

ANC links Hani's death to the State

An ANC official has claimed a link between Chris Hani's 'murderers' and the Government, writes Daily News Correspondent **Hugh Robertson**.

W D/N 13-4-90
ASHINGTON: A member of the ANC's national executive, Tokyo Sexwale, told prime time television news channels last night that there was "a very clear link between the Government and the murderers" of Chris Hani, general-secretary of the South African Communist Party.

But he did not say what sort of link, and neither did he provide evidence to support his claim. American television viewers were also shown the reaction of other radical spokesmen, including an unidentified youth who demanded vengeance for Mr Hani's death "so that he will not have died in vain".

But news coverage of the aftermath of the assassination also stressed the appeals for calm which have come from senior ANC leaders, including ANC president Nelson Mandela, and some channels showed the flags flying at half mast at the South African Embassy and at consular offices in other centres, in mourning for Mr Hani.

The order to fly flags at half mast at South African missions in the US apparently came from Pretoria. The South African Ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz, was in South Africa for consultations when the shooting of Mr Hani occurred.

Meanwhile, White House spokesman George Stephanopoulos said: "President Clinton is upset by the assassination and deeply deplores the violence in South Africa."

At the weekend the US Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, sent letters of condolences to ANC president Nelson Mandela and to Mr Hani's widow, Limpho Hani.

16/1/11

Weekend Argus 13.07.93

Slovo and Soros square up in SABC studio

BRENDAN SEERY

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The man under the bright lights of the SABC television studio and the man watching him on a monitor in an adjacent low-lit control room had a lot in common.

Time had treated the grandfatherly men well: under their grey hair and behind their glasses, their eyes shone with intellectual fervour. When they spoke, without resort to histrionics and in unadorned language, their arguments had Pied Piper-like appeal.

They came out of the same crucible — born as Jews in Eastern Europe at a time when fascism was a threat to the very existence of this much-abused people.

Yet, when Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo and international financier George Soros came face to face in a TSS studio to record today's *Slabbert On Sunday* programme, it was clear life had taken them down two very different roads.

In his casual attire, with his trademark red socks, Mr Slovo defended a system vanished or crumbling around the world. He expounded on the virtues of socialism, a system which he believes can bring upliftment to the majority of the people if applied properly.

He also attacked Mr Soros's "open society" ideas by pointing out that capitalism — of the high-profile kind represented by Mr Soros and others like him — was not at all synonymous with an open society.

Mr Soros sat intently watching Comrade Joe on the monitor, looking — without a tie and wearing a simple jacket — nothing like one of the richest men in the world. A man of legend: the man who made one billion dollars on that "Black September" day last year when the British pound fell through the floor.



LEFT: SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo ... a very different road.

When the recording session wound up, and as technicians fussed around Mr Slovo and programme host Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, Mr Soros gave his impressions of Mr Slovo to the Weekend Argus.

"A very nice person, but some of his arguments — particularly about Cuba being a spectacular success — are nonsense. It's ironic that South Africa is one of the last countries in the world where communism still has an appeal."

Communism, clearly, is anathema to Mr Soros. His Open Society Foundations, which were set up across Eastern Europe in the mid-1980s, provided educational and other support for the dissidents opposed to Moscow, many of whom are now trying to salvage what they can from the implosion of the Soviet Union.

His brief trip to South Africa was to set up, with a R45 million donation, a similar foundation in South Africa.

'Waluz is a loner, but never aggressive'

Argus Correspondent
in Johannesburg

ALLEGED assassin Janusz Waluz's plans for Easter included spending Sunday with friends and sharing a traditional Easter breakfast with them, according to friends.

They reacted with astonishment to the news that he had been arrested for Chris Hani's murder, and said the whole matter was "very strange".

"When police took him around to several friends and family, he repeatedly said 'it's a mistake, everything will soon be sorted out', according to one friend, who asked not to be identified.

"Added to this is the fact that he had made arrangements to spend Easter with friends. Being Roman-Catholic, Easter is a big celebration and he would apparently have joined them for the traditional breakfast. He even joked that he would bring Vodka and caviar to the meal.

"We just don't understand it. We can't say whether or not Janusz is the guilty one, but it simply does not sound like him."

Close friends also said Janusz was a bit of a loner, who was either apolitical or kept his feelings to himself.

Good friends and acquaintances described Waluz as a "slow" man with simple needs.

Another acquaintance, a former member of the karate club where Waluz is a black belt student, described him as a well-mannered but "non-descript" individual.

Lucy Banola, who stayed at the same smallholding as Waluz near Pretoria for four months last year, said she never once saw the Polish national angry or aggressive. She said she and her boyfriend used to tease Waluz

about his political views, but he never became angry or defensive.

"He was a wonderful kind-hearted man. If there was a problem I always said go to Jakub. I always felt safe with him," she said.

But he was also easily indoctrinated and did not have a strong character, said Lucy Banola.

She said Waluz was not highly intelligent and was still struggling with the English language. The only newspaper he read was The Citizen. Waluz used to do everything extremely slowly.

She said Waluz used to actively assist the CP, particularly before the referendum last year. He also supported the AWB, although Lucy did not remember Waluz ever saying whether he had actually joined the far-right organisation.

Although Waluz made jokes about black people, he did not hate them, she said. He never objected to sparring with black students at the Karate club, nor did she ever see him insult a black person.

But he was very concerned about political developments in the country, and had anti-communist views.

Banola said Waluz was a champion rally car driver in Poland. While she and her boyfriend were staying with him near Pretoria, they sometimes went with Waluz shooting on the farm. She said Waluz was an average shot who always carried a firearm on him.



The Argus

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Requiem for Chris Hani: A time for dignity and order

WE are in mourning for a great son of the soil who fought for the freedom of all of our people. The aim of those who assassinated him clearly is to undermine the peace and negotiation process. Don't let us play into their hands. Let us mourn with dignity ...

I want to express on behalf of all of our people who are law-abiding our deepest sympathies to those who have become victims of this mindless violence.

Please, please dear people, we don't help our cause by actions of that kind, and we call on our political leaders and all politicians: For goodness' sake hurry, inject urgency into the negotiation process and let our people see South Africa free ... We really cannot afford further delays because it just gives opportunities to crazy people. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

AT this point after the assassination of Chris Hani, one thing is of paramount importance: Justice must be left to take its course.

A man has been arrested for the killing. He appears in court today. By all accounts, police investigations are well in place. The process of the law should be allowed to move to its proper conclusion, without excessive histrionics; without more of the sort of traumatic reaction Mr Hani's death has already caused in some areas.

The young people who followed the charismatic ANC-SACP leader are understandably angry. So are many others who view the assassination as racist-inspired. But no good will be served if those emotions run out of control. Indeed, the only forces standing to benefit from chaos and even further violence are those who would like to see a breakdown in negotiations towards a peaceful settlement in the country.

Recently, these negotiations have shown positive signs of moving on line, with a greater convergence of interests among the major parties. Chris Hani himself had applauded the advances, urging groups like the PAC not to disrupt the progress of talks by militant action. His pleas should be heeded even more now. Those who would remember him in these dark days must remember also that, latterly at least, he became a man who espoused peace as the only solution.

Yet, vital though it is that negotiations continue unhindered, Chris Hani's murder has brought a new urgency about their resolution. Archbishop Desmond Tutu gave the right emphasis to the situation yesterday when, while urging restraint among all South Africans, he called on the leaders to hurry with their deliberations. For it is true that the longer the delay in reaching a final constitutional accord, the greater is the scope for other acts of attrition, other atrocities like that in Boksburg on Easter Saturday.

Meanwhile, tomorrow is to be a time of mass action and mourning for Mr Hani. We hope the requiem will be honoured by proper conduct. There will be a heavy responsibility on the shoulders of those organising the activities, and those charged with enforcing the law, to ensure that dignity and order prevail.

Hani murder: Russia deeply concerned

CITIZEN 13-4-93

MOSCOW. — Russia said yesterday it was deeply concerned by the assassination of South African Communist leader Chris Hani, Itar-Tass news agency said.

A Foreign Ministry statement said the killing was aimed at disrupting further dialogue between the country's political parties during the transition to democracy.

Black gunmen shot at police and journalists yesterday in a township east of Johannesburg during a protest over Saturday's assassination of Mr Hani, the most popular Black leader after African National Congress president Nelson Mandela.

"The news of the death of the outstanding South African political figure

Chris Hani caused great concern in Russia," Tass quoted the statement as saying.

The Ministry said South African authorities had to concentrate on preventing further acts of violence. The Russian Embassy in South Africa had been instructed to offer its condolences to the ANC, it added.

Russia established diplomatic relations with South Africa in February last year, ending almost four decades of hostility.

Moscow severed relations with South Africa over apartheid. The former Soviet Union supported Black guerrilla activities, including attempts by the ANC to overthrow the government. — Sapa-Reuter.

16/1/11

16/11

Sweden's aid to ANC ending soon

STOCKHOLM — The African National Congress will lose its \$14,5 million (about R46 million) a year in Swedish aid when it starts campaigning in South African elections, a government official said yesterday.

Sweden is the largest single contributor to the ANC, giving \$14,5 million annually.

Along with Norway, the only other government that gives the ANC financial support, Sweden's aid makes up "a large share" of the ANC budget, said Alf Samuelsson, under-secretary for foreign aid.

Swedish law forbids aid to political parties.

Samuelsson said the South African Government, its ruling National Party, and the ANC's chief rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party, have already criticised Sweden for favouring the ANC now that all parties can operate freely in South Africa.

"When the ANC, as a political party, runs in a democratic election, aid cannot be paid," Samuelsson added.

The ANC planned to send a delegation to Sweden before the end of this month to try to convince the government to continue its support, to phase it out gradually, or to provide aid broadly to the democratic process, Samuelsson added.

Sweden has already announced plans to give South Africa \$31,6 million (about R101 million) in aid for the 1993-94 fiscal year, mainly to aid the development of democracy. — Sapa-AP.

Cape Times

TUESDAY, APRIL 13 1993

Keep the peace

THIS is a time of great danger for South Africa with much that has been gained in the last three years newly at risk. The public in all communities would do well to be alert to dangerous situations, to take great care to avoid such situations where they can and to co-operate fully with the police in keeping the peace.

The anger among black youth throughout the country at the assassination of their hero, ex-guerilla leader Chris Hani, is hardly surprising and it is deeply-felt and intense. While the ANC leadership has been at pains to keep the temperature down and to insist on calm and restraint in the ranks, it remains to be seen whether the protest marches and other commemoration activities which are planned will contain this anger in peaceful and disciplined expression, as we may hope, or whether the country is in for another terrible round of violence and counter-violence.

Such an outcome is precisely the aim of the extremist forces which have been seeking to wreck negotiations from the start by stoking up violence and inter-racial and factional resentment. The country cannot allow these extremists to succeed. The trend of political convergence in the moderate centre is running strongly. Negotiations are solidly on course. No time should be lost in pushing ahead to a transitional executive council and a multiparty role in control of the security forces.

In the immediate situation the State's first duty is to maintain peace and order and to act swiftly to thwart the dark forces which seem bent on provoking a racial war. This will require a nice balance of tact, restraint and firm action as well as a great deal of luck. The most effective first step will be to establish the whole truth about the Hani assassination in the courts and to do so with all deliberate speed. The country needs to know beyond doubt whether this appalling tragedy was the result of a conspiracy and, if so, what other individuals, organisations or parties were directly or indirectly involved. Above all, there needs to be clarity on whether there is any connection whatsoever between the Hani assassination and disaffected, anti-negotiation elements which may still exist in the security forces. As suggested in this column yesterday, the ANC's request for an international presence in the investigation is not unreasonable and, if implemented, could help to calm the situation.

Sensible decision

THE city's decision not to increase water tariffs for domestic use of less than 30 kilolitres a quarter is obviously to be welcomed. Not only because it shows sensitivity to the plight of an economically hard-pressed public, but also because it gives the disciplined individual a chance of minimizing expenditure on an essential commodity.

