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NEW POLITICAL FORCE FORMED IN SOUTH AFRICA

Events following the death of SA Communist Party general secretary, Chris Hani, one of the two potential successors to African National Congress president, Nelson Mandela, on April 10 (see *Roca Report* no 52), have dramatically changed the political scene in South Africa. Andries Treurnicht, who had been the leader of the Conservative Party, official opposition in the (White) House of Assembly, passed away on April 22 while ANC chairman, and for many years its president, Oliver Tambo, died two days later.

Four retired generals agreed to try to unite the splintered Afrikaner rightwing at a meeting on April 21. As a result of their efforts, the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) was formed. It could present the ANC with its strongest opposition since the forming of the Concerned South Africans Group (*Roca Report* no 46) in October 1992.

GENERALS COME TO THE FORE

The "Committee of Generals" was formed in Pretoria on April 21 at a meeting attended by more than 100 representatives of a number of Afrikaner organisations. The committee consists of General Constand Viljoen, former chief of the SA Defence Force; Lieutenant General Cobus Visser, former chief of the Criminal Investigation Department; Lieutenant General Koos Bischoff, recently retired as army chief of operations and Major General Tienie Groenewald, former chief director of military intelligence.

Known as a "soldier's general", Gen Viljoen, 59, commanded considerable respect from those serving under him. He was often found in the frontline during the Angolan conflict and retired in 1985. In March, Gen Bischoff was appointed chairman of the Conservative Party's Freedom Council and charged with heading up the CP's mobilisation effort. Gen Groenewald is a leading figure in the Volkseenheidkomitee (Unity Committee), a member of Cosag, which is campaigning for an Afrikaner homeland covering large parts of the Transvaal and northern Free State where Afrikaners are in the majority. It would consist of 16 percent of South Africa's area or less.

The three aims of the Committee of Generals are to unite the fragmented Right, maximise pressure for a volkstaat at the negotiating table and bolster Cosag at multi-party talks. Gen Groenewald said in an interview in *The Star* (6/5/93). Cosag rests on four ethnic pillars, Afrikaners, Zulus, Tswanas and Xhosas. "We are now busy strengthening the Afrikaner pillar." He sketched a three-phase plan of action:

- Political pressure for the establishment of a system of nation states.
- Passive resistance, including mass action, boycotts and strikes.
- And, as a last resort, secession from South Africa by an Afrikaner state.

His options excluded armed force although this may be considered if the constitutional route is blocked.

He stressed that the role of the Committee of Generals was to devise a plan of action to ensure that the different right-wing parties worked together towards their common goal of an Afrikaner state. In no way did the generals plan to usurp the role of the politicians. There can be no elections until there is agreement on the form of state for a future South Africa and the boundaries of its regions, insisted the general.

"Certain groups think that because of my background, I will lead a fight," Gen Viljoen said in an interview in *The Weekly Mail* (14/5/93). "I am not available at the moment for that role." **Armed conflict only becomes a factor "if the Afrikaner is neglected and we are not allowed the time or opportunity to raise our voices."** He believed things went wrong after the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes, when the government signed the Peace Accord which he described as "a very flimsy, cosmetic security arrangement with no teeth". "I think we've reached the stage of a runaway revolution. I'm referring to the inability of the ANC and SACP to control the mass action which they started." This is forcing the negotiators to move quickly to strike a deal which will exclude the rightwing demands for self-determination. This is the reason he calls for negotiations to be suspended until stability has been reached. "We need time to negotiate so that we can survive through negotiation rather than through military means."

MEDIA REACTION

The immediate reaction of the media was to portray the generals as secretive plotters bent on promoting a military solution. They were accused of trying to form a "White People's Army". However, when it became clear from their speeches that far from being militant warmongers from the lunatic fringe, they presented the concerned face of reason, the media abruptly changed tactics. An attempt was made to drive a wedge between the generals and their followers. They were presented as moderates, out of step with those they were trying to lead. They wanted negotiations in contrast to their followers who wanted violence. They even believe that Coloureds are also Afrikaners and are in favour of extending to Blacks the means of expressing their political aspirations. One paper

went as far as to speculate that Gen Viljoen was planted by the National Intelligence Service to trick the right-wing into accepting a negotiated settlement! Then followed predictions that the AVF would be short-lived and would split even before its formal founding meeting on May 19.

