

Tambo a terrible loss, says Mandela

Sowetan 26-4-93

MR NELSON Mandela yesterday again paid tribute to late ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo at the opening of the Cultural Development Congress at the Civic Theatre in Johannesburg, saying he was desolate at the loss of his lifelong friend.

"We grieve deeply for his family and for the terrible loss to this country.

"Oliver Tambo believed in the efficacy of culture to make us whole and to give us a richer quality of life. The ANC's policies on the arts and culture stemmed, to a large extent, from his vision, understanding and initiative.

"ANC choirs internationally, the Amandla cultural ensemble, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College and even the ANC logo emerged from his inspiration."

■ 'Time to move from protest to reconstruction':

Mandela said it was his organisation's belief that the universal language of culture would show ways to transform and heal the consciousness of all South Africans.

"Perhaps one of the greatest challenges facing any nation in transition is to move from protest, defiance and resistance to building and reconstruction. Similarly, in our own case, we have to move from slogans and rhetoric to constructive and concrete programmes that will actually engage our beleaguered people, black and white," he said. — Sapa.

16/1/11

SOWETAN

26/04/93

IT WAS the gentle-mannered Oliver Tambo who, almost single-handedly, built up the external wing of the African National Congress and its military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It was he who piloted the movement through the three decades it was banned in the country that gave it birth.

And it was Tambo who masterminded the Harare Declaration which in 1989 paved the way for negotiations with the South African Government.

Tambo was born on October 27 1917 in Bizana in eastern Pondoland. The son of a peasant farmer, he attended mission schools in the territory before going on to the Anglican-run St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg in 1933.

In 1938 he enrolled at Fort Hare, where he was recognised as a brilliant student, and graduated with a B Sc. He went on to study for an education diploma but was expelled a month before examinations for organising a student protest.

It was at Fort Hare that Tambo met Mr Nelson Mandela.

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He was articled to a law firm in 1948 and in 1952 joined Mandela to form the first African law partnership in South Africa.

In 1954 he was banned from attending political meetings, although this did not prevent him from continuing to work for the ANC. In 1955 he was elected secretary-general of the movement and in 1958 became deputy president-general.

In 1956 he was arrested and briefly held on charges of treason. The charges were dropped in 1957.

Also in 1956 he married Miss Adelaide Tshukudu, with whom he was to have three children. On the way to the church, bride, groom and best man were arrested for a pass law offence and bundled into a police van — but were released just in time for the ceremony.

In 1959 Tambo's banning was renewed and the ANC, suspecting that the State was about to ban the movement, decided he should leave the country to rally international support against the South African Government.

"We also had to create a reliable rear base for our struggle," he recalled in later years.

He slipped across the border into Bechuanaland in 1960, a week after Sharpeville and just before the ANC and PAC were banned, and spent some time in protective custody there because of fears he might be kidnapped by South

Threats by Government agents, ill-health and a nomadic lifestyle fraught with danger failed to douse his determination to forge the African National Congress into a major political force, reports *Sapa*:



Oliver Tambo ... built the ANC in exile.

African agents.

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In London he was instrumental in the formation of the short-lived South African United Front, which included the ANC, PAC, SACP and what was to become Swapo.

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Tambo acted as the movement's roving ambassador, meeting senior government representatives in a string of countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It was a measure of the ANC's success in isolating Pretoria, he said, that by 1989 the organisation had more representatives abroad than the South African Government.

However, Tambo paid a price in personal terms. For decades he shuttled between safe houses in Dar es Salaam and Lusaka, seeing his wife and children in their London home only rarely.

During these years Tambo, who was a devout

Christian and in fact nearly entered the priesthood in 1956, remained an uncompromising proponent of the armed struggle.

In an address on the 75th anniversary of the ANC in 1987, he said: "The need for us to take up arms will never transform us into prisoners of the idea of violence, slaves to the goddess of war. And yet, if the opponents of democracy have their way, we will have to wade through rivers of blood to reach our goal of liberty, justice and peace."

In the same year he publicly described "necklace" murders as barbaric — a statement which South African newspapers were refused permission to quote.

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"To go back means defeat and it would also be a tragedy because it would also mean the destruction of a new South Africa."

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He was also treated that year in a Johannesburg clinic for pneumonia. — *Sapa*.

16/1/11

Tambo: Roving envoy for ANC

MR Oliver Tambo, the ANC's national chairman, who died in the Milpark Hospital, Johannesburg, early on Saturday of a severe stroke, almost single-handedly, built up the external wing of the African National Congress and its military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He piloted the movement through the three decades it was banned. And he masterminded the Harare Declaration which in 1989 paved the way for negotiations with the South African Government.

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ANC Youth League, formed to press for a more militant approach in the organisation.

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ing that the state was about to ban the movement, decided that he should leave the country to rally international support against the South African Government.

"We also had to create a reliable rear base for our struggle," he recalled in later years.

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Tragedy

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DUMISANI MAKHAYE reflects on Oliver Tambo

OR, 'a colossus in the struggle'

"MY HEALTH is weak; what remains of it shall be consumed in struggle." With these words, Oliver Tambo accepted his re-election to the presidency of the African National Congress at the organisation's annual conference at Kabwe in 1985. It happened; he died this weekend, the last of his health spent on the struggle for freedom.

It is very difficult to write a eulogy for OR, as Tambo was popularly known. No one has fought more valiantly in this century for peace, freedom and justice in SA than he did. Yet he hated to be praised.

I recall the words of former SACP secretary-general Moses Mabhida, in one of those deeply serious and confidential discussions one used to have with him. I raised some organisational problems with regard to the struggle inside SA and Mabhida said: "I will raise these questions with OR, for he sees things a year before all of us." And Moses Mabhida was no small man in the struggle.

Oliver Tambo was both a colossus and a foot soldier. He

was gentle and honest and he readily admitted the ANC's mistakes with a view to correcting them. He consulted widely inside and outside the ANC because he believed in collective leadership. His intelligence was envied by both friend and foe.

While OR was kind, it was not always easy to work with him because he was a perfectionist. In this regard he was as tough with others as he was with himself. Members of his entourage travelling with him to foreign countries were expected to know not only the names of the leaders being visited but also their biographies and political inclinations.

His speech-writers had a particularly difficult job as he queried the use of every word, sentence and paragraph in speech drafts. One would be lucky if as much as a tenth of an original draft survived this scrutiny unscathed. Yet, once Tambo had explained what he wanted, or discussed the content of the draft, speech-writers were willing to go along with the changes. He also listened carefully to why his speech-writers had made their original suggestions and

expected them to defend their drafts vigorously.

In the international field, Tambo did more than anyone else to solicit support for our struggle and the isolation of the forces of apartheid. By the 1980s, the ANC had more foreign missions than the apartheid regime had. In international forums the ANC grew so in stature under Tambo's stewardship that it was regarded as a guiding force in global relations.

International mobilisation for the struggle was not always easy, especially in Africa. Our consistent nonracial policy was not easily understood and accepted by most African leaders. It would have been easy for the ANC to abandon its nonracial policy for populist reasons and short-term gains. But Tambo and the ANC persevered until Africa was won over. OR typically hated populist tendencies and he never spoke or acted for the gallery.

As supreme commander of MK, he was a fountain of strength for our army. As a soldier he was an excellent marksman, but through his politico-military skills he won the heart and mind of every

MK soldier.

The respect he commanded was such that when things went wrong in the field, MK forces would remember his instructions and rally to implement them. This happened when the car carrying the unit to sabotage Sasol in 1980 overturned and the soldiers were ordered to get themselves to Secunda where they were to regroup. They did and the mission was successful. On another occasion, when senior MK commanders were being detained at a police station in Swaziland near the SA border, OR sent word to us not to escape because we had to respect the laws of Swaziland. Only Tambo had that kind of power over us.

Tambo was deeply religious and humane and he abhorred gratuitous violence. Once, on a visit to an ANC camp, he noticed a poster depicting an MK soldier spearing a soldier of apartheid. He said we should not worship violence. He said not even an enemy soldier should be killed after being cornered and already defenceless, but he should rather be detained.

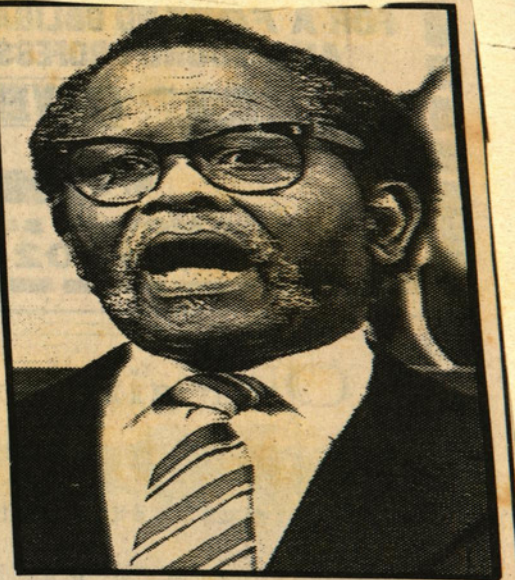
When our people unleashed their wrath against the in-

formers of apartheid and the security forces who had caused havoc in the black communities, Tambo was the first to speak out against necklacing.