Like the VAT zero rating on an increased number of basic foodstuffs, this is a step in the right direction and should be followed by other authorities and suppliers when increases are considered. According to utilities and works committee spokesman Mr Peter Alston, most households should be able altogether to avoid the increase — except for the new VAT rate — as statistics show that the average quarterly consumption of water is less than the limit imposed. The committee made their decision on the strength of a report tabled by the city engineer Mr Arthur Clayton and the treasurer Mr Eddie Landsberg, who argued that their recommendation is not only in the interest of consumers but would encourage water conservation.

Hopefully such imaginative thinking will also prevail next time an increase in the cost of electricity, surely essential in this day and age, is contemplated.

High tension as thousands march on police station

Thousands turned out in the rain to protest against the killing of Chris Hani. On the scene were Staff Reporters DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and VUYO BAVUMA.

THOUSANDS of ANC and South African Communist Party supporters are expected to march through central Cape Town tomorrow in memory of Mr Hani.

Yesterday more than 10 000 protesters braved the rain to march 10km from Guguletu to Athlone.

Addressing the crowd from the roof of a lorry opposite the Athlone police station, ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said boxing legend Muhammad Ali, due in Cape Town this afternoon, would join the ANC-organised march.

He said: "The police must know that on Wednesday we are going to town in our thousands."

He added in Xhosa: "If they shoot at one of us the town will be burnt down."

Reverting to English he said: "They can kill Chris Hani but they can't destroy the spirit of our people for liberation. Our anger should be felt."

Yesterday's march, organised by the ANC Youth League, was led by Mr Yengeni, ANC regional vice-chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako, SACP (Western Cape) secretary Mr Lizo Nkonki, and other members of the ANC regional executive committee.

A group of youths, carrying tyres, walked in front of the main body of marchers, followed by a row of marchers carrying ANC and SACP flags.

During the march, volleys of shots were fired into the air intermittently from within the crowd.

These were met with roars of apparent approval and shouts of "Viva MK" from sections of the chanting phalanx.

But some residents watching the march from their homes ran inside when the shots rang out.

Initially, it appeared that the march was headed for Guguletu police station, and the heavily armed police, behind a bolted



DANGEROUS WEAPON: An activist holds aloft a tyre — the weapon often used in necklace killings.

iron gate seemed to be waiting for the leaders, but the procession passed the building and turned from NY 1 into Klipfontein Road.

At this stage, Mr Yengeni said over a loud-hailer: "We are asking people not to shoot near the police station because the cops will be provoked and fire at us. We don't have too many guns to defend ourselves."

As the march passed Manenberg police station and marchers spilled into both carriageways of Klipfontein Road, effectively closing the street, marshals carrying tyres ran ahead to warn shopkeepers in Surrey Estate and Gatesville to close their doors.

Motorists in Vanguard Drive did hasty U-turns and headed into oncoming traffic. No accidents were reported.

Near Athlone, tension rose when a police video unit got entangled in a section of the crowd and the driver of the police vehicle drove over an island to get out of trouble.

Police with shotguns and automatic rifles faced the crowd at the intersection of Jan Smuts Drive and Klipfontein Road.

Ululating women shouted abuse at police, but there were no incidents.

After addressing the crowd,

Mr Yengeni and some of his regional executive committee colleagues tried to see the Athlone police station commander, but he was not there.

Later, a Sergeant Hermanus led Mr Yengeni and nine colleagues into the charge office where a memorandum was handed to him.

In the document, the ANC, the ANC Women's League, the ANC Youth League, the SACP, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the South African National Civics Organisation condemned the killing of Mr Hani and called for an independent judicial inquiry into his death.

At 5.45pm, almost two hours after leaving Guguletu, the marchers headed home, leaving behind a barricade of burning tyres which was removed by police.

● Yesterday about 5 000 protesters marched in torrential rain to present a memorandum to Nyanga police station in protest against the assassination of Mr Hani.

They demanded that the police station be closed and that an inquiry be held into the killing of a Nyanga Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier, Mr Jimmy Khaya Simane.

Mr Simane was shot dead at his home in Mau-Mau on Good Friday.

● The regular Tuesday features and letters do not appear on Spectrum pages today because of the priority given to reports of reaction to the killing of Mr Chris Hani. The Tavern of the Seas column by David Biggs will resume tomorrow.

16/1/11

Lawefan 13-4-92

THE POOL OF WATER ON THE SLOPES OF the driveway were murky and brown. The muddy colour hid the blood of South African Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani, who had been gunned down outside his No 2 Hakea Street home in Dawn Park, Boksburg, by a lone white gunman.

A hose had been used to clean the driveway where Hani had literally fallen for his country.

Earlier, it had been an ugly scene, with blood trailing down the driveway as his body lay where it had fallen after the four shots.

Groups of people stood separately, some crying, some talking in hushed tones about the murder that has shaken the country.

Who did it? Why did it happen? Why had it been so easy to kill Hani? What had happened to his security guards? What will happen now?

The questions were endless and the answers were elusive.

But some had to be answered. For it seemed unbelievable that a man of Hani's standing could just be trailed and shot dead as he got out of his car.

Wrong timing

Where was the alertness that saw him survive previous attempts on his life in Lesotho and here at home?

The ANC explanation, as given by Dr Pallo Jordan, is that Hani had given his bodyguards a weekend off. They work very long hours, he explained.

It just happened that the timing for the weekend off was particularly wrong, Jordan said.

But there are those, like NUM's Mr Marcel Golding, who feel the ANC was taking security too lightly.

It is a feeling shared by many who see the Hani killing as a result of believing too much in the Codesa rhetoric of brotherhood, forgetting that there are people who have agendas of their own to maintain white supremacy.

ANC PWV Peace Desk official Mr Mondli Gungubele, who stays near Hani's home, was phoned by Hani's distraught daughter. He was shaken by the killing.

"I spoke to Chris about 20 to 30 minutes before his death. He phoned to arrange that we should take his daughter Kwezi to Spruitview to have her hair done.

"In the process he told me he had just come back from Boksburg alone. I castigated him and told him: 'Chief, this is dangerous. If you want to go anywhere, call me, do not go alone.'

"But after that call, I think he sneaked out to get newspapers and the bastards followed him and shot him here," Gungubele said.

When ANC leaders arrived back home in 1990 for the Groote Schuur talks, there was apprehension that they might be killed by opponents of the liberation struggle.

In the wake of the assassination of SACP chief Chris Hani at the weekend, people are beginning to question whether the ANC has not been fooled into the false brotherhood of Codesa. **Mathatha Tsedu** looks at the problem:

For those who move around Johannesburg, it is not surprising to bump into national leaders of the ANC strolling around at soccer stadiums, theatres and similar places alone

Security around leaders was tight then and journalists complained of the hard times trying to get through to these very news-worthy men and women.

But it was explained that this was a necessary nuisance that people had to live with.

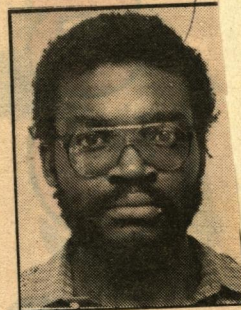
Hani moved into the strongly rightwing Boksburg in 1992 and the then councillor for the area and CP member, Mr Andries du Toit, said ominously: "There might be something drastic done to show him we don't want him here."

Given this kind of reception a mere 14 months ago, what then happened to make Hani drop his guard to lead to a situation where he could feel safe jogging alone, going to the shop alone and even failing to notice a red tail in Du Toit's neighbourhood?

For those who move around Johannesburg, it is not surprising to bump into national leaders of the ANC strolling around at soccer stadiums, theatres and similar places alone.

Recently, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa drove to SABC headquarters all by himself for an *Agenda* programme. This after the incident when white gunmen chased Major-General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei from the same broadcast centre into the Carlton Hotel in the city as he left after an interview.

It all points to a laxity that this country cannot afford. There are too many rightwing loonies from all sorts of funny places such as Poland and Rhodesia running around here. They have the expertise and the anger to commit murder to stem the tide of the revolution.



Chris Hani ... was security too lax?

Chris Hani: Suspect in court under top security

Argus
13/4/93

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A tense Mr Janusz Walus, 40, today appeared in the Boksburg District court.

No formal charges were put to the man named as South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani's killer and he was not asked to plead.

The case was remanded to May 12 for further investigation. Mr Walus will be held in custody.

Mr Walus of 105 Milewanda Flats, Bourke Street, Muckleneuk, was dressed in a blue shirt, a grey checked suit, a blue, brown and yellow tie, tan socks and brown shoes.

He appeared tense and stood with his hands at his side.

When magistrate Mr Peet Swanepoel asked him if he understood the postponement, Mr Walus replied: "Yes, your magistrate."

He then was escorted down to the holding cells by plain-clothes policemen.

After the hearing, public prosecutor Mr Jan Ferreira said a charge of murder probably would be put to Mr Walus at his next appearance.

It is expected he will plead then to charges.

Earlier, journalists were allowed into the courtroom one by one after a thorough body search by police.

The public were allowed into the courtroom and also were subjected to body searches. About 20 people, mostly journalists, were at the hearing.

Photographers outside were told they were not permitted into the courtroom with their cameras.

About 300 policemen — including marksmen on the roof armed with assault rifles — ringed the Boksburg Magistrate's Court.

They, and members of the Defence Force, formed a human wall shoulder to shoulder around the court from about 5 am today.

A whole city block around the court was cordoned off with razorwire. Police marksmen with high powered rifles were stationed on building tops around the court.

Mr Walus was brought to court about 5 am and held in the cells until his appearance.

A small crowd of about 30 protestors monitored by National Peace Committee members, gathered outside the court about 8.30 am.

They toyi-toyi-ed and carried banners saying: "Long live the spirit of Comrade Chris Hani".

The small group, outnumbered about 10-1 by security forces, also was closely watched by security forces, but there were no incidents.

Mr Walus was arrested 10 km from Mr Hani's home after the SACP chief was gunned down in his driveway in Dawn Park, Boksburg, on Saturday morning.

Police have established that the bullets which killed Mr Hani came from a gun found in Mr Walus's possession.

Mr Hani's name appeared on an alleged hit-list found in Mr Walus's home.

16/1/11

FOR MANY people, the first sign that Chris Hani did not fit the stereotype reserved by outsiders for SACP and Umkhonto we Sizwe leaders came during the ANC's national conference in Durban in July 1991.

At a time when the ANC was debating whether to lift the suspension it had placed on negotiations three months previously in protest against continuing violence, the reputed hardliner surprised journalists with a passionate but coherent case for continued negotiations.

"The murders of ANC and MK members by right-wing elements opposed to negotiations is no reason to withdraw from negotiations with government," he argued. The existence of such elements was inevitable because, having been promised that apartheid would last forever, they now felt let down "and some will use force to defend the status quo".

This was only hours after his MK and SACP comrade Mac Maharaj (now a top ANC negotiator) had argued equally strongly that negotiations might be premature because the ANC had failed to mobilise its constituency and that the ANC had made far too many concessions to government — including suspending the armed struggle — without receiving much in return.

Hani also used the opportunity to display the disarming frankness which became part of his public profile — in this case by expressing concern that the self-defence units then being established had the potential to degenerate into vigilante groups. He took up this theme again only a week ago at the East Rand peace summit convened by the ANC. This refusal to play to the more militant sections of the gallery did not harm Hani's standing.

He went on to lead the 1991 conference poll in national executive committee elections with the support of 95% of delegates.

A leadership style which will not easily be emulated

BUSINESS DAY

13-04-93

ALAN FINE

16/1/11

He was equally willing to lay bare some of the warts of ANC history. In an interview last May with *Work in Progress* magazine he spoke of the paranoia and hysteria in ANC ranks over the infiltration by SA intelligence services during the '80s which led to the atrocities in MK camps.

Then, of course, there was his final public statement last week about violence and negotiations.

And this was the essence of Hani's approach to politics. As his MK chief of staff and SACP general secretary predecessor Joe Slovo put it yesterday: "Although he had reached the pinnacle of popularity — and although, like all of us, he would sometimes talk up the crowd — he would not hesitate to say what had to be said, even if it was going to bring a negative response. His leadership style was one of radicalism combined with a strategic and tactical sense."