MASS RALLY BY FARMERS

Thousands of farmers vented their fury over the political situation in South Africa at a mass rally in Potchefstroom on May 6, with fiery speeches calling for Afrikaner unity, mobilisation and, if necessary, armed conflict. The crowd, estimated at 15 000 by the organisers and 17 000 by the police, loudly voiced their rejection of current multi-party negotiations, a possible ANC government and the "new South Africa". They warned they would:

- take up arms if another farmer were murdered, as they would regard this as a declaration of war;
- not tolerate an ANC government;
- forcibly resist the proposed occupation of White schools;
- join their local commandos but would immediately withdraw if the ANC controlled the security forces.

Guest of honour, Gen Viljoen, received a thunderous standing ovation when he said the only way to prevent the continuous deterioration of the security situation was to call off negotiations and "go back to the drawing board and the DF Malan agreement" to ensure that those responsible for terrorist armies take control of them. He was one of the many speakers who called for unity. The only government representative at the rally, Deputy Agricultural Minister, Tobie Meyer, was shouted down. Other ministers declined invitations to attend.

The rally, which was organised by the Free State and Transvaal Agricultural Unions (TAU) expressed great concern at the number of farmers being murdered and by calls by the ANC Youth League leader to "kill the Boer, kill the farmer". "Neither the SA Police nor the ANC have any control any longer," said TAU head, Dries Bruwer, before the rally. "The farmers are the angriest they have ever been and war seems to be the only way to save their land. In certain Transvaal farming areas, we already have platoons of men who protect their farms."

The government's reaction to the rally was to resort to its standard tactics of buying off the farmers with tax payers' money. Law and Order Minister, Hernus Kriel, announced on May 10 that the government would grant millions of Rands to assist farmers with security, including radio communications, burglar alarms and fencing. The following day the Minister of Agriculture announced that wool farmers would be relieved of a R166 million debt.

Understandably, security was a major concern of the farmers. There were 369 attacks on elderly people on farms in 1992, 67 in the Eastern Transvaal alone and 38 up to early May with nine murder cases occurring since Hani's death on April 10. Two farmers, aged 70 and 24 were murdered, one was stabbed with a pair of shears and the other when his car was riddled with AK-47 fire, in separate incidents on April 25. A neighbour of the younger man said that two days earlier, a group of men ran through his piggery chanting "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer". A farmer was shot dead with an AK-47 and a worker wounded on April 26. A farmer's wife was shot dead and, in a separate incident, a farmer was stabbed in the neck and robbed, both on April 28. On May 10 an Eastern Cape farmer, 79, was stabbed to death and his 80 year old sister tied up. His car was found burnt out 40kms away. The next day, a couple, aged 83 and 79, were machine-gunned in their car 500 meters from their farm house. Nothing was stolen. Between May 11 and 14, four members of the Eastern Transvaal farming community were murdered in three separate attacks. "I'm Apla ... One bullet, one Boer", shouted an armed killer as he plunged a knife for the third time into Cornelius Schoeman as he lay tied up next to his wife and baby son on May 5, in Alberton.

In view of the continuing murders, the TAU warned farmers on May 13 that in rural areas the revolution had reached its advanced second stage of terrorism and was fast approaching a third stage, namely that of conventional warfare. It therefore gave orders to the security committees of district unions to take immediate action to patrol farms and roads and set up road-blocks where possible. It also called on the government to immediately reinstate the death penalty, enforce strict curfew measures and stop negotiating with terrorist organisations until such time as the security situation was brought under control.

