

# Cape Times

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## The murder of Mr Chris Hani

**S**OUTH Africa's hopes of a just and peaceful future were wrenched away from its law-abiding citizens at the weekend and placed at risk by a single, calculated act of murder.

It is still too early to say what impact the assassination of Mr Chris Hani will have on the country's political life, and the most that can be hoped for is that the broad public mood of shock and abhorrence at the cold-blooded killing will reinforce calls for calm by political leaders and sufficiently dampen down the anger and hurt of Mr Hani's followers to carry us through the next few days. Already there are reports of unrest.

One did not have to agree with Mr Hani's politics in order to recognise his courage and commitment. His violent death is a national tragedy, and news of it rightly sent a jolt through all levels of South African life.

If that sense of shock can be sustained without a backlash in the townships, we may yet pray that his murder ultimately will have a sobering effect on our society as did the assassination of Dr Martin Luther King in the United States. But for that to be the case, much will depend on the speed and thoroughness of the police investigation into Mr Hani's death, and whether the public can be satisfied that this time, at least, all the culprits will be brought to book.

Mr Nelson Mandela, quite rightly, has questioned the police presumption that the killer acted on his own and from individual motives. Given the history of dirty tricks operations in this country, that is by no means a reasonable assumption at this early stage. Besides, there are already a number of disturbing questions that demand answers, and no doubt more will occur.

Is it merely ironical coincidence, or is it deeply sinister that Mr Hani was gunned down at the very time that he threw his considerable influence unequivocally and courageously behind the drive for peace — at political risk to himself? Saturday was by no means the first time that dreadful violence overtook the peace process just as it seemed on the verge of breakthrough.

And is it more coincidence that the killer was able to strike at one of the only times — according to claims — that Mr Hani was without a bodyguard? Could one man have mounted sufficient surveillance be there and ready at exactly the right moment?

In the circumstances it is not unreasonable for the African National Congress to want international participation in the police investigation. Such involvement would help allay any fears — and later accusations — of a cover-up.

Whatever the motive, the killer or killers of Mr Hani have dealt a madman's blow to the political welfare of South Africa. Among the leadership figures of the ANC and South African Communist Party, Mr Hani was probably the most effective in rallying the militant township youth who are deeply suspicious of older leaders and the way the negotiations are going. With him gone, the peace process has lost a powerful moderating factor among a notoriously unstable section of the political community.

Moreover, the manner of Mr Hani's death at the hands of a white man almost certainly means that his cloak is likely to fall on less moderate, more radical shoulders.

Only madmen could consider that such an act could be a gain for South Africa at this moment in our history.



# Hani — intellect with a vital role <sup>R</sup>

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

WHENEVER Mr Chris Hani was in the field as an uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) guerilla he carried a pocket edition of the collected works of Shakespeare in his rucksack and he read from it in the field.

It was a gesture that said much about the man who was tragically assassinated outside his Boksburg home on Saturday — an intellectual and a classicist but at the same time an activist and a brave soldier.

But he was more than that. He had a remarkable memory, a great sense of humour and although he was a committed socialist, Mr Hani was also a pragmatic figure who played a key role in keeping the ANC/SA Communist Party/Cosatu alliance locked into negotiations.

He also possessed the priceless political asset of charisma and presence.

These qualities made him a

key figure in the transitional process. He had credibility among the black masses, particularly among the young and the poor.

With at least half of the South African electorate under the age of 30 and over half the voters living in the rural areas, Mr Hani would have been a vital figure in the ANC alliance's election campaign.

He also had considerable legitimacy within the SACP, a relatively small but very active and often militant group whose support for the negotiations process could be crucial — and potentially disruptive if alienated.

Mr Hani did, of course, have his political enemies, particularly among right-wingers and those still obsessed with anti-communist phobia.

Indeed, I couldn't help wondering after being told of his murder whether his brazen sporting of a cap marked "re-

bel" on television last weekend did not spark off the kind of maniacal reaction that led to his death. It was the sort of defiance that would have annoyed his enemies.

It was, however, typical of Mr Hani, who surprised many observers when he agreed to become secretary-general of the SACP when Mr Joe Slovo retired from the position in December 1991.

He repeatedly said he was not interested in any position in the cabinet and that he saw his role as representing the interests of the working class. This made sense of his decision to accept the position in the party, rather than retain his position in the ANC leadership.