Tambo was prepared to, and did, take up arms against the violent system of apartheid so that there may be lasting peace in our land. Yet it was he, in exile, and Nelson Mandela in prison, who spearheaded the process of negotiation in SA as an additional method of struggle. Almost single-handedly, he drafted the Harare Declaration, which set out the terms of negotiations and which was adopted by the frontline states, the OAU, UN, Non-Aligned Movement and the democratic forces in SA.

Tambo believed passionately in the unity of all oppressed and democratic forces against apartheid. When the regime banned the communist party in 1950, it was Tambo who predicted "if they ban the SACP today they will ban all democratic forces tomorrow".

Nobody did more than he did to cement the tripartite alliance (ANC, SACP and Co-satu), while insisting that each component must main-



Oliver Tambo

tain its organisational independence and character. He fought for the right of any individual to belong to the organisation of his or her choice.

Tambo radiated his vision and wisdom to many generations of the struggle. He reproduced himself. Most of the intelligent and dedicated young leaders of the ANC and other democratic forces are his direct product. They carry on from where he fell.

Oliver Tambo lives!

● Dumisani Makhaye is the media officer for the ANC Southern Natal.

● Environment Watch will appear again next week

Gentle man of vision

STAR 26-04-93

African National Congress chairman Oliver Tambo led the ANC from peaceful protest to the armed struggle and back again, reports BEN MACLENNAN.

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16/1/11

Chris Hani: In memorium

26/04/93 Sowetan

MY condolences to both Chris Hani's family and his supporters, together with the dear comrades with whom he was in the struggle.

Hani died at a crucial time when we were looking for his powerful leadership across the political spectrum to end apartheid.

ANDRIES MOLOI,
Botshabelo

BLACK South Africans know very well who murdered Chris Hani. So if they intend to revenge his murder, they know where to direct it. Do not take out your frustration on other innocent blacks by burning their property and killing them. The innocent people are also angry.

JOE MABENA,
Soshanguve

I WANT to share my sympathy and condolences with the nation. The nation has lost a brave man and dedicated leader, who called a spade by its name.

The assassination is the work of enemies of truth whose conspiracy is to plunge this country into chaos.

Rest in peace, you have finished the task entrusted to you.

THOZAMILE LUDULI
Orlando East, Soweto

I WOULD like to express my deepest sympathy to the bereaved family of fallen hero comrade Chris Hani. He was the authentic hero, who dedicated his life to the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed.

He was committed to justice and peace and hated by those who believe in apartheid. The dirty hand which eliminated the life of this African son will not hinder the freedom of the oppressed.

May his soul rest in peace.

HHL PELO, Kagiso Ext
10, Krugersdorp

CHRIS Hani, your memory will outlive time.

JONAS TSOAI,
Zamdela, Sasolburg

16/1/11

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, expressed his "heartfelt sympathy" at the death of African National Congress national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo.

"There could be no more fitting tribute to his memory than that South Africans of all races now work with more vigour than ever before to achieve the ideal of a democratic, nonracial order to which Oliver Tambo devoted his life," Anyaoku said in a statement.

● Oliver Tambo's death was another loss for South Africa as well as for the African National Congress, the Black Sash said.

In a statement, the women's human rights organisation said Tambo's leadership in exile was marked by wisdom and strength.

"He had an ability to think strategically, to communicate with everyone and operate democratically..."

"His death is another loss for South Africa as well as for the ANC, for whom he was a greatly loved and respected leader," said the Black Sash.

● South Africa lost a great leader with the death of African National Congress chairman Oliver Tambo, United Nations secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali said at the weekend.

In a letter to Tambo's wife Adelaide the UN chief praised the ANC leader, who led his country's anti-apartheid movement from exile, as a "remarkable political leader whose impact was felt far beyond his own country".

"South Africa has lost a great leader who not only championed the struggle against apartheid but also made a significant contribution towards the establishment of a democratic, nonracial and

Many honour Tambo

■ SYMPATHY MESSAGES *Organisations remember respected*

ANC chairman as a great leader:

united South Africa," he said.

● State President FW de Klerk, on behalf of the Government and the National Party, has conveyed his condolences to Mrs Adelaide Tambo and her family on the death of her husband.

"Mr Tambo was known internationally due to his presidency of the ANC over so many years. I only met him once, on which occasion we had a very constructive discussion.

"Ever since his return to South Africa, Mr Tambo was always supportive of the peace process and he played a positive role with regard to the negotiation process."

● Oliver Tambo's death was a tragic loss for South Africa and a heavy blow for the country's people, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said.

"Oliver Tambo was a man of deep spirituality and a weekday attendant at the Eucharist," Archbishop Tutu said.

"He will be remembered for his sacrifices for the sake of others, for his forbearance, his gentleness and his lack of bitterness," Tutu said.

● The Pan Africanist Congress expressed its shock at the sudden death of Tambo.

"The PAC is shocked by the suddenness of the death of ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo.

"Mr Tambo will be remembered for his leadership in his organisation during the try-

ing times of the frustration of exile.

"Mr Tambo was a gentleman who was respected by political leaders all over the world."

● The Azanian People's Organisation expressed its condolences with the ANC.

Coming in the wake of the as-

sassination of South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani two weeks ago, "Mr Tambo's death is all the more painful".

● Tambo had been a true revolutionary who led but also followed his people, the Congress of South African Trade Unions said.

Expressing the congress' shock and

grief, Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said Tambo's death had dealt "a nation in mourning a double hammer blow ... after the death of Chris Hani".

● Oliver Tambo was a leader of vision who had been able to raise the eyes of the people beyond the storm and dust of apartheid, the National Council of Trade Unions said.

Nactu general secretary Mr Cunningham Ngcukana said Mr Tambo had left "indelible footprints in the sands of history and his immortal contributions to our struggle will be written in all pages of our history books". — Sapa-Reuter.

16/1/11

ILANGA LITHI...

Sekujikile yini emaphoyiseni?

NANXA amaphoyisa esebenza umsebenzi onzima wokuvikela umphakathi nokunye, nanxa kade kunokungabaza kubukeka sengathi ukuzikhandla kwamaphoyisa kuvama ukwenzeka uma ephenya icala eliphathelene nabeLungu, kodwa kubekhona umehluko ekuphenyeni ngokubulawa kukaMnuz Chris Hani obenguNobhala-jikelele weSouth African Communist Party futhi esesigungwini esiphezulu se-ANC.

Nanxa bekukhona ukushaqeka nokudumala emphakathini ngokufa kwalomholi, kodwa amaphoyisa avule ibhuku elisha emlandweni wawo, abawola ngokuphazima kweso abantu abefuna ukubaphenya ngokuphathelene nokubulawa kukaMnuz Hani.

Ngesikhathi sokuloba lapha bonke abebebanjwe ngamaphoyisa bekungabeLungu abayisikhombisa, kukhona nowesifazane nowakwakhe olilungu lePhalamende lakulelizwe. Abanye abane badeleliwe emuva kokuphenywa.

Kasisho lapha ukuthi abaphenywayo nabasagqunywe ezitokisini yibona ababulele uMnuz Hani. Lokho kungumsebenzi wezinkantolo. Yizona eziyothola ukuthi ngubani ngempela owabulala uMnuz Hani, ehlangene nobani.

Kodwa okusimangalisayo ngomlando wamaphoyisa kulelizwe, kukhona amacala abantu ababulawa kudala okungakaboshwa muntu nanamhlanje. Abanye babo nguMnuz Griffiths Mxenge ummeli waseThekwini nowakwakhe uVictoria, naye owayengummeli. Kukhona noMfu. Fritz Bophela weBandla lamaSheshi eMlazi. Omunye nguMnuz Francis Dlamini waKwaMashu owayeyilunga loMkhandlu oShayumthetho KwaZulu futhi eyisikhulu seNkatha.

Okuxaka kakhulu ngoMnuz Dlamini ngokuthi wabulawa ngabantu ababegcwele ebhasini ebusuku. Lelibhasi laliqashiwe kubanikazi balo, nomshayeli walo aziwa. Kodwa akukaziwa nanamhlanje ukuthi wabulawa ngubani uMnuz Dlamini. Kukhona futhi nabaholi beNkatha abangu-270 kanye nabanye abantu ababulawa kepha kakukaboshwa muntu.

Ngesinye isikhathi amaphoyisa ayaye akhalaze ngokuthi adinga nosizo lomphakathi ukuze asheshe abathole abasolwa ngamacala. Lokhu kubeyiqiniso ngokufa kukaMnuz Hani ngoba owesifazane womLungu wahlaba umkhosi ngesikhathi ebona kubulawa lomholi, nempela kwabakhona oboshwayo.