THE AFRIKANER VOLKSFRONT

The Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) was formed in Pretoria on May 7, the day after the farmers' rally, under the leadership of the Committee of Generals. Its aim is to ensure the self-determination of all nations in South Africa who wished for it. The meeting was attended by, among others, the leaders of the CP, Afrikaner Volksunie, HNP, Boere Vryheidsbeweging, Afrikaner Vryheidstigting, the Unity Committee and the Mine Workers' Union. The AWB subsequently announced that it would also join. The meeting was hailed as "the start of unity among the Afrikaner against a common enemy". It would coordinate action rejecting the negotiation process insofar as it was aimed at robbing the Afrikaner of his freedom and self-determination.

Gen Viljoen stressed that because the military was traditionally neutral politically, they were "more acceptable in the honest broker role". He also stressed that the organisation would be of service to Blacks who were being subjected to Communist indoctrination. A 17-member working committee representing most of the groups attending the meeting, as well as the four generals, was formed.

"We regard it (the AVF) as an organisation which unites Afrikaners opposed to, or who abandoned, the National

Party, and may become the main representative of the folk in this time of crisis," editorialised *The Citizen* (8/5/93). "Partly this is the result of the reforms themselves, but an important reason is that the NP and government have not taken their followers with them ... since everything has been done with a haste that at times has been breathtaking." If the government presses on regardless, "it may find itself up against a growing movement on the Right, with the possibility of armed resistance if the Right's demands are not addressed. ... The alternative (to a negotiated settlement acceptable to all reasonable people) - resistance from the White Right, even open rebellion - fills us with dread, since that will be the road to civil war and disaster and must be avoided at all costs."

Both the ANC and the National Party reacted strongly to the formation of the AVF. "The greatest threat to South Africa ... is from the Right-wing," Mandela said on May 4, in his reaction. One of the first steps of a government of national unity would be to devise a strategy to deal with right-wing threats. The installation of credible government was the only way to defuse violence. State President FW de Klerk issued an unusually blunt warning to extremists on the right and the left on May 8, in apparent reaction to the formation of the AVF. He would use the full might of the state to prevent them plunging the country into a Bosnian-like civil war. He reiterated that the only solution to South Africa's problems was the swift installation of a non-racial government of national unity.

"The voices of concern being heard from farmers, from the Volksfront, the Conservative Party and the whole right-wing are being echoed from within his own caucus," said the CP's Schalk Pienaar, accusing De Klerk of missing the point. "People are being killed every day. That is totally unacceptable and people have the right to expect action from the state. He must do something positive. He must stop being held ransom by the ANC and PAC in the negotiation process and must destroy the capacity to wage terrorism." He accused the government of making continuous concessions to ANC demands. "Nothing done by the Right can in any way be compared with the devastation, looting, murder and barbarism that are found in the path of the ANC's actions," said HNP leader, Jaap Marais. South Africa was a relatively orderly country before De Klerk came to power, but after "three years of his government, the country is in chaos," said Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaats Party. "If the State President had utilised the full power of the law against terrorist groupings, such as MK and Apla, it would not be necessary for right-wingers to consider taking the law into their own hands," said the Mine Workers Union.

ROLLING MASS ACTION

The country is in the grip of unprecedented violence following the ANC's decision to institute rolling mass action after Hani's death, to force through its demands for the fixing of a date for elections and the installation of a Transitional Executive Council which will have control over the security forces. A major component of the mass action is the disruption of Black education in order to use scholars in mass marches and demonstrations.

EDUCATIONAL CRISIS

"We're heading towards another Soweto 1976," screamed *The Weekly Mail* headline (7/5/93). "The government's failure to take decisive action in defusing the spiralling education crisis has brought South Africa to the brink of a bloody repeat of the turmoil which gripped the country during the mid-1970s and 1980s." Widespread intimidation accompanied class boycotts from May 3-7 with education halted in Soweto and other major centres. Millions of Rands damage was caused as houses were burnt, shops looted and vehicles destroyed while children and police fought pitched battles as hundreds of schools nationwide failed to open. Principals were whipped and ordered at gunpoint to leave the premises by boycotting students. On the Reef alone on May 4, 32 incidents of violence were reported during protests organised by the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Students (Cosas). Damage was estimated at R2.5 million.

