

â\200\234JOVIAL RANTAO

Weekend Argus Reporter

/A LTHOUGH Mr Oliver

- /=8 Tamboâ\200\231s political style

< Was low-key, it was effec-

tive. He had the capacity to

â\200\230move swiftly, decisively and

ruthlessly when necessary.

_ The success the ANC had in maintain-

ing its unity and purpose in the 30 years

in exile is attributable in no small part

to the personal qualities of a man

known at the ANC as â\200\234Comrade ORâ\200\235

and the â\200\234African Mosesâ\200\235 to the interna-
tional world.

A man of consensus rather than ex-

tremity, Mr Tambo, 75, was a quiet

- speaker who chose his words carefully.

Journalists who have interviewed him

found him warm and meticulous, the

. epitome of the â\200\234reasonable manâ\200\235 driven

to violence â\200\224 an image he used to con-

- siderable diplomatic effect in the West.

In the 1950s and 60s he influenced a

. whole generation of young men who

' were to be politically influential in the

subsequent decade.

. Son of a farmer, he was born in Bi-

â\200\230zana, eastern Pondoland in Transkei on

i October 27 1917.

Mr Tambo left his peasant birthplace

â\200\230to be educated at the St Peterâ\200\231s School

/in Rosettenville, Johannesburg, and lat-

â\200\230er at Fort Hare University. In 1941 he

\obtained a BSc degree at Fort Hare and

|an education diploma in 1943. He studied

â\200\230law in 1948 and established a friendship

'with Mr Nelson Mandela.

| With Mr Anton Lembede, Mr Man-

â\200\230dela, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr A P Mda and

â\200\230Mr Robert Sobukwe, he helped form the

|ANC Youth League in 1943 and in 1949'

â\200\230he was elected vice-president of the

â\200\230league and to the executive committee

â\200\230of the ANC. :

He propelled the ANC out of its leth-

|argy and eventually helped transform it

into the mass movement it became in

the 1950s. He also played a major role in

â\200\230organising campaigns and mass civil

! disobedience of the 1950s.

| 'Mr Tambo was banned in 1954 and be-

fcl:amg secretary-general of the ANC in

{ In 1956 he married Adelaide Tsukudu,

with whom he had three children. On

the way to the church bride, groom and

best man were arrested for a pass-law

offence and bundled into a police van â\200\224

but were released just in time for the ceremony. :

In 1958 he was elected ANC deputy-president.

In 1959 Mr 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.

He slipped across the border into Bechuanaland in 1960, a week after Sharpeville and just before the ANC and

And yet, if the o
their way, we will
blood to reach our goal of liberty, Justice and
peace.

wart

ponents of democracy have

ave to wade through rivers of

In the same year he publicly described a neck-lace murders as barbaric a statement which South African newspapers were refused. permis-

sion to quote.

Mr Tambo masterminded the 1989 Harare Declaration, the ANC's blueprint for negotiations

== which invited talks with the SA government when

PAC were banned, and spent some time in pro- the right political climate had been created.

there because of fears he

tective custod
{ South African agents.

be kidnapped

Nyerere, and then on to Ghana to meet Mr

Kwame Nkrumah before going to London.
In 1960 he became the first

address its Security Council.

His hectic life abroad became one of secret itineraries and meetings.

He became acting-president of the ANC in
might

During the two years he spent working on the

-compilation of the document he had two minor
From there he went to Tanganyika (now Tanzania) strokes, but continued to press on with the task

of
zania), where he met nationalist leader Mr Julius completing it and ensuring its acceptance
.

Hare.

1967, after the death of Chief Albert Luthuli. He
was elected ANC president at an ANC consulta-
tive conference in Morogoro in Tanzania two

years later.

Mr Tambo acted as a roving emissary of the
underground movement in Africa and Europe
and his effective lobbying in exile, with the help
of his comrades, resulted in the organisation get-

ting increased support abroad.

He lived in Lusaka â\200\224 where his family joined
him â\200\224 but travelled extensively to muster sup-

port.

He had a house in London where his three chil-
dren â\200\224 Tembi, Dali and Tselane, attended

school.

Tembi, the eldest daughter, was married to an
Englishman in St Paulâ\200\231s Cathedral just after
Prince Charles and Lady Diana were married

there.

Mr Tamboâ\200\231s health deteriorated when he had a
stroke in Lusaka on August 10-1989. He was flown
to Britain for treatment and later to Sweden.

" | When he jetted into South Africa on December

14 1990 for the ANCâ\200\231s consultative conference, the

effects of his stroke were evident. His speech was.
slurred and he used his left, instead of the tradi-
tional right hand, for the â\200\234Agnandlaâ\200\235 salute, be-
cause his right side was partially paralysed.

He settled in Sandhurst, Sandton, and hosted
dignitaries and statesmen from around the world

at his house, Villa Rosa.

