with the rationale for a policy.

They respond too quickly to romantic "struggle" verbiage. In an attempt to placate the mob and retain its support, they rush to supply more rhetoric and promise more mass action.

Sooner or later the ANC, if it is to inherit a country rather than a smoking ruin, will have to reckon with the mob. It is the mark of a great politician that he is capable of divining what the silent majority wants and acting to achieve that, while having the courage to ignore and isolate the vocal and intimidating extremists. No ANC leader has yet shown such qualities — though Hani had made a good start.

"Speed is of the essence," said Mandela in demanding an election date to be set; he noted that "forward movement can no longer be held hostage to narrow party political interests." De Klerk has repeatedly given such views.

So what's the problem? It is simple: each side is hoping that the other will blink first, will make compromises in crucial areas such as regional powers in a future constitution. Whether they blink or not is a matter for their judgment.

But they should not be rushed: there is an equal danger in proceeding with undue haste (rather than good speed). Haste can lead to foolishness, most dangerously in the kind of settlement which might so upset Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party that Natal would be torn apart.

Radical goodwill

There is little doubt that the vast majority of South Africans want the thugs and radicals marginalised; people want to be left in peace to go about their business free of intimidation.

They do not expect miracles but they do want progress. There remains, in the country at large, a remarkable amount of racial goodwill and understanding — and an increasing suspicion of the politicians.

What De Klerk and Mandela need to understand is that they will be stronger together than apart, and that the broad mass of people will support them. The choice between war and peace is, essentially, theirs to make together.

All reluctant parties should consider Lord Palmerston's defence of the radical 1832 Reform Bill, which he regarded as necessary, even if undesirable:

"Those who seek to check improvements, to cherish abuses, to crush opinions, and to prohibit the human race from thinking, will find their weapon snap short in the hand, when most they need its protection."



Hani mourners . . . hitting the road

WHITE POLITICS

An anxious sideshow

It took two small TV screens in a parliamentary press office this week to underscore the massive tilt in SA's political equilibrium following Chris Hani's assassination.

On the one were images of the funeral gathering: 80 000 angry people hearing demands for an end to white rule. On the other, parliament's closed circuit system, the white rulers and their white opponents floundered in a debate on the State President's budget vote that should probably not even have been happening at the same time.

A Democratic Party move to have the debate postponed until after the funeral as a mark of respect was dismissed. The DP walked out and only returned in the late afternoon. The Labour Party and the five ANC MPs didn't attend at all. Symbolically, suspending the sitting could have been an important gesture.

But President FW de Klerk denied that, by going ahead with the debate, government was either insensitive or unappreciative of the seriousness of the situation in SA.

"It is our view that parliament should, under the serious circumstances caused by the murder of Mr Chris Hani, and true to its tradition and character, use the opportunity offered by this debate to address the situation in a sympathetic, constructive and dignified manner. This is the essence of parliament. At a time of crisis, it grasps the nettle and discusses the crisis in depth."

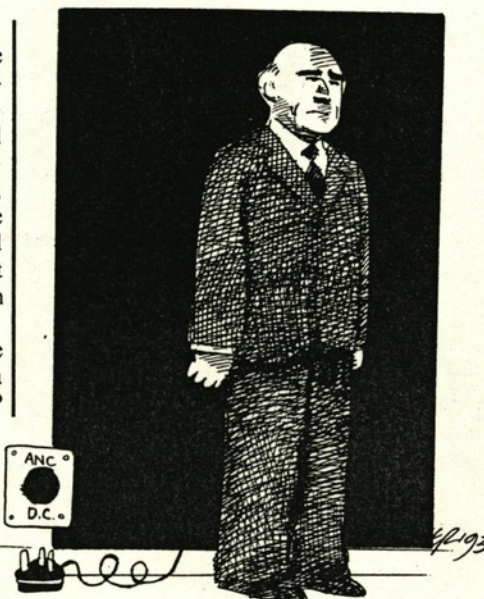
What ensued was a bitter slanging match between the National Party and the Conservatives. Parliament failed to address the crisis. For a few brief hours, Nelson Mandela seemed to become SA's *de facto* president.

If De Klerk missed his opportunity to demonstrate true statesmanship in the hours following the killing, he could have regained ground in parliament this week. Instead, the debate confirmed that parliament's only remaining role is to rubber-stamp externally negotiated agreements for the sake of constitutional continuity.

The CP knows that it's never going to win power through the current parliamentary system — which means it will never win power — and now simply uses the forum as a platform from which to urge white resistance to democracy.

The DP, its role as parliamentary watchdog now waning, sits on the sidelines desperately hoping a new system will evolve in which it can continue to play a part.

The call by the DP's Roger Hulle, when the party eventually returned to the debate, for government to defuse the crisis by announcing dates for an election and the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, came across as a desperate attempt to



keep pace with events.

The DP, perhaps more than any other party, is committed to negotiated agreements. Demands for unilateral government action, simply in the hope that it might defuse a crisis, are totally out of line with conventional DP thinking.

With parliament further discredited, government's only fallback is a military crack-down in attempt to avert total anarchy. For-

tunately, that's not currently an option. The priority is the speedy resumption of multi-party talks.

De Klerk's unimpressive performance at the start of this week's debate illustrated how dependent he has become on progress in negotiations, not only to keep personal focus on the process of transition but also to calm his constituency. The Hani crisis, with its inherent threat to the process, seriously undercuts his position and leaves him vulnerable to CP attack.

De Klerk's speech was wishy-washy. It added nothing new to efforts to resolve the crisis. His one noteworthy contribution came in remarks not included in his prepared text. In apparent response to mounting pressure to move faster towards the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, he said government was prepared to examine "ways and means" of establishing joint administrative structures with negotiating partners, to deal with specific issues even before negotiations on broader issues were finalised.

The more substantive issue of dealing with the crisis was left to hardline Law & Order Minister Hennis Kriel (though De Klerk was expected to respond to militant ANC demands late on Tuesday).

Significantly, Kriel chose to issue his tough warning to the ANC and its allies not in parliament but in an interview with the Cape Nat mouthpiece *Die Burger*.

REGRET AND CONCERN

With foreign policy focus virtually monopolised by the hideous imbroglio of Bosnia, it is not surprising that the murder of Chris Hani and subsequent events have drawn little significant comment from Europe and the US.

There have been the predictable expressions of regret and concern, coupled with repeated exhortations for restraint and for all the parties in SA to redouble efforts to reach a negotiated settlement. As one British Foreign Office source said: "We can only hope that the killing of Mr Hani will perhaps concentrate minds even more."

If anything, there has been relief at the restraint shown by leaders on all sides and that the ensuing violence was relatively muted.

"We were shocked by the assassination but not surprised," said a German Foreign Ministry official. "Such an event has always been a possibility and will

continue to be so in SA. We have seen far worse pictures from SA on our television than those which were broadcast in the past few days. It can only be hoped that the mass action campaign sees better control — of the security forces and the demonstrators."

The US State Department has taken heart from the fact that, so far, the "forces of the centre are intact." But it is concerned that the breaking of the Hani link to the young radicals could leave a dangerous gap between the ANC leadership and its constituents.

The masses have their martyr, commented a State Department official, and "unless the vacuum is filled quickly, it could be exploited by extremists. It makes speedy progress in the negotiations an even more pressing imperative to meet the frustrations of people who feel that, three years after Nelson Mandela was released, not much has changed."

THIRTY-FOUR YEARS ON

Stories covered by the *FM* on April 24 1959 included:

□ Recession, overproduction and government policy are putting the screws on the southern Transvaal clothing industry. Employment has been shrinking for years and recession, though speeding up the process, is hiding a long-term adjustment.

The market failed to expand as fast as productive capacity and local and foreign competition is fierce. Profits have slumped as costs have soared.

And apartheid, in the form of job reservation in urban areas and uncontrolled competition from rural areas, threatens established factories. Urban factories have also lost part of their market to producers in Rhodesia and the East, but

speciality and high fashion goods seem likely to remain the preserve of better-paid, highly skilled urban workers.

□ A new company, yet unnamed, is being formed to promote finance for small industrialists. Initial capital will be £1 000. The first directors will be Lord Craigmyle, Harold Whitehead, F S Maxwell and H N Berliner. The implication clearly is that Lord Craigmyle (of the Inchcape family) will bring in UK capital and Maxwell SA money. There is also an implied tie-up with Whitehead's firm of management consultants. It's envisaged to finance amounts from a few thousand to £50 000, through redeemable prefs with a minimum coupon of about 7.5%.

Whatever happened to that one?

Kriel committed the police to firmer action against unruly demonstrators to stamp out the sort of behaviour witnessed during the Hani funeral.

Die Burger said Kriel "climbed barefisted" into the ANC over its inability to maintain order as it had promised and that he strongly doubted whether further agreements between the police and the ANC on the conduct of gatherings and marches would be possible.

Kriel said that ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's attempts to distance the organisation and its alliance partners from the violence was like "Pilate washing his hands."

He said the police were carefully assessing the lessons of the last few days. "It is clear to me that co-operation with the ANC is not enough to prevent murder, manslaughter, looting and hooliganism. It seems as if a stronger show of force is needed."

CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg looked beyond constitutional means and called on whites to rise up and defend themselves. However, apart from a show of force — but thankfully no action — by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging during the Hani funeral, the white Right appears to still believe the crisis can be defused.

Getting back to negotiations is as crucial to the underpinning of that belief as it is to finally removing the frustration of the toothless tricameral parliament.

POLITICAL SUPPORT

Moving goal posts

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 feels, is that the consequence of the events could upset the IFP timetable for change. "The IFP seemed to have comfortably accepted a lengthy process towards the establishment of a transitional executive committee, then an election and constituent assembly. The likely consequence of the past fortnight's events is that the whole process will be speeded up. If the IFP tries to oppose this, it will simply be seen as a spoiler."

MOTOR INDUSTRY

In the clouds

Motor industry employers and unions are deeply divided after the first round of annual pay talks. Vehicle manufacturers have rejected outright union demands for further centralised control of the industry. And they claim that pay demands could virtually double some companies' wage bills. Unions warn that the employers' attitude threatens to create a conflict "which would make all previous conflicts in the industry look like a tea party."

Representatives of the two sides are meeting this week in an attempt to find common ground before the next full round of talks early next month. Negotiations are between manufacturers, the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) and the SA Yster en Staal union.

Numsa is insisting on a package of changes to be phased in over three years to June 30 1996. The main features of its initial demands are:

- An average annual wage increase over three years equal to inflation plus 5%;
- The differential between artisan rates and bottom wage rates to be reduced to 20%;
- Actual, rather than minimum, earnings to be common throughout the industry;
- Average working week to be reduced from 40 hours to 39;
- Employers to dock non-union staff the equivalent of union subs and pay the money to the unions;
- Individual company pension and provident funds to be converted to a single industry retirement fund by July 1994;
- Guaranteed job security for all employees during industry restructuring; and
- A single bargaining forum for the entire motor industry, including vehicle manufacturers, motor components companies and tyre manufacturers.