The importance to the negotiation process of that leadership style, combined with Hani's credibility among the "young lions", was recognised by only a few — even though it has become part of the conventional wisdom in the three short days since his assassination.

There may be, within ANC ranks, individuals with similar leadership styles. But they would have only regional support bases. After Hani there is no such individual with his national standing — a fact underscored by the difficulties the ANC alliance leadership is experiencing in containing the reaction to the assassination.

That kind of leadership style is not easily sustainable. Slovo himself, with a similar MK and SACP background, enjoyed a similar reputation

in the townships in the period soon after his return from exile. However, agreeing to play the role of the credible leader who will sell unpopular compromises to the rank and file (as Slovo did with the power-sharing and sunset clause concepts, for example) takes its toll.

Coming to be seen by growing numbers of militant supporters as too eager to compromise has probably lessened Slovo's effectiveness. Hani is now dead, without his full potential in that respect having been met. "History has a way of throwing up the right people at the right time," comments Slovo, but there is no sign of anyone at this critical stage.

It may be an overstatement to talk

or a leadership vacuum. But the question arises whether Hani's assassination gives the initiative back to the "alternative" leadership of the young lions — those without the tactical and strategic sense — Harry Gwala (who on Saturday called for a suspension of negotiations) or Winnie Mandela, once a close associate of Hani's but whose political perspectives had clearly diverged from his at the end.

"It may give a platform (to Gwala, etc) to press ahead with their positions in the short term," said one ANC source who asked not to be identified. "But Chris will be remembered as one who was not in that camp." Which is why the Rapport story nine days ago suggesting he and Winnie Mandela were establishing a secret private army was hardly credible.

Hani's death creates a succession problem for the SACP at a time when it is attempting to carve out a role for itself. The central committee was scheduled to meet within the

next few weeks for a major strategy planning session. Now it will have to add the question of a future general secretary to the agenda. That there is no natural successor is borne out by the fact that Slovo — little more than a meeting chairman these days

— was thrust to the forefront of representing the party after the assassination.

Despite their similar backgrounds, Slovo and Hani had very different attributes. Slovo is the intellectual, skilled at initiating theoretical debate on the future of socialism, adept in the negotiating chamber and on the platform at public meetings. However, the party has a number of other leaders in a similar mould — which is why Slovo could comfortably shift his attention to concentrate on ANC work.

Hani, on the other hand, did not consider such debate his priority. Despite his position, he had not even bothered to participate publicly in the socialism debate. He was primarily an on-the-ground organiser able to establish a unique rapport with actual and potential SACP members.

That is a quality that will be sorely missed by an SACP which faces difficult tasks in an unfriendly world. If a recently published strategy discussion paper is adopted, the SACP will set a course of lowering its profile while making "quality interventions" within the ANC. Hani's statement last week is described as an example of this, though not all non-SACP ANC members will always appreciate SACP interventionist tactics even if they are made openly, as the paper stresses they should be.

The SACP would also, in terms of the paper, have to build up its membership and devise a credible socialist programme while acknowledging that the "socialist struggle" is effectively moribund and will remain so "until" it is reasserted internationally.

Hani's commitment to socialism was based more on the repugnance with which he viewed poverty and inequality — not least because of his own upbringing — than on the Marxist classics, although he dived into them, too. But it was probably that which made him as accessible as he was to the common people whose interests he sought to champion.

Govt linked to Hani murder — ANC man

Citizen 12-4-93

By Sapa and
Kevin Flynn

AFRICAN National Congress PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale yesterday charged that there was a link between the government and the killing of SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani on Saturday.

Mr Sexwale told a Press conference in Johannesburg that the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance believed it was convenient for the government now to focus on suspected assassin Janusz Walus as a Pole rather than to recognise that Pretoria had given him citizenship and more rights than the ma-

jority of the people of South Africa.

He said the man had the right to gun licences and the right to bring his prejudices into this country.

He said there was information that the suspected assassin was being handled "with kid gloves" by the police, who have said he was not co-operating during questioning.

The statement said the use of a silencer together with a stolen Air Force pistol raised the question about Mr Walus's links with those involved in the theft of weapons from the Air Force armoury.

At the time of the thefts, Mr Hani publicly questioned the apparent ease with which the guns

were removed from the Air Force base near Pretoria.

"He believed that these weapons and others stolen from Defence Forces were, in fact, being removed for covert operations," the statement read.

Mr Hani had fought all his life for the liberation of the people and in the end he died in the struggle for peace, "a peace that does not compromise the liberation of our people, but a peace that is firmly founded on a non-racial democracy and economic and social justice."

The alliance would not allow the assassination of Mr Hani to become just another statistic and that, already the anger could

be seen in the townships and cities of the country.

The alliance wanted

"immediate joint control of the security forces and a full investigation by the international community into the assassination of Chris Hani".

"We reject the idea that an open and fair investigation into the assassination of the former chief of the Umkhonto we Sizwe can be conducted by a member of the same corrupt forces Hani fought so long against. We demand the full investigation by an independent commission of the assassination of Hani," said Mr Sexwale.

Asked about calls from other ANC regions that negotiations should be halted, Mr Sexwale said this demonstrated the angry mood of Black people, and that the call came in the heat of the moment.

The alliance would be channelling that anger responsibly.

Mr Sexwale went on to announce that a stayaway had been declared for the PWV area tomorrow to commemorate Mr Hani's death, and a number of activities were lined up by sub-regions throughout the region.

Pickets are scheduled to start at 6 am today and continue throughout the day. A picket outside the Boksburg Magistrates' Court, where the accused

will appear, is scheduled for 9 am today.

Various rallies in townships on the Reef had been planned.

Meanwhile, the Cosatu-affiliated National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) yesterday called on its members to observe Mr Hani's death by holding memorial services between 2 pm and 6 pm tomorrow. Mining houses and Eskom were asked by the union to co-operate in facilitating the services.

The chairman of the Ecumenical Monitoring Programme to South Africa (EMPSA), Dr Beyers Naude, yesterday said it was vital that the fullest possible investigation be undertaken.

To ensure that the truth is established for all to see, international experts and observers should be involved throughout the investigation, Dr Naude said in a statement.

That Mr Hani last week made a passionate appeal to South Africans to support the peace process gave added significance to the tragedy and should be taken with utmost seriousness.

Dr Naude said South Africa would surely miss Mr Hani's influence in the vital challenge of negotiations for a peaceful and democratic South Africa.

16/4/93

THE ARGUS 18 - APRIL 1993

Claim of government link to murder — but no evidence

HUGH ROBERTON of The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington.

A MEMBER of the ANC's national executive, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, told prime time television news channels last night that there was "a very clear link between the government and the murderers" of Mr Hani.

But he did not say what sort of link, and neither did he provide evidence to support his claim. American television viewers were also shown the reaction of other radical spokesmen, including an unidentified youth who demanded vengeance for Mr Hani's death "so that he will not have died in vain".

But news coverage of the aftermath of the assassination also stressed the appeals for calm which have come from senior ANC leaders, including ANC president Nelson Mandela, and some channels showed the flags flying at half mast at the South African embassy and at consular offices in other centres,

in mourning for Mr Hani.

Meanwhile the White House spokesman, Mr George Stephanopoulos, said in answer to a question that "obviously President Clinton is upset by the assassination and deeply deplores the violence in South Africa." He said he was not aware of Mr Clinton becoming personally involved in the issue, however.

● Dennis Cruywagen of The Argus Political Staff reports that Archbishop Desmond Tutu has called on those angered by Mr Hani's death not play into the hands of his killers by resorting to violence.

The Anglican leader expressed his sympathy with victims of the weekend's violence, including the families of three men killed near Lwandle township.

He said: "The aim of those who assassinated him is clearly to un-

dermine the peace and negotiation process. Don't let us play into their hands. Let us mourn with dignity."

The Canadian embassy said it was tragic that Mr Hani's life had been so brutally ended at a time when the prospects for greater peace and the achievement of a non-racial democracy in South Africa were beckoning.

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa executive director Dr Alex Boraine said the senseless killing of Mr Hani would haunt South Africa for years to come.

"It is our hope that those who respected him most will honour his death and his memory by working even harder for an end to violence and a deep commitment to peace and justice."

The Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action said Mr Hani's death would not deter it from the

struggle for socialism, but would strengthen its resolve to build a better future.

The Japanese government said it was seriously concerned that acts of violence were still taking place in South Africa.

In a joint statement, the missions of the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Organisation of African Unity expressed shock.

"As observers of the peace process in South Africa, we condemn unreservedly this dastardly act and expect that the perpetrators will be apprehended and that the law will take its course."

The US embassy in Pretoria slammed the killing as "deplorable and terrible".

In London, the British Foreign Office also strongly condemned Mr Hani's murder.

ANC alliance ultimatum following Hani slaying

Mass action threat

STAR 13/4/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The ANC-led tripartite alliance in the PWV region yesterday warned that it would embark on "rolling mass action" if a date for elections were not set and a transitional executive council (TEC) established as soon as possible in the wake of Chris Hani's murder.

The alliance also called for a stayaway in the region tomorrow, and day-long picket demonstrations at all major routes to towns, cities and townships in the area today.

Speaking at the end of a meeting of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance yesterday, ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said any further delay in announcing the election date and establishing a TEC would "unleash an unprecedented wave of anger from our people".

He said demonstrations in the PWV area would begin at 6 am today and continue throughout the day; that memorial services would be held for Hani during the stayaway tomorrow; and that "a massive protest march" would be held in Johannesburg on Saturday.

The eastern Transvaal region has also called for a stayaway and demonstrations targeting Government

offices and police stations, from tomorrow — when memorial services will be held for Hani.

Demonstrations are also planned tomorrow in the southern Natal region, which Hani was due to visit today.

ANC southern Natal secretary-general S'bu Ndebele warned that a violent reaction to Hani's death would "only be playing into the hands of those people who hope that South Africa will

turn into another Beirut".

Other ANC regions will decide on the course of action they will take tomorrow, but some have also indicated they will be embarking on stayaways.

The PWV meeting was also attended by representatives from the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the South African National Civic Organisation.

Sexwale said the international community had to be

involved in the investigation of the murder.

"We demand a full investigation by an independent commission," he said.

The ANC leader charged that it was convenient for the Government to focus on Waluz's Polish origin rather than recognise it had given him South African citizenship "and more rights than the majority of the people of South Africa enjoy".

Sexwale appealed for calm and restraint, and said his region backed the national leadership's decision that negotiations be speeded up.

"We say to (President F W) de Klerk: listen to (ANC president Nelson) Mandela. We say to (Constitutional Development Minister) Roelf Meyer: listen to (ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator) Cyril Ramaphosa. The TEC should be in place by now," Sexwale said.

16/1/11

Hani kept idealism burning against the odds

BUSINESS DAY

13-04-93

WHEN Chris Hani moved into Boksburg and enrolled his youngest daughter at an exclusive private school so she might get a classical education, some, inevitably, sneered. A typical nomenklaturist, they said, posing as champion of the dispossessed while seeking the good life for himself and his family.

I disagree. There are many reasons to mourn his death, but one of the most powerful lies in where he chose to live and how he wanted to raise his children. This was not an act of hypocrisy (for one thing, he could have selected a far more jacarandaed neighbourhood). It was an affirmation of SA's nonracial possibilities and his own belief in them.

One may quarrel with his politics, and some of its more bizarre manifestations, such as his trip round the US as the guest of the CPUSA. One may shudder at what went on in the Angolan camps and the extreme methods used to keep the ANC's heavily infiltrated and increasingly disaffected guerrilla band from imploding. But say this for Hani: he could have made revolution on the basis of race and culture — logically the most obvious approach in SA — but chose instead to proceed from an analysis of class.

As the 20th century draws to a murderous close, this is no back-

handed compliment. Nor, by the same token, is it an attempt to brush over the epic horror wrought in the name of the ideology Hani did espouse. The point is this: whatever havoc may be unleashed by class warfare, the effects are likely to be transitory since class is mutable. Race isn't. Divide humanity by racial or ethnic consciousness and it will stay divided for a very long time. Such divisions, once a certain critical mass has been reached, become all but irreparable.