He has been honoured by countless numbers of

organisations and educational institutions.
In an address on the 75th anniversary

ANC in 1987 he said: â\200\234The need for us to take up
arms will never transform us into prisoners of
the idea of violence, slaves to the goddess of war.

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In July 1991 Mr Tambo headed an ANC delega-
_ Â« tion to talks on forming an anti-a
erson not repre- otic frontâ\200\235 with leaders of some of the bantustans
senting a member state of the United Nations to' and other oppositio

artheid â\200\234patri-

n groupings.

Earlier that year he was awarded an honorary
octorate in law by the University of the Western
ape and accepted the chancellorship of Fort

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18 - Weekend Argus, April 24/25 1994

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Oliver Tambo ;

HISTORY will very likely decide that
Oliver Tambo was one of South
Africa's most underrated leaders
mainly because he was forced into exile
for 30 years. Also, shortly before the

' unbanning of the ANC which event

might have allowed him back to lead
the organisation legally as president
Mr Tambo suffered a stroke that ended
his political life.

Censorship prohibited most South
Africans from knowing much about him.
Even to local ANC supporters, he was

_an ethereal figure. Yet in the field,

Oliver Tambo led the ANC with singular

authority. He was able to walk the

tightrope between militant guerrillas on
one hand and more moderate elements
on the other. He wielded a huge

influence over rising stars like Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tswete, Pallo Jordan and Chris Hani.

Mr Tambo gave an indication of his power and integrity when, in 1987, he

| called together members of the ANC national executive and ordered them to act against the

townships. Those bestial activities very soon stopped. ~ , Undoubtedly Oliver Tambo, despite

his ill-health, has helped shape attitudes

within the present ANC hierarchy and encourage conciliation. That he was within months of seeing the fulfilment

- of his dreams for the country is tragic. --He is-a loss to.South Africa.

SA's only hope

GOTIATORS return to the constitutional table in earnest from

this week, their deliberations given added urgency by recent events. Top of

their priorities is the need to arrange

for joint government and soon the only way to restore law and order and get the economy moving.

But this is the short-term solution,

another stage in the process that must eventually lead to South Africa becoming a truly non-racial, democratic and stable nation. And, if the negotiators want to achieve this, they must be clear about one thing: they must devise and agree on an honest federal system. It is South Africa's only hope. .

The great danger is that the concept is being corrupted by political powerplay: a federal system must not be a trick to secure a minority veto; nor must it be designed to satisfy personal political ambitions; nor must it become another name for secession or racism.

If recent history from Bosnia to Belfast tells us anything, it is that divided societies do not hold together under a strongly-centralised unitary system. Power MUST be devolved and this can be done only by having a

sensible federal structure, based on geographic, economic and historical dynamics. :

Failure to achieve this will be to consign South Africa to a state of endemic civil war. -

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Two factors are threatening progress with constitutional negotiations: ANC plans to begin a new round of mass action, and the government's latest plans for local government, reports DAVID BREIER, Weekend Argus Political Staff.

talks threaten

ance meet this week to finalise details of

next month's national mass action cam-

paign designed to topple minority rule, but Gov-

ernment and business fear mass action could in-

stead topple what is left of the economy and the shaky l\;tional Peace Accord.

At the same time, government proposals for

separate municipal voters' rolls and neighbour-

] EADERS of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alli-

hood ' norms and standards' have started a new

row with the ANC.

Already the ANC Youth League has announced it intends to target its marches and demonstrations on KwaZulu-Natal, hinting of conflict with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Strikes and consumer boycotts are also pos-

sible. There is speculation of a transport workers' strike early next month that could paralyse public transport.

The national campaign is set to last to the end of May, longer if Government does not give in to demands for an election date and a multi-party Transitional Executive Council with control over the security forces.

Why the need for mass action now just as multi-party constitutional negotiations resume ' and after several days of often violent memorials for SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani? This is the question businessmen are posing as they consider the economic cost.

President De Klerk has recognised the argu-

ment by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ra- -

ed as they begin

maphosa on the need to channel the anger of people following the killing of Mr Hani, rather than leaving them to do their own thing.

But the mass action campaign goes further.

Even before Mr Hani's assassination, the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance had planned to put maximum pressure on government to achieve a breakthrough in the first few weeks of the resumed negotiations. Mass action was decided after the assassination as the most effective form of pressure. : :

Mass action had proved to be a successful weapon against apartheid, said Mr Neil Coleman, spokesman for Cosatu, which played an important role in the decision to embark on the campaign. .

The serious deadlock after Codesa 2 was only broken after mass action led to the Record of Understanding, which was directly the result of mass action, he said. :

Mr Coleman said mass action could not be blamed for damaging the economy. Economic uncertainty was caused by negotiations drag-

ing on. Mass action was aimed at achieving a decisive breakthrough in negotiations and would therefore benefit the economy, he argued.

. But this argument made little sense to business people who this week said many would find it difficult to survive six weeks or more of mass action. The slight improvement in investor confidence recently had also been shattered.