While Numsa admits its programme is intended to bring about fundamental change in the industry's negotiating relationship, it

TREURNICHT'S DEATH SHOCKS CP

CITIZEN 23/04/93

Tributes
to party
leader

By Brian Stuart
and Sapa

CAPE TOWN. — The death last night of Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party since 1982, has shocked Right-wing supporters throughout the country.

Dr Treurnicht, a leading figure for much of his life in Afrikaner religious, cultural and political circles, suffered a heart at-

tack in Cape Town last week.

Subsequently, he had a second heart attack, leading to an emergency operation on Sunday at City Park Hospital for a multiple heart bypass.

Although remaining under intensive care, he appeared to be recovering well yesterday, when he suffered ventricular fibrillation, a condition in which the heart fails to beat normally.

Medical attempts to re-

store the heart beat failed, and he died about 6 pm. His wife, Mrs Engela Treurnicht, was present.

Dr Treurnicht is survived by his wife, four daughters and grandchildren.

Mr Frank le Roux, the CP's chief whip said no date had yet been set for the funeral.

He believed two of Dr Treurnicht's daughters were at his side when he

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The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr ANDRIES TREURNICHT, who died in a Cape Town hospital yesterday evening of heart fibrillation after a heart bypass operation.

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Treurnicht's death shocks CP

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died.

A prayer had been said at the death bed by the MP for Witbank, Mr Wynd van Wyk (a former church minister).

Conservative Party colleagues heard the news during the final minutes of the day's parliamentary sitting. An urgent caucus meeting was held to inform all party MPs and members of the President's Council. Some were in tears afterwards.

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, acting leader of the party, was on a flight to Johannesburg for a meeting. It appears certain that he will succeed Dr Treurnicht as leader, and his formal election at a con-

gress could be unopposed.

In parliamentary circles, however, it was said the CP would miss the reconciling hand of Dr Treurnicht. He had done everything possible earlier this year to prevent the defections that led to the establishment of the Afrikaner Volksunie.

His background as former Ned Geref Kerk minister and editor of Die Kerkbode, chairman of the Broederbond, and member of the Cabinet until the 1982 breakaway, made him the elder statesman of Right-wing Afrikanerdom, and therefore natural leader and spokesman for its aspirations to self-determination.

It was also under Dr Treurnicht's leadership that the decision was taken on CP involvement in the new multi-party negotiation forum. Dr Hartzenberg heads the party's negotiation team.

Mr Le Roux said last night that Dr Treurnicht was a dedicated leader in the cause in which he believed and which he served all his life.

"Without demanding loyalty, it was bestowed on him by his followers, who were sincerely devoted to him.

"Dr Treurnicht's death is a very great and sad loss to the CP. We are, however, bound by our loyalty to him to carry on with the struggle and to attain the ideals for which he strove.

"He was a most genuine Christian, and an example to all of us. In his leadership, he set us an example."

Mr Ken Andrew, national chairman of the Democratic Party, said: "Dr Treurnicht was a man of many talents, who dedicated himself to serving the Afrikaner people in a variety of ways throughout his life.

"He was a man of learning and dignity. Undoubtedly, his death will be a severe loss to his political party."

On behalf of the DP he extended sympathies to Mrs Treurnicht, the family, Dr Treurnicht's colleagues and friends.

The National Party conveyed its condolences to the Conservative Party and the family and friends of Dr Treurnicht.

Chairman of the National Information and Management Committee of the NP, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said it was to Dr Treurnicht's credit that he had led the CP to the negotiation table during the last months of his life.

He had distanced himself from political violence throughout his political career.

"His gentlemanly conduct commanded respect across the political spectrum."

Dr Andries Treurnicht was a talented and versatile man who made his mark in many different fields, leader of the Boerestaat Party, Mr Robert van Tonder, said last

night.

"He held a leading position as moderator in the Church, he was a leading editor in the field of journalism, and as a politician he was a leader of stature.

"He was pre-eminently a peacemaker and diplomat and he had the gift of being able to differ from people without antagonising them.

"Dr Treurnicht was a civilised and polite person, and friendliness was one of his outstanding qualities."

"Although he did not agree with the Boerestaat policy to restore the Boer Republics, he was not hostile in making his differences known."

An ANC statement in reaction to Dr Treurnicht's death called on the CP to find common ground with the ANC for the sake of peace.

"The policies of the ANC and the CP are at enormous variance. However, this is not the time to concentrate on our differences, but to try and find whatever common ground is possible for the sake of our country.

"Dr Andries Treurnicht's death comes at a critical time for the country and the Conservative Party, with leading figures of the CP implicated in the assassination of (South African Communist Party secretary-general) Chris Hani.

"The ANC hopes that the CP will make a careful assessment of the situation and commit them-

selves unambiguously to negotiations," the statement said.

The ANC extended its sympathy to Dr Treurnicht's family "and those close to him".

The Labour Party was sad to hear of the death of a man who, while a political foe, was always a dignified, and an honest fighter for what he believed in, the Labour Party said.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said Dr Treurnicht had been invariably polite, never stooping to personal attack however much some of his opponents tried to drag him down to that level of debate.

"Tough and uncompromising, it is heartening to remember that it was under his leadership that the CP entered multi-party negotiations and started on the road to becoming part of the new South Africa.

Dr Treurnicht would be remembered for having pursued his own political line with considerable skill, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said.

During the years they had worked together, he always found Dr Treurnicht to be a courteous man, and the wide political gulf between them never interfered with a good personal relationship.

"Our deepest sympathy goes out to Mrs Treurnicht and family. We shall miss him in Parliament."

CAPE TOWN. — Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, died in the City Park Hospital, Cape Town yesterday evening.

Dr Treurnicht was admitted 10 days ago and underwent a heart bypass operation from which he had been reportedly recovering well up to Wednesday.

However, he died unexpectedly yesterday evening.

Dr Treurnicht, the man also known as Dr No, was the man blamed for South Africa's worst Black riots in 1976 and the senior National Party leader who finally also said no to his party's decision to go for powersharing with Blacks.

Dr Treurnicht's biggest political role began

with an ultimate "no" to his Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, whose reformist direction took formal shape in 1982.

After a dramatic walk-out of Right-wing MPs from the National Party's parliamentary caucus, he left the Cabinet, lost the powerful position as leader of the Transvaal NP and founded the Right-wing Conservative Party.

It was a party which was to become the first viable alternative to the NP in Afrikaner politics and which grew to become the Official Opposition in 1987.

Ultimately, however, it failed in its goal to make Dr Treurnicht Prime Minister or State President and to lead Afrikaner politics back to apartheid.

In his varied career as churchman, newspaper

editor and politician, Dr Treurnicht was a man who was always in the forefront of events and, usually, in the midst of controversy.

He was once considered the new Verwoerd of White politics and in many ways he matched his model.

Born in the Piketberg district on February 19 1921, Andries Petrus Treurnicht was one of nine children of Hester and Andries Treurnicht, a farmer.

After matriculating at Piketberg High School in 1938, he obtained a BA degree at Stellenbosch University, and from 1942 to 1945 attended the university's Theological Seminary.

During these years he was a member of the Students' Representative Council, chairman of the Students' Christian Association (SCA) and chairman of Polumnia, an association for theological students.

In 1946 the young Treurnicht became travelling secretary of the SCA and the same year was appointed minister of the NG Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church) in Oudtshoorn.

He played rugby for South Western Districts and in 1949 was their scrum-half against the touring All Blacks.

Until 1960 he also served the NG Kerk congregations of Rondebosch, Stellenbosch and Pretoria.

While at Rondebosch, he completed an MA in Philosophy and a PhD at the University of Cape Town.

In 1960 Dr Treurnicht became editor of the church weekly newspaper, Die Kerkbode, a

position he used to play a prominent role in a conservative counter-movement within the NG Kerk against the controversial Cottesloe recommendations of 1960.

In this respect he became the then Prime Minister, Dr HF Verwoerd's ally within the church, helping to hound out the NG Kerk's Cottesloe representatives who had endorsed the conference's strong anti-apartheid stance.

One of these men was Dr Beyers Naude who later took up the struggle against apartheid outside the church.

Precedent

Dr Verwoerd set a precedent by personally intervening in a church matter during a festive season public broadcast to the nation. Dr Treurnicht backed him in rejecting his own church delegates' recommendations, coming out strongly in support of separate development.

His editorship immediately became controversial with even the party mouthpiece, Die Burger's editor, Mr Piet Cillie, attacking him in editorials.

In the company of other conservatives gaining ascendancy in the church, Dr Treurnicht's influence continued to grow.

In 1965 he was elected assessor of the NGK Cape Synod and in 1966 of the General Synod, whose moderator was now the new Prime Minister's elder brother, Dr Koot Vorster.

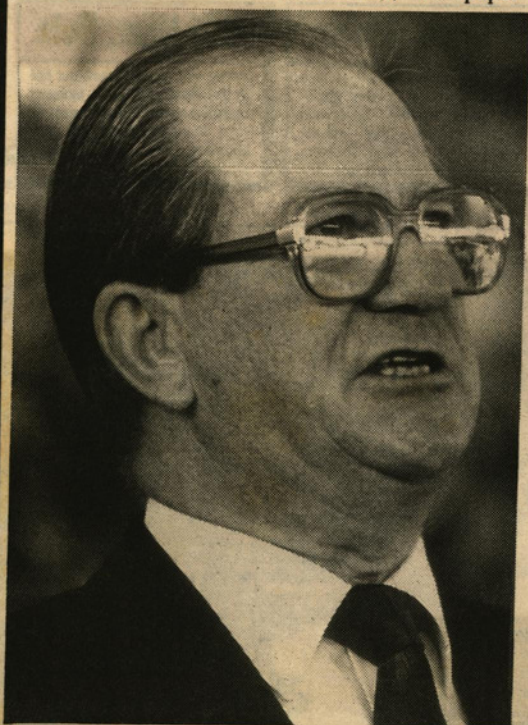
In 1967 Prime Minister John Vorster invited



Dr ANDRIES TREURNICHT ... campaigning at the polls for CP candidate Ms LEONIE STEELE.

Dr T's 'No' split Afrikanerdom

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Dr ANDRIES TREURNICHT ... once considered the new Verwoerd.

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Dr Treurnicht to become editor of the new Pretoria daily, Hoofstad, a position from which he promoted a universally conservative view of politics, theology, culture and academic life.

In a 1971 by-election he became the National Party MP for Waterberg. Again, his candidacy was the centre of a controversy with many NP supporters believing, almost to the last minute, that he would more aptly be a candidate for the Right-wing opposition party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Although only a parliamentary back-bencher, he immediately exercised political power through his chairmanship of the Broederbond, the powerful and secret Afrikaner club which was generally credited with formulating and directing government thinking.

In 1976 he was appointed Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, where he was to play the role which earned him the negative tag for his refusal to drop Afrikaans as education medium in Black schools.