It is perhaps a miracle that in SA that critical mass was not reached long ago. Much of the credit must go to Hani and others like him in the ANC. They have had every opportunity to exploit race for power and plenty of encouragement from the ethnic bully boys who captured the state in 1948. Cynics may offer any number of practical reasons they chose to avoid such temptations. At the end of the day, however, it suggests a high and rare idealism, kept burning against all odds.

Hani was a literate man, schooled in Latin and Greek, a lover and quoter of Shakespeare, Keats and Shelley. He evidently hoped that his children would grow up able to share his appreciation of such things. Indeed, this has been reported as one of the reasons he decided to move to

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Boksburg. It was near a school where his youngest daughter could learn Greek.

This seems more than just a mild eccentricity. It says that Hani harboured no cultural or racial grudges. He may have grown up in a world of discrimination, his freedoms and opportunities ruthlessly curtailed by the white minority, but that made him no less proud of what he learnt at his mission school, nor instilled in him any contempt of what others might understandably have construed as white man's learning.

Contrast this with what is currently going on in American academe where, in the name of undoing centuries of racial oppression, the classics are under withering assault. The issue is not simply their relevance, or even the idiot assertion that the authors are "Dead White European Males" and should therefore be banished from reading lists. The charge now being levelled — and going largely unanswered — is that all classical scholarship is part of a massive, historical conspiracy against Africa and Africans.

Mary Lefkowitz, one of the country's most eminent scholars of Greek literature, described in last Wednesday's Wall Street Journal a lecture she recently attended at Wellesley College, where she heads the classics department. The speaker was Yosef ben-Jochannan, author of *Africa, Mother of Western Civilisation*, who has been repeating his arguments, essentially un rebutted, since he first stated them in 1971.

There was no such thing as Greek philosophy, he told his audience, mostly impressionable young students. It all came from "black" Egypt. Socrates was a figment of Plato's imagination, invented to help cover Plato's wholesale theft of ideas he stole during an 11-year sabbatical by the Nile. Aristotle subsequently arranged for Alexander the Great to sack the great library at Alexandria to ensure that his own plagiarism of Egyptian wisdom would go unnoticed.

All of which was patently preposterous. The record of Socrates as a historical character extends far beyond the writing of Plato about whose having visited Egypt there is not one iota of evidence. As for the Alexandrian library, it was not even built until after Aristotle's death, and it would have been difficult to ask Alexander to do anything in a city he

would not found until several years after his last encounter with the philosopher.

Lefkowitz tried to raise these points with Ben-Jochannan. He refused to answer, retorting that she was being arrogant and insolent. Several students agreed. One stormed out. Others came to her afterwards and protested: "You think you know the truth, but HE is telling the truth. What you learned is wrong."

This was not an isolated incident. "Afrocentrism" is sweeping campuses across the US as weak, easily cowed — and for the large part classically illiterate — faculties bow before its demands in hopes of keeping the peace. The demands are utterly Orwellian: the oppressed must be liberated by a version of history that builds their "self-esteem". Truth, let alone the scientific rigours of historiography, be damned.

I wonder what Hani would have thought. I'll hazard a guess: he would have been repelled. For one thing, he had already seen history abused enough by racists. Perhaps more importantly, he looked at the classics and saw that they belonged to him, enriched him, as much as any other human being regardless of his or her race. Why else would he have sent his precious little girl to learn Greek?

Poll forecast

■ Multi-racial elections in South Africa are on the cards for September, the President of the Inkatha Freedom Party has said.

"I am hopeful because the multi-party talks have started," said Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief of the Zulu nation.

His prediction follows the unscheduled meeting between South African President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress (ANC), which was called after the massacre of ten young Black men in the latest outbreak of political conflict.

Chief Buthelezi denied that the Black-led Inkatha Freedom Party, which has been locked in a bloody six-year power struggle with the ANC, was being "blocked out" of the democracy talks.

The Voice

13/4/93

London

The worst may be yet to come. Black South Africans may yet seek revenge for their assassinated hero, Mr Chris Hani, who now awaits a martyr's funeral. But by local standards of violence, the Easter weekend was a relatively quiet one in South Africa.

On Saturday, Mr Hani, head of the South African Communist party and guerrilla leader, fell to a white assassin's bullet. But black South Africans did not revolt. They fumed, and mourned, marched and threw stones, fired shots at passing motorists. In the worst incident, blacks incinerated three white men outside an illegal bar in a black township in the Cape.

A few racial incidents do not necessarily suggest a race war is about to start. In a society renowned for its political intolerance and crime (some 18,000 people were killed last year, 13 per cent of them in political violence) the weekend death toll was unusually low.

Almost every political party condemned the assassination in the strongest possible terms. Even Mr Eugene Terre'blanche, leader of the white-supremacist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), the party to which the alleged murderer is rumoured to belong, condemned the killing as "atrocious".

Unanimity is rare in this fractured society, but the almost unanimous instinct of leaders from extreme left to hard right was to stress the need to talk, not fight. It was a striking affirmation of South Africa's commitment to negotiating peace and a new constitution.

Their restraint was already coming under increasing pressure last night, as the African National Congress announced mass protest action leading up to the largest political funeral ever held in South Africa to mark the assassination of Mr Hani.

No man in South Africa was better loved by the poor, the young and the radical in black society (certainly the majority). That they have contained their rage and resentment thus far is a remarkable achievement, a hopeful sign that South Africa's tortured society is perhaps more resilient than it appears.

Race relations will inevitably suffer, as they have already done in recent months as white party-goers, schoolchildren and motorists have come under attack from the radical black Azanian People's Liberation

Signs of resilience in a fragile society

The measured reaction to the assassination of Chris Hani suggests South Africa is committed to negotiated reform, says Patti Waldmeir



From left, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Chris Hani, and President F. W. de Klerk

Army and some disaffected members of the ANC.

But inter-racial relations in South Africa have defied the logic of apartheid for decades already: black and white relate more cordially in South Africa than in some American inner-cities. The ANC yesterday condemned attacks on whites, pointing out to its supporters that if the hand that killed Mr Hani was white, the information that led to his arrest also came from a white witness.

"Thirty years ago, the possibility of race war was always in my mind," says veteran liberal politician Mr Zach de Beer. "It has steadily receded since. One passage of history after another makes me believe that South Africans don't think like that."

Some of them do, of course. Black callers to a weekend radio talk show demanded that "every red and every white corpse of Chris Hani's blood must be accounted for" - and avenged - while white callers complained at the media attention given to the Hani assassination. Reversing the classic complaint made by blacks under apartheid, one white caller protested: "a white life is

worth nothing, but if a black gets killed, it's treated like a big tragedy." That comment reflects one of the dangers of the current situation: for whites can use this new-found sense of oppression to justify their own liberation struggle.

Ironically, reaction would almost certainly have been worse if Mr Hani had been

Even the white-supremacist Eugene Terre'blanche condemned the murder

murdered by the ANC's black rivals, the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom party, rather than as he allegedly was, by a white immigrant from Poland with a virulent hatred of communism.

White extremists such as Mr Janusz Walus, who will today be charged with the Hani murder, pose far less threat to peace than the ongoing war between the ANC and Inkatha.

There is circumstantial evidence to suggest that Mr

Walus was part of an organised extremist movement: the gun he allegedly used for the murder was stolen from air force headquarters in Pretoria in 1990 by white supremacist Piet "Skiet" (shoot) Rudolf, formerly a member of the AWB.

Crucially, the assassination did not bear obvious hallmarks of the "hit-squad" killings carried out in the past by the security services. Mr Walus allegedly killed Mr Hani in full view of an eyewitness, using a car easily traceable to him; he was apprehended moments after the attack, with the murder weapon still in his possession and gunpowder traces on his hand. South Africa's hit squads normally show more professionalism.

Still, even if a full police investigation shows that Mr Walus has no security force links, no one in the townships will believe it. So many black South Africans have been murdered by the police and military over long years of struggle that blacks acknowledge only one salient fact: that a white has killed the man who was probably South Africa's greatest liberation fighter, former head of the revered *Umkhonto*

ESDAY APRIL 13 1993

we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the ANC military wing, and the second most popular man in South Africa after Nelson Mandela (according to a recent opinion poll).

Mr Hani was a potential successor to Mr Mandela for the ANC leadership (though the more moderate Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC secretary-general, would probably have defeated him). But among township youth, the unemployed and disaffected, Mr Hani's leadership was undisputed: no other ANC leader could so easily make compromise seem like triumph, could argue for peace as a form of struggle (as he so effectively did in the last weeks of his life); in short, could guarantee to deliver the radical youth behind a negotiated settlement.

That is what makes Mr Hani's death such a tragedy. For the ANC has made clear that, far from halting negotiations in protest, it will pursue constitutional talks with renewed vigour. Those talks have proceeded smoothly in recent months, with an outline deal already in place between the ANC and government to install a multi-racial power-sharing coalition. That deal, as well as the crucial issue of devolution of power to regional governments, must be agreed by the 20-odd other political organisations attending the multi-party constitutional forum.

Progress in the forum has largely been achieved by deferring contentious issues for future consideration, leading to unrealistic optimism about the pace of progress: ANC leaders are still promising that a multi-racial "transitional executive council" (the first phase of interim government) will be in place by June, but this looks an impossible goal.

The ANC will be pressing harder than ever for interim government now, arguing that joint control of the security forces is essential to control violence.

But even if that can be agreed, the large differences remaining between negotiators guarantee that talks will eventually hit a snag - and Chris Hani will no longer be there to ensure that such a breakdown does not lead to township revolt.

The next few days will sorely test the ability of other ANC leaders to step into that void and the will of the security forces to contain protest without brutality: in short, the capacity of South African society to withstand this blow with political maturity and calm. So far, so restrained.

→ Financial Times
13/4/93 - London

Blacks vent sorrow and anger at leader's assassination in protests. John Carlin reports from Johannesburg

THE African National Congress announced the start yesterday of a week-long campaign of mass protest in response to a clamour from its supporters for channels to vent their sorrow and anger at the assassination of Chris Hani.

A national stayaway from work is planned tomorrow, when memorial services will be held in cities and townships all over the country, and marches are scheduled for the rest of the week in Johannesburg and other cities.

Nerves were fraught yesterday both in ANC and government circles at the dangers such actions might hold but, after a weekend which registered sporadic incidents of violence, the feared catastrophe did not materialise.

A shop was burnt down in Kagiso township, west of Johannesburg, and in Katlehong, to the south-east, journalists were shot at and a number of vehicles burnt. But in neighbouring Vosloorus a five-mile march by ANC supporters, though tense, passed off peacefully. In Cape Town some 6,000 ANC marchers, some of them armed, descended on a police station, but again no incidents were reported.

One of their leaders, indicating that the greater dangers lie ahead, told the crowd: "If any of our people are shot when we march again on Wednesday we will burn down Cape Town."

For all the rhetoric and the massing of angry people, the police said that no injuries had been reported anywhere yesterday. At least six people

died over the weekend however, including three white men burnt to death near Cape Town in an attack believed to have been a response to the killing of Hani, the ANC's most popular leader after Nelson Mandela.

"People are very, very angry. It is necessary for their anger to be channelled," the ANC Johannesburg regional chief, Tokyo Sexwale, said yesterday, explaining plans for "rolling mass action" around the country.

The first demonstration is planned in Boksburg, east of Johannesburg, today, to coincide with the scheduled appearance in court of the Polish émigré Janusz Walus, who is to be formally charged with Hani's murder.

Mr Walus, 40, who came to South Africa 11 years ago to flee from Communism, was arrested within minutes of the shooting. Police found that a weapon he was carrying was the one which killed Hani. The gun had been stolen by Piet Rudolph, then secretary-general of Eugene Terreblanche's far-right Afrikaner Resistance movement (AWB).

Yesterday Mr Terreblanche said that Mr Walus had been a member of his organisation since 1986. Mr Terreblanche, who persistently exhorts his members to war against "the Communists", said he only disapproved of the attack because it was an assassination and not a killing in a real war. He added: "If it had been a proper battle I could have killed Mr Hani myself."