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The government wants to dra
| guarantees and a vague time

stingâ\200\231 in

NC negotiators smell a rat â\200\224 a Nat rat.
There are growing suspicions at the

Â» 4 newly-resumed multiparty negotiations
that the government is planning a sting.

Statements by President De Klerk and his
chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, this week
have raised suspicions among ANC negotiators.

The suspicion born out by the latest govern-
ment pronouncements is that the government
wants to seduce the ANC into the non-elected
#â\200\230tanâ\200\230sitional Executive Council (TEC) as a mat-

g? of urgency â\200\224 with no agreement on when
and how elections will be held. ;

Mr De Klerk has refused to be pressured into
an early announcement of an election date al-
though he confidently predicted this week an
election could be held in the first quarter of

. next year if not earlier.
If the suspected Nat plan works, the ANC
â\200\234could find itself working with the government
on the TEC â\200\224 while negotiations drag on for an
election for an interim government of national
unity and constituent assembly.

This could lead to accusations that the ANC
â\200\230had been co-opted into the fringes of govern-
ment in a consultative capacity without the real
power that would come with elections.

While the TEC is due to level the playing
field for elections, there are fears the Nat hid-
den agenda is to turn it into an effective inter-
im government without having to face the pop-
ular ANC in elections.

Both Mr De Klerk and Mr Meyer have sug-
gested that the proposed TEC be de-linked from
agreements on how an interim constitution
would work after elections.

After Mr Meyer first flew the idea of de-link-
age recently, Mr De Klerk said in Parliament
this week the government was willing to negoti-
ate a TEC before the finalisation of all transi-
tional constitutional arrangements â\200\234despite the
fact that Codesa had recommended a linkage
â\200\230between these mattersâ\200\235.

- The ANCâ\200\231s key demands as negotiations re-
sume, is for an election date and a TEC with
joint control of the security forces to be agreed
on by the end of May. 1 :

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table. The ANC smells a rat. This report by

| The government has eagerly seized on the
proposal to set up a TEC immediately and had
even hoped to pass the TEC legislation in the
special short session of parliament last year.
But Mr De Klerk this week firmly rejected

both the ANC suggestions for an election date
to be declared immediately and for joint con-
trol of security forces. . 2

he said it was self-evident that consensus
first had to be attained on how elected constitu-
tional bodies would work before a â\200\234sensibleâ\200\235
decision could be made for an election date.

On the issue of the TEC exercising joint con- ..

trol of the SA Defence Force and SA Police, he
said however multi-party participation was ne-
gotiated, â\200\234it obviously cannot imply non-govern-
mental control of the security forcesâ\200\235.

'He said the TEC and its sub-councils would :

the playing fieldâ\200\235.

This would call for â\200\234political co-operation at
multi-party level to ensure that all the parties
may participate freely and fairly in the election
process. If this is what those who ask for joint
control want, then I do not foresee any problem
in our reaching an agreement,â\200\235 he said.

However ANC negotiators said this fell far
short of their demand for multi-party control of
the security forces.

B The NP is hinting that an election might

not take place so soon after all because of polit-
ical intimidation.

- The Nationalists appear to be chickening out
of agreeing to non-racial elections soon. The
party claims fair elections are impossible be-
cause the ANC is intimidating black NP mem-
bers and burning down their houses.

â\200\234focus. their activities mainly on the levelling of

e =)

w the ANC into a Transitional Executive Council with promises about elections â\200\224 but
no.

DAVID BREIER, Weekend Argus Political Staff.

Earlier this week an upbeat Mr De Klerk
predicted elections could happen sooner than
most people expected â\200\224 the first quarter of

next year or even sooner. y

But he was contradicted late this week by NP spokesman Mr Piet Coetzer who said the homes of two black supporters had been burnt down this week by ANC supporters at Ikageng in Potchefstroom and Kwa Thema in Springs.

Under the present circumstances there can be no possibility of free and fair democratic elections, said Mr Coetzer. »

He said that while the Nats wanted an election date as soon as possible, the NP will not be so naive to let an election go ahead unless all parties and organisations including the ANC-/SACP alliance help in practical ways to ensure the playing field is level in all respects.

Mr Coetzer said ANC leadership had either lost control of some of its elements or there was a deliberate strategy to eliminate opposition through violence and intimidation.

– ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa strongly denied there was any ANC policy to intimidate other parties in the townships. He added that it was up to the multiparty negotiations and not the Nats to determine an election date.

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'sented the worst of state-controlled te Vi

sion. Hatchet jobs, selective use of film

footage and blatant National Party (NP) ropaganda were the staple diet for millions of SABC-TV viewers.

The Chris Hani assassination has

changed all this.