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

The first time I had direct contact with him was at a press

conference in the ANC's Western Cape headquarters. We both arrived on time, but it took a while for the press conference to get going. While we chatted, he commented in detail about a book I had written some years previously with Richard Wicksteed on the Transkei and then said he had grown up in the Cofimvaba area of Transkei, in a village near the home of the homeland's one-time dictator Chief Kaiser Matanzima, with whom the Hani family had conflicted.

His recollection of the book and events in the Transkei showed deep knowledge of the situation there although he had been exiled at the time. His murder, however, will be felt far more than his loss to journalists. Mr Hani could have played a crucial role in the difficult transition process in South Africa and his loss will indeed be felt by the whole country.



# 'Ground-up' democracy needed

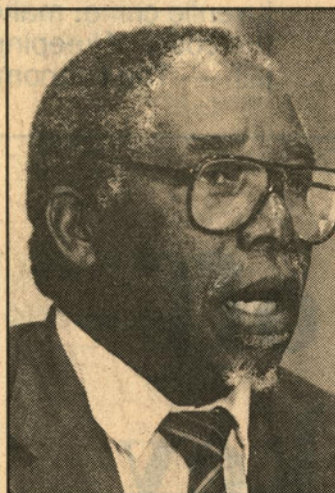
Once again the debate on the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal (Opinion, March 23) does not focus on its real characteristics but relies on tendentious denigration.

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has clearly stated that the issue of federalism must be resolved before fully fledged negotiations may continue.

We demanded that democratic ground-up democracy building processes such as the adoption of our constitution be acknowledged within the process of negotiations at central level, and that our constitution be tested through a popular referendum.

Professor Mureinik paraphrases a few sections from our constitution, distorting their meaning and concealing those other related provisions which are destructive of his case.

He refers to the United States but he fails to note that in that country there are state militias which amount to over 40 per cent of the US armed forces and that the position of the federal armed forces in the member states is regulated by the institutional praxis of that country with modalities similar to those provided for in our constitution.



Frank Mdlalose . . . concerned that constitutional debate is ignoring issues.

The professor also fails to acknowledge that a federation relies on a system of split sovereignty. Contrary to what he writes, our state constitution would not prevent the federal system from applying and judging the validity of its laws, and mechanisms will need to be provided in the federal constitution of South Africa to co-ordinate judicial activities at state and federal levels.

A comprehensive assessment of our constitution in the absence of a federal constitution for South Africa opens up the possibility of unjustified distortions about the nature of our constitution. In fact, the federal constitution is essential and complementary to ours.

Even in the absence of the federal constitution, it is clear from the powers of the central federal legislature listed in Article 67 of the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal that all talk of "separate statehood" is ridiculous. The constitution provides for vast federal powers, which some say exceed those provided for in the United States constitution.

In this respect we are surprised that the professor mentioned the provision related to the central bank, when the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal recognises to the federal government the almost totality of powers related to monetary and credit policies.

Within the framework of monetary, credit and banking provisions established by the federal government our state will benefit from the central bank which will assist our banking industry so as to encourage the establishment of new busin-

esses in our region and to promote business development for existing businesses.

The constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal makes clear choices protecting private enterprise, free market economy and promoting privatisation and limiting the direct involvement of government in economic operations.

This "economic constitution" is accompanied by the commitment of the state to help the least advantaged, promote equal access to opportunities and assist the victims of apartheid, thereby establishing a social, not a socialist, state on the model of the European constitutions adopted after World War 2.

The advantage of a federal system is that if other states pursue the route of centralised socialist economies based on government parastatals and redistribution of property and wealth, they can do so. But this is not the route that KwaZulu/Natal has chosen for itself and for its future generations. Should this change the constitution can be amended.

(Dr) F T Mdlalose  
national chairman, Inkatha  
Freedom Party  
Ulundi



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The Star W

## Amazing that ANC again blames others

It amazes me that senior officials of the ANC are, once again, trying to blame other influences besides themselves for the countrywide riots.

I, like many other white South Africans, am horrified and disgusted with the murder of Mr Chris Hani.

It amazes me though that, when a mother and two innocent children were slaughtered the previous week near Eikenhof, whites did not take to the streets in their thousands and march through Soweto and other townships wreaking havoc, damaging property and harming innocent people.