The police have appointed a team of 14 detectives to follow up all possi-

ble clues in the murder. Particularly alarming was the discovery of an alleged hit-list in Mr Wallus's Pretoria home including the names of Nelson Mandela and the South African Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, seen in right-wing circles as the most dovish member of the cabinet.

The one political group in South Africa that has not lamented the death of Hani is the World Apartheid Movement which is known to have a shadowy network of far-right contacts in Europe. The WAM leader, Koos Vermeulen, said his organisation sympathised with Mr Walus and would provide him with financial support for his court case.

The ANC, however, aware of the depth of feeling stirred up by the assassination, issued a statement late on Sunday calling on its supporters not to carry out attacks against whites. People should remember that the reason Mr Walus was caught so promptly was the quick thinking of a white woman, the ANC said. It was one of Hani's neighbours who wrote down the registration number of the car Mr Wallus was driving and immediately phoned the police.

The anxiety in the white population was expressed yesterday by Johannesburg's Afrikaans establishment newspaper, *Beeld*. *Beeld* warned: "One rash outburst now, one stray bullet, one act of vengeance can bring down the delicate structure of negotiations and unleash satanic forces." Everyone's worst nightmare, page 18

13 APR 1993

INDEPENDENT

LONDON

From PETER YOUNGHUSBAND in Capetown

THE 'Young Lions' of Nelson Mandela's ANC roared for the blood of South African whites yesterday.

As the African National Congress youth league demanded a declaration of war, a white man was stabbed to death and his body set on fire in a black township.

Across the nation, other whites were stoned in their cars, jostled in the street and abused and spat on by blacks enraged by the assassination of ANC hero Chris Hani.

The man murdered yesterday was found in a squatter camp outside Sasolburg, south of Johannesburg. He had gone there looking for spare parts for his car.

On the previous day, two white men were beaten and burned to death and a third died after his tongue was cut out when a black mob attacked their cars in Kayelithsa township, near Capetown.

The demand for war against the whites was made by fiery speakers at a mass rally in the Pretoria township of Mamelodi to protest at the ANC man's murder. Police fired teargas when violence broke out among the crowd of 2,500.

Hani, general secretary of the South African Communist Party and former chief of the ANC's armed wing, was gunned down in the drive of his home by a white extremist on Saturday.

Yesterday, around 1,000 people, many carrying home-made spears and axes, marched on the racially-mixed suburb of Boksburg, east of Johannesburg, where he died. 'We want power, we want it now,' ANC youth league leader Peter Mokaba told the crowd. 'We want Nelson Mandela in power now.'

ANC official Mondli Gungubele appealed to demonstrators not to attack white residents in the area, telling them: 'We are not here on a racial war.'

Rally

But anger over Hani's murder continued to boil over into rioting, attacks on whites and aggressive demonstrations throughout the country, despite appeals for calm from President F.W. de Klerk, Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders.

Radicals opened fire on a convoy of black and white journalists covering a protest rally in Katlehong, a township east of Johannesburg. A CBS television cameraman narrowly missed being hit by a bullet, and a car carrying a Reuters crew was stoned.

Youths firebombed 12 shops near Johannesburg. In the South, at Port Elizabeth, a post office was burned down and cars owned by whites were incinerated.

Marches and demonstrations will continue all week. ANC supporters plan to picket major routes into cities and towns, especially Boksburg, where Hani's alleged murderer, 41-year-old Janus Walus, a member of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, the AWB, will

appear in court today. Numerous speakers at rallies yesterday claimed the assassination was planned by the government. But President de Klerk has promised swift justice and has said that if any strategy was involved in the murder, it was to hinder negotiations for a democratic constitution.

The government said it was a matter of 'deep concern' that the pistol used to kill Hani was from a consignment stolen from air force headquarters in Pretoria in 1990 by a senior AWB member.

Police are now trying to establish whether Hani's killing was part of a wider

conspiracy. They say a hit list was found in Walus's house. It included leaders of the ANC and ruling National Party and senior journalists. Unconfirmed reports say Mr de Klerk and members of his cabinet were also on it.

An alliance of the ANC, Communist Party and trade union Cosatu is demanding that tomorrow be made a public holiday to honour Hani and is calling for a general strike in Johannesburg.

They also demand joint control by the ANC and government of security forces and an international investigation of the assassination.

ANC youth leaders cry 'War' over death of their hero



Black martyr: Chris Hani, former chief of the ANC's armed wing, shot dead outside his home — allegedly by a white extremist

The Daily

Mail.

13/4/93

London

The Daily Telegraph

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South Africa on the edge

THE violent unrest which has spread across South Africa, following the murder of Mr Chris Hani, is a reminder of the fragility of the process of peace and reconciliation in that country, and of the depth of anger and violence which underlies it. Mr Hani, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, was more than just another African National Congress leader. A recent poll had shown his popularity to be second only to that of Nelson Mandela among the blacks. Although lionised by the radical young militants of the urban townships and squatter camps because of his past record as a guerrilla leader and commander of the ANC's military wing, he was fully committed to the peace process, and had recently denounced the terrorist tactics of the Pan-Africanist Congress, to demonstrable effect. To this extent he was uniquely placed to be a conciliator and his death is a considerable blow to the democratic process set in motion by President de Klerk.

It is a mark of how well advanced is this process that leading colleagues of Mr Hani, including Archbishop Tutu and the secretary-general of the ANC, Cyril Ramaphosa, have publicly denounced demands for mass action and called for the constitutional negotiations to be speeded up. Although the multi-party talks were slowed down by Mr de Klerk when mounting violence across South Africa (particularly between the ANC and Inkatha camps) looked to be getting out of hand, both the government and the ANC are now coming to believe that

the problem of political violence can be resolved only once a multi-racial interim government is in place. It would be lamentable if the isolated act of an extremist — if that is what it turns out to have been — undermines this shared belief.

What Mr de Klerk must now do, as much for reasons of long-term common sense as to help defuse the current tensions, is to step up the security provided to leading South African politicians. Until now, there appears to have been a tacit agreement among the warring groups in South Africa to avoid assassinations of political leaders; the last major political figure in South Africa to have been murdered was Prime Minister Verwoerd in 1965. This is why, to the surprise of a number of Western observers, even Nelson Mandela and Mr de Klerk have been able to travel around the country without being constantly surrounded by bodyguards. Mr Hani had a private bodyguard (who doubled as his chauffeur) but had given him the Easter weekend off.

Mr de Klerk should now offer regular police protection to all the top ANC officials, as well as to senior members of the Nationalist government. This may not prevent highly organised assassination attempts, but it ought to stop solitary gunmen getting through. The last thing anyone in South Africa wants now, apart from the extremists on either side, is a frenzy of racial violence which could postpone the elections indefinitely, and with them, any hopes of a peaceful transition to multi-racial government.

Black Protest Over Murder Widens in South Africa

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

JOHANNESBURG — Tens of thousands of angry blacks took to South Africa's streets on Monday to vent their fury and frustration at the assassination of Chris Hani, a top African National Congress figure who was also the South African Communist Party leader.

Sporadic gunfire was reported during several demonstrations organized by the ANC to protest the slaying of the charismatic Mr. Hani, the ANC's most popular figure after its president, Nelson Mandela.

In townships near Johannesburg cars and shops were set on fire, and journalists, photographers and policemen came under fire as marchers thronged through the streets.

The ANC announced a program of mass protest starting this week to "help channel the anger of the people" at the slaying of Mr. Hani.

A group of more than 10,000 black ANC supporters from Cape Town's black Guguletu township, many of them heavily armed, marched to a police station in the mixed-race suburb of Athlone late Sunday, where they resolved to meet again to march to Cape Town itself on Wednesday.

"If any of our people are shot on Wednesday we will burn down Cape Town," the ANC's regional leader, Tony Yengeni, told the seething crowd, which was visibly angry at the death of Mr. Hani.

The police said the demonstration, which was centered in the Johannesburg and Cape Town areas, passed off with no injuries reported.

See ANGER, Page 4



South Africans registering their anger Monday in Katlehong, east of Johannesburg, after the murder of the Communist Party leader Chris Hani at his home in the suburb of Brixton.

Jude Mgwany

South Africa Tense as Slain Black Leader Is Mourned

By BILL KELLER

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, April 12 — An angry shudder passed through the townships of South Africa today as blacks mourning the killing of Chris Hani, the charismatic black leader, put up barricades, burned cars, looted stores and fired on police officers and journalists.

No deaths or serious injuries were reported in the sporadic violence, but black leaders and Government officials feared that the anger would escalate, fueled by new evidence that the pistol used to shoot Mr. Hani on Saturday in front of his suburban home had come from a military armory.

The police said the gun was part of a cache pilfered from an air force office in Pretoria three years ago by young airmen aligned with a right-wing paramilitary group, the Afrikaner Resistance Movement.

Membership Is Confirmed

The leader of that group, Eugene TerreBlanche, confirmed today that the man accused of being Mr. Hani's killer, a Polish immigrant named Janusz Walus, had been a member of his organization since 1986.

In a telephone interview from his headquarters in Ventersdorp, 60 miles west of Johannesburg, Mr. TerreBlanche disavowed any knowledge of the killing and said he condemned it, on the ground that assassination was not military fair play.

For many conspiracy-minded

blacks, the mere origin of the weapon was enough to implicate President F. W. de Klerk's Government in Mr. Hani's slaying.

Senior officials of the African National Congress and allied organizations said the ease with which right-wing zealots had stolen weapons from the military at least suggested official complicity.

"It is convenient for the Government now to focus on Walus as a Pole rather than recognizing that it gave him citizenship of this country and more rights

Anger simmers after an African assassination.

than the majority of the people of South Africa enjoy," the congress officials added in a statement. "He had the right to gun licenses and the right to bring his prejudices into this country."

On the stump in the simmering townships, local orators flatly blamed the killing on the state.

Slain Leader Is Honored

The African National Congress moved to focus the rage by scheduling a variety of official commemorations and protests in honor of Mr. Hani, the leader of the Communist Party and one

of the most popular figures in the congress.

"We never deny people their right to be angry," said Tokyo Sexwale, chairman of the congress's largest region, the industrial heartland surrounding Johannesburg. "But they must understand that their anger must be channeled constructively."

The black townships southeast of Johannesburg, near the suburb where Mr. Hani lived, seemed on the brink of chaos at some points today and remained tense.

In Katlehong, young blacks flocking to an impromptu memorial rally set cars alight and then fired on reporters filming the damage. A mob of about 60 people ramaged through a shopping mall outside Kagiso township, throwing gasoline bombs that left 16 stores smoldering.

African National Congress leaders trod a fine line between venting the anger and inciting it.

Peter Mokaba, the popular president of the congress youth league, called on followers in Katlehong to make the white Government "tremble before us." But when the police refused to let a column of marchers enter the middle-class suburb where Mr. Hani died, Mr. Mokaba led them quietly away.

Suspect Fled Communist Poland

Mr. Walus, who the police say fired four bullets into Mr. Hani as he returned from buying newspapers on Saturday morning, is to be formally charged on Tuesday morning.

Accounts in South African newspa-

pers say Mr. Walus was among the many Eastern Europeans who fled their countries in the 1980's to escape Communism, seeking refuge in the prosperous and conservative white community of South Africa.

Like many others, Mr. Walus found no utopia. Within a few years, acquaintances have anonymously told reporters, his glass business failed, he was divorced and he fell in with right-wingers who watched the imminent surrender of white privilege with alarm.

The police said that he had licenses for four guns, including a machine pistol, but that the gun used on Mr. Hani came from the theft in Pretoria, led by a self-styled Afrikaner commando named Piet Rudolph. Mr. Rudolph, who subsequently fell out with the Afrikaner Resistance Movement in one of its endemic personality clashes, admitted masterminding the theft, but charges were dropped in a political amnesty.

Mr. TerreBlanche, the gunslinging leader of the Nazi-like group, said many of his members were non-Africans — especially English, Portuguese and Eastern Europeans — who joined less out of racial motives than from devout anti-Communism.

Mr. TerreBlanche said he had met Mr. Walus only once, years ago, and had not been sure he had been a member of the movement until he had checked membership records today. But he had little doubt about what drove the man: "Mr. Hani wasn't shot because he's a black man. Mr. Walus killed him because he was secretary general of the Communist Party."