Gone are the days where the political and moral high ground was monopolised by the NP. The last few weeks have altered the face of South African television permanently, with both positive and negative consequences. {

Even in the â\200\234new South Africaâ\200\235 state-run television has been firmly in white control. This legacy has its roots in direct state interference from presidents John Vorster

and, later, P W Botha. Both had used tele-

vision for their own party ends by simply â\200\230demandiniñ\201lsan appearance to present his, and only his, side of the story. :
. On the night of the assassination, however, things changed. D

_This time Nelson Mandela was the person calming the nation. He was instructing South Africa in the appropriate response to the crime, and appealing for calm. Mandela had taken charge. '

Prior to the day of protest â\200\224 the

Wednesday following Mr Haniâ\200\231s death â\200\224 Mandela addressed the nation yet again on national television. This time he enjoyed

prime time coverage on both CCV and TV1. In a presidential-style delivery he appealed for calm and discipline and gave a rief eulogg. Mandela appeared with the backdrop of a study and wore a conservative dark suit. His sombre address was broadcast at the beginning of both evening n;.yvsfzcasts as if he was the commander-in-chief.

Mandela, clearly, was regarded as the man of the moment. Only he could diffuse and hopefully stabilise the volatile situation that existed. Mandela was still in

charge.

How unfortunate, therefore, that the editing of his message that evening on TV1 brought a degree of political interference from the ANC, reminiscent of the worst of the P W Botha era. The ANC had objected to Mandela's eight-minute speech being reduced to only four minutes on the 18&12 TV1 newscast and had pressured the S into re-broadcasting the message in its entirety.

The SABC buckled under and presented

the unedited version at 11pm the same day. Such direct intervention from a party-political source brought condemnation from the head of the Campaign for Independent Broadcasting, Raymond Louw, as an indi-

- DANIEL SILKE, researcher at the University of Cape Town

Institute for the Study of Public Policy, believes the assassination of Chris Hani sparked a change in the SABC's approach to political reporting. Is it a new beginning?

cation of what the public may expect of the ANC if it was in power.

The SABC, meanwhile, continued to present the assassination objectively, if somewhat reverently, of the slain leader of the ANC alliance. Government ministers were noticeably absent in the Agenda debates.

News programmes eulogised Mr Hani. Considering his position as secretary-general of the Communist Party, perhaps the most hated and criminalised organisation in the old South Africa, this was no less than remarkable. Talk show guests referred to Mr Hani's ceaseless struggle against apartheid.

The five-hour broadcast of the Hani funeral was nothing less than a watershed in the television history of South Africa. Not since the funerals of presidents Diederichs and Vorster have South Africans been witness to such a spectacle played out live in their homes. !

Again, the tables had turned. Whereas

state funerals were once the sole domain of the government, the ANC had taken charge. Viewers were treated to hours of

speeches and eulogies filmed through the

silhouette of a huge hammer and sickle which adorned the canopy over Mr Hani's coffin.

ABC

In the past messages of support for the South African government often came from Taiwan or Paraguay. At the FNB sta-

dium the only full message of support read aloud was that from Cubaâ\200\231s Fidel Castro.

For the majority of whites these scenes must come as quite a shock. Television has given the country a glimpse of the post-NP

outh Africa, with all its advantages and potential pitfalls.

On a positive note the demonisation of the ANC and the SACP in the past has been replaced by a legitimisation of the liberation movements as truly patriotic South African political actors.

Perhaps most importantly, the once dreaded communists and â\200\234terroristsâ\200\235 of the

ANC were portrayed to whites as normal

human beings with very fair and egalitarian demands for this country.

The sycophantic treatment of the National Party of yesterday seems to have been replaced by a similar attitude towards the ANC â\200\224 and they are yet to even officially hold office. Pk, '

While we can all applaud the SABC for shedding its pro-government bias, the flip-side of the coin looks equally grim. The question remaining is whether a post-apartheid South Africa will still enjo?' me: dia freedom. Or will the dominant factor simply be a change of ideology and governing party that continues to demand its way with this all-powerful medium?

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comes lo

EBEL-rouser Peter Mokaba

may irk peace-lovers, but

his fiery outbursts find resonance among black youths â\200\224 many of whom still believe â\200\234the violent of overthrow of the racist regimeâ\200\235 is not a pipe-dream.

The immensely popular activist may also cause embarrassment among a few people in the upper echelons of the ANC because of his militancy â\200\224 but he is kosher in the eyes of one of the countryâ\200\231s' biggest potential voters â\200\224 the â\200\234Young Lionsâ\200\235. =

To them, Mokaba, 34, a married father of one, articulates their burning desires on how to deal effectively with the â\200\234apartheid regimeâ\200\235. :

In such defiant mood, the legality of Mokabaâ\200\231s â\200\234revolutionaryâ\200\235 utterances or whether they are not in accord with peace accords signed by the mother body, the ANC, is secondary â\200\224 if not irrelevant.

Hence, Mokaba is unfazed by the fuss surrounding his calls in Khayelitsha last week that the young lions should â\200\234kill the boers and â\200\224 being cutting edge of the revolution â\200\224 should take up armsâ\200\235.