Students were demanding the suspension of matric exam fees and the creation of a representative education forum. At the same time, the ANC-aligned South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) brought Black schools countrywide to a standstill with mass protests and chalkdowns over a salary increase of a mere five percent. Sadtu demands a 30 percent pay rise. "We're heading for a major confrontation. Education, being the explosive arena it is, has the potential to create major havoc in society as a whole, and it could derail the constitutional process, because the ANC will be called on to take sides," said Sadtu's general secretary, Randall van den Heever.

An arson campaign, Operation Barcelona Flames, in which scholars were urged to burn Dept of Education and Training (DET) buildings and vehicles to force the government to meet its demands, was announced by Cosas' Western Cape region on May 7. "This is the last statement we will issue ... the battle lines have been drawn and the war is on." The call by Allan Boesak, ANC's Western Cape chairman, on students not to resort to violence, was rejected by Cosas as "ill-timed". "We are in charge, we are the student leaders, not Comrade Boesak. We are not prepared to listen to calls from those who are not informed of the conditions of students." Similarly, calls for moderation by top ANC leaders, Cyril Ramaphosa and Walter Sisulu, fell on deaf ears at an education crisis summit on May 15. They were ridiculed and sharply criticised when they urged conference delegates not to destroy education or precipitate a race war. Sadtu announced that 65 000 Black, Coloured and Indian teachers would go on indefinite strike on May 24 while the conference resolved to occupy underutilised White schools on May 26.

Cosas has now been threatening to occupy White schools for many weeks. Each time it has done so, its threats have met with serious warnings that attempts to disrupt White education will be resisted. The CP warned on May 6 that any disruption of the education of White children "will be viewed as a declaration of war."

"Sadtu and its predecessors have a record of destruction unparalleled in the history of education in South Africa and perhaps in the world," Education and Training Minister, Sam de Beer said on May 16 in reaction to Sadtu strike call. Education has been destabilised since it was entered by the labour union movement in 1989. "In the past, collective action by Sadtu was all too often accompanied by blatant intimidation of teachers" who refused to abandon their pupils. Only about 11 000 of the DET's 70 000 teachers are paid-up members of Sadtu.

Having reduced the exam fees in response to Cosas' mass action, the government has repeatedly stated it will not make further concessions. "The government will not allow itself to be blackmailed," Minister of Education Coordination, Piet Marais, said in Parliament on May 11. "We will not allow young chappies from Cosas, or any members of the lunatic fringe for that matter, to disrupt negotiations," De Klerk told Parliament the following day. He would stand firm against rolling mass action aimed at pressurising the talks from the outside.

It was totally unacceptable that Kriel had failed to act against Cosas leaders who had promoted criminal violence at televised media conferences, DP's Robin Carlisle said on May 14. "The young gangsters who respond to the bloodthirsty calls of the Cosas leadership are ... the most undemocratic and retrogressive forces in the Western Cape. ... They are the enemies of all the people, harassing and intimidating anyone who dares to disagree."

Disruptions in Black schools made 1992 another disastrous year with more than 11-million pupil days lost and more than 16 000 individual instances of unrest, according to the DET's annual report released on April 29. By September 1992, education in Soweto, where 23 percent of all unrest incidents occurred, had collapsed. As a result, a large group of matriculants were still not fully literate and not adequately prepared for the labour market.

It is clear that those involved in education protest are not interested in the scholars or in improving the quality of education. They are using the students, many in their late teens and early 20's, for the same political ends as all street revolutionaries - to achieve political power through anarchy, fear and the destruction of the economy. The government's unwillingness to control them shows it does not understand their tactics or it is happy to use them for its own purposes. Judging on past performance, the government will capitulate to their demands!