The murder of Chris Hani presents the ANC and South Africa's government with a stiff test of their will for peace

Blood and a state of flux

Gardian
13/4/93
London

David Beresford

AMIDST all the condemnation which has poured forth in South Africa over the killing of the ANC leader and Communist Party chief, Chris Hani, the most surprising has come from the neo-Nazi leader, Eugene Terreblanche.

With a voice "sounding a little breathless and tense", it was reported yesterday, the commander of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) described the killing as an "atrocious deed", adding: "Naturally, this is an act which no one can condone."

The racist reputation of the man called "white earth" is not that of one who would weep over the death of someone with the pigmentation, much less the reputation, of Hani. Which presents a riddle as to why Terreblanche is suddenly so anxious to distance himself and his organisation from a deed which has had other rightwingers expressing open jubilation.

As South Africa once again

finds itself peering over the proverbial abyss, it is anxiously looking for the answers to three fundamental questions which could go a long way towards determining its future.

The first is whether the killing represents part of a conspiracy, an opening salvo in the long-threatened counter-revolution by the right; the second, whether the black political leadership is going to be able to control the forces of township militancy unleashed by the killing and, perhaps, further atrocities; the third, whether the government has the capability — the sophistication — to cope with the crisis in a manner which will not send the society into a vortex of violence and counter-violence.

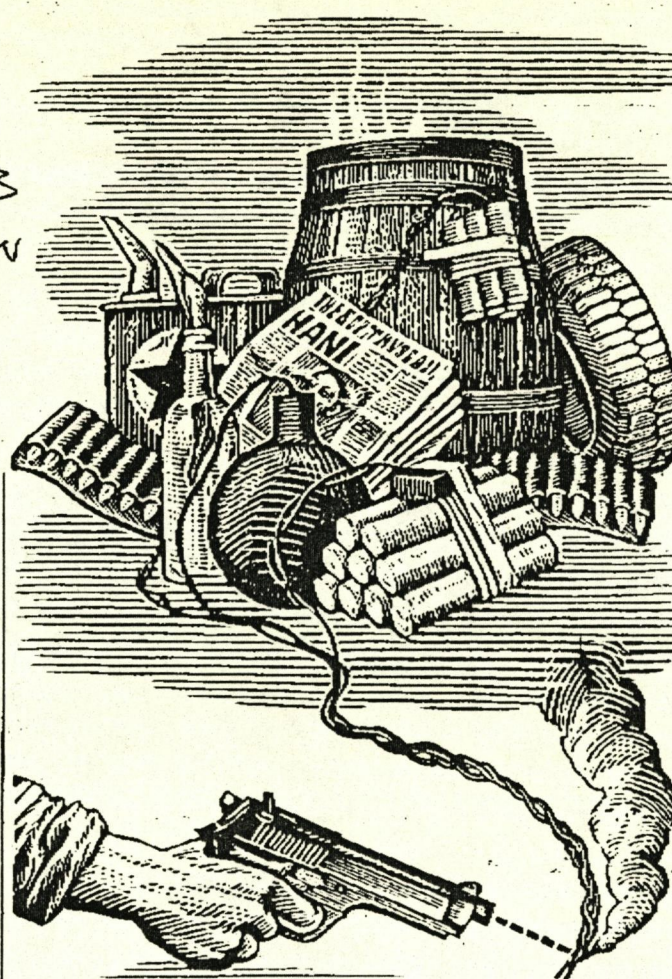
Rightwing responsibility for the Hani assassination remained the subject of conjecture yesterday. The Polish immigrant accused of the killing, Janusz Jakub Walus, aged 40, is due to appear in court today in the wake of police confirmation that forensic evidence indicated a Luger pistol found in his possession was the murder weapon and that he had fired it.

A "hit list" discovered in his Pretoria flat — listing a strange assortment of targets ranging from Judge Richard Goldstone, heading a long-running inquiry into political violence, to a variety of journalists — suggests that he is a crank. But on the basis that a crank can be a useful recruit to a conspiracy, the point is hardly definitive.

Meanwhile other disturbing details about his background have emerged. Last night Mr Terreblanche confirmed that — after a search of his computerised membership lists — he had established that Mr Walus had joined the AWB in 1986, although he had no command position.

It also emerged yesterday that the Polish immigrant had police licences to carry four guns. Three were conventional handguns, one of them a 9mm Z88 — a locally produced variation on the Italian Bêretta, which is standard government issue. The fourth weapon is more unusual; a 9mm parabelum Kommando, a machine pistol which is rarely licensed for private use. It was still not known yesterday why he was authorised to carry it.

The actual murder weapon was not licensed — it had been stolen from air force headquarters in Pretoria by a celebrated rightwing extremist, Piet "Skier" Rudolph, three years ago. A former security policeman and rightwing parliamen-



BROMLEY

a member of the AWB at the time of the raid.

He was briefly imprisoned and then released under an amnesty. He seemingly broke from the AWB and disappeared into obscurity, resurfacing briefly earlier this year when he ran away with the wife of a Pretoria lawyer who found her spouse too "leftwing" for her liking.

Part of the difficulty in tying down possible links between Walus and rightwing organisations is confusion as to who and what represents rightwing extremism in South Africa nowadays. The AWB itself seems to

blanche gave effective command of the organisation to a cabal of "generals", while maintaining nominal leadership; in an apparent fit of pique, during a stormy meeting of commanders, he threw the AWB flag at the generals in what was taken to be a ceremonial gesture surrendering his power to them.

More recently, there was a curious development when Terreblanche announced he had received a "document" from a group of AWB members, including security force personnel, disclosing that a "retribution unit"

for their actions. Coming at a time when the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) was denying responsibility for attacks on whites carried out by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), it was assumed that Terreblanche's "denial" was cynical mimicry.

Whether Hani's killing was the work of this retribution unit — and Terreblanche's condemnation an attempt to forestall possible government action — or the work of a crazed loner who happened to have signed up with the AWB, it has presented both the ANC leadership and the De Klerk administration with a crucial test of their capacity to exercise political control.

The ANC for its part has moved intelligently to try to head off the predictable township backlash to the killings — coupling Nelson Mandela's forceful appeals for calm with the organisation of mass demonstrations intended in large part to provide a safety valve for black anger.

But for all the effort there is the troubling realisation that the ANC has in the past shown itself incapable of controlling its supporters, notably in the context of the Natal conflict. It is a control it will have all the more difficulty exercising in the absence of the father-figure for their militant youth, Hani.

If the ANC is to exercise control it will be heavily dependent on the government, police and military to handle with circumspection the planned demonstrations, and the occasional eruptions of violence which will almost certainly be attendant on them. It is a circumspection which will be difficult to squeeze out of security forces trained in a tradition of confrontation. The almost unbelievable incompetence of their political masters in failing to facilitate the security of the likes of Hani and Mandela points to a command structure which can hardly be expected to effect the transformation demanded of them.

Whichever way one looks at it, South Africa appears to be

Cold...hungry...

London

THE TIMES TUESDAY APRIL 13 1993

AWB leader says suspect killer of Hani was member

■ As Eugene Terre'Blanche said the man accused of killing Chris Hani must be treated as a political prisoner, black leaders tried to channel anger into peaceful protests

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN JOHANNESBURG

EUGENE Terre'Blanche, the leader of the extreme right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) or Resistance Movement, last night acknowledged that the man accused of killing Chris Hani, the general secretary of the South African Communist Party (SACP), is a fully paid-up member of his organisation and has been since 1986.

Although Mr Terre'Blanche condemned the assassination as "an atrocious deed", he expressed some sympathy with the motives behind the murder and demanded that the accused man, a Polish immigrant named Janusz Walus, be treated as a political prisoner. He said he disapproved of the attack because it was an assassination and not a killing in a real war, adding: "If it had been a proper battle, I could have killed Mr Hani myself."

Mr Terre'Blanche said people were retaliating for attacks on whites by black guerrillas. Mr Hani's assassination was "a message that they can't go on killing white women and children".

He would be asking the government to treat Mr Walus "as a political prisoner and not

a criminal, because he did it after MK [the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe] went on with their killings of white people". Mr Terre'Blanche said he had met Mr Walus once, in the AWB's Pretoria office in 1987.

Another link between Mr Walus and the AWB was indicated by police who revealed on Sunday night that the gun from which the fatal shots were fired, and which was found in the car driven by Mr Walus, was part of a theft from the headquarters of the South African Air Force in Pretoria in April 1990. That theft was carried out by Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, a senior member of the AWB until March last year. Mr Rudolph was at one time second-in-command to Mr Terre'Blanche.

Mr Rudolph last night also expressed some sympathy for what may have been the murderer's motive. "That the acts of terror by the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and SACP should lead to a reaction from white people who felt threatened is a fact, and there could necessarily be more targets to satisfy such an urge for retribution," Mr Rudolph said. Mr Rudolph, who founded his own right-wing extremist organisation, Order of the Boer Nation, said the guns he had stolen in 1990 had been distributed to "the volk [nation] which had been unarmed and still stood defenceless against the onslaught of those who wanted to take our land".

There were signs yesterday that the anger in the black townships at Hani's assassination could overwhelm the best intentions of the black political leaders, and that the thinly stretched police force could be swamped by the public outpouring of hate against the regime. Yesterday the black leadership tried to find ways to channel the anger of their followers into a series of disciplined protests. Leaders of the PWV tripartite alliance of the ANC, the Communist party and the Confederation of South African Trade Unions announced that their region would today begin "massive rolling action" to channel members' anger.

Tokyo Sexwale, the ANC's PWV regional president, who was a friend and neighbour of Hani, declared: "Our people are very, very hurt, deeply hurt, and are very, very angry... But we are saying to our people that they must understand that that anger must be channelled constructively."

Mr Terre'Blanche said a month ago that, after the killings of a white mother and two children on a school round at Eikenhof, south of Johannesburg, a "reprisal group" had been set up which involved some of his supporters and members of the security establishment. He said he disapproved of the establishment of the unit and yesterday indicated that he did not believe it was implicated in Hani's killing.

□ Stockholm: The African National Congress will lose its £9.5 million a year in Swedish aid when it starts campaigning in South African elections. Swedish law forbids aid to political parties. (AP)

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Angry blacks seek armed uprising

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN
IN JOHANNESBURG

TENS of thousands of black protesters took to South African streets yesterday as black anger at the assassination of Chris Hani boiled over into calls for arms to be taken up against whites.

Shots were fired by black radicals, police were stoned and vehicles set ablaze. "The situation is tense and chaotic," Brigadier Frans Malherbe, a police spokesman, said.

Despite efforts by the leaders of both blacks and whites to contain the violence, fears rose last night that anarchy could destroy hopes of arriving at peacefully negotiated political reform.

Leaders of the African National Congress and its allies have made plans to channel their followers' anger into several days of mass demonstrations. But younger leaders of the ANC rejected the peace calls at one mass rally, in the Pretoria township of Mamelodi. They demanded to know how they could be expected to act responsibly in the face of the assassination on Saturday of Hani, general secretary of the South African Communist party, which was blamed on the government by several speakers.

"It is time we told the leadership that enough is enough," one speaker said. "Now is the time to hit back." Speakers from the ANC Youth League and student wing called for a boycott of white businesses.

The rally began in a high

■ Although ANC leaders want to turn anger at the murder of Chris Hani into days of mass demonstrations, younger elements are rejecting calls for peace

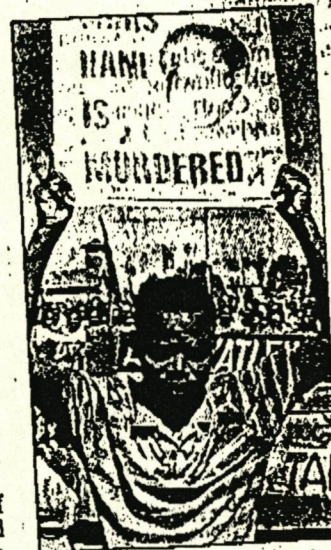
state of anger after a police car had been stoned, injuring one of the occupants. Police reacted by firing tear gas at the gathering crowds, and broke them into smaller processions. The rally ended peacefully with the crowd marching back to the township, shouting and singing freedom songs.