But in such a violent society, the danger is that some youths might take Mokabaâ\200\231s message literally â\200\224 and the violence might worsen. TN LA

However, Mokaba stirred the crowd attending Chris Haniâ\200\231s funeral with a brief

B Peter Mokaba, national president of the African National Congress Youth League, is under fire for his militant speech in Khayelitsha last week. Weekend Argus Reporter
~ VUYO BAVUMA looks at his

' background.

but emphatic toyi-toying and chanting session. ik

Within the ANC tripartite alliance, Mokabaâ\200\231s radicalism and desire for â\200\234actionâ\200\235 are matched only by Natal Midlandsâ\200\231 leader Mr Harry Gwala, whose militancy belies his ailing health, and Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of Nelson Mandela.

Like them, Mokaba, who is a first karate Dan, speaks the language of the youth â\200\224 a constituency with more than 1,5 million

members. He has another claim to fame:
Mokaba perfected the art of toyi-toying at
a time when the now well-known â\200\234â\200\230war
danceâ\200\235 was a novelty to many uninitiated
comrades. :

Mokabaâ\200\231s political career is not without
controversy. :

Like many comrades, Mokaba cut his po-
litical teeth at the tender age of 15 in the
streets of Mankeng township near the ul-
tra-conservative Pietersburg in the
Northen Transvaal. i

The youngest of three children, Mokaba
was detained several times, but was not de-
terred from his c\uest for a free, democrat-
ic and non-racial country.

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- CONTROVERSIAL EMARKS: Peter

Mokaba came under fire this week.

He briefly studied for a B Sc at the Uni-
versity of the North, but swopped his text-
books for weaponry when he began -mili-
tary training under Umkhonto weSizwe in
exile. ; 34 P :

He slipped back into South Africa in the

_early 80s and, in 1982, was arrested and

~sentenced to seven yearsâ\200\231 jail for terrorism
charges, including furthering the aims of
- the ANC.

He was released in 1985 after winning an
appeal but was charged for possession of a

akarov pistol. He received a suspended
sentence.

After the unbanning of organisations in
1990, Mokabaâ\200\231s political star soared when
he was given the task of transforming
Sayco into the ANCâ\200\231s Youth League of

. which he became president.

Shortl

after being re-elected, Mokaba
survive

a potentially-damaging smear

- campaign which claimed he was a Security

Branch operative. :

This week, Mokaba shot down the criti-
cism â\200\224 and the current police investiga-
tions â\200\224 sparked off by his controversial re-
marks.

â\200\234I canâ\200\231t apologise for something that is

not my creation. These songs are merely part of our struggle. I canâ\200\231t negate our struggle because the whites happen to be scared. :

â\200\234We have been singing these for a long time. The ANC is fighting the system of the oppressive boers and we all know that.

â\200\234P'11 only rest once Nelson Mandela is the president of South Africa,â\200\235 he said.

Mokaba reiterated that he is still a loyal member of the ANC and followed the movementâ\200\231s ideals to the letter. .

But, meanwhile, his utterances continue to project an image of â\200\234two facesâ\200\235 within the monolithic ANC. -

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MP: Call to kill no sing-along

NC Youth League leader Mr Peter
Mokabaâ\200\231s call, â\200\234Kill the farmerâ\200\235,

was â\200\234no campfire sing-along but
clear incitement to violence ,â\200\230hy,â\200\230 a defiant
and unrepentant rabble-rouserâ\200\235, Mr Errol
Moorcroft (DP Albany) said last night.
Speaking 'in debate on the agriculture
vote, Mr Moorcroft said the country had no
need for dem %)gues like Mr Mokaba or
the Afrikaner Weerstandsheweging leader
Mr Eugene Terreblanche. =~
An ever-increasing number of innocent
~and defenceless farmers and their families
haddli~\202ra{wbeen injured as a result of at-
.tacks, oorcroft said. st
The farming -community had been en-
raged when Mr Mokaba a
horted ilk

~lent on the matter.

Accord and the stated policy of the ANg,
and yet the organisation had remained si-

It was only after dprompting from the
media that â\200\234muted disavowalsâ\200\235 had been
forthcoming.

The ANCâ\200\231s defence that the â\200\234Kill the
farmerâ\200\235 call was an old ANC freedom song
which was podpular with MK cadres was a
poor one, said Mr Moorcroft.

Mr Moorcroft warned that agriculture
was in danger of collapsing unless its prob-
lems were addressed soon.

â\200\230The Democratic Party believes that the
government'â\200\231s role in agriculture should be
minimal and should be limited to creating
a climate in which agriculture can flour-
ish,â\200\235 he said. â\200\224 Sapa.

NC MP for Simonâ\200\231s Town Mr Jannie

Momberg says he cannot condone a call
to kill anyone. ek,

He was responding in parliament to com-
- plaints about recent utterances by ANC
outh League leader Mr Peter Mokaba.