Hundreds who took part in the march for Chris Hani used this sad occasion as an excuse to loot, plunder and, generally, cause as much harm and damage as they possibly could.

The ANC must be fully aware that they have no control over their followers who, despite calls for peace from all quarters, still went on the rampage.

What is even more astounding is the casual attitude of ANC officials with regard to this disgusting behaviour. According to Mr Jan van Eck the crowds "were angry". (There

were thousands of people who "were angry" about the Eikenhof murders.)

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa stated that "quite a number of unruly people" had got out of hand. That must be the understatement of the century. Maybe he would explain what he thinks constitutes "disgusting and savage" behaviour.

Mr Carl Niehaus accused the police of "unprovoked brutality". What would anyone do when faced with such a savage mob?

There is no justification for the disgusting behaviour that took place on an occasion when decorum, dignity and respect should have been shown.

Surely the thought uppermost in the minds of most people when seeing TV coverage of the chaos of that day, must have been what on earth does this nation (both black and white) have to look forward to when "a newly elected government" has no power to control its followers and, even worse, when those "followers" have no inclination or power to control themselves?

L Kollmorgen

Rivonia,  
Sandton



# Govt, security, media 'partly responsible'

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — The South African government, security forces and media bore partial responsibility for SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani's death because they had publicly "vilified" him, former Rivonia trialist Mr Dennis Goldberg said here.

"He was depicted as the enemy of democracy ... they created an atmosphere in which anyone who killed Chris Hani would be treated as a hero by the establishment," he told the BBC's Radio Four yesterday.

Mr Goldberg, now living in London, said it was "crazy" to label a man who had played a leading role in negotiations as the "enemy".

He called for a team of international police experts to probe the assassination and subsequent memorial service killings — because the SAP were "part of the problem".

Former Times Media Limited London Bureau Chief Mr Stanley Uys said on the same programme he did not believe the assassination was "the random thrashing about of a lot of hairy-backs, as they are called".

"This was a very calculated move by those wanting to derail the negotiation process — not the work of a random fanatic," he said.

He said the Soweto shootings would result in "the same old story of who started it".

Many respected inquiries had shown that the SAP were "simply not able to handle riot situations" and acted provocatively.

Mr Goldberg said President F W de Klerk should set a "fixed date" for

## 'Fragility underlined'

JOHANNESBURG. — The British Anti-Apartheid Movement said the assassination of SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani underlined the fragility of the negotiating process.

AAM secretary Mr Mike Terry said in a statement from London the assassination also underlined the threat that political violence posed to the fabric of South African society.

The assassination must convince all South Africans of the need for immediate progress towards a genuine end to apartheid and a democratic future for which Mr Hani had given his life. — Sapa

non-racial elections.

While in London less than two months ago, Mr Hani laughed off journalists' suggestions that his personal safety might be at risk.

He said the quickest way to get rid of the present government was to "sleep in the same bed with them".

Asked by this reporter how he was addressing the misgivings of tens of thousands of militant township youths, Mr Hani replied: "It is the duty of the SACP and the ANC leadership to address and debate this with them."

"When we speak of compromise the question we must ask ourselves is: Is it (what we are doing) in the best interests of democracy?"

The British government yesterday condemned the "brutal" killing of Mr Hani, labelling it a "senseless act of violence" at a time when constitutional negotiations, which Mr Hani supported, had just resumed.

Britain's ambassador to South Africa, Sir Anthony Reeve, immediately dispatched letters of condolence to Mr Hani's family and to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Yesterday the assassination and memorial service killings in Soweto were the main news items in the British media.

The assassination is expected to slow investment in South Africa and have a dramatic impact on tourism.

Spokesmen for the United Kingdom/South African Business Association and Satour could not be contacted for comment by late yesterday.



Soweto sees worst of SA violence  
in wake of Hani assassination

# Mandela plea for calm falls on deaf ears

OBSCENE photographs of Chris Hani's blood-drenched, bullet-smashed body were splattered across the front pages of yesterday's South African newspapers in dramatic contrast to the editorials inside, which appealed piously for a restrained popular response to the tragedy.

Some sectors of the community appear to have responded more to the pictures than to the words. In incidents directly responding to the assassination of the ANC and Communist Party leader, police opened fire on angry crowds in two squatter camps near Johannesburg, killing, according to conflicting reports, between one and five people.