A thousand blacks, many carrying spears and axes, marched on Hani's home in a suburb of Boksburg, near Johannesburg, where the alleged assassin, Janusz Walus, 40, appears in court today. ANC youth leaders told the crowd: "We want power. We want it now." There was chaos in three East Rand townships, Katlehong, Thokoza and Tsikane, as protesters began to set vehicles alight. Security reinforcements were rushed to the townships as angry youths tried to burn police trucks, vans and cars.

In Katlehong a number of black and white reporters and television crews were fired on as they tried to film a blazing truck. Juda Ngwenya, a photographer for Reuters news agency, said he was "nearly killed", but that no one was injured.

Police fired rubber bullets to disperse a crowd that had burnt down a house belonging to a police sergeant in

Katlehong. The crowd of about 200 people was returning from Hani's Boksburg house when it began stoning the police station, breaking the windows of buildings and vehicles. The terrified inhabitants of Boksburg were visited



Murder: protester with the front-page news

by more than 5,000 marchers anxious to pay their respects to the dead leader.

In Cape Province, where the worst of the violence broke out at the weekend, the townships were mainly quiet. After a

black man had been killed during an exchange of shots between police and demonstrators in the Chicken Farm squatter camp in Soweto on Sunday, two white men were burned to death at Lwandle township 25 miles from Cape Town. A third white man, who was also set alight and had his tongue cut during the same attack, died yesterday.

In a broadcast, Archbishop Desmond Tutu condemned retaliatory murders and appealed to blacks for restraint, declaring: "Please, please dear people, we don't help our cause by actions of that kind."

The ANC last night demanded an international investigation into Hani's killing, saying an open and fair enquiry could not be conducted by "the same corrupt forces Comrade Hani fought so long". It was disturbed that the murder weapon had allegedly been stolen from the air force.

Eugene Terre'Blanche, the leader of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), said yesterday that the man accused of Mr Hani's murder had been a member of the AWB since 1986.

Those urging calm yesterday pointed out that more people died in the violent storms which struck the Cape Province and Natal at the weekend than in the violence. The storms broke sea walls and closed Cape Town's airport. Three homeless people died of exposure, and a man was killed by a falling tree.

Right condemnation, page 11
R. W. Johnson, page 14

LONG SHADOW OF ONE MAN'S DEATH RICHARD DOWD

PERHAPS the most striking thing about the murder of Chris Hani, the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, is that it did not happen earlier. To most whites he was the black Communist demon king who personified their worst nightmares. For this reason alone he was a particular target of racist extremism.

Yet, like many of the African National Congress leaders, he seemed to take the attitude that if someone is determined to kill you, there is nothing much you can do to stop them. The casual way in which he dismissed his driver and bodyguard last Saturday was typical of his lack of concern for his personal security. That fatalistic view was given an added dimension by his outrageous decision to live in Dawn Park, Boksburg. It was the equivalent of Gerry Adams, the president of Sinn Féin, moving to Surbiton.

Hani had said that he chose Boksburg because houses were cheaper there; once he moved in, though, he sensed the outrage and determined to stay there out of defiance and amusement. This was always a risky attitude, considering the depth and breadth of hatred one hears from some South African whites. Now he has paid for it with his life. But how will his death affect South Africa?

Those who try to predict South Africa's future usually append to their prognostications the caveat "as long as something terrible doesn't happen like the assassination of Nelson Mandela or one of the other ANC leaders". With the death of Hani something terrible has happened. But Hani was not the simple figure he often seemed.

Although much has been made latterly of his charm and moderation, he probably presented a greater and earlier threat to apartheid than any other ANC leader. In 1988, when he was chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the ANC's military wing, he gave an interview in Lusaka to the *New York Times* in which he said that whites helping to enforce apartheid were legitimate targets and that the liberation struggle had to be taken to white areas "to make apartheid expensive in terms of financial resources and in terms of lives". His words were immediately repudiated by Oliver Tambo, the president of the ANC, and did not change ANC policy on attacking civilian targets. His statement seemed designed rather to create a bogeyman image.

Hani's name was already a legend in the black community. He had taken part in the Maoist-style march by South African guerrillas through Rhodesia in 1967. It ended in disaster, but he was one of the few to emerge from it with some credit. When thousands of young blacks fled South Africa in the mid-Eighties seeking weapons to hit back at apartheid, most were sceptical about the ANC, but they knew who Chris Hani was — a militant ready to attack, as they were — and they were ready to follow him.

In fact, when Hani did emerge from the

shadows in 1990, he surprised everyone by openly announcing his affiliation to the South African Communist Party — and then pursuing a middle-of-the-road political line. While other "young Turks" jostled for a place in the shadow of the recently released Nelson Mandela, Hani went off to the Transkei, his home area, where he sought to build a power base. It was a puzzling strategy if Hani was ultimately seeking political power. On the one hand it seemed to say that the Communist Party would emerge with power in South Africa, having separated from the ANC; on the other, that a real power base in South Africa was built not by speech-making in Johannesburg and the big cities but by doing the rounds in one's own rural constituency.

Such a strategy might have made sense if Hani had remained a wild man on the fringe of the ANC, prophesying doom and destruction, biding and creating his time. But the bare bones of his speeches, however stirring, were always well within the policy of the ANC. In many ways he had become a moderate.

Had he sought populist power he might also have been tempted towards the extreme Pan-Africanist philosophy crudely expressed in the slogan "one settler, one bullet". Many bright young militants from the townships have been attracted to this simple tribal philosophy held by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) — the group responsible for killing four whites and injuring 20 others at a golf club in King William's Town last November. But Hani went out of his way to condemn the killings, pointing out that the struggle was against apartheid, not against whites.

Hani was an enigma: regarded as an extremist by whites and a radical militant by his own rank and file, he had become a moderate. As such, he remained an important but not vital player.

If his young hero worshippers ignore his own commands and find in his death the cause for war, his killing could provide the spark that starts the inferno. But if South Africa follows the pattern of the rest of Africa, this is unlikely. Throughout the struggle for independence Africa has experienced remarkably little violence directed at whites. After the bitterest of wars, notably in Kenya and Zimbabwe, there was rarely vengeance or retribution during the struggle for independence, still less after it.

Even if tomorrow's day of action gets out of control, the old apartheid regime that planned South Africa's geography placed the black townships a long bus ride away from white areas. And the black areas have been so designed that they can be cut off and contained by security forces. In the mid-Eighties, at the height of the township uprisings, trouble rarely spilt over from the townships and never reached the white suburbs.

Any decision to ring the townships and crack down militarily would place the ANC and the government in an appallingly difficult position. Despite all the

ups and downs of the last three years, they have established an understanding of each other and of the shape of the "New South Africa". The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), which is the negotiating forum for all the major political players in South Africa, is supposed to be creating a transitional executive council to prepare for an elected constituent assembly. The elections for the assembly are scheduled for sometime between the end of this year and next April.

Like men working frantically to build a house before the tornado breaks, the government and the ANC have nothing to gain by delaying, however bitterly they may fight over the design of the house.

Both must look over their shoulders to their constituencies, which will have to live in the house afterwards. They live in constant fear that it will be torn down or bombed before it is finished; yet the budget is diminishing and will not increase until the house is built.

This week the fear is in the ANC camp. Tomorrow is their day of action for the murder of Chris Hani and it will be filled with grief and rage. Their leaders will want better security for themselves, tougher police action against racist attacks and further concessions from the government. But they will pray that the rage will not lead to anything that could delay the completion of the new house.

INDEPENDENT

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THE TIMES TUESDAY APRIL 13 1993

All responsible parties in South Africa accept their duty is still to negotiate, says R.W. Johnson

Avenge Hani's death by peaceful transition

On the walls of the university where I work, black student activists, filled with rage at the assassination of Chris Hani, have spray-painted the slogans, "No peace without Hani" and "To war, comrades, to war". There is no doubt that such sentiments are quite widely shared by young blacks in the townships, but there seems little likelihood that such reactions will stop or even delay the progress of the multi-party talks which reopened in Johannesburg just before Easter. On the contrary, and despite dissent further down the movement's hierarchy, the ANC leaders have been unanimous and emphatic in their assertion that the process of constitutional negotiation must continue.

ANC leaders have no doubt been badly shaken to see how easily even the most prominent of their comrades could be gunned down — although some hard questions need to be asked about why Hani's ANC bodyguard arrived on the scene several hours too late. Perhaps it is even more significant that the breakdown in talks last year plunged the country into months of violent mayhem. Looking back at that, it is easy to see that this was extremely expensive in human lives, and that nine months were lost to negotiation without much corresponding gain. The ANC cannot afford this to happen again, certainly not if it wishes to stick to the timetable agreed with President de Klerk for elections by April 1994, nor indeed if it wishes to retain the sympathy of an international community grown weary of such delays. In any case, the ANC leaders know that

negotiation is the only political game in town. A relapse into bitterness and communal reprisals would mean a descent into mere racial feuding, rendering politicians proper almost redundant.

Nonetheless, Hani's death will not make the cause of compromise and mutual accommodation any easier to achieve — although that is just what is required. The logjam last year came over two issues: majority rule versus power-sharing and a centralised unitary state versus federalism, on both of which the government was able to block the ANC, thanks to a wide coalition of support, ranging from the liberal Democratic Party and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party to a number of minor parties frightened of majority rule, and to the black homelands which are now too accustomed to a large devolution of power to stomach a return to centralised rule.

The breakdown of talks last year left the country in a state of violence and drift, from which it was only rescued, following the Bisho massacre, by the energetic action of the Western powers, which shoehorned the government and the ANC into a series of bilateral deals,

including an agreement on power-sharing. The other parties, thoroughly alarmed by this bilateralism, have come crowding back to the table in almost unmanageable numbers. Not only has the white far right broken its boycott of the talks, as has the extremist Pan-Africanist Congress, but all manner of fresh minor players are bidding for representation, carrying the total of participants up from Codesa's 19 to 26 now. The only thing most of the minnows have in common is a furious rejection of the idea that the future can be dictated by cosy deals between President de Klerk's National Party and the ANC.

In practice, however, it seems clear that this is exactly what there will be. There were always two models for negotiation: a duopoly of the National Party and the ANC or an all-party arrangement. The former would be undemocratic but convenient, reserving all the jobs and patronage for the two major players; the latter would be more democratic but would quickly collapse like the Tower of Babel. What is happening now is a mixture of models: a Tower of Babel conference lasting only a day has been followed by private

conclaves, in which the minor parties are being forced to accept a consensus already worked out secretly by the National Party and the ANC. If all goes according to plan, a transitional executive will replace the present government in a few months' time, and similar power-sharing arrangements will be slotted into place with regard to the army, police, media, and regional and city government, to provide an equal start for democratic elections.

There are two large problems. First, the question of federalism remains unresolved. The ANC talks loudly about its willingness to concede regional government, but its centralising, Jacobin instincts are still well in evidence. In effect the ANC hopes that it has brought the government onto its side by conceding power-sharing, and that this will tip the balance against the unholy alliance of Chief Buthelezi, other homeland leaders and the far right. But the National Party is deeply split over federalism, so much so that the talks could still break down over this crucial issue.

Secondly, the process is threatened by the possibility of social breakdown, which now threatens on every side. The

murder rate here is ten times that of the United States (and 95 times that of Britain); unemployment, already mountainous, continues to pile up; black education has virtually collapsed, and black activists are now planning to invade and occupy white schools, which is just the sort of campaign that could precipitate the descent into inter-communal reprisals and counter-reprisals which now constantly threatens. Such dangers bring white anxiety to near hysteria, producing further emigration by much-needed professionals. The cycle of economic decline producing more violence which then leads to further decline is all too apparent.

The chances are that politicians will walk to the edge of this precipice — but not over it. Hani's assassination has demonstrated just how close to that edge we are already. In the end a deal will be done, and ultimately there will probably be a deal on federalism. The way will then be clear for a more representative and legitimate government to stamp its authority on the country by strong measures against crime and political extremism of every brand. This, at least, is what the Western powers and a probable majority of all races here now want. The idea of the first democratic government declaring a state of emergency and using its popular authority to wield an iron fist is not what the liberation movement was supposed to be all about, but South Africa now hovers so close to a Hobbesian state of nature that such an outcome might be not merely necessary but popular.