Fateful

When Mr Percy Qoboza, the editor of the influential and subsequently banned Black newspaper the World, went to warn him of rising resentment and pleaded for a change in policy, Dr Treurnicht gave him his firm and fateful "No".

The subsequent schools' protest turned into a bloodbath as rioting spread across the country.

In 1979 the information scandal which brought down Mr Vorster's regime also disgraced the Transvaal leader and prime candidate for his succession, Dr Connie Mulder.

Dr Mulder lost his bid for the Premiership and his role in the so-called Info Scandal soon forced his resignation from Parliament and the party. Dr Treurnicht was elected Transvaal leader in his place, defeating the more verligte and senior candidate, Mr Fanie Botha.

The new Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, did not like Dr Treurnicht

but had no choice but to elevate the leader of the most powerful province to the Cabinet.

He gave him the most junior and harmless post in political terms, that of Minister of Public Works and Tourism and in 1980 another politically neutral portfolio, Minister of State Administration.

From the outset it was clear that there was both personal and political tension between the two men. His junior position in the Cabinet did not deter Dr Treurnicht from openly defying party policy as being developed by Mr Botha and his first lieutenant, Mr Chris Heunis.

He continued to propose views contrary to aspects of NP policy, including opposing notions of a mixed Parliament or Cabinet and campaigning against integrating schools rugby in the Craven week.

Mr Botha, himself a fighting man who quickly took control and acquired his own mandate in the 1981 election, repeatedly slapped down Dr Treurnicht at public meetings for treating people of colour as "lepers".

As the government refined its rejected 1977 plan for a three-Parliament constitution, the issue of power-sharing was raised at an NP caucus meeting on February 24, 1982.

Dr Treurnicht and 22 MPs voted against a motion of confidence in Prime Minister Botha and his policies. The MPs then stormed out of the caucus meeting.

Resigned

On March 2 Dr Treurnicht and another senior Cabinet Minister, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, resigned from the Cabinet and joined them.

An attempt to hijack the Transvaal party was foiled when Mr Botha broke with convention and personally arrived at a Transvaal NP executive meeting to spearhead Dr Treurnicht's ousting and the election of Mr F W de Klerk as new provincial leader.

The new Conservative Party (CP) was established on March 20 at the Skilpadsaal of the Pretoria showgrounds.

Following the CP's formation, Dr Treurnicht

nicht consistently criticised the government for its move away from Verwoerdianism, claiming his party represented the true Nationalists.

The CP became the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly after the 1987 general election, its growth, however, not fully realising its own expectations or the fears of government supporters.

The inability to show significant growth created a measure of frustration which increasingly saw the party becoming more militant in its public statements and choice of friends such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

The first sign of a faltering leadership came with the challenge from Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, who exposed Dr Treurnicht's inability to cast his separatist ideas for an Afrikaner homeland into a viable policy.

Hounded out

Mr Van der Merwe was hounded out of the party but its potential as a political alternative was finally destroyed in a referendum, held in March 1992, on President De Klerk's reform initiatives.

After that disillusionment with a directionless leader, an absence of any clear policy prompted party stalwarts to follow the maverick Mr Van der Merwe out of the party.

They formed the Afrikaner Volksunie, a step which broke the CP's exclusive hold on the right and forced it to join other parties in seeking a negotiated constitutional settlement.

A sudden heart ailment requiring a bypass operation first raised questions about his possible retirement from politics.

Dr Treurnicht was awarded the Decoration for Meritorious Service (DMS) in 1982.

He was also a prolific writer, including authoring a controversial book, Credo van 'n Afrikaner, regarded by many as the blueprint for Afrikaner conservatism.

He married Engel Dreyer in 1949 and the couple had four daughters. —Sapa.

Ferdi is likely to succeed Dr T

CAPE TOWN. — There is little chance of a major upset in the leadership stakes in the Conservative Party with the deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, MP for Lichtenburg, certain to succeed the late Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Recent events, and particularly the radicalisation which has come in the wake of the Chris Hani assassination has, according to insiders, virtually guaranteed Mr Schalk Pienaar, MP for Potgietersrus, as first choice for deputy leader of the party.

Although there is no question of formal positioning for a leadership

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Ferdi likely successor

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election at this early stage, senior men inside the CP and among those who most recently left the party for the Afrikaaner Volksunie, were unanimous that Dr Hartzenberg stands unopposed.

There were a number of likely candidates for the deputy leadership, they agreed.

The severe conservatism of the party's policies are matched by its old-world organisational style, making it unlikely that a sudden renewal or change of direction — which would necessitate another leader — could emerge.

"The only thing that is possible is a further hardening and radicalisation," a former CP MP said.

For that reason the more moderate Dr Pieter Mulder, MP for Schweizer-Reneke, would probably not succeed in the deputy leader stakes. Other candidates, all likely to fail against the more militant Mr Pienaar, are Mr Jurg Prinsloo (Roodepoort) and Mr Andrew Gerber (Brits).

A leadership duel involving Dr Hartzenberg and Mr Pienaar is certain to radicalise the party even more and, some informed conservatives agree, lead to a break-up of the ranks Dr Treurnicht managed

to hold together

Dr Treurnicht has been credited by those who have deserted his party with an amazing ability to hold the middle ground and persuade his diverse membership to remain within the party. He was a master of the compromise.

Dr Hartzenberg and Mr Pienaar are not of the same ilk. They have shown themselves to be uncompromising hardliners who have not flinched from the most bitter attacks on political foes.

The departure of Dr Treurnicht, observers say, will remove the

safety catch from the party at leadership level and load it with a potential explosiveness which can drive moderate men like Dr Mulder, his brother Corne, (Randfontein) and more restrained members such as Barberton's Mr Casper Uys and Brakpan's Mr Frank le Roux out of the party.

Some caution that leadership does sometimes moderate the fieriest leader once membership and support is at stake, and that Dr Hartzenberg may therefore cool his rhetoric and leave his former role to his deputy. — Sapa.

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Local government proposals tabled

PARLIAMENT. — The government has published its proposals for a new local government system in the draft Local Authorities Reform Bill.

The draft Bill was tabled by the Minister of Local Government, Dr Tertius Delpont, during his maiden Budget Vote speech yesterday.

The Bill was the basis of the government's proposals which needed to be debated and considered not only in Parliament, but also in the newly established Local Authorities Negotiation Forum, and at the national level Multi-Party Negotiations Forum. The latter would ultimately decide on a new system.

No central or regional political settlement could successfully bring peace to South Africa if there was no success in reaching that goal at local level, he said.

South Africa was divided into two worlds — one of which was more privileged — and the goal was to make these two worlds meet fairly.

"We must reach out to one another within our own social contract which can effectively address the demands of our time if it is based on the approach that the fears and aspirations of both worlds are accommodated."

There were three requirements for such an approach:

- The need for political balance being attained in which neither "world" dominated the other;
- The need for stressing development with the primary theme being correction of imbalances; and
- The need for sub-municipal structures to allow expression of community pride and lower-level leadership.

There were 17 laws governing local government and these had to be rationalised into a uniform system.

"Furthermore, it is surely unacceptable that laws which are racially based be retained."

These included the Black Local Authorities

Act and those which created and regulated management committees.

"I am convinced that we must move as rapidly as possible to a position where all ordinances on local government will apply to all local authorities."

Dr Delpont said the need for rationalisation stemmed from a recommendation that there should be three types of local government structure:

- Local Authorities, traditionally developed as the primary form of local government, but whose areas of jurisdiction should be extended to cover and service the whole area of South Africa uniformly;

- Metropolitan and Service Authorities, urban and rural, to pool resources for bulk infrastructural needs with participating Local Authorities being represented and jointly deciding on common functions; and

- Ward Councils to conserve the character of smaller communities by, for instance, regulating norms and standards, use of property, security etc.

The Minister also proposed that a Delimitation Board be established to recommend on the delimitation of areas of jurisdiction based on historic, economic and geographic considerations.

The traditional local authority functions should be retained while financing • a complex issue • could be augmented by new sources of revenue not traditionally connected with local government such as Regional Services levies. — Sapa.

Attack on club: APLA complicity ruled out

DURBAN. — Police have ruled out the possibility that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) was behind an attack on the Richmond Country Club in Natal's Midlands on Wednesday night.

"We've ruled out that possibility," said Pietermaritzburg police spokesman Captain Henry Budhram. "We have no evidence to prove APLA was involved."

Police were following positive leads and expected more arrests soon.

said Capt Budhram.

• Police and army reinforcements may be stationed in Richmond in the Natal Midlands because of the attack on the town's country club on Wednesday night.

Manager Mr William Isaacs said a police general visited the club yesterday morning, and promised to station soldiers and policemen at a unit near the complex to ensure patrons were protected.

Mr Isaacs said he was inside the clubhouse soon after 9pm on Wednesday when he saw three men

outside crawling towards the building.

"I shouted and they stood up, aimed their firearms at me and I ducked. They fired three shots.

"I rushed to the bar to get my firearm and they ran away, letting rip and firing indiscriminately. One car was damaged."

Damage to the clubhouse was insignificant.

Mr Isaacs said about three policemen were among about 20 guests playing pool at the club when the gunmen attacked with AK-47 and R-4 rifles. — Sapa.

THE WORLD  AROUND US

Italy's Amato quits: Search for new PM

ROME. — President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro formally began his search for Italy's 52nd post-war government yesterday after Prime Minister Giuliano Amato formally re-

signed. Mr Amato, whose four-party coalition was buried by a huge political bribery scandal, will stay on as caretaker premier in the meantime, a presidential statement said.

Early success in Mr Scalfaro's search would boost financial markets and smooth the path towards the country's most important general election since Second World War, analysts said.

Delay or failure would invite political chaos and muffle the country's loud cry for change in last weekend's referendum, they said.

Almost 83 percent of voters approved proposals to scrap proportional

representation as the basis of elections to the Senate (upper house) and replace it with a first-past-the-post system.

Mr Scalfaro himself has spoken against the dangers of opening a power vacuum and is expected to make his decision on a new premier in the next few days.

Mr Amato yesterday ruled himself out as a candidate.

"I am not a candidate for my own succession," he told Parliament. "Nothing could be further from the truth."

The Socialist Prime Minister, who saw no fewer than five of his Ministers ruined by the scandal, called on Wednesday for cleaner government and a complete break with the past.

As he put a final end to his moribund administration, Christian Democrat former Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, the very embodiment of that

past, was being judged by a Senate panel which is hearing magistrates' evidence of alleged close links with the Mafia.

The panel must decide whether to advise the full Senate to lift Mr Andreotti's parliamentary immunity so he can face criminal charges.

Its willingness or otherwise to recommend offering up Mr Andreotti to the courts is being seen as a key test of how far Italy can go in the battle against organised crime.

The outcome of the vote — which had been scheduled for yesterday evening but which may be put off to next week — is in the balance with the panel reported evenly divided.