In Tembisa township, also near Johannesburg, a police sergeant was shot dead in his vehicle and, in a chilling reminder of an incident two weeks ago in which a mother and two children were killed, gunmen twice opened fire on white motorists — though, in these instances, no one was hurt.

Nelson Mandela, in a televised address to an anxious nation on Saturday, had appealed "with all the authority at my command ... to all our people to remain calm and honour the memory of Chris Hani by remaining a disciplined force for peace".

At Chicken Farm squatter camp, in Soweto, where reporters saw the dead body of one man, Winnie Mandela led a group gathered to honour Hani in shouts of "murderers" directed at the police.

The police version of what happened in Chicken Farm, which President F W de Klerk repeated in an interview yesterday on BBC radio, was that police on the scene had been shot at by the demonstrators and had returned fire. The police, who at first said the only victim had been a woman wounded in the hand, later confirmed a death. Winnie Mandela was reported to have intervened to prevent a number of people from being driven off in a police van.

Numerous other clashes between ANC supporters and police were reported in other parts of the country, but none of them proved fatal. Appeals for calm from Mr Mandela and President de Klerk appeared to have prevented disruption on an even wider scale. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, for example, had warned on Saturday that the country could go up in flames.

JOHN CARLIN  
in Johannesburg

The real test will come on Wednesday, classified yesterday by the ANC secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, as a national day of mourning, when demonstrations and strikes are expected nationwide. A date, he said, had not yet been set for Hani's funeral, an occasion also certain to stretch the ANC's capacity to restrain the emotions of its more belligerent followers.

One factor working in favour of the ANC leadership, who fear delays in the negotiations process, was the unusual success of the South African police in apprehending the chief suspect within half an hour of the crime on Saturday morning.

The police indicated yesterday that they were confident Janusz Jakob Wallus, a fiercely anti-Communist Polish émigré, was the man who fired the four bullets that killed Hani, general-secretary of the South African Communist Party and former chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

A police spokesman, Brigadier Frans Malherbe, said ballistic tests on firearms confiscated from Mr Wallus, who is believed to have links with far-right political groups, had shown conclusively that one of his weapons had fired the fatal shots. The police also confirmed that residue tests on Mr Wallus's hands had indicated he had used a gun on Saturday morning.

ANC officials said yesterday, however, that, contrary to police reports, they suspected more than one person had been involved in the assassination plot.

Mr Mandela said at yesterday's press conference the police had already failed on one score. He revealed the ANC's deputy president, Walter Sisulu, had written last year to the Minister of Law and Order, Hennis Kriel, asking that special protection be afforded Hani, who was known to be high on the far right's death lists. No such assistance was provided.

It also emerged that no ANC official, not even Mr Mandela, received any special protection on a regular basis from the police — although, as the Communist Party chairman, Joe Slovo, noted, they did receive "special police surveillance".

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# Hani's assassination leaves ANC



Hani: returned from exile to exalted role

FROM R. W. JOHNSON  
IN JOHANNESBURG

DRIVING through the Transkei in 1990 in the week after Nelson Mandela was released, I was struck by the way young African National Congress militants in the Xhosa heartland insisted that their real hero was not Mr Mandela but Chris Hani. Returning from exile, Hani moved smartly to consolidate this base, spending at least as much time building support in the rural Transkei as in the black townships and squatter camps of South Africa.

There was no mistaking his success — by July 1991 he was elected to the ANC national executive with more votes than any other candidate. Moreover, not only was he the guaranteed crowd-puller but the intensity of support among younger militants for "Comrade Chris" was qualitatively different from any other ANC leader. Given that Xhosa provide the most solid support of all

## ANALYSIS

■ The killer's bullet has silenced more than a voice of South Africa's rising generation. It has struck a blow at the negotiating process favoured by Chris Hani

for the ANC, Hani's solid Xhosa rural base also gave a quite unrivalled dimension to his popular following.