Ngeke siqale sijabule sithi asebenzile amaphoyisa ngoba akukagwetshwa muntu ngalelicala. Kodwa besingajabula uma amaphoyisa ezosebenza kanje kuwowonke amacala. Ukushesha kwawo bekungasikhuphula isithunzi samaphoyisa ezweni lakithi.

Isikhulu samaphoyisa bathi sishendezana noKhongolose

ILANGA

APRIL 26-28, 93

DUDU MBATHA noMANTINDANE

ISIKHULU samaphoyisa kaHulumeni wase-South Africa esibambe iqhaza elikhulu ku-KwaZulu/Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, sekuvele ukuthi singama-the nolimi nenhloko yophiko lwezokuphepha olungumshoshaphansi lwe-ANC eNatal.

ILANGA selingakudalula manje ukuthi uCol. James Louwrens useke wabamba imihlangano yangase-nomnuz. Mo Shaik, ongumqeqeshi eNyuvesi yase-Durban/Westville, eThekwini, futhi oqashwe yi-ANC njengesikhulu sezomshoshaphansi.

Omunye wemisebenzi kaMnuz. Shaik wukweshela amalungu eNkatha ukuze athuthule i-ANC izimfihlo ze-IFP.

UCol. Louwrens kuthiwa lomsebenzi wokubonana noMnuz. Shaik wawunikwa nguMajor Hentie Botha, oyisikhulu esiphezulu ophikweni oluphenya amacala egazi, naye oxhumene kakhulu noPhiko lwezoMoya lukaHulumeni.

Lemihlangano kuthiwa yayihlelwa ebusuku ezindaweni lapho uCol. Louwrens ayengavamisile ukubonakala kuzona. Emuva komunye walemihlangano owa-wukwelinye lamahhotela amakhulu eThekwini, kuthiwa uCol. Louwrens wayishintsha indawo yokuhlangu-nela ngoba ebona ukuthi angase abhadanywe ngabantu abamaziyo.

Ebuzwa yiLANGA ngeledule uvumile ukuthi wake wabonana noMnuz. Shaikh, wathi kodwa kwakungeyona imfihlo ukubonana kwabo. Mayelana nokuthi uMnuz. Shaikh uyinhloko yophiko lwezokuphepha olungumshoshaphansi lwe-ANC, uthe ngeke akuqinisa lokhu yize noma ake afunda ngakho emaphephandabeni.

Mayelana nodaba lokungachemi kwamaSAP nezinhlangano ezithile zezombusazwe, yize noma ebebonakala engakhululekile uma ekhuluma ngalo kodwa

uthe: "Umbutho wamaphoyisa aseSouth Africa (SAP) mkhulu, ngaleyondlela-ke kungenzeka kubekhona amalungu awo athile azenzela okubheke eceleni.

Uthe umsebenzi wakhe phakathi kokunye owokuhlangu-nisa abantu ndawonye ezwe ndawozombili ukuthi bathini. "Umsebenzi wami ngiwenza ngokungakhethi, futhi ngiwenza kuzozonke izinhlangano ngokufanayo," kusho uCol. Louwrens.

Kodwa ngokuthola kweLANGA lemihlangano ayibamba noMnuz. Shaikh ayikhombi ukuthi usebenzisa-na ngokufanayo nazozonke izinhlangano. Yize noma ethe uwayele ukubonana noMnuz. Shaikh ngoba kunywe ohlela amamashi e-ANC, lokhu akusaqondakali kahle ngoba uMnuz. Shaikh uphethe uphiko lwe-ANC lwezomshoshaphansi kulesisifunda.

UCol. Louwrens uthe naye uyakweseka kakhulu ukuthi amaphoyisa nabezoMbutho wokuVikela babhekwe yizinhlangano ezehlukene.

Ngonyaka owedlule kuthiwa uCol. Louwrens noMnuz. Shaikh bandiza ngebhanoyi baya emhlanganweni omkhulu weSAP. Okwaphawuleka ngalomhlangano wukuthi babengekho abamele ezinye izinhlangano.

Ebuzwa ngalokhu uCol. Louwrens uqale waphika ukuthi bake baya eGoli noMnuz. Shaikh, kodwa kumva wabuye wathi: "Angisakhumbuli".

Konke lokhu okwenzekayo kugcwalisa khona ukuthi ngesikhathi kuqhutshekwa nezingxoxo zokubonisa-na ngekusasa leSouth Africa okuthiwa zihlanganisa

wonke amaqembu, kodwa kukhona okwenziwa ngase-ngeHulumeni ne-ANC.

ILANGA lithole ukuthi izingxoxo mayelana nokuhlangu-niswa koPhiko lwezoMoya lukaHulumeni nomnyango wezomshoshaphansi we-ANC selufinyelele ezingeni eliphezulu kakhulu. Bonke kukholakala ukuthi bayizimpimpi ezisemthethweni zamaqembu ezombusazwe.

Phambilini ILANGA lake lakuveza ukuthi uMajor Hentie Botha watshela omunye wabantu bakhe, uMnuz. Wessel Jordaan, ukuba asize izintatheli ezimbili ekubhaleni udaba okwakuqondwe ngalo ukudicilela phansi isithunzi seNkatha.

Ukuhlangu-nisa kukaCol. Louwrens noMnuz. Shaikh kuletha imibuzo eminingi njengoba eyisikhulu samaphoyisa esimele iSAP kuKwaZulu/Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee. Lokhu kungenzeka futhi kubeyikho okwenza ukuba i-ANC imncome kangaka.

16/1/11



UCOL. James Louwrens okubikwa ukuthi ushendezana noKhomgolose.

Abahambisani nokushiwo nguMandela noMakwetu

ARMSTRONG LUTHULI

OLUNDI. - UHulumeni waKwaZulu kanye nombutho weNkatha Freedom Party, bazwakalise okukhulu ukungahambisani nokushiwo ngumholi we-African National Congress (ANC) uDr Nelson Mandela kanye nomholi wePan Africanist Congress (PAC), uMnu. Clarence Makwetu, kokuthi kumele kubunjwe umkhandlu wokubumba umthetho-sisekelo ngaphambi kokufukula umnotho kuleli, abantu bebebefa yindlala.

Ekhuluma uMnu. V B Ndlovu, oyiPhini lika-Ngqogqoshe wezemiSebenzi, noyilunga lom-Gwamanda eNkatheni, uthi bona bayaphikisana nokushiwo yilababaholi abahlonipheke kangaka ezweni lonke ukuthi kubekwe isimo sabantu abahluphekile emuva ukuze kuqhakanjise amagama abantu okungacina ngabo.

Uthe okukhulunywa yilababaholi emazweni angaphandle kunobude-dengu obuthile uma be-
thi kumele kuqalwe ngokhetho ngaphambi komnotho ngoba abantu sebephelele yindlala kanti nemisebenzi kayibonwa kuleli, okungase kugcine kuholele lelizwe kububha obungathatha isikhathi eside ukuba belapheke.

Uqhube wathi wonke umuntu ukhuluma kanje na-nje ngoba ezama ukufukula inhlangano yakhe, ekwenza lokho ukuze yena ahlonipheke ekuhambeni, kepha elakithi izwe libelagqilazeka.

Uphinde wathi kumele ukuba imibhikisho ehlelwa yilezinhlangano imiswe manje ngoba yiyona kanye ehlela ekutheni kancane kancane isimo somnotho sibheke ezansi kuleli, nokugcina ngokuba labo abasebenzayo manje nabo bahlakelwe yileyomisebenzi.

Unxuse kakhulu lababaholi ukuba nabo kanye-nje empilweni yabo banxuse abalandeli babo ukuba baziphathe kahle ngoba kumele amazwe angaphandle alibone lelizwe selikulungele ukuba bafake izimali kulo, okumanje bethuswa yilababalandeli abangovumazonke.

Uqhube wathi kumele ukuba lezinhlangano zitye ukwesabisa amazwe angaphandle ngokuthi uma eke azifaka izimbongi kulelizwe uHulumeni wamaBhunu uyozidla lezozimbongi.

UMnu. Ndlovu uthi ngamanga aluhlaza ukuthi iziqwu ezikhona kuleli ziyophendulwa amadelo ezinkomo kanye nokuthi umnotho waleli uyosingathwa nguhulumeni.

Uphethe ngelithi yingakho-nje i-IFP ikhuluma ngenkululeko yawowonke umuntu. Uthi ngalokho izama ukuchaza ukuthi wonke umuntu unelungelo lokubanamabhizinisi awathandayo.

Ngokuhlongozwa yilezinhlangano uthi kungase kudaleke okukhulu ukukhwatshaniswa kwezimali uma umnotho ungase uphathwe nguhulumeni.