The accusations against Mr Andreotti and three of his former Ministers outraged ordinary Italians and helped turn last weekend's referendum vote into a national verdict of censure. — Sapa-Reuters.

CP English complaint sparks Zulu harangue

AN Indian MP harangued the Conservative Party in Zulu yesterday after a CP MP complained about officials being asked to speak English for the benefit of Members of the House of Delegates.

Speaking in debate on the Road Traffic Second Amendment Bill, Mr Leon Louw (CP Welkom) said the CP had written to the Speaker asking for urgent action on the fact that officials appearing before the Joint Committee on Transport had been asked by its chairman, Mr Sakkie Blanche, to speak English rather than Afrikaans.

This high handed action conflicted with Parliament's proud tradition of bilingualism. The CP believed it was not that the Indian MPs did not understand Afrikaans, but that they did not want to understand it.

Mr Somaroo Pachai (Ind Natal Midlands) said Natal MPs were sick and tired of the CP continually attacking them on the language issue.

"I want to say to them that in the new South Africa it will be necessary for them to learn to talk in Zulu and Xhosa," he said in Afrikaans, and then launched into a

lengthy harangue in Zulu.

"Order," said the chairman, Mr Salamuddi Abram. "The honourable unnumzaan must return to English."

"Ek is moeg van julle nonsense," said Mr Pachai.

Mr Myburgh Streicher (NP De Kuilen) said the CP was displaying absolute intolerance.

Often Indian MPs who did not speak Afrikaans sat dead quiet in the committee and did not participate, while their Afrikaans-speaking colleagues were asking questions about the detailed interpretation of specific statements.

Much to be done to educate illiterate on how to vote,
but ID books on track

Election:

THE ARGUS 23 APRIL 93

A long way to go

THE coming nonracial general election will be the biggest in this country with an estimated 21 million people being eligible to vote.

Although political parties and organisations are bandying election dates about, organising an election involving 21 million voters, many of them living in remote areas, is a massive undertaking which needs months of thorough planning.

Issues which have to be resolved include the format of the ballot paper, polling station sites and the appointment of impartial election officials who are acceptable to all parties.

The major stumbling block is the high illiteracy rate. More than 45 percent of all black South Africans are illiterate and voter education will be crucial to ensure people understand and exercise their democratic right to cast their vote.

Mr Piet Colyn, director-general of Home Affairs, said that before any election could take place, a suitable electoral system had to be adopted.

"Because South African society is largely fragmented, the President's Council Committee for Constitutional Affairs felt a proportional electoral system would be the best.

"In such a system, all citizens of 18 years and older have only one vote and vote for a party list or for independent candidates."

Mr Colyn said an important criteria was that the electorate understood the system.

Such understanding remained one of the core elements of the legitimacy of any electoral system for a deeply divided society like South Africa.

But, said Mr Colyn, care had been taken not to pre-empt a new constitutional dispensation and preparations by his department were done in such a way as to support any political and electoral system that might be decided on.

Mr Colyn said misconceptions and deep-rooted tribal beliefs were also factors that had to be considered in educating people for a democracy.

A survey by Rhodes University's media research and training unit found there was great misconception about ballots, particularly in rural areas.

The survey reported: "Some people thought the cross one made on a ballot paper was either a signature, a bad mark or something one got for being absent from school. Many potential voters did not even know who Nelson Mandela or F W de Klerk were."

It said that at a Natal seminar to educate domestic workers on how to cast a vote, a circular mock polling station was built to prevent the so-called tokoloshe from hiding in any corners.

"This cultural belief in the tokoloshe also is held in other areas of the country and underlines the importance of educating would-be voters that their ballots are secret — even from the tokoloshe."

From a conference in Namibia recently held by the Washington-based National Institute for Democracy in International Affairs, it transpired that

experience gained in other countries had shown the media should be controlled by an independent commission long before transitional elections, in order to establish credibility.

Mr Colyn said it was also vital that independent monitoring of pre-election activities and of the actual elections took place to ensure they ran smoothly. Legislation making monitoring possible was essential when developing a new constitution.

Although no election date had been set yet and much still needed to be done to ensure a free and democratic election, preliminary arrangements were well advanced.

Mr Colyn said 16 000 ballot boxes had been made for the planned 7 000 polling stations around the country. More than 85 percent of all potential voters already had ID books.

However, Mr Colyn was positive that by the time the election arrived, about 93% of those eligible to vote would have ID documents. This was much higher than had been the case elsewhere in Africa.

Politicians calling for an election "now" might be opportunistic. Parties involved in the new all-party negotiating forum had not been able to reach consensus even on naming the new forum.

The issue of choosing a name would seem simple compared with deciding on an electoral system, and the issues surrounding it.

The call for an election "now" might still echo for many months to come and even a date early next year might be too close to be practical.

Weekend Argus 12.5*

Pik says TBVC to end soon

AT least three of the TBVC states will return to South African jurisdiction soon, predicts Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha.

Introducing debate on the Foreign Affairs Vote, he said he hoped the TBVC states would be re-incorporated speedily, because public services in Transkei and Ciskei were collapsing.

He and his department remained concerned about mismanagement and misappropriation in the TBVC states.

"The worse the misappropriation becomes, the more difficult it will be to repair the damage."

However, the government had established controls and procedures, such as joint financial adjustment arrangements and measures to strengthen financial management. Structural adjustment programmes had been introduced in Transkei, Ciskei and Venda during 1991/92.

Significant progress was achieved in reducing budgetary deficits, but toward the end of the 1980s, increased allocations had been made to the TBVC states to eliminate backlogs in social pensions.

Mr Botha said Bophuthatswana's financial position was different from that of the other TBVC states. It had a much broader income base, especially from mining, which contributed significantly to its fiscus.

It also recognised the value of effective control over scarce resources.

Mr Botha said South Africa was now represented in 79 countries. In Africa, full diplomatic relations were now maintained with Ivory Coast, Gabon and the Congo.

Many other countries in Africa and the Middle East had shown increasing interest lately in relations with South Africa.

■ TBVC states should be re-incorporated soon because services are collapsing, says Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Budgetary constraints would prohibit residential representation in each African state, but existing representative offices in Nigeria, Senegal, Egypt, Ethiopia and Jordan would have to assume regional responsibilities.

Residential representation in the Gulf States of Bahrain, Oman, United Arab Emirates and Qatar was, however, necessary because of their potential as trade partners.

South Africa could assist in countering the increasing marginalisation of Africa through trilateral projects with other Western countries. South Africa was not a donor country, but South African expertise and knowledge of the African environment would act as an important catalyst for development in the rest of the continent.

New criteria now governed the relations between countries in the post-Cold War era. Ideological alignment was now less important than the extent to which governments provided for the political and economic needs of their people.

The arms race was being replaced by an economic race in which the formation of economic blocs played a major role.

South Africa should carefully consider the need to establish a Council on Foreign Relations to assist the government, the Department of Foreign Affairs and the private sector to prepare for new challenges in the country's foreign relations. — Sapa.

Mandela urges discipline

LLOYD COUTTS

ANC president Nelson Mandela told angry youths in Sebokeng yesterday that they should save their fighting spirit for Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Speaking in the wake of Sunday's shooting spree in Sebokeng which claimed 19 lives, he told a crowd of 3 000 that the only way to take up arms was to join MK, Sapa-AFP reports.

"I understand your anger when you say that you want to fight for your freedom. I understand when you say you want to fight back ... but you can only fight and win if you have a disciplined army. You will get your weapons when you join the army."

But he urged youths to complete their studies before joining MK. "Don't be in a hurry to join. We expect you to try ... to get matric first. You cannot be a pilot

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 Hanl, but also in the Sebokeng deaths. He and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu visited survivors of Sunday's attack in their houses and in hospital.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that Tutu said blacks would be ready to forgive when whites were ready to say sorry for the wrongs of apartheid. "We say, when you say sorry, we say we forgive you. We are ready to forgive you when you are ready to

☐ To Page 2

Mandela

☐ From Page 1

say sorry for all the deaths."

He said blacks held the key to enabling white South Africans to get to heaven. "They will not go to heaven until they ask for forgiveness from us. We say: 'We want you to go to heaven'."

Tutu said blacks wanted freedom for both blacks and whites. "We want whites, for the first time, to know what it is like to live under a democratic government. God is not stupid. God says if you are a human being, you are bound to other human beings. We are saying to white people the freedom we want is not for black people, the freedom we want is for them as well."

Sapa reports a row has erupted between police and the ANC over alleged SAP collu-

sion in the Sebokeng shooting and claims that the ANC is interfering with witnesses.

Vaal Triangle deputy commissioner Brig Floris Mostert denied complicity. He said a number plate found at the scene belonged to a police minibus which had escorted a Nyala armoured vehicle after the attack. Mostert accused the ANC of hampering police investigations by urging witnesses not to give information to police.

But the ANC PWV region said in a statement: "At no stage did ANC officials advise witnesses to withhold information that could lead to the arrest of the perpetrators of violence." It called for an independent inquiry into the incident.

● Picture: Page 3

Negotiations 'have to be speeded up'

BILLY PADDOCK

MULTIPARTY negotiations had to be speeded up, a 10-member planning committee decided at a meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday.

Chairman Zam Titus said: "We are now all really aware that people want to see results following the events of the recent past." The committee was considering a draft resolution on the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hani and the effect this had had on negotiations.

The committee meets again today to formulate recommendations for the negotiating council meeting on Monday.

Titus said a report from a subcommittee was tabled yesterday dealing with violence and the transitional process. This would be discussed today and a draft report presented to the council on Monday.

The report on the transition is split into three parts, viz: recording the Codesa agreements with qualifications, where applicable, under seven headings; a recommendation to form technical committees to draft resolutions on issues such as an independent electoral commission; and recommendations on violence.

□ Sapa reports from Cape Town that President FW 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.

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Housing forum may get extra R400m

THE National Housing Forum is expected to get a further R400m allocation from government this fiscal year, over and above the R400m allocated in the Budget last month.

The forum and the National Housing Department said negotiations on a further allocation from the state were continuing, but declined to elaborate because of the "sensitivity" of the issue.

They said forum and government representatives had met after the Budget to discuss the availability of finance in the state's Housing Fund that could be re-directed to a joint initiative between the forum and government.

A source close to the National Housing

GRETA STEYN

Forum said the forum was hoping for about R1bn from government, but early indications had been that the amounts available would fall short of that target.

A government source said the focus was on funds allocated to housing in the 1993/94 fiscal year, rather than unspent amounts from previous fiscal years. Funds that had not yet been committed to specific projects could be given to the forum.

A total of R1,66bn was allocated to housing in last month's Budget. The Finance and State Expenditure Departments were kept up to date on developments.

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Housing

It is understood that the fund is considering three different approaches to spending state-allocated funds. The initial idea was on IDT-type site-and-service projects, but the suggestion was not accepted unanimously because of opposition to the style of housing involved.