â\200\234I can never condone any call to kill any--
+ body in this volatile situation or, in fact,

ever,â\200\235 said Mr Momberg. .
He said white people should be careful
. not to jump to conclusions. What Mr Mo-
kaba said had been â\200\234largely symbolicâ\200\235.

Earlier, Mr Errol Moorcroft (DP Albany) had called on Mr Momberg to explain Mr

~ Mokabaâ\200\231s call to â\200\234kill the boerâ\200\235.

Mr Momberg said slogans could be deadly as had been the case with the slogan of â\200\234total onslaughtâ\200\235, :

~ The ANC already had responded ade-

â\200\234to use it in the changing

Momberg responds to challenge

â\200\230quately to Mr Mokabaâ\200\231s statements and the

fact that the ANC had met the Youth League on Thursday showed they viewed the matter seriously.

' â\200\230Both organisations had agreed the chant

was not ANC policy. It was inappropriate i circumstances.

- The chant went back to the armed struggle and should be viewed in that context, saidMr Momberg..

Mr Cehill Pienaar (Afrikanervolksunie, Heilbron) said there was increasing concern that Mr Momberg was mixing with the wrong people and taking the wrong direction. 3

Mr Momberg had once been a farmer and it was up to him to distance himself from calls such as â\200\234kill the farmerâ\200\235, said

Mr Pienaar. â\200\224 Sapa. i

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. .â\200\224â\200\224The country is on the brink of a major political shake-up as païr\201r
ft_ies',a'n:dâ\200\234prganisations prepare for the fihal : P
' ; push for power. This report by JOHN MacLENNAN, Weekend Argus Political Staff. | 5

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P per such as Presidentâ\200\231s Councillor Mr Clive signersâ\200\235 (who want the whole
country and say Breytenbach: i
I}J OR cl;angl ets l{l the Derby-Lewis. A th?lyh arte prâ\200\230eparggtto figl::l for it).
i su:Tl'llghg:Ã@'tys isn (I)IO:;V sg lituOlla v_irmt:)lally .eve;g_â\200\231 ii-
ine-up of political par- The caucus united in prayer when they were The tensions between th
ese groups would be . is no sin inanimous viewpoint.
" Al Pt called out of the chamber this week and Yold of heightened by any signal from the A
NC that it Some are for going along with the ANC. Others
t likel the : . ;
W ate hxâ\202-y 15 DÃ¢ Treurnichtâ\200\231s death. But it would take more e D ey, discuss t
he concept of a | Want eversthing signÃ@d Bad scaled befofhand.
â\200\230next two months, involving more than {ust prayer to keep the pâ\200\230airty toget
her, es- forlrfn l;)f ls{elf;det%rmm(:;ntxon fotr nghtwingers}; Solr;le evgrrxn ;vtaÃ@nt t?
l gxtor;;lela}rll;i.d ; 2 t A
] cti i i ecially when considering the divergent o tions r Hartzenberg does not grasp at su
ch an e estl S e hard-liners form the
, g::;cgggtsiggogl :glin;e iga{lllllÃ@mclgrr: PR o ik % i opportuniy, he moderates are expec
ted to bail majority of the NP caucus, and this s why
A y) One option is full commitment to negotiation, out. resident De Klerk is reluctant to
coniron
servative Party and startling the other, an alliance with groups on the far The ANCâ\200
\231s insistence on an election date is them head-on. ") :
| new alliances involving current rightwing fringe. : :â\200\230lzllusing additiolt(lial st
ras;s ai\\?d forecalgts are that 3 'gl:;)f; o th_col?tîr\201'gl of thetîr\201ecurlty gorcest
is
L i A i is issue would see the National Party lining I se which has riven the party from to
p
| opponents. "o o, the CF has snard ination o 5, | yp i arie s s the D e Alaner |2 2000
: 2 g 3â\200\231 : e g olksunie, CP soft-liners, the Inkatha Freedom At a bosberaad â\200
\224 attended by ANC and NP
The catalyst, according to informed tolksalÃ@swfront o allxa;)nce }?f nghtwnÃ@g pe Party an
d several other parties â\200\224 including representatives â\200\224 it was agreed there w
ould be