ARMSTRONG LUTHULI

EGOLI. - Obeliphini likasihlalo-jikelele ophi-
kweni lwabesifazane ngaphansi kweNational Party, uNkk. Gerda Bekker, usesishiye phansi lesikhundla kulandela ukukhishwa inyumbazane kwakhe emuva kokushiya kwendoda yakhe uMnu. Hernie Bekker, osesembuthweni weNkatha Freedom Party.

Ukubanyamanambana kukaNkk. Bekker, eqenjini lamaNeshinali kulandela ukushiya komveni wakhe kulo wayojoyina i-IFP kanye nokuhambela kwakhe umbuthano weNkatha owabe ugqugquzelwe ngaba-Mhlophe eDriefontein, eVryheid, lapho aze anxusa khona uNkk. Bekker, ukuba igama lakhe lingabalwa kanye nalabo ababehambele lombuthano.

UNkk. Bekker ubhale incwadi eyibhekise ku-IFP, lapho ebelazisa khona ngokushiya kwakhe kuleliqembu lamaNeshinali nangezizathu ezibangele lokho, phakathi kwazo okukhona lapho ebalula khona izinkolelo ngokwezepolitiki.

Udalule nokuthi khona izinsolo uma ula-

Inkosikazi enyukwayo ishiyile eqenjini

ndela ipolitiki kahle, futhi uyazi, zokuthi leliqembu lamaNeshinali selinokusebenzisa izindlela ezazisetsheziwa yiqembu lamaBhunu, lomshoshaphansi elalaziwa ngokuthi yiBroederbond.

Uqhube wathi ezinye izinkomba zokuthi ubevele engasadingekile kuleliqembu, kubengezokungamenywa ngesikhathi usihlalo weqembu lamaNeshinali, uMnu. Andrie Fourie, ebize umhlangano ezikweni eliseJeppe.

Udalule ukuthi kumanje akakaqondisi ukuthi ngabe yiliphi iqembu lezombusazwe azolijoyina, emuva kokuba ephumile kumaNeshinali washiya naz zonke izikhundla akade eziphethe kulo, kodwa izinkomba zibheke ngasemaqenjini abantu abaNyama kuleli.

OweNkatha udutshulwe wafa esencinziwe ngozungu ngaye

ISIKHULU seNkatha Freedom Party esidutshulwe safa ujuqu nge-
ntathakusa yangolwesiThathu olwedlule bese sitshelwe ingcacu
ukuthi seluphothuliwe uzungu lokusibulala ngakho-ke kufanele si-
ngalubhadi emijondolo yaseTraining ngaseNtuzuma lapho besisa-
nda kubuyela khona.

Lokhu kudalulelwe
ILANGA nguMnuz Tho-
mas Mandla Shabalala,
ongumholi we-IFP eLi-
ndelani abuye abeyilungu
loMkhandlu oShayum-
thetho KwaZulu elimele
iNtuzuma futhi osekom-
dini lokudala ukuthula.

Lesisikhulu esibulewe
nguMnuz Bhokinhlani
Leonard Ngubo (55),
obeyiphini likasihlalo we-
IFP emijondolo yase-
Training, eNtuzuma, no-
bebuyele kulendawo
emasontweni amane
edlule kanye nabalandeli
abaningi be-IFP ababale-
ka ngo 1988 bayobhaca
eLindelani ngenxa yodla-
me olwabheduka phaka-
thi kwabalandeli be-IFP
ne-ANC kulendawo.

Kuthiwa ngesikhathi
isidumbu sikaMnuz Ngu-
bo sesidindilizile, oku-
kholakala ukuthi ngaba-
bulali bakhe, babuya ba-
fike bamkopolota iso ba-
thatha nesibhamu sakhe.

Imibiko yokuqala et-
holwe yiLANGA ithi
uMnuz Ngubo udutshu-
lwe kanye ekhanda wafa
ujuqu.

UMnuz Ngubo, obe-
nomunye umuzi okwa-
C.3385, eLindelani, aqala
ukuhlala kuwona emuva
kokuba eshiselwe owa-
khe kanye ne-shack shop
yakhe eTraining, kuthiwa
udutshulwe ehambisana
namanye amadoda abeji-
keleza sakuhlola (patrol)
isimo emijondolo yase-
Dalmeny Farm ngase-
Ntuzuma ngezikhathi za-
wo 2 ekuseni ngolwesi-
Thathu.

Ngesikhathi ILANGA
lifika ngolwesiNe emini
enkundleni adutshulelwe
kuyona uMnuz Ngubo,
belisabonakala ibhaka le-
gazi ebeselomile.

"Impela umuntu uma
esebizwe ngukufa ayikho
into engenziwa. Emuva
kokuba ngithole ulwazi
olugcwele ngemithombo
yami ethebekile ukuthi

bekuhlangenwe ndawa-
neni thize, kuboshwa
uzungu lokubulala uNgu-
bo, ngiye ngambiza nga-
mtshela ngalokhu futhi
ngamdonsa ngendlebe
ukuba angalokothi alu-
bhade eTraining.

"Ngehluleke nganca-
ma ukumncenga, wama-
nje kwelokuthi uyaya
khona noma kanjani,"
kusho uMnuz Shabalala.

UMnuz Shabalala
uthe ubethole ulwazi olu-
qanda ikhanda lokuthi
uMnuz Ngubo bekufane-
le abulawe ngeSonto
mhlaka-April 18, kodwa
lwabuye lwabhuntsha lo-
luzungu ngalelilanga
ngenxa yesifo sikaMnuz
Chris Hani.

"Ngibonane naye ngo-
lwesiBili sagcina sivume-
lene ukuthi sizobonana
naye ngo 10 ekuseni ngo-
lwesiThathu, kanti bazom-
bulala ngayo intathaku-
sa yangalelolanga," ku-
chaza uMnuz Shabalala
ophawule nokuthi kuso-
lakala sengathi ababulali
bakaMnuz Ngubo bebe-
de bemlandela, ngoba
bekungelula ukuba ba-
mazi lapho ekhona uma
kubhekisiswa indawo
afele kuyo.

UMnuz Shabalala
uthe ngolwazi olunzulu
abenalo, uMnuz Ngubo
ubezoyengelwa ngapha-
ndle komuzi wakhe
eTraining ngabesifazane
ababili bese edutshulwa.

"Bengiqala ngqa uku-
bona uNgubo enenkani
kanje uma ngimbonisa.
Ubengumuntu obengi-
hlonipha kakhulu uma
ngimkhuza selokhu-nje
afika lapha eLindelani
ezocela ukubhaca khona
emuva kokuhlukunyezwa
kwamalungu e-IFP
eTraining," kuphawula
uMnuz Shabalala.

Ngaphandle kuka-
Mnuz Shabalala, kuthiwa
baningi nabanye abaza-
me kakhulu ukumkhuza
uMnuz Ngubo. Nkathi
kwabo okukhona no-
Mnuz George Vilakazi,
oyisikhulu se-IFP noyi-
khansela KwaMashu, na-
ye oseke wasinda iziqubu
ezimbalwa ekufeni ehla-
selwa ngezibhamu emzini
wakhe kwa-E khona
KwaMashu.

Kuthiwa kukhona na-
banye besifazane abam-
ncenge kakhulu uMnuz
Ngubo ukuba angalubha-
di eTraining kodwa wa-
ma-nje kwelokuthi yena
uyaya khona noma ka-
njani.

ILANGA lithole no-
kuthi ngalo usuku mhlaz-
ane kunomhlango
wokubuyisana phakathi
kwabe-IFP ne-ANC
eTraining emasontweni
amane edlule, kwakune-
qembu elaliphakamise
ifulegi le-ANC elabe li-
shaya phansi ngonyawo
lithi akafuneki neze
uMnuz Ngubo eTraining.

Kuthiwa leliqembu la-
lilincane kakhulu uma li-
qhathaniswa nalabo aba-
bengamelene nokubuyela
kwakhe kulendawo.

Kunezinsolo eziqinile
zokuthi ukubulawa kuka-
Mnuz Ngubo kungase
kuhambisane nezinkulu-
mo zakhe zokuthi ufuna
iphume iphele i-ANC
kulendawo ngoba ethi
"abekho abaholi bayo
abakwazi ukukhuza aba-
landeli bayo ezenzweni
zodlame".

Kuthiwa lezizinkulu-
mo zikaMnuz Ngubo be-
zishayisana kakhulu nezi-
vumelwano ezenziwa
ngokubuyela kwabe-IFP
eTraining, ezabe zigcize-
lela ekutheni omabili la-
maqembu anelungelo eli-
gcwele lokuphila kule-
ndawo futhi alikho elifa-
nele lihluke elinye.

Selokhu kwaqubuka
ukungqubuzana phakathi
kwabalandeli be-ANC
nabe-IFP eminyakeni
ethi mayibe mihlanu
edlule, bangaphezulu ku-
ka 200 abantu asebafa

ngendlela eyindida be-
hlaselwa ebusuku belele.