A second suggestion is to involve the private sector by using the state allocation to gear up through a housing guarantee fund. Employers and banks would get involved in terms of the suggestion, understood to have the backing of major players in the mortgage market. However, fears that employers would not want to become involved have arisen. The third suggestion

is for pilot projects to test ideas before launching a major initiative.

Before the Budget, the forum asked government for an allocation of more than R1bn. Finance Minister Derek Keys said in his Budget speech he had decided against making a big allocation, partly because "the unexpended funds under previous budgets together with those allowed for in the 1993/94 Budget substantially exceed those which the forum requested". He allocated R200m to the forum from the housing budget for 1993/94, and said that if the need arose, a further R200m could be made available in the Additional Appropriation.

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Govt responds cautiously

Judge tables plan for legal gambling

CAPE TOWN — The Howard commission has recommended legalising a plethora of gambling operations under strict, national regulation.

Its report yesterday recommended the legalisation of a single national lottery and football pool, bingo, the extension of sports betting, the reintroduction of dog racing, the licensing of about 10 more casinos in SA and the establishment of a national gaming control board.

The commission, set up under Judge James Howard to inquire into the desirability of gambling and lotteries, sidestepped ethical questions, saying it would be futile, and even dangerous, to attempt to stamp out gambling by prohibition.

Government's initial reaction was to warn that the recommendations should not be regarded as an indication of policy. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said government would make its position known within three weeks and legislation could be introduced this year.

However, he suggested a positive response by government to at least some of the proposals, saying the criteria government would use to make its decision would be the need to reap tourist revenue and to boost funding of social welfare projects.

The report proposed government grant a limited number of casino licences to developers who established major tourist resorts with hotels outside metropolitan centres. The resorts should be not less than an hour's drive from metropolitan areas.

"As the Sun International casinos have been lawfully established in the 1990

TIM COHEN

states, we assume that they will continue to exist in the event of those states being reincorporated with SA, but they will have to face competition from new casinos established pursuant to our recommendations," the report said.

The commission recommended casinos be established in the western Cape, in the Plettenberg Bay area, on the Natal north coast, in the Drakensberg, near the Vaal Dam, and in the northern and eastern Transvaal. Casinos should pay an annual licence fee of about R50 000 and possibly a 15% levy on the gross casino win.

The report confirmed earlier reports that it would propose a single, national lottery to be run as a commercial enterprise by a statutorily created and government-controlled agency. Existing lotteries should apply to a new national lottery board for registration. Evidence indicated 22%-27% of turnover should go towards social welfare.

It recommended a single national football pool regulated by the national lottery board; the board would not run the pool but grant the franchise to a pool promoter.

The report recommended that licensed bookmakers and TABs be permitted to accept bets on sporting events to help control the industry. It also recommended dog racing, as this would provide employment.

Bingo should be legalised and slot machine gaming installed in bona fide sporting or social clubs. "Innocuous" school fairs

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Gambling

raffles or lotteries should be legalised, with certain provisos, including a limit on the total value of the tickets. Gambling debts should be legally enforceable.

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that NSL CE Kgomoiso Modise said he was "overwhelmed and overjoyed" at the notion of a soccer pool, with funds going to sports development, as this would be a windfall for the virtually bankrupt soccer fraternity. But United Cricket Board of SA MD Ali Bacher warned that the legalisation of sports betting had to be handled with caution to ensure sportsmen's per-

formances were not influenced. He said besides generating funds for the game, a tote at the stadium would draw people.

Sun International MD for southern Africa Ken Rosevear said his initial response was in favour of the recommendations. The company supported the limited number of licences put forward. The proposal that casinos be outside urban areas meant they would not pose a major threat.

Sapa reports that Gambling Association chairman Grant Kaplan welcomed the recommendations for well-controlled gambling, but said the vast majority of local casino operators would be excluded.

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Derby-Lewises held

KRUGERSDORP estate agent Faan Venter and former Citizen Journalist Arthur Kemp, held in connection with the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hanl, were released yesterday, while President's Council member Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye remained in custody, police said.

NEWS

**Means sought
to strengthen
peace accord**

THE national peace committee deplored the nationwide deaths and injuries of the past two weeks, chairman John Hall said after a fully representative meeting of the committee last night.

The meeting was held to discuss "the introduction of urgent measures to strengthen the national peace accord". The subcommittee working on amendments to the accord was requested to complete its work as a matter of urgency, and a follow-up meeting would be held on May 3.

Inflammatory statements made by the ANC's Peter Mokaba and Winnie Mandela in contravention of the accord were also discussed. Hall said members of political parties distanced themselves from the speeches. **Page 2**

Treurnicht's death leaves a void in SA politics, says FW

CAPE TOWN — CP leader Andries Treurnicht, 72, died suddenly last night, drawing the curtain on an era in right-wing politics and increasing the woes of his troubled party.

Treurnicht, whose uncompromising stance led him to be dubbed "Dr No", died at 6pm yesterday in City Park Hospital. He had undergone a heart bypass on Sunday.

While his death is certain to put further pressure on his party, it is unlikely to result in a leadership struggle, with current deputy leader Ferdi Hartzerberg likely to succeed him.

Some observers said the change in leadership was unlikely to result in a major shift in the party's stance but the potential danger was the loss of a leader with the stature and ability to

TIM COHEN

unite the various and fractious elements of right-wing politics. Other observers felt the CP's participation in negotiations could in be question as Treurnicht was seen as the only person capable of holding the party together and steering it through the difficult period.

Treurnicht was the leading figure in the breakaway from the NP in 1982 and his death signals the end of a political era marked by a debate over the viability of grand apartheid. Despite his personal integrity, Treurnicht had the dubious distinction of being the person who sparked the Soweto school riots by insisting in 1976 that Afrikaans should be the medium of

instruction at black schools.

Messages of condolence were received from across the political spectrum.

CP MP Frank le Roux said his death was a severe loss to the Afrikaner nation and to his party. He had been a principled leader and had never wavered in his beliefs.

President F W de Klerk said his death left a void in SA politics, and that as a church and cultural leader, an editor and politician, he had made an active contribution to Afrikaners and SA. "Although we were at opposite poles in the political debate, I have always respected him and we could differ with dignity."

DP leader Zach de Beer said Treurnicht was a courteous man and their political differences

had never interfered with their personal relationship. "We shall miss him in Parliament."

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said while Treurnicht was a political foe, he was a dignified, tough, uncompromising and honest fighter for what he believed in.

The ANC said: "The policies of the ANC and the CP are at enormous variance. However, this is not the time to concentrate on our differences, but to try and find whatever common ground is possible for the sake of our country."

Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress executive Pravin Gordhan hoped the party would still be part of the peace process "as their contribution is an important one".

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"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 FW de Klerk said in Parliament there was no doubt about government's commitment to the speedy finalisation of the process.

The ANC talks of the need for "great urgency" that the process be hastened to achieve a settlement within six weeks. This, says secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, "is quite practical and conceivable given the consensus that exists among the major players".

Chris Hani's assassination has injected a sense of urgency into the process if it was not there before. The ANC and government, though, speak as if their programme for the transition is the only one on the agenda. They neglect to take into account the substantial opposition from Inkatha and its allies who reject the notion of transitional structures.

The fact that polls indicate that together they enjoy majority support might explain their belief that they can gently bulldoze the lesser players into line. Their desire to do so, though, is explained by the uncer-

Pressure on to pick up pace

BILLY PADDOCK

tainty of the process, the instability and the questionable ability of the centre to hold.

De Klerk's poor performance in Parliament during his Budget vote also indicated how much he relies on progress in negotiations to keep his constituency focused on the process. In November, when announcing the NP timetable, he warned that if some parties did not co-operate he would be forced to find alternative ways to keep the process moving. Sources close to De Klerk say he will carry out this threat if necessary.

The ANC leadership is speaking the same language for the same reason. Hani's murder unleashed an almost anarchical frustration among the militant youth. ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba reflected their lack of confidence in the negotiating process when he said three years of negotiations had produced nothing but the loss of life.

The two major players realise that they have to force the pace or they might lose control. But they have not yet completed the procedural work or even found a name for the negotiating forum as they have tried to

keep the process as inclusive as possible and to accommodate the misgivings and suspicions of smaller parties like Inkatha.

Negotiators in both camps say their parties have rethought their negotiating strategies. They are now waiting to see what stances Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group take. Clarity on the PAC's position is also awaited.

If, as is likely, an agreement is not immediately in sight, government and the ANC will have to weigh up the costs and implications of moving ahead without one or more of Inkatha, the CP and the PAC — whose armed wing's campaign of violence has been attracting support from disenchanted ANC youth over the past three months.

The major players have to decide which strategy lends itself better to long-term stability and success. If they want an all inclusive settlement

they will have to forgo speed as parties in the Concerned South Africans Group seek to bargain for a transition on their terms. The alternative is to hold the centre together with the participation of as many parties as possible and swiftly move ahead. Early indications are that they will opt for the latter and risk an Inkatha walkout.

They want Inkatha in. The other homelands, they believe, can be dealt with through financial pressure. The CP is probably dispensable. But excluding Inkatha raises the possibility of the "Savimbi option".

For that reason, the ANC and government are struggling in bilaterals with each other and with Inkatha to come up with an offer Mangosuthu Buthelezi will accept. If he rejects a "reasonable" offer, they would want him to be seen to be a spoiler and become the target of domestic and international pressure.

The process looks fragile. Speed is of the essence, but it has to be embarked upon with caution so that it is not derailed. As the old cliché goes, "More haste, less speed."



□ MEYER

Demons of their own making bedevil the peace

UNTIL the end of March, the level of political violence in SA had dropped — from more than eight killings a day last year to four a day this year. These lower levels have not been seen since 1989, so at least the trend has been in the right direction. So far this month, it has not been reversed.

The link between demonisation and violence is at long last beginning to be recognised. Nelson Mandela was correct this week to link Chris Hani's death to a climate that legitimises political assassination. But there is not yet sufficient appreciation of how pervasively demonisation has poisoned our public life.

Many of the more than 15 500 people who have died in political violence in SA in the past eight-and-a-half years have been victims of politicians who so successfully damned their opponents that their followers cannot believe why their leaders (on both sides) are now supping with the very devils of the previous demonology.

Hani was himself a victim of demonisation. Several hundred dead

policemen, black councillors, and Inkatha and ANC members are also among the victims — demonised, stigmatised, and then petrol-bombed, shot down or necklaced.

But for the fact that apartheid denied him the rights of citizenship, Hani might have been a Latin teacher instead of a freedom fighter in the eyes of youth who idolised him and a terrorist in the eyes of people who thought SA would be at peace but for a communist-inspired total onslaught against it.

One of the men arrested after the murder, Janusz Walus, belonged to an organisation that believes the total onslaught theory and is angry that government no longer does. After all, less than 10 years ago, people such as Hani were targeted for destruction when the defence force raided the ANC in neighbouring states.

Perhaps Hani's recent calls for peace are one of the reasons there was not more loss of life in the wake of his assassination. Many of the

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

youths who went on the rampage regardless were probably acting under the influence of his earlier calls for a people's war.