| e) 4 ies and organisations), but there is sai to be A W5 . S o
pOhtlc;;l:_ observers, would consist of disagreeeme%t in the p;rtly on the decision. ones fro
m Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. joint control, except that the NP termed t co
several elements; The Volksaksiefrent said the CP had taken no They all want agreement befo
rehand on the ;gfgngiggÄ@tziiallncggtcâ\200\230:aggi(f)gg (t)}lllxsrethiemgll\lgugis_
~ # The present battle over the African Nation- | notice of urgings for it to appoint negot
iators to form of the State, the shape of the eventual con- orit g
a! Congress's\demand that an election date be discuss joining the front. stitution as well
as acceptance of strong region- LN : :
announced even before vital issues are settled | â\200\234If they failf to co-operate, we
envisage a al government Rapl? lfm.;e_grtatnont ofl security fotr%es and the
in negotiation; . " | mass exodus of their membership who will be ; T i concept of joint co
ntrol was accepted â\200\224 among
e Tikelihood that the ANC may agree to | welcome to participate in fheft private capaci- #l
dron'h Q;â\200\231is(;gi~\201â\200\230ccâ\200\230:p{gâ\200\230:gz tâ\200\230ga:â\200\235ih?
â\200\230;freâ\200\230:%ct%â\200\234iâ\200\230; others â\200\224 by the head of the SADF, t
he NP's de-
' some form of â\200\234seli-determinationâ\200\235 for one or | ty, but still keep their p
arty identity.â\200\235 the new society would depend on the degree of fence study-group as
well as ministers Roelf
. more off ttlx(e regionglzg?veï~\201nmeltlttsdâ\200\224 thug, 78~ i Flâ\200\230lormerhCP l\
tlâ\200\231IsP Mr Koos van der Merwe, as consensus on which it is built. Meyer and Wynand B
reytenbach. :
ating Afrikaner and Zulu homelands; anÂ¢ | well as other observers, have no doubt the par-
W i 4 But the plan was scrapped in cabinet be
- : g : 5 : : 3 Â¢ government of national unity would =y pped In cabiner heeause
Vicle;r_l_;e}ssue of joint control of security Sef g;latâ\200\230l'i~\201-g ;;Pcl):/txdg t'
}llâ\200\230gegggtl;h\tyg?thpzxiz%n%l:y}{:?g â\200\230atlâ\200\230llso need all the help it
could get in copÂ¥ng with gfâ\200\230);â\200\231&ggsâ\200\230tlon led by Justice Minister
Mr Kobie 4
i A Sre R i h e countryâ\200\231s many problems.) |
Not a single party or organisation, with the- zenberlg has great grassroots support, but he
is Said oneysenibr);g'ernment R The ANC is expected to hold together in the
' possible exception of the Democratic Party, ls not held in such esteem by the caucus. ? s
hort-term, in spite of the embarrassments pro-
| now without strain. Mr Van der Merwe said: _â\200\234If we agreed to an election date it
would be vided by some of its most prominent personal-
Most immediately at risk is the CP. The â\200\234With Treurnicht gone, the CP is finished.
The like signing our own death warrant. The ANC fties.
death this week of its leader, Dr Andries Treur- party had a speed-wobble even before Dr an
d its allies could stall on the issues until after â\200\230 â\200\230
nicht, opens the way for renewed squabbles be- Treurnicht died.â\200\235 the election and t
hen the new government could At the moment the ANC/SA Communist Par-
tween the hard right, led by acting leader Dr According to Stellenbosch Universit 's Pro- d
o just as it liked. At the moment we are telling ty alliance is able to formulate policy in
terms
Ferdi Hartzenberg, and more moderate MPâ\200\231s. fessor Willie Breytenbach, the party wil
l divide our people that things are bad and we must of vague generalities. But simmering di
ffer-
The party has also been rattled by the arrest into the â\200\234sacrificial partitionistsâ
\200\235 (those pre- stick togetâ\200\231her. 1 ; ences are expected to boil up when it com
es to
of rightwingers in connection with the Hani as- pared to accept a smaller white homeland) a
nd The NPâ\200\231s problem is that its members are power as the major partner in a new gov
ern-
sassination, including a prominent party mem- those he describes as â\200\234the last of th
e grand de- pulling to both left and right. Says Professor ment, having to chart a detailed
course.
____â\200\230_____J____â\200\224â\200\224_â\200\224â\200\224__â\200\231__7 = i - e L .

Weekend Argus, April 24/25 1993 4

SPECULATION that Mr Chris Hani was a victim of a political conspiracy has gained additional ground with allegations that the assassinated SACP general-secretary was set up by the " ANC because he was organising a new terror front and that the government had full knowledge of these activities. It is being claimed Mr Hani played a double role in the last few months. In public he preached peace. Behind the scenes he was the prime mover in setting up a secret organisation condemned by ANC moderates which would claim credit for continued MK atrocities. Mrs Winnie Mandela, according to the London Sunday Times, blamed senior members of the ANC for plotting his death. And Mr Schalk Pienaar, the CP member for Potgietersrus, has accused the government of knowing all about Mr Hani's efforts. He told Weekend Argus that his information, derived from security

echelons, showed that Mr Hani had been involved in recent months in setting up the so-called SA People's Party and that he was training forces which he hoped would take over the country by violence.

But Mr Chris Hani's secret activities could have made him a target for death planned by ANC moderates.