Bekwalisa noma ama-
phoyisa esebabophile,
okukholakala ukuthi ba-
yasoleka, kodwa kubuye
kuzwakale ukuthi bade-
delwe ngenxa-yokuthi
akekho onesibindi soku-
vela obala njengofakazi
wenkantolo.

Ngesikhathi sokuloba
lapha amaphoyisa abese-
phezu komkhondo waba-
bulali kodwa kungakabo-
shwa muntu.

UMnuz Ngubo ushiye
emhlabeni umkakhe,
uMaDlamini, nezingane
ezine ezineminyaka
ephakathi kuka 17 no 30

ubudala - abafana ababili
namantombazane amabi-
li - kanye nabazukulu
abane.

Noma amalungiselelo
omngcwabo kaMnuz
Ngubo abengaphothu-
lwa, kodwa kuhlangozwa
ukuba angcwatshwe nga-
lomGqibelo emathuneni
aseMolweni.

ILANGA
26-28 April '99

ILANGA 26-28 April '93

OweNkatha uhlaselwe evela emhlanganweni woMgwamanda

**ARMSTRONG
LUTHULI**

OLUNDI.-Ilungu lo-
mGwamanda we-
Nkatha Freedom
Party (IFP), uDr. S.J.
Maphalala uhla-
se-lwe kwakhe kwaphi-
hlizwa amafasitela
ngomGqibelo owe-
dlule.

Ngokombiko othola-
kele uDr. Maphalala

uhlaselwe emuva koku-
ngena nje kwakhe ephu-
ma emhlanganweni wo-
mGwamanda weNkatha
Olundi ngalolusuku.
Uhlaselwe ngabantu ba-
mbe baphihliza amafasi-
tela kwalimala impahla
nokho kwangalimala mu-
ntu.

Kuthiwa lababahaseli
abagcinanga nje ngoku-
hlasela uDr. Maphalala
kodwa bedlulele emzini
kaMnuz. B. Madlala
ongumakhelwane wakhe

nakhona benza okufana-
yo kokujikijela ngamtshe.
Nakhona kuthiwa akuli-
malanga muntu.

Uhlaselwa nje umuzi
kaDr. Maphalala kuthi-
wa ubusanda kuseshwa
ngamaphoyisa okuyinto
eyenzeke ngeledlule. Ma-
yelana nokuhlaselwa
kwakhe amaphoyisa aya-
ziwa imbangela yalokhu.
Nokho athe asaphenya
kodwa abengakabophi
muntu.



EMUVA kwezinsuku ezimbili ebulelwe umholi we-IFP emijondolo yase-
Training eNtuzuma, uMnuz B L Ngubo, umgudu obekugeleza kuwona
igazi lakhe ububonakala umuntu eza lena kude. Ababukayo lapha ngo-
Mnuz D P Mfayela, ilungu loMkhandlu oShayumthetho KwaZulu elimele
iNdwedwe (okwesokunxele) kanye noMnuz S Ngwenya olinxusa elimele
uHulumeni waKwaZulu elizinze eThekwini, kanti ongemuva kwabo kwe-
sokunxele nguMnuz G E Bhengu oyilungu loMkhandlu oShayumthetho
KwaZulu elimele iNtuzuma. Esithombeni esincane esishuthekiwe nguye
uMnuz Ngubo esaphila. - (Izithombe: ngabathwebuli beLANGA).

ILANGA 26/26 April '93

UShabalala ufuna akhishwe uJeff Hadebe ekomidini

UMHOLI weNkatha Freedom Party futhi oyilungu lekomidi lokudala ukuthula, uMnuz T M Shabalala, uthi uzotshela

lelikomiti iRegional Dispute Resolution Committee (Rdrc) ukuba lime kulekomiti uMnuz Jeff Radebe, usihlalo we-

ANC eSouthern Natal futhi naye oyilungu leRdrc ngenxa yenkulumoyakhe evusa uhlevane ayethule enkonzweni yomlindelo kaMnuz Chris Hani eFNB Stadium eGoli ngeledlule.

Esitatimendeni asithumelele imithombo yezindaba, uMnuz Shabalala uthi: "IFP ihlanganisa ukubulawa entathakusa komholi wayo eNtuzuma nezinkulumo eziphehla udlame ezenziwe yilungu lesigungu esikhulu seANC, uJeff Radebe, ngempelasonto edlule lapho egqaguzele khona abalandeli be-ANC ukuba "basuse" kulelizwe uMongameli we-IFP, uDr Mangosuthu Buthelezi."

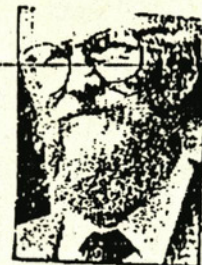
UMnuz Shabalala uqhubeka athi uzoyiphakamisa emhlanganweni olandelayo wesigungu esikhulu seRdrc lendaba kaRadebe yokubhebhezela umoya wochuku kulabo abebezolila enkonzweni kaChris Hani. Kulokhu uthi uzokhononda nangokubakhona kuMnuz Radebe esigungwini esikhulu seRdrc phezu kokuba enolimi olungahambisani neze nezinhloso zokudala ukuthula elizibophezele kukhona lelikomidi.

"Ngizophakamisa ukuba uMnuz Radebe amiswe esigungwini esikhulu seRdrc kuze kufike isikhathi lapho i-IFP izofaka ngokomthetho isikhalo sayo kuNational Peace Secreteriat (NPS) ngoba i-IFP inokungabaza okukhulu ngokubakhona kwakhe ngokweqiniso kulelikomiti," kusho isitatimende sikaMnuz Shabalala.

UMnuz Shabalala uqhubeka athi: "Kuyacaca ukuthi uRadebe usho ngezindebe zomlomo-nje ukuthi uzibophezele ekudaleni ukuthula uma kunemihlangano yeRdrc."

Patrick Laurence on the threat to a political settlement from the Right

Hour of maximum danger



THE assassination of Chris Hani is a reminder that the South African Right should not be dismissed as a bunch of vociferous roughnecks destined to be swept out of the reckoning by the imminent enfranchisement of millions of blacks.

The prime suspect in the killing, Polish-born Janus Waluszka, is a member of the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and, according to reports, of the Stallard Foundation, a right-wing organisation named after one of the arch segregationists in our history, Colonel CF Stallard.

The founder of the Stallard Foundation, Clive Derby-Lewis, and his Australian-born wife, Gaye, have both been detained for questioning about the assassination of Hani. They are being held under the Internal Security Act, a sign of the seriousness of the suspicions against them.

The arrest of these suspects confirms the possibility that Hani may have been the victim of a conspiracy, a belief entertained by his comrades in the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) within minutes of news of his death.

The guilt or innocence of the

suspects and whether Hani was killed by a lone gunman or by several conspirators must be left to the courts to determine. An important and interrelated question, however, be posed: do potential assassins lurk amidst the plethora of rightist organisations and how seriously should the right wing be taken?

The answer to the first half of the question is: "Yes, emphatically." A member of the rabidly racist Wit Wolwe, Johan Steyn, has boasted of a hit list containing the names of leaders of the ANC-SACP alliance. The murder list cannot be dismissed as the fantasy of a political loudmouth.

One needs to think of Barend Strydom, the Wit Wolf who acted on his fascist impulses in November 1988 and murdered eight blacks in a shooting spree, or of AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche, who is telling his followers he would have liked to have killed Hani "in open battle".

One needs to recall, too, that the murder weapon in the Hani killing was, according to police, part of a consignment stolen by Piet Rudolph, leader of the fanatical Orde Boerevolk, who in 1990 tried to launch the "Third War of Free-

dom" and who, like Strydom, has been freed as a political offender.

In assessing the threat of ultra-Right organisations it is important not to overrate their significance. They are constrained by their minuscule size and by their propensity to feud among themselves and split and re-split.

Thus the Wit Wolwe, whose membership is tiny, are split into two warring factions: the Israelites, who believe in God, and the Church of the Creator, who, despite their name, do not.

As political consultant Jan Tallard notes, both fervently propagate white supremacist beliefs: the Israelites do so with a buttressing theology which lauds whites but not Jews as descendants of the lost tribes of Israel; the Church of the Creator does so with the rationale of a racist ideology which asserts that "our race is our religion".

Terre-Blanche, the founder of the AWB, has quarrelled with two of his deputies: Jan Groenewald, a co-founder of the AWB, broke away in 1989 to form the Boere Bevrydingsbeweging; Rudolph severed ties with the AWB last year and now speaks in the name of the Orde Boerevolk.

The budding ultra-Right organisations tend to grow in number but the ultra-Right as a whole does not seem to grow in size. To cite a high profile case: Strydom is — or was — an AWB member but prefers to identify himself as a Wit Wolf.

But the minuscule nature of the ultra-Right may, in some ways, make it more rather than less dangerous. Without any hope of winning significant electoral support, even among the minority white community, their fanatical members are more inclined to seek extreme remedies.