And was it not Bishop Trevor Huddleston who said at the Boipatong funeral, if Newsweek quoted him correctly, that, "We have forgotten the need to hate"?

Not only people have been demonised. The very notions of reform and reconciliation were demonised in favour of "all-or-nothing" politics. Did not liberation theologians equate government with the devil and pronounce reconciliation impossible — and then boast that their efforts had exceeded their "wildest dreams"?

The new Kairos, published by the Institute for Contextual Theology in September 1990, said that, "The primary task of the church at this moment is not to call for peace but to

call for justice."

This statement was made during a year of greatly intensified violence. It was made eight months after February 2 1990, four months after the signing of the Groote Schuur Minute and the lifting of the state of emergency outside Natal, and a month after the signing of the Pretoria Minute.

The dogs of war unleashed in the mid '80s will not be reined in until demonisation stops — and until leaders transmit consistent signals.

Shortly before his death, Hani said: "I don't accept the PAC's talks of the year of the great storms, because I feel we have achieved something in this country where those who oppressed us in the past are actually talking to us and showing readiness to negotiate for democratic elections." Yet in a leaflet — barely mentioned in the Press — calling for the stayaway to mark his death, the ANC, its youth league, the SACP, and Cosatu urged: "Let us send a strong message to the racial minority that it will not kill our people and get

away with it. Comrade Chris was killed by the system of apartheid. We put the blame for his death on De Klerk's shoulders. We believe that his murder is part of the plan to use violence to weaken the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and defeat the struggle for freedom."

No wonder Mandela was hard put last week to justify his policy of talking to government. No wonder, while Mandela was successfully riding the tiger inside the FNB stadium this week, youths outside were chanting "Kill De Klerk."

In his recent study of the French revolution, Simon Schama wrote: "The dilemma for successive generations of those politicians who graduated from oratory to administration was that they owed their own power to precisely the kind of rhetoric that made their subsequent governance impossible."

Will somebody one day write that about SA?

□ Kane-Berman is SA Institute of Race Relations executive director.

COMMENT

The new trek

IF EXCLUSIVE white rule ends in six weeks, it may just come in time to stop some businessmen from committing suicide and some professionals from emigrating. But it will take more than shared power and appeals from Nelson Mandela to keep businesses going and skills at home.

The ANC president is right to address white emigration, as it symbolises the malaise he and his fellow negotiators will have to treat when they form a transitional executive. If that happens by the beginning of June, as President de Klerk envisages, so much the better; the promised end of NP rule has dragged on for so long that it is causing economic as well as political uncertainty.

That gives added urgency to the negotiations which resume on Monday. The transitional executive council, due to rule until elections in March or April next year, should be the signal for the lifting of the remaining sanctions, excluding the UN arms embargo about which few now care. The effect on the business mood at home and perceptions abroad will largely be psychological. It is not going to be an economic panacea any more than it will be a political one; Washington ambassador Harry Schwarz warns us not to expect billions in foreign investment to come pouring in. A transitional government will be the beginning of real change, but not the end of our problems.

White emigration is picking up again, and the main reasons are not political or economic. Skilled peo-

ple are leaving because they fear for themselves, and more particularly for their children, in the new South Africa. They go not for a better life but for a more secure one. Some are leaving for the second time, having come back home when they thought things were improving. Some are immigrants deciding the future is not as rosy here as they thought.

Many South Africans will be tempted to view their departure as good riddance. Mandela is one who appreciates the skills, education and initiative that are being lost. But people will not cancel their plans because he appeals to them to stay and help form the new South Africa; the level of violence has become too great, while the rampaging mobs following Chris Hani's murder and funeral made them fear things will only get worse.

Stopping white emigration will hardly be the transitional executive's first priority but, unless it addresses the issues causing people to sell up and leave, the new South Africa may be stillborn. Behind the violence, both urban and rural, is political warfare, hopelessness and horrific levels of unemployment and poverty caused by recession and a lack of education and skills.

Three years ago the prospect of a political settlement was enough to give us hope. Now an imminent settlement may be meaningless unless it gives priority to economic revival, investment, education and job creation. When people rush to leave, wise politicians pay attention; it tells them they are failing.

Andries Treurnicht

THE death of Andries Treurnicht, like that of Chris Hani, has removed a moderating influence from an extremist wing in our politics. Like MK's young radicals, it is now Treurnicht's followers who must choose whether to fight or talk.

Treurnicht spent much of the past three years trying to avoid that choice because it could split the Conservative Party he formed in 1982 in protest at P W Botha's modest reforms. He pledged his party to peace, but warned of a violent reaction if whites were denied self-determination; he supported negotiation but kept a distance by finding fault with the formalities. He avoided Codesa, but came into the new

multiparty forum with a string of conditions allowing for an easy exit.

In the end, the more militant Afrikaners joined more militant organisations, while those favouring negotiation broke away from the CP. The CP is still divided, with two factions jockeying for power because Treurnicht could not come to terms with the new South Africa.

Treurnicht was not universally loved, particularly by black people who remember his role in creating the resentment that led to the 1976 Soweto riots. But he was modest, principled and honest. His tragedy is that, because of the stubbornness with which he clung to outdated racial values, he will be remembered more as a political oddity than as a man of integrity.

Assassin wasn't meant to strike — yet

Chris Hani's alleged assassin was not meant to kill him that day — and Janus Waluz may have sabotaged rightwing conspirators' broader plans by his impulsive act, police believe.

By **STEPHEN LAUFER** and
JAN TALJAARD

POLICE investigating Chris Hani's assassination believe former Conservative Party MP Clive Derby-Lewis supplied the gun used in the killing. And they are working on the assumption that he was the mastermind behind the hit list discovered in the flat of Hani's alleged murderer, Janus Waluz.

But police also believe that Waluz unwittingly sabotaged the conspirators' broader plans by acting impulsively when he shot Hani on Easter Saturday, against orders. They believe that he was in fact on a reconnaissance mission, familiarising himself with the area around Hani's Dawn Park home and gathering information on the South African Communist Party general secretary's security arrangements.

Hani was in fact only number three on the hit list, after African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and SACP chairman Joe Slovo.

"Waluz did not go to kill Hani that day," said police spokesman Brigadier Frans Malherbe. "He was on a recce, as he had been before. The

witness to the killing, Mrs Haremsse, had seen him in his car in Dawn Park previously. He obviously just saw Hani alone, without bodyguards, and seized the opportunity."

The circumstances of Waluz's arrest support this version of events, say international terrorism experts.

In a carefully planned assassination, the killer would have worn clothing to protect himself from the residue emitted when a gun is fired. He would have worn a glove in order not to leave fingerprints on the weapon, which he would

have dropped at the site of the killing or jettisoned quickly thereafter.

Most importantly, a well-prepared professional killer would have had a second and possibly a third getaway vehicle waiting, changing once within a couple of hundred metres of the shooting, and again some kilometres away.

Waluz had no escape route planned and no getaway vehicles waiting. And he was still in the car seen by the witness to the killing when he was arrested some time later. Police are convinced that there was no second car in the vicinity, as had been rumoured.

Former *Citizen* journalist and security branch sergeant Arthur Kemp has also been arrested in connection with the Hani killing. He accompanied police to the *Citizen* library on Wednesday to show them clippings reporting on Mandela and Slovo moving into their new homes.

Police forensic experts have irrefutably identified the bullets which killed Hani as having been fired by the gun found in Waluz's car. And residue tests on Waluz's hand and arm show

conclusively that he fired a gun in the period around the killing.

The weapon, a Z38 pistol manufactured by Armscor, was stolen from the South African Air Force three years ago in a raid by Piet "Skier" Rudolph.

Rudolph yesterday went to the offices of the *Citizen* in Pretoria, where he was involved in fisticuffs with a journalist on the newspaper. He was apparently displeased at an article suggesting he may have been linked to the Hani killing via Derby-Lewis.

Police are puzzling over the link between Rudolph and Derby-Lewis. Rudolph is believed to have jettisoned weapons stolen from the Air Force while on the run, and it is proving extremely difficult at this stage to reconstruct the path taken by individual weapons since they left Rudolph's possession.

A special investigation squad comprising 17 experienced detectives led by a general is conducting the investigation. Three senior foreign investigators will also be involved in the search for the truth behind the Hani assassination.



Piet 'Skier' Rudolph

Meanwhile, Derby-Lewis is said to be "singing" in police custody. But he is unlikely to appear in court within the next few days, according to Witwatersrand attorney general Klaus von Lieres and Wilkau.

"Section 29 allows us to hold him for 30 days, and the detention order is of course renewable, if the investigating officer believes it is necessary. We will only bring charges when we can prove that we have a case which can stand up in a court of law. It is clearly in the national interest to get to the bottom of this killing."

ANC on a timing tightrope

The ANC may say it wants transition speeded up, but early elections could hurt it, reports **CHRIS LOUW**

THE African National Congress' demand that the transition to democracy be speeded up may backfire, Democratic Party spokesman on law and order Peter Gastrow warned this week.

Early elections would favour the National Party as the ANC was not yet prepared for elections. Many ANC supporters were not registered, in contrast to most potential NP supporters, including coloureds and Indians, Gastrow said.

Power-sharing would bring joint responsibilities for the ANC, with little if any advantages for the average voter. "If the ANC became part of the transitional executive council (TEC) in June and elections took place in March next year, it gives them less than nine months to prove to their

supporters that their participation in governing structures brought tangible results.

"The only real advantage would be material improvements in the lives of people. But it is already clear that foreign investors will sit back and wait to see what happens. Even though sanctions will be lifted, nine months will be too short a period to make any difference to the lives of ordinary citizens."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus commented that the organisation's leadership was aware of the pitfalls: "We do not want to share power with the NP. We are not prepared to accept co-responsibility for the legacy of

apartheid."

For these reasons, he said, the ANC was seeking a "package deal" which would include the creation of transitional structures, whose role and responsibilities would be clearly defined, as well as a short period between this and the holding of a non-racial election.

Harald Pakendorf, former editor of *Die Vaderland*, said ANC leaders were aware that the NP could gain political capital by pulling them into a power-sharing arrangement and for this reason could not understand why the government was not speeding up the process.

"It would clearly be to the advan-

* In the TEC, the ANC will have to take co-responsibility for law and order, for instance. "But little will have changed as far as conditions in the black townships are concerned. The policemen who pull the triggers will still be the same people. There will be no improvement in education, people will still be without jobs," Gastrow said.

Detractors to the left of the ANC — including people like Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba — may then start accusing the ANC leadership of being "collaborators".

The "high road" scenario for the ANC, he added, will be large investment and an enormous influx of money to make the new dispensation work. There must be visible improvements in the lives of citizens, like noticeable investment in housing, a representative police force, projects for job creation.

"If the average South African gets the feeling that the worst is behind him or her, it will be possible for the ANC to build on that and to consolidate."