JOHN MacLENNAN
Weekend Argus Political Staff

Mr Pienaar said the SAPP

consisted of Apla and disaffected MK members. One of its major tasks would be to claim credit for continuing MK violence once Apla which has taken responsibility

for MK terror incidents in the past â\200\224 is forced to opt for peace because of the PACâ\200\231s commitment to peace at the negotiations. ' :

SAPPâ\200\231s short term aim â\200\224 accomplished some eight months ago â\200\224 was the establishment of a united MK/Apla army under communist control which would operate from â\200\234north of the Limpopoâ\200\235 as well as Transkei, according to Mr Pienaar. . 3

â\200\234MK is locked into the peace accords through the ANC, but MK has the muscle. Under Mr Hani it therefore continued with its terror campaign while Apla took credit.

â\200\234Now there is the possibility that the PAC might suspend violence. But the terror will continue, this time with the new SAPP taking credit.

â\200\234According to my informa-

CIPower STRUGGLE: Mrs Winnie Mandela claims

ANC moderates planned Mr Chris Haniâ\200\231s death.

tion â\200\224 and I regard it as absolutely trustworthy â\200\224 MK was responsible for the atrocities at both King Williamâ\200\231s Town and Queenstown.â\200\235

He notes that after the Eikenhof shootings Apla claimed responsibility, but MK members were arrested. â\200\234This supports my contention

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that Apla is claiming credit for deeds performed by MK.â\200\235

In the same way Apla claimed responsibility for a

blast in Randfontein, which Â«

was later found to have been caused by a gas leak.

He also subscribes to the theory that Mr Hani was assassinated because of his popularity and because, as head of the new wing, he was be-

coming too much of a loose cannon for ANC moderates.

Many SAPP cadres, he charges, have already received intensive training in urban terror in Ethiopia and Syria and previously served under Mr Hani. He also blames the organisation for smuggling weapons into South Africa.

. Mr Pienaar said it was commonly known that MK was unhappy with the ANC

. leadership and that Mr Hani

was intensely involved in MK and APLA co-operation. J

Mrs Mandela has already alleged that a power struggle for control of the ANC lies behind the assassination. According to the London Sunday Times she told confidantes she suspected moderates within the ANC conspired with the government to eliminate Mr Hani, who was favoured to succeed Nelson Mandela.

Hani's terror move-

The paper said she named two senior ANC officials as the men she believes were involved in the conspiracy. According to her details of Mr Hani's movements, including critical information about when his bodyguards would be absent, were passed to government security agents, who in turn made this known

to the man accused of carrying out the assassination.

This scenario has been slammed as preposterous by the ANC, and Mr Lester Fuchs (DP, Hillbrow) has said she is abusing Mr Hani's death to brand her opponents, who are moderates within the ANC, as murderers.

He called on the ANC to summon its courage and expel Mrs Mandela from the ANC once and for all

â\200\234Anything less will show
the ANC up as a rag-tag or-

â\200\234ganisation which cannot even
control and discipline its own
supporters and members, let
alone the country.â\200\235

President De Klerk, in re-
ly to Mr Pienaar, said an al-
liance between MK, PAC and

Apla â\200\224 with or without SACP
involvement â\200\224 was a poten-
tial threat which received on-
going security attention, but
he advised Mr Pienaar not to
confuse untested information
with intelligence.

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Pictures: OBED ZILWA, Weekend Argus.

O ALERT: Members of Umkhonto we Sizwe stand Tambo g

alert near the coffin of Mr Malungisa â\200\234Khayaâ\200\235 Simane,]

who was allegedly ambushed and shot dead by police defender ()f
near his home in Nyanga on Good Friday. AN C uni ty

VUYO BAVUMA
Weekend Argus Reporter

OLIVER Tambo defended uni-
ty within the African National
Congress and believed there
was a place in the movement
for everyone including â\200\234old and
young, Christians and Commu-
nistsâ\200\235.

Professor Albie Sachs, a
member of the ANC constitu-
tional committee, was paying
tribute to Mr Tambo during the
funeral of Umkhonto we Sizwe
(MK) member Mr Malungisa
â\200\234Khayaâ\200\235 Simane, who was al-
legedly ambushed and shot
dead by masked policemen
near his home in Nyanga on
Good Friday.

Professor Sachs said Mr
Tambo, 75, who died of a
stroke early yesterday, was a
man of peace.

â\200\234â\200\234He listened to everybody.
He made us feel welcome with-
in the ANC.â\200\235

South African Communist
Party executive member Ms
Zou Kota told the 600 people at
the funeral at Nyanga Stadium
it was time for people to de-
fend themselves.

â\200\234The MK cadres are defence-

: less. Our leaders are also de-
LJON THE MARCH: Members of the ANC'â\200\231s military fenceless. We should not see
Wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, march during the funeral ~the death of Khaya as just an-
of Xheir colleague, Mr Malungisa â\200\234Khayaâ\200\235 Simane, at Â°ther incident, but sh
ould use it

; Â¢
Nyanga Stadium yesterday. . et b oot