Strydom's shooting spree — which he sought to justify as the start of the "Third War of Freedom" (the first two having been fought by the Boers against the British in the 19th century) — is arguably an example of murderous fanaticism born of political impotence.

As South Africa's first non-racial election approaches and, with it, the certainty of a black or largely black government, the danger of desperate action from the ultra-Right increases. The handing of 30 pieces of silver to President de Klerk in Parliament is a sign of the ugly mood.

The divided nature of the ultra-Right is dangerous for another reason: it might mean that police have to keep track of several conspiracies rather than a single one.

South African right-wing fanaticism is made more explosive by the input of European and American neo-fascist movements through South African organisations with international contacts, including Derby-Lewis's Stallard Foundation and Koos Vermeulen's World Apartheid Movement.

The ultra-Right is not completely isolated on the lunatic fringe. It is connected with the pro-partition Conservative Party (CP), which is committed to functioning within the law and which recently took up a seat at the negotiating table.

One of the most important links is the AWB. The CP allows its members to belong to the AWB, arguing that the AWB is a "cultural organisation". The AWB, in turn, interacts with rival ultra-Right organisations and shares members with some of them. Derby-Lewis's Stallard Foundation provides another nexus between the CP and the ultra-Right.

The significance of these connections is two-fold:
• The ultra-Right can assume

some sympathy from a third of the white population (the CP and its allies attracted more than 30 percent of the white vote in the referendum last year).

• The CP's rhetoric about the right of a people to fight for self-determination has an unintentional consequence: it lends, as Professor Janis Crobbelaar, of the University of South Africa, argues to "legitimate violence" in the collective mind of the ultra-Right.

Andries Treurnicht, the CP leader until his death last week, has talked of a "Third War of Freedom", the phrase used by Rudolph to justify his armed revolt in 1991 and by Strydom to vindicate his murderous action in 1988.

The mainstream of the right-wing, CP and its offshoot, the Afrikaner Volksfront, has apparently realised that it will not be given a chance to oust de Klerk in another whites-only election. It has joined the negotiating table, suggesting that the danger of rebellion might have passed.

If, however, it fails to realise its dream of an Afrikaner state at the negotiating table, the hour of maximum danger may still lie ahead.

Shock, anger at reaction to Tokyo Sexwale

The terribly uninformed reaction of people like T E Kuhn, Germiston (Letters, April 20) to the statement on the need for a venting of anger among the people, made on television by the ANC's Tokyo Sexwale, shocks and angers me.

Kuhn adds that there are norms of civilised behaviour, and that humans have intellects which supposedly differentiate them from animals.

Yes, in a normal society, not our unjust one.

Institutions designed for the development of human intellect were predominantly provided for the white minority. Thereafter, this minority with its privileged acquisition of intellectual development then subjected the black majority to socio-economic conditions worse than that of their own animals.

Now, from whom do we expect exemplary behaviour? From those who were better treated, or those who lost-out?

No. I am sure that Tokyo does not beat up his family or burn down the house, but what he does do better than ourselves is express solidarity with his people in their struggle for freedom — their right, not a privilege.

Y Young

Southdale,
Johannesburg

Ask the youth

PRESIDENT de Klerk's offer to work with anyone who has ideas on how to deal with South Africa's alienated youth could be a vital step towards reconstructing the lives of the young people conveniently labelled "the lost generation".

There is no denying that the problem has enormous implications for the future. It is one of the most pressing human issues of our time. Young people have made sacrifices in the name of the liberation struggle, which was held to be even more important than education.

Now much of the political violence is blamed on the jobless youth who, as they grew to adulthood, became steadily more resentful and racially antagonistic. To make matters worse, their incomplete education and lack of skills prevents assimilation into a declining job market.

What to do about the problem? Is job creation the answer? Is education and training an option? And what about the suggested "peace corps"? There are many ideas, but the best solution might come from the young people themselves. It would be a good start to ask them what they want.

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

Death of a patriarch

OLIVER REGINALD TAMBO came home just too late to preside over the culmination of his life's work. The wasted, wicked years of apartheid saw to it that by the time he returned in triumph, the event was tinged with tragedy. A brain spasm suffered in August 1989 meant that he was incapacitated, able to play but a fraction of his formerly seminal part in shaping the country's destiny.

The ANC leader gamely lent his presence to many major events back on home soil, but his role, like his title of ANC national chairman, was largely a symbolic and ceremonial one. He cut an increasingly frail figure in public, but pushed himself right up until the end: Tambo was one of the first senior ANC leaders to go to Chris Hani's house on the day of the assassination.

Tambo commanded enormous respect from all who had dealings with him, including his many political enemies. Among his followers, respect combined with love to elevate him above the ranks of the popular politician — he was more a patriarch than populist. Tambo occupied a special place in the psyche of the townships.

He was a militant in support of the ANC's struggle against apartheid — beneath his urbane, measured exterior lay passionate conviction — but he was also an ardent advocate of a peaceful, just settlement among all the races in South Africa. The less flamboyant of the old Tambo-Mandela law partnership all those years ago, he gave to his movement what it needed most: efficient organisation and stamina.

He was also a gentleman of the old school. Early in 1990, after the release from prison of his old friend and colleague Mandela, Tambo sent a message from Lusaka offering to stand down from the presidency. The offer was rejected at that time, but accepted later that year when he was made national chairman.

It is sad that he did not live to see democracy come to South Africa, but Tambo's legions of admirers will take comfort from the fact that he died without pain, with his family close by.

6 The Star Monday April 26 1993

Legal Aid Board faces expensive challenge

A new constitution, encompassing human rights, posed a big challenge to the Legal Aid Board, already battling to meet a record increase in the demand for its services, according to the board's 1991/1992 report.

The report said the Legal Aid Board did not by any means meet the demand for legal aid among the indigent.

"Most South Africans cannot afford such assistance and support, and unless they are assisted in gaining access to legal services, they are forced to forgo the enforcement or protection of their rights."

There was an acute shortage of legal representation in criminal cases, and fewer than 20 percent of the accused standing trial in district and regional

courts had been helped by legal representatives.

It was estimated that more than 100 000 undefended accused persons were sentenced to jail each year.

"Also in other fields such as civil cases, labour law and administrative law, the current legal aid dispensation cannot meet the great demand for legal aid," the report said.

A sound legal aid dispensation, giving needy people a high-quality service, was important for the successful implementation of a new constitutional dispensation based on the sovereignty of the law.

Applications granted for criminal cases alone in 1991/2 represented 2 734 applications more than the entire case load the year before.

The upsurge was attributed

to the poor economy, cutbacks in other legal aid projects, increased awareness of the board's services, growing crime, improved policing, and the board's increasing legitimacy in the eyes of black South Africans.

The board had been allocated R24 500 000 by the Treasury for 1991/2, but the sharp increase in the demand for its services had led to a further R9 million being appropriated for legal costs.

A projected 124 050 people were expected to be granted legal aid applications in 1992/3, and 176 740 by 1996/7.

The report said 27 436 cases had been closed in the year under review, each costing an average of R740. Legal costs amounting to R1 501 348 had been recovered. — Sapa.

Poll date possible within six weeks

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Negotiations were formally resumed three weeks ago, but the first "real" negotiations get under way today at the World Trade Centre.

The key issues for discussion at the meeting of the 104-member negotiating council are recommendations on the transition process through a transitional executive council (TEC), an election date, and controlling political violence.

Since the assassination of Chris Hani two weeks ago, President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela have made optimistic estimates for agreement on the TEC and an election date. Both sides expect these issues to be agreed within the next six weeks.

The transition recommendations were drafted by a drafting committee made up of Government constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe, ANC ne-

gotiator Mac Maharaj and Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane.

However, this does not mean an agreement has been reached by the Government, ANC and the IFP as the three negotiators do not represent their respective organisations and parties on the committee.

The recommendations include establishing technical committees on an independent electoral commission, on an independent media commission, on discriminatory legislation and a TEC aimed at levelling the ground in the run-up to the first democratic elections for an interim government.

Negotiators are still, however, to agree on a scenario for the transition.

While the Government and the ANC — and their allies — want the installation of a TEC, an election for an interim government, and the drafting of a new constitution by elected representatives, the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) wants the multiparty negotiating

forum to draft a new constitution after which elections will be held for a new representative government.

Recommendations on curbing violence will also be presented to the negotiating council. These are expected to include measures aimed at strengthening the National Peace Accord and a technical committee considering the future of the security forces as well as all armed formations.

Decisions taken at the negotiating council have to be ratified by the negotiating forum before they are finalised by a plenary session at which organisations' leaders will be present.

Today's meeting of the negotiating council will be the first at which the press will be allowed to observe proceedings.

On Friday security forces placed barbed wire fencing around the perimeter of the centre in anticipation of any protests today.

And the meetings of the planning committee last week were also held amid tight security.

4 gunmen slain after vigil killings

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — At least six people were reported killed in a flare-up of violence in Zululand at the weekend.