However, this will only be possible if elections are held immediately after the establishment of the TEC, or if sufficient time is allowed before elections for foreign investments to start flowing in, Gastrow said.

tage of the ANC if the period between the creation of a TEC and the holding of elections is short, because then there would be less time for them to make mistakes. However, the reality is that the time period is likely to be longer rather than shorter."

Practical problems relating to registration of voters, the incorporation of the homelands and arrangements for polling booths needed to be addressed, Pakendorf said.

"Privately, ANC leaders accept this but say what is most important for them is a date. This will allow them to concentrate their organisation on that date and it will allow (ANC president Nelson) Mandela to respond to his militant critics by saying: 'We understand your problems. But this is the date when you will have your freedom.'"

Gastrow said he feared that the contrast between the ANC's current strategy of rolling mass action and the actions the organisation will have to take once it wins power will be so great that it will alienate many supporters, especially the youth.

"It must be remembered," he said, "that the youth in South Africa form a bigger proportion of the electorate than in established democracies."

"The murder of Chris Hani provided the ANC with the chance to get the masses behind them and to consolidate. But I am afraid, once they take responsibility in the TEC, they may find themselves on the road to disintegration."

ANC youth to 'expel' White Soweto SAP

Citizen Reporter

THE ANC Youth League yesterday announced its mass action campaign would start on May 15 with the expulsion of White policemen from Soweto, and the targeting of KwaZulu and Natal for rallies and protests.

ANCYL deputy president, Mr Lulu Johnson, told a Press conference the campaign would run parallel to the Tripartite Alliance campaign due to start on May 1.

The programme of action aimed to establish a transitional executive council, set an election date as soon as possible,

and would demonstrate, picket and occupy National Party offices around the country until these ends were met.

Mr Johnson said Black lives were lost at the hands of trigger-happy White policemen.

The shooting of marchers in Soweto came from the command of White policemen, who formed a Right-wing element in the police force.

He referred to the shooting at Protea Park Police Station last week when five people died.

"It is a practical situation on which we have to act. Black policemen would not shoot on a

crowd in case a family member was part of it," he said.

He said Whites would not become known by township residents as enemies of the peace because those who were committed to non-racialism were welcome there.

The campaign to create a climate for free political activity in Natal and Kwa-

Zulu would be intensified.

"We are isolating the area because it is the second most populated area in the country," he said.

"If a date for a democratic election is not set by the middle of May 1993 all democratic forces should gear themselves for an extended national political strike," he said.

Country club comes under attack

IN one of several incidents of violence around the country, three men fired on a country club in Richmond, Natal, on Wednesday night with machine guns.

No one was injured and police said they had ruled out the possibility of the PAC's armed wing Apla being responsible.

Also on Wednesday, a nun had petrol poured over her in the Vosmans squatter camp near Witbank, when she got out of her car after youths hurled a petrol bomb at it. A resident came to her aid and the attackers made off in her car.

The ANC's Witbank branch condemned the attack and said it would do everything in its power to track down the culprits.

The ANC said one person was shot dead in Meloding, near Virginia, yesterday when police allegedly opened fire on the Mandela informal settlement.

On Wednesday a Boksburg man was shot dead while delivering wood in Daveyton, near Benoni, while in Katsheba a woman was assaulted and the red Ford Laser she was driving was burnt. In Soweto's Diepmeadow township, a man was hacked to death.

Police have offered a R100 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for an attack on a house near the FNB stadium on Monday. Two people burnt to death in the incident. — Sapa.

ANC opposes school occupation

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE ANC yesterday distanced itself from a call to occupy white schools, urging pupils instead to step up a campaign to open all schools.

Despite its understanding of the depth of the crisis in education, it did not support the call to occupy white schools, the organisation said.

The threat was the kind of action the ANC feared would be precipitated by government closing talks on education.

"We had predicted that unless government was prepared to proceed seriously with the national education negotiating forum as a means to address the crisis, the crisis would deepen."

The SA Students' Congress has vowed to occupy and disrupt white schools as part of its protest against the killing of SACP general secretary Chris Hani and to pressure government to change the structure of

education. The National Education Coordinating Committee has also threatened to target white schools.

The ANC said that while government had the means to restore credibility by negotiating the way ahead for education, it had declared its position on each crisis point non-negotiable.

Sapa reports that Education and Training Department director-general Bernhard Louw said after a meeting with the SA Democratic Teachers' Union in Pretoria yesterday education problems would in future be resolved through negotiations.

Louw said consensus reached with the union pointed to a new direction which "augurs well". The parties agreed to exhaust procedures prescribed in a previous agreement by means of negotiation before other action was taken, he said.

Speed up talks call

MULTI-PARTY negotiations have to be speeded up, a 10-member planning committee decided at a meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday.

The planning committee met in preparation for Monday's negotiating council meeting, when all 26 participants in negotiations meet for the first time since the assassination of South African Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani.

"The element of urgency will be stressed on Monday by us as the planning committee," the chairman of yesterday's meeting, Mr Zam Titus of the Transkei, told reporters after a three-hour session.

The planning committee would meet again this morning when, among other things, it will decide which issues were urgent, Mr Titus said.

At yesterday's meeting the committee had "merely agreed on the

'Speed up talks'

FROM PAGE 1

principle that we have to isolate certain issues as being the most urgent ones".

Participants in negotiations have identified different issues as being urgent.

These include: violence, the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, an election date, an interim constitution, and the form of a future state.

The mood at yesterday's meeting was not any different from that at previous negotiations, "apart from the fact that all of us are really concerned about the events of the recent past", Mr Titus said.

"People want to see results. They laid great stress on that."

Summarising, Mr Titus said the planning committee had opted for a "results-orientated approach".

The planning committee would also present a draft motion on Monday concerning Mr Hani's assassination.

"The draft motion will cover something along the following lines: an expression of a message of condolence to Chris Hani's family," Mr Titus said.

It was "clear to everyone" in the planning committee that the events of the past 12 days since Mr Hani's assassination had affected the spirit of negotiations.

As a result committee members had said "we really need to speed up the process. The ele-

ment of urgency was stressed very much".

Yesterday's agenda had three main topics:

- Procedural matters, including how to implement an earlier agreement to allow the media to attend all negotiating council meetings. Despite a number of "logistical problems" which still had to be overcome, "the Press will be admitted on Monday", Mr Titus said;

- Administration and financial matters, which included security; and,

- The implications of the Chris Hani assassination on April 10.

Mr Titus said today's meeting would in the main deal with a report by a sub-committee on violence and the transition process.

"The draft report will be presented formally on Monday to the negotiating council."

It basically dealt with what had been agreed to at Codesa, he said.

Part of the planning committee's brief was to make a recommendation on how Codesa agreements were to be incorporated into the enlarged negotiating forum.

"A properly drafted document has been presented to us outlining the way forward as far as the main issues are concerned."

The issue of a name for negotiating forum is also expected to be decided by the time the planning committee adjourns, sometime this afternoon.

TO PAGE 2

2

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 Rapu Molekane. They reaffirmed the ANC's policy of nonracialism.

Mokaba's militant statements are believed to have angered senior ANC leaders, including Ramaphosa, who said on television that Mokaba and Winnie Mandela "should not be taken seriously".

Farmers' associations convened security committees to discuss the matter and police said they would investigate "militant remarks" by Mokaba and Mandela.

National peace committee chairman John Hall said Mokaba and Mandela's inflammatory speeches

RAY HARTLEY

had contravened the national peace accord. The committee met last night to discuss the matter.

SA Agricultural Union president Boet Fourie asked for an urgent meeting with Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee to discuss security and Bloemfontein's Vergenoeg Farmers' Association asked the Free State peace committee to investigate Mokaba's calls.

Yesterday, the Concerned South Africans Group said the ANC had to do more than just distance itself from Mokaba's statements which were calculated "to incite ANC supporters to kill whites".

Youth league and ANC PWV officials suggested yesterday a national strike could be called if government failed to meet ANC demands for an election date and a transitional executive council. The league said if a date for an election had not been set by mid-May, democratic forces should gear up for an extended national strike, which would include rent and consumer boycotts.

Mass action would be used to remove white policemen — who were insensitive to the feelings of blacks — from townships and to replace them with "resident police" who would co-

operate with communities. The occupation of NP offices, demonstrations and pickets were also likely.

Natal and KwaZulu would be targeted for mass action involving rallies, marches and demonstrations.

PWV ANC secretary-general Paul Mashatile said a proposal for a general strike was being considered by the region and would be forwarded to national structures for a decision.

Sapa reports mass action plans were described by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze as "a recipe for confrontation and almost inevitable violence".

The alliance said at yesterday's media briefing police had killed Soweto ANC secretary Sam Tambani and six others without provocation at Protea police station last week.

"It is clear from all accounts that the first volley of shots was fired by the police in a controlled and sustained ... burst of fire aimed at the leadership in front of the gate, a statement released at the conference said.

Tambani had asked police to exercise restraint only a few minutes before he was killed.

A funeral service for Tambani would be held at Regina Mundi in Soweto tomorrow. He would be buried in Avalon Cemetery.

FW meets Buthelezi on important issues

CAPE TOWN. — State President De Klerk and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi met in Cape Town yesterday to discuss "important constitutional matters".

A joint communiqué

issued by the State President's office said the three-hour meeting was also attended by Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Mr Joe Matthews.

The discussion succeeded in clearing up misunderstandings and in this regard it should contribute towards facilitating the multi-party negotiation process, the statement said. — Sapa.

Nuke story tops 'Newsies'

By Michael Shafts

Newspaper stories that stir readers' emotions are those with major significance for region or country — or writing that touches the heart strings or funny bone.

The kind of story that invariably makes the biggest impact is the one that leaves you thinking. My God, what if...? This was the case in mid-March with news that South Africa had had nuclear capability since the '80s and that the last of its six A-bombs had been dismantled late in 1990 at the express orders of President de Klerk.

Peter de Ionnio's report headlined "The making and breaking of the bomb" in the Sunday Star of March 28 took the prize for best story in the "Newsies" competition announced by The Star on March 16.

"Newsies" is a joint promotion by The Star and Star Kine-

kor, who have linked the competition to the new Disney movie *The Musical Newsies* about the 1899 New York strike by newspaper boys.

We invited readers to put themselves and a journalist in line for cash prizes by choosing the best story in the following week in the daily Star, Saturday Star and Sunday Star.

De Ionnio's in-depth disclosures regarding the Doomsday bomb was voted the best. De Ionnio's story, succinctly described by one reader as "scary", earned him R500.

The winning reader is Dorothea Mason of 8 Albert Road, Walmer. And this Port Elizabeth great-grandmother, who found the story "specially interesting", wins R1 000.

De Ionnio earned votes for four other stories he wrote that week.

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high on readers' lists of priorities, and Carol Lazar's column of March 28, headlined "How I nearly had my body unblocked" was a strong second with a total of 13 votes.

Housewife C Pereira, of Parkhurst, said of Lazar's story: "It made me laugh — I was in hospital at the time."