CONSUMER BOYCOTTS

That part of the ANC/SACP alliance's rolling mass action involving consumer boycotts is also gaining momentum and is spreading to major centres across the country. It was mounted to support demands for the establishment of a transitional executive council, which would control the security forces and for the fixing of a date for elections. By the middle of May, at least seven towns were facing consumer boycotts with many more planned. ANC regions throughout the country were indentifying and developing specific forms of mass action programmes. The demonstrations, marches, stayaways and boycotts, which could end in a national strike, will give further impetus to the already endemic violence. Mass protesters are being given more opportunities to vent their ire, by stoning the police, breaking shop windows and looting premises. Many people will be coerced or intimidated to take part.

COSAG'S CONCERNS PUSHED ASIDE AT NEGOTIATIONS

Talks at the World Trade Centre, near Johannesburg, continue to move forward at a rapid pace without addressing the main concerns of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), namely the ending of the violence and a decision on whether the ultimate goal is a unitary state or a federation/confederation.

The negotiating council's decision on May 7 to set an exact election date, not later than the end of April 1994, within the next four weeks, was hailed as a major breakthrough. "This is a victory for the negotiation process," said Ramaphosa. However the final setting of the date, proposed by SACP's Joe Slovo, was subject to agreement being reached on binding constitutional principles, the constitutional framework and the constitution-making process. The IFP proposal on the disbanding of MK was passed on to the technical committee on violence.

Outside the negotiations, the main Cosag members, Bophuthatswana and the IFP, know exactly what they want. "There is no question whatsoever ... of Bophuthatswana giving up her independence," President Lucas Mangope said at the opening of Parliament on April 27. "We are surrendering nothing, and least of all would we consider relinquishing control over our loyal security forces." He insisted that the first thing to be decided must be the form of state and that the principles for a new constitution must be finalised and approved in a referendum before elections could be held. He warned that any dispensation without the full participation of Cosag would be doomed and result in a bloody backlash. Similarly Buthelezi insisted, on May 3, that violence must be the first item to be dealt with. Unfortunately, their positions do not seem to be strongly voiced at the talks.

The impression is thus created that the talks are so structured that Cosag is being outmanoeuvred or is being bamboozled by the negotiating philosophy. Either way, the NP/ANC plans are being steam-rolled through.

NEGOTIATING STRUCTURES

A new tool, in the form of technical committees (TCs), has been given to the already powerful planning committee (Roca Report no 51). "Academics and lawyers take over" is how the *Sunday Times* headline (16/5/93) signalled the appointment of the TCs, which are dubbed "deadlock-breaking" mechanisms. Theoretically, the TCs,

composed of faceless technocrats, often advisors to political parties, are to draw up neutral position papers reflecting the points of agreement and disagreement among the delegations. These are presented to the negotiating council, via the planning committee, which is to do the hard debating. Decisions reached at the NC are passed on to the negotiating forum, scheduled to meet on June 3, largely to approve agreements already reached. The plenary, consisting of delegation heads, will meet for the formal signing of the agreements. **In practice, the TCs have the ability to slant the papers and it appears that they are being accepted with the minimum of disagreement.** The seven TCs were appointed to deal with matters like constitutional issues, the transitional executive council, violence, human rights, independent elections, fair media and discriminatory legislation.

NEGOTIATING PHILOSOPHY

The negotiating philosophy is based on the principled, or "win-win", approach. Basically this says: "There are no enemies. Therefore we are not in competition with each other. We are all friends. Our enemy is the problem. In other words, we have a common purpose. We all want a peaceful, democratic new South Africa. Let's all work together to achieve it. We will then all win and only the problem will lose." **In this atmosphere, anyone making demands or appearing unbending is quickly isolated, made to feel out of step and disruptive of the negotiating process. This makes it very difficult for him to maintain his position. He will most likely succumb to peer pressure.**

In addition, controversial areas are avoided and discussion focuses on minor matters on which agreement can be reached quickly and easily. This is done to lock participants into the negotiation process, making it virtually impossible for them to break away at a later stage. In this way, those understanding and controlling the process are able to achieve their aims without their opponents being fully aware of what is happening.