A man and a woman were murdered and eight others wounded by gunmen during a funeral vigil at a house in Mazawula reserve near KwaMbonambi for Inkatha leader Calphus Dlamini, who was shot dead last week.

Mourners then chased and caught up with the alleged gunmen and apparently killed

Father dies after
ambush in garden
— Page 3

them. Police later found the bodies of four men.

Meanwhile, the leader of the Ndwalane tribe, Chief Aaron Ndwalane, has called for local leaders of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party to meet urgently today to resolve renewed violence on the Natal South Coast.

Violence broke out in the area again after the assassination of South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani on April 10, Chief Ndwalane said.

He said six people had died there recently, including four killed at the weekend.

Four people were injured in fighting between Mawuleni and Ngwazini factions at Dweshula near Port Shepstone yesterday.

ANC unveils foreign investor code

By Sven Lünsche

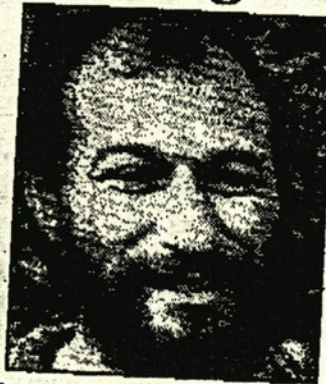
In a bid to rebuild investor confidence — shattered by the violence surrounding the funeral of Chris Hani — the ANC has disclosed first details of an "open" foreign investment code.

Trevor Manuel, head of the ANC's economic unit, says political stability, the end to violence and consistent economic policies are essential in attracting international investment.

In an address to the SA Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators in Cape Town on Friday, Manuel said the ANC favoured "codification of investment policy in order to maximise transparency and certainty".

Key points include providing foreign investors access to foreign exchange for the purpose of remitting taxed profits, debt service on approved foreign loans and the repatriation of the proceeds on the sale of assets.

Manuel reiterated that exchange controls would be removed once stability returned



Trevor Manuel... comprehensive and sustainable growth and development

to the economy and to the capital account of the balance of payments.

He said it was essential for countries outside the major world trading blocs to forge closer links.

"We will seek actively to promote co-operation in Southern Africa in ways that will correct existing imbalances and promote non-exploitative relationships."

The restructuring of the SA economy would be based on a "sustainable growth and development strategy, which comprises redistribution programmes to meet the basic needs of the majority".

Mike Levett, chairman of Old Mutual, told the conference that for the next four years growth in GDP would be no higher than three percent a year.

Levett said this meant, with redistribution continuing, that "real incomes will continue their decline of the past decade and perhaps accelerate".

A change towards stronger growth would depend on three factors including a shift towards an outward-looking, manufacturing driven economy.

Furthermore, the economic strategy must be backed by the creation of legitimate institutions through which change could be formulated, he said.

● Manuel is one of the guest speakers at the Star/FNB Planning for Wealth Conference on Friday, May 7, at the Carlton Hotel. For booking call (011) 483-3214.

INTERNATIONAL

Mandela Loses Control

South Africa erupts over a political murder

The wrath of the young lions reduced Nelson Mandela to lame explanations. "I understand your anger," he said plaintively after loud jeers interrupted his speech at a rally in the black township of Soweto, outside Johannesburg. The gathering mourned the murder April 10 of militant black leader Chris Hani. The crowd had booed when Mandela mentioned messages of condolence from South African President F. W. de Klerk's National Party, Mandela's main partner in talks about a new constitution. The jeers appeared to stun the 74-year-old leader of the African National Congress (ANC). "We don't like the National Party," insisted Mandela, "but I'm prepared to work with de Klerk to build a new South Africa." The crowd was not appeased.

The disaffected youth of South Africa's black townships vented their rage last week in ways not seen since unrest engulfed the nation during the mid-1980s. On Wednesday, the day set aside by the ANC to mourn Hani, mobs ignored Mandela's televised appeal for calm and swarmed through four major cities, looting stores and torching vehicles. In Cape Town, youths assaulted Trevor Manuel, a national ANC official, when he tried to stop their pillaging. In Port Elizabeth, an ANC parade marshal had to ask an Afrikaner police captain to stop protesters short of the city's downtown. "The ANC's control over teenagers has been tenuous at the best of times," said Tom Lodge, a political scientist at the University of the Witwatersrand. "If anyone could give the youths their marching orders, it was Hani. Mandela is listened to, but he's not obeyed."

Suddenly, disobedience to Mandela was a nationwide phenomenon. In the past three years most political violence has been confined to Natal province and the townships outside Johannesburg. Last week it went coast to coast, stretching from the usually placid center of Cape Town to the shopping districts of Durban and Port Elizabeth. Most of the 85 marches and rallies were peaceful. But 10 people died on Wednesday, including five blacks killed when jittery police opened fire on a huge ANC crowd



MARK PETERS FOR NEWSWEEK



ERIC MILLER

Coast-to-coast trouble: A rally in Soweto (above), looting in Cape Town



outside a Soweto station house. There were signs of intensifying racial hatred after police charged that a Polish immigrant tied to the far-right Afrikaner Resistance Movement had gunned down Hani, a rising ANC star and general secretary of the small South African Communist Party. (On Saturday a leader of the pro-apartheid Conservative Party, Clive Darby-Lewis, was also arrested in connection with the murder.) Three whites were burned to death in a black township outside Cape Town, and another was killed in a squatters' camp in the Orange Free State. Two more blacks were killed, allegedly by a white extremist, in the city of Vanderbijlpark.

As Mandela lost control of the young, one beneficiary was the radical Pan-Africanist Congress. Midway through Mandela's speech in Soweto, lusty cheers greeted the arrival of Clarence Makwetu, president of the PAC, whose armed wing has claimed credit for some recent attacks on whites. The PAC was founded in 1959 by black activists who feared that white radicals were taking over the struggle against apartheid. Now it attracts growing numbers of disillusioned blacks, some of whom played a prominent role in last week's riots

wearing PAC T-shirts. Although it finally joined the constitutional talks last month, the PAC has refused to match the ANC's renunciation of armed struggle. Its best-known slogan is "One settler, one bullet." The constitutional talks are expected to resume before the end of the month. De Klerk's government and the ANC both say a date should be set as soon as possible for the country's first one-person, one-vote elections. Although no final settlement is in sight, the parties have been moving toward a power-sharing deal that would guarantee the National Party a role in a transitional government. Hani had publicly endorsed the concept. His death, and its angry aftermath, seemed to diminish the willingness of young blacks to accept whatever settlement the talks produce, especially if the new constitution gives whites political power out of proportion to their numbers. "Even now, after all the negotiating, what power do we have?" said Enoch Mbatwe, a young black protester in Port Elizabeth. Mandela's soothing answers are not what blacks like Mbatwe are willing to hear, and their young roar may drown out any agreement the ANC's old lion reaches with de Klerk.

JOSEPH CONTRERAS in Johannesburg

THE CITIZEN

Monday 26 April 1993

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000Imposing their will
won't bring peace

IT is possible for the NP government and the tripartite alliance to impose their political solution, including a Traditional Executive Council, joint control of the security forces, an election in the middle of endemic violence, etc. within six weeks.

This, of course, can be done through Parliament, which is, and has been, controlled by the National Party for the last 45 years.

This would, however, ignore the wishes of the millions of moderate South Africans represented by the parties in COSAG (Concerned South African Group) and turn the present multi-party negotiations into an ex-

pensive, hypocritical farce, which should then be abandoned forthwith.

The parties in COSAG taking part in the multi-party negotiations represent millions of moderate South Africans who strongly support the principle of self-rule in a federal/confederal South Africa, in which each of the states/regions will have wide, entrenched powers of autonomy.

In addition, all are united in their opposition to Communism and any attempt to impose Communist rule, thinly disguised as a government of national unity.

It is therefore utterly impractical, unrealistic and downright irresponsible for the NP/tripartite alliance and woolly-head-

ed sections of our media to expect the multi-party negotiations to achieve a compromise, acceptable to all, on these widely divergent views, within a period of six weeks.

Therefore, the only way for the NP/tripartite alliance to get their way is to impose their will on the rest of the country.

Do Messrs Meyer, Wessels and De Klerk really think that this will bring permanent peace to our violence-torn land?

Judging from his remarks about the ANC, SACP and violence, even their own Director of Information would not support such an untenable view.

J R LAMBSON

Sandton

Reef mass action gets under way

THE ANC PWV region yesterday announced the start of its programme of rolling mass action, which would culminate in a blockade of Parliament on May 31.

The programme begins at 7am today with the handing of a memorandum containing ANC demands to negotiators at Kempton Park. These are the setting of an election date in September, the announcement of a transitional executive council without delay and the joint control of security forces.

Campaigns official Jesse Duarte said multiparty negotiators had until May 31 to respond to the demands.