The fact that Hani was thus a redoubtable popular alternative — or successor — to Mr Mandela, gave a special leverage to the South African Communist Party which Hani headed. Non-communist ANC members might mutter about the need to loosen the movement's links with the communists, but nobody could really imagine running the ANC without, let alone against, Hani. Hani was the movement's Black Prince — brilliant, idealistic, dashing, the figure who embodied the hopes and passions of the rising younger generation. His

death will thus have complex repercussions for both the ANC and its communist partner. The veteran communist party boss, Joe Slovo, who eased Hani into the position he used to occupy, faces a particularly difficult problem. Mr Slovo has continued to do most of the ideological and strategic thinking for the party and he will want a successor to Hani who will allow this curious relationship to continue. The trouble is that many of the leading communist cadres are either white (Ronnie Kasrils, Albie Sachs, Jeremy Cronin) or Indian (Mac Maharaj, Pravin Gordhan, Aziz Pahad) and thus implicitly disqualified. The most

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### with difficult void to fill

obvious black alternatives — Sidney Mafumadi from the trade unions, Tokyo Sexwale, the ANC boss of the Reef townships, and the Umkhonto guerrilla boss, Siphiwe Nyanda, are essentially second ranked figures. None has Hani's high intelligence, articulacy, or a fraction of his popular following. In that sense, the assassin who murdered Hani has struck a shrewd blow, from which the communist party will find it difficult, if not impossible, to recover.

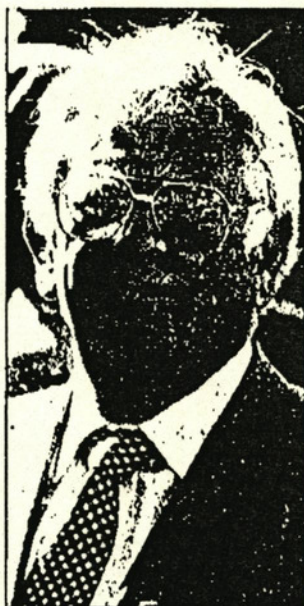
Within the ANC, the triumvirate of younger leaders awaiting succession to Mr Mandela is now reduced to two: Thabo Mbeki and Cyril Ramaphosa. But there is clearly an opening for someone to play the role of people's tribune for the poor and the disadvantaged. There will be many candidates, notably Peter Mokaba, the ANC Youth League leader, and Winnie Mandela.

A problem for Mr Slovo and for Mr Mandela is that virtually all the pretenders to the now vacant role of

popular tribune will, like Mr Mokaba and Mrs Mandela, be hostile to the cause of peaceful negotiation and will prefer the resumption of armed struggle.

Hani had latterly played a crucial role in harnessing his following among radicals to the cause of negotiation, and even of power-sharing with President de Klerk. This was not an evolution easily achieved, and quite apart from coping with the inevitable explosions of bitterness that Hani's death will provoke, Mr Slovo and Mr Mandela must now find fresh ways and means of binding their radical followers behind the cause of negotiation. Hani's assassination has shocked the country and again revealed the endless potential for reprisal and counter-reprisal. In that sense it has emphasised the need for peaceful negotiation more than ever.

R. W. Johnson is a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford



Slovo: faces problem of choosing successor



# Mandela says death threats should have been heeded

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN JOHANNESBURG

NELSON Mandela, president of the African National Congress, yesterday reproached Hermus Kriel, the South African law and order minister, for failing to protect Chris Hani, the Communist leader assassinated in his front drive on Saturday.

Mr Mandela said that his deputy, Walter Sisulu, had written to Mr Kriel pointing out that Hani had been threatened with death many times.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, said after Mr Sisulu's letter that "no positive response" had been received from the minister. Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC leaders did not want round-the-clock protection, but at least they wanted to be sure that cars behaving suspiciously near their homes would not go unchallenged.

ANC leaders yesterday said that several attempts had been made on Hani's life since his return to South Africa. Eighteen months ago his bodyguard was shot at in Soweto, and then pursued by a car. A further attempt was made outside the Johannesburg headquarters of the South Africa Communist Party two months ago. Hani was also thought to be a target of the Ciskei armed forces when he led a protest march to the Ciskei capital last September. During the rally 28 people were shot dead.

Police yesterday named a white man being questioned about Hani's killing as Janusz Walus, 40, who emigrated here from Poland in 1981. He was described as having "known connections" with the far-right Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB). He was reported by those who knew him to be "violently anti-communist".

When he was arrested he had two pistols with him, a Luger and a 9mm Z88. Yesterday police said that ballistic

tests on one of the weapons showed it had fired the shots that killed Hani. They confirmed that tests on his hands showed he had fired a weapon on Saturday morning.