The four main phases of the negotiating process are:

- Create and maintain a cooperative climate so as to develop a common understanding of the problem.
- Explore the interests and/or needs of all parties.
- Develop a deal that satisfies the interests and/or needs of all parties.
- Tie down the implementation of the deal very carefully.

The only way Cosag, and the AVF (if it gets involved in the negotiations) will achieve their goals is to make a careful study of the negotiation process and its philosophy and to plan to counter both. In addition, they must constantly have a clear picture of what they want to achieve and must not be side-tracked from it. They must not be deceived by nebulous terms like peace and democracy. They must clearly distinguish between what is negotiable and those values which they hold to be non-negotiable. They must reject the open agenda concept and rigidly maintain their basic positions. They must insist on the structure of the new constitutional arrangement which they believe will produce peace as well as the way they believe will lead to the establishment of that structure. They must insist that violence will not end unless MK and Apla are disbanded.

They must acknowledge that there is no "win-win" situation and that they are being conned into accepting the solution desired by their opponents. They must realise that they are in a conflict situation which will produce winners and losers. They must also learn from the mistake made with the National Peace Accord - no penalties were attached to infringements. This put the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance in a "win-win" situation. They were applauded for signing the accord but were able to break it repeatedly without damaging their "clean" image by incurring penalties. If Cosag approaches negotiations on this basis, they will see when their views are not prevailing and that they are being led into a trap. They can then pull out of the negotiations and seek other means to achieve their goals before the trap is sprung and all alternative options are closed to them. They can and should do so without acting emotionally, being hard on people or confusing the incorrectness of the views or conduct of a person from the worth of that person. By all means, let them listen to others, show their commitment to peace and their genuine intention to seek for peace. **BUT THEY MUST NOT BE TURNED FROM THEIR GOAL!**

VIOLENCE FOLLOWS HANI'S FUNERAL

At least 15 people died in violence connected with Hani's funeral on April 19 where Hani's body was dressed in a camouflage uniform and about 50 MK cadres, dressed in green battle fatigues, goose-stepped during the ceremony. The 80 000 people who packed the FNB stadium, Soweto, for the funeral service were orderly enough, despite fiery and threatening orations by people like Archbishop Desmond Tutu. **However outside the stadium, police and groups of youths fought running battles in near-riot conditions.** The nearby railway station was attacked twice and gutted. A trail of damaged homes, looted shops and stoned vehicles marked the path between the stadium and the cemetery where mourners accompanied the official 21-gun salute by firing their own guns.

In terms of a pact signed between the police and the ANC on April 16, ahead of the funeral, the ANC agreed that the 12 000 marshals it had at the funeral, would take responsibility for controlling the crowds. The police would only intervene if requested to by the marshals. Speaking on SATV on April 18, Ramaphosa hailed the agreement as the beginning of joint control over the security forces. **However, this arrangement led directly to the destruction of a nearby row of houses in which two men were burnt to death and several had very narrow escapes.** Despite numerous telephone calls, the police refused to intervene. One caller was told that nobody could be sent "because of an agreement between the ANC and the SA Police that the police would not intervene in the ANC's control over the actions of its people". A police helicopter monitored the burning of the houses but no action resulted.

The Goldstone commission took a far stronger line on mass action in a report released on April 29. It urged stringent control measures to regulate mass demonstrations and marches and greatly strengthening the power of the police. The report included a proposed draft bill which would address the civil liability of organisers as well as the prohibition of a gathering where it could result in injury to people or damage to property. Ten days notice should be given of a gathering. Marshals had the duty to ensure that participants did not deny access to buildings, or coerce people to attend the gatherings and that they acted within the law.

Insurance claims for political rioting following Hani's murder will exceed R25 million. The tourist industry lost millions of Rands as warnings issued by foreign governments cautioning their citizens not to travel to South Africa resulted in a barrage of cancellations from tour operators, hotels, car hire companies and airlines. Even more difficult to calculate is the impact on foreign investors who are looking for long term political stability while mass action adds to the uncertainty. According to the International Monetary Fund, South Africa was a net importer of capital of around three percent a year before 1985. Since then it has become a large net capital exporter.