Readers also showed a leaning towards the public's endless fascination with the rich and famous. The third most popular story, with nine votes, was Peta Thornycroft's feature titled "Poor little rich girl" — a personality profile of Mary Slack (Oppenheimer).

In fourth place was "A huge miracle for peace" by Denis Beckett, followed by "Jobs galore for mail beggars" by Zingisa Mkhumba. In joint sixth place were "Namibian players musing after cup ordeal" (Sapa) and "The science of staying young" (Carol Lazar).

MK man admitted murder

PORT ELIZABETH — Before dying of Aids an Umkhonto we Sizwe member admitted shooting Addo businessman Andre de Villiers, the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Testifying in the murder trial of alleged MK member Tamsanqa Mali and his co-accused, Lindile Semele, Port Elizabeth detective Lieutenant Henry Trytsman said MK member Xolani Ncinane made the admission in a statement after being arrested.

Ncinane, a co-accused in the murder with Mali and Semele, died of an Aids-related illness before the trial.

De Villiers was gunned down outside his farmhouse near Addo on August 17 last year. He was allegedly giving the ANC

information on hit-squad activities.

Mali and Semele have both pleaded not guilty to the murder charge. They have also pleaded not guilty to two charges of attempting to murder De Villiers's wife Elizabeth and his son Louis.

Trytsman, a member of the Port Elizabeth murder and robbery unit, told the court that Ncinane's statement was made before those of Mali and Semele. The statement corroborated those made later by Mali and Semele.

Defence counsel Glen Goosen accepted the accuracy of the statements.

The statements indicated that Ncinane and another alleged MK member, Kenneth Kabavi,

who is being sought by police, had allegedly fired all the shots.

The commander of the Port Elizabeth murder and robbery unit, Major Johannes van Heerden, testified that 21 members of his unit had investigated a possible political motive to the murder.

He said this followed a statement by De Villiers's son Louis who had alleged that, before his father died, he had said the incident was a "political set-up", that Dave Mandel was involved, and that ANC member Valence Watson had information to this effect.

Mandel is a Port Elizabeth businessman and a former partner of Andre de Villiers, while Watson is an ANC member and an old family friend — Pen.

Hani probe:

2 more freed

Police yesterday released another two of five people arrested on Wednesday for questioning in connection with the assassination of SACP general-secretary Chris Hani.

Former Citizen journalist Arthur Kemp was released shortly after 4 pm yesterday. Hours later, Krugersdorp estate agent Faan Venter was released, police said.

Self-employed computer expert Edwin Clark and estate agent Lionel Durant were released on Wednesday afternoon.

Only one of the five is still in custody — Gaye Derby-Lewis, wife of CP President's Councillor Clive Derby Lewis who was arrested at the weekend. — Staff Reporters.

● Right becoming desperate' — Page 7

Hugh Robertson examines media focus on violence in South Africa

US problem for the ANC



WITH much cynical sneering, conservatives have attacked the verdict this week in the second Rodney King trial as nothing more than the "media lynching" of the four Los Angeles policemen who were acquitted last year of severely beating King.

In the second trial, of course, two of the policemen were convicted of having violated King's constitutionally protected rights by assaulting him beyond the call of duty — a verdict which, so the critics would have it, was dictated not by the actual evidence but by the media hype which followed the first trial and the ensuing riots.

They are confusing two facts. One is that, yes, there was an immense amount of media hype after the first trial. The other is that this hype aside, the videotaped evidence of King's beating was both shocking and incontrovertible and by rejecting it the all-white jury in the first trial perpetrated a shameful miscarriage of justice.

What happened this week was the redressing of a glaring and undeniable wrong — a process im-

posed not by the liberals of the Clinton administration, or by the media, but by that fallen scion of conservatism, former president George Bush, whose dismay at the verdict in the first trial was barely disguised at the time and who on that very day ordered the intervention of the federal government.

But beyond the rights and wrongs of the two cases has emerged the broader issue of the role which the media, and video images, play in shaping public opinion and even judicial proceedings. It is an issue of pertinent interest to South Africans who may believe — as the ANC has alleged — that the US media images of violence in South Africa in the wake of Chris Han's assassination have distorted the truth.

The truth, as the rhetorical American journalist H.L. Mencksen, once observed, depends on what the truth is. It would be patently untrue to imply that the whole of America was burning last year when, in fact, the Los Angeles riots were largely confined to one square mile of urban ghetto.

On the other hand, it would be

reasonable to say that the Los Angeles riots deserved the close attention they were given because they symbolised the social and economic crisis replicated in hundreds of inner cities across America. The images of rage and lawlessness were a reflection of a problem which probably most Americans would acknowledge was essentially true of the country as a whole.

Could the same be said of television coverage of events in South Africa in recent days? Was the booing of ANC president Nelson Mandela by a crowd in Soweto the misconception which Mandela himself characterised it as having been when he was interviewed on ABC's *Nightline*? More than the violence, the scene of a venerated leader being jeered at by his own presumed supporters came as a shock to Americans.

And were the repeated scenes of youths rampaging through city streets, smashing windows, setting fires, and looting, and of a bewildered UN observer with blood pouring from his stab wounds, misrepresented as the work of the ANC's "young lions" when it should have been attributed to op-

portunistic thugs and radicals?

Mandela would surely allow that the ANC has had, and continues to have, a problem with its radicals, and especially the "young lions" of the townships. He has acknowledged himself that elements of the ANC have had a role in recent violence. Many of those seen on US television making belligerent statements were wearing ANC colours. Stayaway fliers put out by the ANC in Soweto, and quoted by the US media, contained racist and inflammatory passages.

For example, one now being circulated in Washington, to a somewhat astonished reception, includes this offensive generalisation of whites: "Let us send a strong message to the racial minority that it will not kill our people and get away with it." How was that supposed to be interpreted by the racial majority?

Furthermore, there could be no doubting the telling contrast and spontaneity of the welcome accorded the PAC's Clarence Makwetu at the same rally at which Mandela's words were booed.

The balance of probabilities suggests that there was some jus-

tification for the US media's close focus on the public's response to Mandela and Makwetu. On the face of it, the scene had huge significance, apparently reflecting the prevailing mood of many people and, at the very least, sentiment towards the negotiating process. Whether or not it was overdone is a question of degree, not of truth.

Likewise, the evidence suggests that while the scenes of violence may have provided a selective, and incomplete picture of everything happening in South Africa, the fact remains that the violence occurred and that its exposure in the US media demonstrated what every South African knows to be true — as the Los Angeles riots reflected the anger of inner city blacks, so the violence of recent days in South Africa reflected the growing problem of appeasing the restless and seething youths of the townships.

It is a problem of political frustration turning to violence and of radicals, or opportunists, or both, of whatever political stripe, taking matters way beyond the capacity of those who organise "mass action" to control.

Time was when National Party leaders would accuse the foreign media of distorting the situation in South Africa, and on a regular basis would summarily expel American correspondents. In retrospect, did the US media of the time distort the truth? Or did their work describe a present and (foretell) a future which for too long the NP leadership refused to recognise? According to the ANC's leaders at the time, the US media's version of events was spot on.

What has changed? The truth, or merely those who have to bear the uncomfortable burden of responsibility for the truth, for events in South Africa? And assuming that there may have been a distortion of the truth, it could only have succeeded in an atmosphere where it was likely to be believed.

That, if nothing else, ought to persuade the ANC that whatever the merits might be of its case against the US media, it now has a serious image problem in the US and one substantially of its own making. — Star Bureau, Washington 23

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Star man Press Photographer of Year

By Shirley Woodgate

The Star's Joao Silva last night scooped first prize in the prestigious 1992 Ilford Press Photographer of the Year competition, heading a strong contingent of Argus Group cameramen who snapped up the first five positions.

The Star's Ken Oosterbroek, the 1988 and 1990 winner and 1989 and 1991 runner-up, was back into the runner-up position and Etienne Rothbart came fourth overall behind Brendon Geach of The Argus and ahead of Leon Muller, also of The Argus.

Oosterbroek also walked off with the People in the News and Picture Story sections and came second to The Argus's Muller in the News category.

Rothbart, winner of the People in the News category



Winner . . . Ilford Press Photographer of the Year Joao Silva and judge Peter Magubane. Picture: Gary Bernard

ry in 1990 and three times highly commended since 1986, won the Feature category and scooped a highly commended award in the same section.

The Sport prize went to Beeld's Christiaan Kotze

with Rothbart runner-up.

An independent panel of judges nominated by the major newspaper groups judged the winners from portfolios of 16 photos.

● Images worth 10 000 words — Page 11

The Star

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South Africa's largest daily newspaper

Shutting the big mouths

SO the firebrand ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, now best known for his appalling "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" chant, says the Government can "go to hell" if it tries to charge him for inciting racial violence. He also rails openly against the negotiation process, telling militant youths they should grab power before ANC leaders — his own superiors — negotiate it away.

The Government should not "go to hell" on the issue and the ANC should not be silent. It is not good enough for Mr Mandela's organisation to dismiss Mokaba's remarks as his "personal opinion". He is an ANC office-bearer, his words are regarded by those who hear them as the words of the organisation, and as such he should be subjected to normal party-political discipline. That means agreeing to shut up, or being booted out. The ANC should also note that Mokaba's statements do much to undercut the calming, constructive interventions of Mandela himself. It is untenable that the ANC president's important call to whites to stay and build the new South Africa should be blatantly contradicted by an underling baying for blood.

It has been said that in our volatile political climate, words are like bullets — as deadly and as final. Even if one is to accept that they are not always meant literally, they cause damage which cannot easily be undone. Mokaba's mouthings have caused the farmers of the northern Transvaal to rush to their gun safes. Like the racist ravings of Eugene TerreBlanche and mass murderer Barend Strydom, such statements inflame passions (often among less sophisticated people), and they are in many cases interpreted as licences to kill or maim. By allowing people to get away with outrageous utterances, repetition is encouraged, and others are emboldened to follow suit.

A clear message needs to be sent to the rabble rousers. We are in no doubt as to where the unrepentant, dangerous Mokabas, TerreBlanches and Strydoms should go. To court, kicking and screaming if necessary.

Poll date may be set in 6 weeks — De Klerk

Staff Reporter

An election date for a government of national unity may be set within the next six weeks, President de Klerk said last night.

He made the statement on CCV's *Newsline* programme, saying everything the National Party did was aimed at "facilitating the moment of this goal as soon as possible".

"If we can make progress with negotiations, I think we can aim (at setting an election date) within the next six weeks."

"Then we can talk about a very early election date, but we can only fix it at the end of the process of negotiation," he said.

The correct forum where the final decision would be made would be the negotiation forum or the transitional executive council.

De Klerk said the next phase after the election would be a government of national unity of all the major role-players "who will sit together and push politics aside for five years and start rebuilding South Africa".

He repeated his rejection of calls for joint control of the security forces, saying this was the function of the Government or, under a new dispensation, the function of a government of national unity.

Nuke story tops 'Newsies'

By Michael Shafto

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