Mr Walus was picked up because of a fast reaction from one of Hani's neighbours. Retha Harmse, 36, was going shopping when she saw a red car parked behind Hani's in his drive. "I saw the red car's door open and a tall, thin, blond man get out. He walked to the front of the open door and I saw him lift a gun. Mr Hani had just got out of his car. The blond man pulled the trigger twice.

"I stopped the car and watched the blond man walk over to Mr Hani as he lay between the garage door and his car. He calmly lifted the gun and at almost point-blank range pulled the trigger twice," she said.

"I saw the blond man get into his car, and begin reversing out of the driveway... I don't know what possessed me, but I reversed my car towards him... All I did was to look for the registration number," Mrs Harmse said.

"As the car got closer I saw it. I kept repeating it aloud so that I would not forget it." Mrs Harmse hurried home and rang the police. The red car was picked up by police within five minutes of an alert being issued.

Yesterday Peter Hain, the Labour MP for Neath and anti-apartheid campaigner, said: "The assassination of such an able and widely respected figure is a catastrophe. President de Klerk must root out white terrorists inside and outside the security forces." Mr Hain added that Hani had planned to meet politicians in Britain during a private visit next month.

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# Violence grips Cape townships

Staff Reporter

CARS were stoned, a major road was closed and homes and vehicles were set alight as violence gripped Peninsula townships and squatter camps following the assassination of Mr Chris Hani on Saturday.

The Old Paarl Road was closed to traffic yesterday when residents of Wallacedene and Bloekombos squatter camps set up burning barricades and stoned motorists on the road between Botfontein and Bottelary.

Two policemen were rushed to Tygerberg Hospital at noon

yesterday after a petrol bomb was thrown into a police vehicle at Bloekombos squatter camp.

Police spokesman Lieutenant John Sterrenberg said three policemen and a woman colleague had been investigating a complaint that a farm road was blocked with burning logs and tyres at the time.

Constable S Lesch had been discharged after treatment for first-degree burns to his face. Constable HJ Kotze had been admitted with second-degree burns to his face, hands and left arm.

Lt Sterrenberg said a delivery truck had been gutted near Bottelary yesterday when a group of people ordered the driver, Mr Phunzile Gwadelala, out before hurling a petrol bomb into the cab.

At least eight shacks and five vehicles had been torched in Khayelitsha and Crossroads. Two private and two police vehicles had been damaged by stone throwers.

He said police had received no reports of injuries to members of the public.

Numerous burning barricades had been set up in

Khayelitsha, forcing the closure of Spine Road, Bonga Drive and Zola Budd Drive for at least an hour on Saturday.

Police had dispersed groups of people with teargas and rubber pellets.

Lt Sterrenberg said that large groups of people marched through Rondebosch and Mowbray on Saturday and yesterday.

During the marches, several vehicles had been stoned in Main Road, and the intersection of Liesbeeck Parkway and Durban Road had been blocked off with refuse.



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# MK man shot dead in Nyanga East ✓

Staff Reporters

AN MK member was shot dead in Nyanga East on Good Friday after he was said to have opened fire on a group of municipal policemen who were on foot patrol, a police spokesman said yesterday.

Lieutenant John Sterrenberg said Mr Malungisa Goodman Simane, 33, of Mau Mau, was shot dead when the policemen returned his fire.

Mr Simane, whose MK name was "Khaya", used to work at the ANC office in Woodstock. He received a firearm licence about two weeks ago.

The ANC's Mr Toto Botha gave a version of the incident that differed markedly from that of the police.

He told a rally in the Zolani Centre yesterday that Mr Simane had been walking to the shop with a nephew and a friend about 9pm. Someone had

asked him to take something, and he had then been shot "in the jaw and under his nose".

Mr Simane had tried to go home, but had been followed and "finished off".

His friends, who had gone to the police station shortly afterwards, had reported seeing four balaclava-clad policemen there.

Police at the station had apparently said then that he had been shot after he refused to identify himself.

Lt Sterrenberg said later that Mr Simane and a woman were walking ahead of the policemen when one of them heard a "weapon being cocked".

One of the policemen had identified himself as a policeman to Mr Simane and the woman. Mr Simane had spun round and opened fire.

Police had returned fire, hitting Mr Simane twice.