VIOLENCE CONTINUES AT HIGH LEVEL

An average of 55 people a day were murdered compared with 28 road accident deaths, according to the annual report of the Medical Research Council. The death rate accelerated following Hani's funeral, particularly the attacks on police. Four police officers, one a woman, were killed and five wounded when a bus carrying 23 policemen from night shift was sprayed with AK-47 fire in Soweto on May 5. Apla claimed responsibility. Their deaths brought to 68 the number of policemen killed since the beginning of the year.

Other serious incidents included 21 killed in Sebokeng on April 18 in a series of random shootings from a vehicle. A car bomb, consisting of between 50 and 60 kgs of Russian explosive, severely damaged a block of flats and injured nine people in Amanzimtoti, Natal, on April 21. The car had been stolen in East London five days earlier. Five Whites were killed and seven people wounded when three gunmen sprayed an East London hotel bar with AK-47 fire and threw in a hand-grenade on May 1. Apla claimed responsibility. Their deaths brought to 15 the number of Whites killed in racially motivated attacks since November. PAC president, Clarence Makwethu, is Apla's commander-in-chief, according to documents in the possession of *The Citizen*. The party was responsible to provide 50 percent of its funds for Apla, say the documents. The PAC denied the documents were authentic.

Peter Mokaba, ANC Youth League president, was heavily criticised for leading a rally in Kayelitsha, on April 17 in chants of "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer". Reacting to the criticism at a rally at a technikon at Soshanguve, on April 21, he said: "Let me make it clear. What I said was 'Kill the Boer, kill the farmer. Shoot to kill.' This is our culture, this is our tradition. Those who disagree can go to hell." He urged the students to "prepare for war" and to grab power before it was transferred through negotiations. If the youth were serious about becoming soldiers, they should join MK, the army of the liberation, which has all the facilities to enable them to become soldiers, Mandela urged thousands of youths at Sebokeng on April 22. They would be sent abroad for training.

IN BRIEF

- Clive Derby-Lewis, a senior CP member, was detained on April 17 and charged in connection with Hani's murder. His wife, Gaye, was arrested three days later. Dismissing an application for their release, the judge said the police believed they were involved in planning Hani's murder. In a handwritten affidavit, Janusz Walus, the alleged assassin, vehemently denied that any statements the police claim he made about his - or anyone else's - involvement in the murder were made "willingly or whilst I had been by my full conscience". In an affidavit, Derby-Lewis emphatically denied that he had instigated Walus to murder Hani.
- Andries Treurnicht, 72, who led the CP since its inception 11 years ago, died unexpectedly on April 22 following heart surgery. A courteous man and a deeply committed Christian, he verbalised the aspirations of those who feared they would be submerged in the Black majority in a new dispensation. His deputy, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, 57, was elected to replace him on May 15. He said the CP would further strengthen its ties with Bophuthatswana and the Zulus to ensure self-determination in a confederate system.
- Oliver Tambo, 75, ANC chairman and its president between 1969 and 1990, died on April 24 of a stroke. A severe stroke in August 1989 left him partially paralysed and impaired his speech. With Mandela, Tambo formed the radical ANC Youth League in 1948 which took over the ANC and pushed it in a new militant direction. He organised the political and military training for MK cadres and mobilised world support for the ANC's armed struggle. He also masterminded the 1989 Harare Declaration, the ANC's blueprint for negotiations. Compared with Hani's funeral, Tambo's, on May 3, was a poorly attended, low-profile affair.
- Charles Nqakula, 50, SACP's deputy general secretary, was elected to replace Hani on April 24. He was the man behind Operation Vula and is described as lacking oratorical brilliance. He said on April 26, the negotiation process would have to be "driven by the people" and that if no constitutional settlement was reached by the end of May, then "the voices of the masses will have to be heard."

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