Duarte said the programme was aimed at giving negotiations a boost. "We need to put pressure not only on the government, but on the multiparty talks as a whole."

JOHN DLUDLU

This call was echoed yesterday by IAC secretary-general Benny Alexander. "We don't want to negotiate forever, we need results."

Duarte said PWV branches would decide on the forms of action which should culminate into national action to blockade Parliament on May 31.

If no results are achieved by May 31, branches would call for a review of ANC participation in negotiations.

She said previous forms of the struggle, such as rent and consumer boycotts and attacks on government property, had to be reconsidered.

SUSAN RUSSELL reports that Inkatha Transvaal Youth Brigade executive member Carter Ndlovu warned in Johannesburg yesterday that attempts to prevent Inkatha-

supporting pupils from attending classes during mass action would be met with fierce resistance.

He issued the warning at an urgent meeting called by the brigade's West Rand branch to voice its opposition to the mass action campaign.

"The Youth Brigade is particularly concerned about the possibility of school disruptions which would lead to another wasted year in black education," Ndlovu said.

He called on the DET to guarantee the safety of Inkatha-aligned pupils and to ensure a skeleton complement of teaching staff at DET schools.

Ndlovu said his organisation believed in peace, but that "any attempt to prevent Inkatha youth from attending classes will be met with fierce resistance", he said.

ANC seeks change in financing

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would introduce mechanisms to encourage private and public sector financial institutions to channel resources into productive investment, ANC economic planning department head Teyor Manuel said on the weekend.

Addressing the annual conference of the Southern African Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators, Manuel said these institutions would also be encouraged to develop the 'basic needs' sector of the economy and to end lending discrimination against blacks, women and the informal sector.

Furthermore, specialised institutions and new instruments — such as subsidised interest rates — would have to be created to facilitate investment.

Manuel said public sector financial institutions such as the Industrial Development

LINDA ENSOR

Corporation (IDC), Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC), Land Bank and the Development Bank had to be substantially transformed. The IDC had given birth to unviable projects such as Mossagas. The SBDC allocated 73% of its net lending to whites and the Land Bank aimed to keep white farmers on the land.

One of the problems with the private sector financial institutions was that they were owned by the large conglomerates, which dominated the economy, acting in effect more as treasuries for these corporations than as banks.

Manuel questioned whether sound banking principles had not been eroded by the conglomerates' liquidity requirements.

The cost of capital was prohibitive and created difficulties of access for the small and medium sized entrepreneur. Not having had the opportunity to accumulate assets and own land, blacks generally did not have the necessary collateral.

"Vast segments of the community are unbanked or underbanked while the products of financial institutions are by and large not user-friendly," Manuel said.

He stressed the need for the entire financial sector to be restructured.

POLL DATE LIKELY BEFORE MAY 31

By Brian Stuart

CAPETOWN. — Multi-party agreement on an election date is likely before the end of May, with most negotiation parties already agreed on the framework within which the election would be held.

Political sources in the government, ANC and

Inkatha Freedom Party indicate that multi-party agreement can be expected on setting up an independent election commission to run the election process even before finality is reached on an election date.

A great deal of attention was given in bilateral talks to proposed election structures prior to a

meeting of the 90-person planning committee at the World Trade Centre last week.

Agreements on election details reached in the planning committee will now be presented to the multi-party negotiation forum for endorsement.

But since the govern-

TO PAGE 2

Poll date likely next month

FROM PAGE 1

ment, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and Bophuthatswana have already endorsed the plans, fairly speedy multi-party accord is expected.

There is broad consensus on 18 years as the minimum age for voting. It is also proposed, for example, that only those in prison on election day should be excluded from the vote.

The proposed independent election commission is expected to comprise 11 members whose nominations would be endorsed either by the Transitional Executive Council or the multi-party forum itself.

Its function would not be to manage the elections, but to endorse the various structures that would be needed for election purposes, and at the end to declare that it was a free and fair election.

A new Electoral Act

and election regulations would be drafted, for approval by the TEC or multi-party forum, before it is presented to Parliament for approval.

There could also be an election tribunal to settle any disputes or differences between the TEC and the Cabinet on the levelling of the political playing field in order to achieve free and fair elections.

There is broad agreement on a monitoring commission, comprising both internal and international monitors.

With an expected 7 700 polling stations, including mobile polling stations, throughout the country, monitoring the election will be a huge undertaking.

It is suggested that the present National Peace Secretariat could form the core of this vast monitoring team.

One of the issues to be settled in the negotiation

forum is the role of a body of independent political organisations in the conducting of political campaigns.

Political spokes indicate that, with a set of agreement already achieved last week, agreement on free of conduct could be achieved within a next fortnight.

There is already code of conduct in the final Peace Accord, however, whether the Parliament Congress or the Inter-tribe Party, a history, and clearly the rules of conduct could apply to all the participating in election.

The government wants an ethical code: political parties it is given statutory sanctions that contravention will lead to criminal prosecution.

Some public leaders are still making inflammatory statements without being held accountable, even with the new pol-

itical organisations.

An example in point was the ANC Youth League meeting in Cape Town, addressed by South League leader Peter Dinko and Mrs Winnie Mandela, at which the slogan "Kill the Boer" was banded.

The ANC said that this was not official policy, but did not go so far as to denounce it or discipline those involved.

The Peace Accord counts signatories not to "kill, injure, intimidate or threaten" others, but this is not enforceable in law.

One of the trickiest of issues before the negotiation forum this week will be that of unitary or federal structure for the future South Africa.

However, the political parties are said to be closer than even before on regional structures, with specific powers and functions.

Did Derby-Lewis provide gun?

Citizen Reporter

THE gun which killed Mr Chris Hani, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, is believed to have changed hands more than once before reaching the alleged assassin, Mr Janusz Walus.

Witwatersrand police spokesman, Brigadier Frans Malherbe, said yesterday it was believed that the weapon which killed Mr Hani had been allegedly provided by detained Conservative Party member of the President's Council, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, but said it was not known from who Mr Derby-Lewis had obtained it. It had been stolen from a South African Air Force armory in 1990.

The investigation into the murder itself is apparently nearly completed, but an investigation into a possible conspiracy is continuing.

Mr Derby-Lewis and his wife, Gaye, are being held by the police in

terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which empowers the police to hold a suspect for 10 days for questioning, before releasing or charging them. The period may be extended.

The initial period of 10 days of holding for Mr Derby-Lewis is due to expire tomorrow.

The Witwatersrand Attorney-General, Mr Klaus von Lieres Und Wilkau, SC, said last night that investigations into an alleged conspiracy were continuing, but that it was probable that the Derby-Lewis

would appear in court later this week.

The initial indications are that the crime does not involve any massive international conspiracy as has been suggested in some reports, but is limited and local.

All the suspects held have been released, with the exception of Mr Walus and the Derby-Lewis.

One of them, Mr Arthur Kemp, a former Citizen and Patriot reporter, has been released on condition that he makes no Press statements.

Bloom hits at ANC's invite to Ortega

A Johannesburg city councillor yesterday criticised the invitation of Mr Daniel Ortega, a former Nicaraguan president and leader of the Sandinista movement, to attend the African National Congress' Cultural and Development Conference.

Mr Jack Bloom, city councillor for Highlands North, said in a statement the Sandinistas' rule over

Nicaragua, led by Mr Ortega, had been "characterised by totalitarian oppression".

"It is gross hypocrisy for the ANC to proclaim a belief in liberty and yet ignore the deplorable anti-democratic record of Mr Ortega, a record we would do well to avoid in the future South Africa."

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus rejected Mr Bloom's comments, say-

ing it was not for a Johannesburg city councillor to make pronouncements on democracy as the majority of people had not elected him to that post.

The Nicaraguan people had been to the polls and Mr Ortega abided by the result which saw him hand over power to an opposition alliance, Ms Marcus added.

"This is a lesson in democracy," she said.

6 die in shootings

DURBAN. — Six people died and eight were injured on Saturday night in an attack at a night vigil for a slain Inkatha Freedom Party official in northern Natal and a retaliation attack by IFP members.

Two people were killed and eight were injured at midnight when unidentified gunmen attacked mourners who had gathered at a vigil for IFP regional chairman Mr Caphus Dlamini, Natal police spokesman, Major Hamilton Ngidi, said.

Some mourners then followed the attackers and killed four of them not very far from the

tent in which the vigil was being held, Maj Ngidi said.

The killings happened at Kwambonambi, a town near Empangeni where political rivalry between the IFP and the African National Congress has claimed the lives of many people over the past years.

Maj Ngidi said the shootings seemed to be related to this political rivalry.

Security forces were maintaining a presence in the area which was quiet but tense.

Mr Dlamini, who was killed on April 16, was buried yesterday.

Police found 35 AK-47 spent cartridges, one 303 shell and one damaged teargas canister at the scene of the first shooting, and 20 AK-47 and 9 mm pistol shells at the scene of the second shooting. — Sapa.