Top ANC leader shot dead by white

Johannesburg
Allister Sparks

IN THE first major political assassination of South Africa's long and bitter racial conflict, Chris Hani, leader of the Communist Party and a senior figure in the ANC leadership, was gunned down outside his home in a newly integrated suburb east of Johannesburg yesterday.

A 40-year-old white man, believed to be a member of an extreme right-wing organisation, shot the Communist secretary-general in the head and chest as he stepped out of his car in the driveway of his home in Dawn Park, Boksburg. The gunman was arrested soon afterwards.

Police spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said he was being questioned 'very intensively'. The man, thought to be of Polish origin, was later named as Januzi Jacob Wallus, 40, from Pretoria. Tokyo Sexwale, a neighbour and fellow ANC executive member, who was the first to reach Hani, said the two head shots which killed him showed the shooting was the work of 'a skilled professional'.

As leaders of all parties, including President de Klerk, condemned the murder, apprehension settled over South Africa that the assassination of a man who is a hero in the black community could jeopardise the constitutional talks which are about to enter their most crucial phase.

This prompted speculation that the killer might have been deliberately trying to wreck the negotiations.

As Joe Slovo, the Communist Party chairman, put it: 'South Africa can't afford this. It comes at a time when there were prospects of a major breakthrough in the negotiations, and it was clearly designed to spike the whole process again.'

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer described the killing as 'morally repugnant and politically the most dangerous deed that could possibly have been committed'.

The ANC described the assassination as 'a crisis for the

country and a crime against the people'.

The shooting also raised fears of retaliatory killings in a country which has been remarkably free of high-profile assassinations. The only other major political figure assassinated in South Africa was Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd in 1965, but he was stabbed to death by a mentally disturbed parliamentary messenger and there was never any suggestion that the killing was politically motivated.

Even at the height of Pretoria's conflict with the ANC, when many ordinary members were killed, no attempt was ever made to eliminate the movement's leaders. Nor did members of the ANC's guerrilla wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), ever make an attempt on the life of a Minister in the South African government.

This mutual restraint led to speculation that there was an unwritten agreement between the two sides not to target each other's leaders. Whether this is correct or not, foreign visitors have expressed amazement at the way President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, and other leaders have moved about the country with minimal security protection.

The irony of Hani's murder is that he lived with death for much of his life, and finally met it when engaged in a drive for peace.

He joined Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1962 at the age of 20, saw action in Rhodesia and South Africa, and became Umkhonto's chief of staff in 1987 at the height of South Africa's racial conflict. But with the onset of negotiations Hani became an advocate of peace.

Last week he became the first black leader publicly to attack the Pan-Africanist Congress for its attacks on whites, and to call for the 'isolation' of those who were disrupting the peace process through violence. 'The negotiations need a climate of peace and stability,' he said on Wednesday. 'We can't afford to have this process disrupted.'

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South African Shock: Murder in a Sunshine Estate

By Bill Keller

New York Times Service

BOKSBURG, South Africa — The neighborhood where Chris Hani, South Africa's most popular black militant, was gunned down defies most stereotypes about the country, including those South Africans hold about each other.

Dawn Park, as the subdivision on the southeastern fringe of Johannesburg's suburbia is called, is racially mixed, quintessentially middle-class and so free of tension that Mr. Hani often jogged through the streets unprotected.

It is typical of Dawn Park, Mr. Hani's black neighbors said, that it was a white woman who noted the license plate of his killer and telephoned the police, enabling them to quickly arrest a suspect, Janusz Walus, 40, a Polish immigrant reputedly affiliated with a rightist fringe group. It is typical, too, that another white neighbor ran home for a sheet to cover the bullet-riddled body sprawled in the carport.

White neighbors in turn insisted to reporters looking for signs of racial strain that when the first blacks moved in a few years ago, the crime rate went down and the property values went up.

In short "The Sunshine Community," as the builders' slogan describes it, is a glimpse of the chimerical dream that drives South African optimists, a dream once again in peril.

In defense of that dream of nonracial prosperity, the African National Congress and its negotiating allies, including the Communist Party that Mr. Hani headed, recommitted themselves to continue talks with the white government on dismantling white rule and rebuffed a few radicals who called for suspension of the talks.

"I want to say without mincing any words that any suggestion of calling off the negotiating process is to play into the hands of the murderers," said Joe Slovo, chairman of the Communist Party and a member of the ANC negotiating team. "This is their purpose — to spike the negotiations."

The police, in turn, promised to let the ANC monitor the investigation closely, and on Sunday night offered special protection to other political leaders whose names were found with Mr. Hani's on a list at the home of the suspect. They did not say who was on the list.

That the talks would continue had not been in serious doubt. The real question is how much more difficult it will be for the ANC to conclude a deal with the government, sell it to the townships and win the resulting universal elections without Mr. Hani's vital credibility among angry young blacks.

The task of the moderates who appealed for restraint was made somewhat easier by initial reports that the suspect came from

the rightist fringe, not from any party involved in the negotiations.

But Peter Mokaba, president of the ANC Youth League and a militant popular among the disaffected township blacks who adored Mr. Hani, was already suggesting that the killing was part of a government plot to delay majority rule.

Mr. Mokaba said he would call on young people to "destroy the structures of apartheid in the townships," a slogan that in the past has meant barricaded streets, attacks on police officers and firebombs thrown at the homes of suspected "collaborators."

"We are always told to be calm when we want to hit back," he said, fuming. "Negotiation is not the only way."

In Dawn Park, there was an unsettling sense that South Africa's incorrigible present had scored a temporary triumph over its hopeful future.

Black political dignitaries, including the ANC president, Nelson Mandela, paraded to the crowded back patio of Mr. Hani's tawny brick bungalow to console the family. Small bands of blacks circled the block chanting liberation songs.

"This is the noisiest it's ever been in this neighborhood," said Len Taylor, 39, a white manager for a trucking company, who lives around the corner.

The subdivision, where Mr. Hani settled last year, is one of many mixed settlements that have grown up as apartheid has erod-

ed. They are far from typical, but their residents regard them as a premonition. Dawn Park is a particular object of pride because it is formally part of Boksburg, a town famous for its zealous enforcement of racial barriers.

It is a bedroom community of several hundred \$25,000-to-\$50,000 houses with two-car garages and meticulous gardens — most maintained without the aid of the black gardeners who tend more affluent suburbs.

For many years, said Mr. Taylor, prices in Dawn Park were depressed by racial gerrymandering. First there was a rumor that the area was going to be designated for Indians; then word spread that it would be earmarked for mixed-race families. The uncertainty kept white buyers at bay.

In 1991, after the apartheid laws were amended to end residential zoning based on race, the low prices drew many middle-class blacks.

There was initially an exodus of those whites who were fearful of crime and diminishing property values, but residents said the community settled at a harmonious equilibrium, about half black and half white.

"It has been smooth, it has been nice," said Lorraine Grootboom, 33, a black television anchor who moved there a year ago. "When you meet a white in the street, it's 'Hi! Hi! How's it, neighbor?'"

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Weapons

Dr Buthelezi said: "I think there'll be a blood-bath. We have a low intensity civil war already."

"People are already shooting each other."

"They are trying to ban the Zulus' cultural weapons. But the ANC's cultural weapon now is the Kalashnikov rifle."

And the Chief gave a prediction which came chillingly true over the Easter weekend: "The violence is going to involve the whites as well."

Many whites would in fact like a bigger role for South Africa's most likeable leader.

They don't like the idea of the man who would be king by 1999 — Nelson Mandela — or one of his lieutenants, taking over.

Nicknamed Abazane — "the cactus plant" — Dr Buthelezi can be both prickly and warmhearted.

EXCLUSIVE interview with South African leader Chief Buthelezi by GRAHAM JONES

He gets aggressive when he demands "a decent cup of tea", by which he means an enormous mug full.

A thinker as well as a warrior, he is proud of his tribal traditions.

Even without his trademark leopardskin garb, he carries a ceremonial chief's staff. He is used to

fielding jokes about Michael Caine. He said: "I was in the film Zulu but my favourite is Zulu Dawn — in that one, we won."

The question is why President De Klerk has so far more or less excluded the Chief from the election process.

Dr Buthelezi's solution is a moderate transition to majority rule in 1999.

He wants judges, churchmen and businessmen to help draft a constitution.

Bloodshed

He wants it to include an element of "home rule" for South Africa's six million Zulus to help defuse tribal tensions.

But now the battle is to stop the bloodshed before the first non-racial elections.

Dr Buthelezi said: "What there must be is a multi-party meeting on this — not just of the Government and the ANC and Inkatha, but one of all the other parties in South Africa."

"We must get together and agree on an agenda that the violence must end."

If the butchery does not stop Dr Buthelezi fears Europe and America will not invest in the new South Africa. He said: "They seem to think the election is some sort of magic bullet."



DE KLERK: Election talks



MANDELA: Future 'king'

problems the Zulu leader faces include rigged opinion polls, smear campaigns and a hostile press.

Last week when 10 ANC youths were killed in Natal, Inkatha were blamed. But then it was revealed they were victims of a gangland feud.

Chief Buthelezi cannot tell what he really thinks about Nelson Mandela or his terrorist past for fear of being accused of fanning the flames.

In fact until last week Nelson Mandela had refused to accept the ANC was behind any of the violence.

Chief Buthelezi came to Britain last week as one of the main presenters of the Dolly Star's Gold Star awards.

He is a man who knows about courage and bravery. In the 1970s when black South Africa was turning militant his was a lone voice of common

sense. He said: "My call was to people who could not flee into exile or join a revolutionary army."

"My call was to people who were hungry and tired and dispirited and hopeless."

Freedom

As a result, Dr Buthelezi's voice was heard.

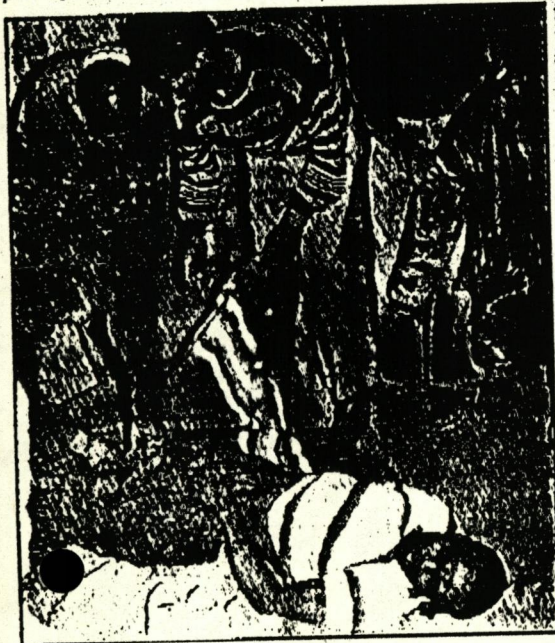
He said: "South Africans are defying the predictions of revolutionaries who said that only the armed struggle could win people their liberation."

"They are also proving the world wrong which said that only sanctions could win them freedom."

But a dark cloud remains.

As the country moves into the final stages of the transition to democracy, the violence continues.

It is time for the Zulu Chief's voice to be heard again.



DEAD: A man shot at an ANC rally yesterday

LONDON

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The slaughter has got to stop before my land is torn apart

THE Chief had a simple message when he flew into Britain for the Daily Star Gold Awards: "It's time to get together and stop the killings."

Zulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that South Africa was lurching to free elections without tackling its most serious problem — violence.

That he is the African leader who knows what's what was shown this weekend when the country erupted in gruesome tit-for-tat slaughter following the murder of Communist leader Chris Hani.

The Chief has already watched as 14,000 of his countrymen have been butchered in inter-tribal warfare — 3,000 last year alone.

And he has lost no less than 300 officials of his own Inkatha Freedom Party in tribal clashes with the African National Congress.

Tough-talking moderate Dr Buthelezi fears South Africa is hurtling towards free elections — which could come by September — without stopping to think what happens next.

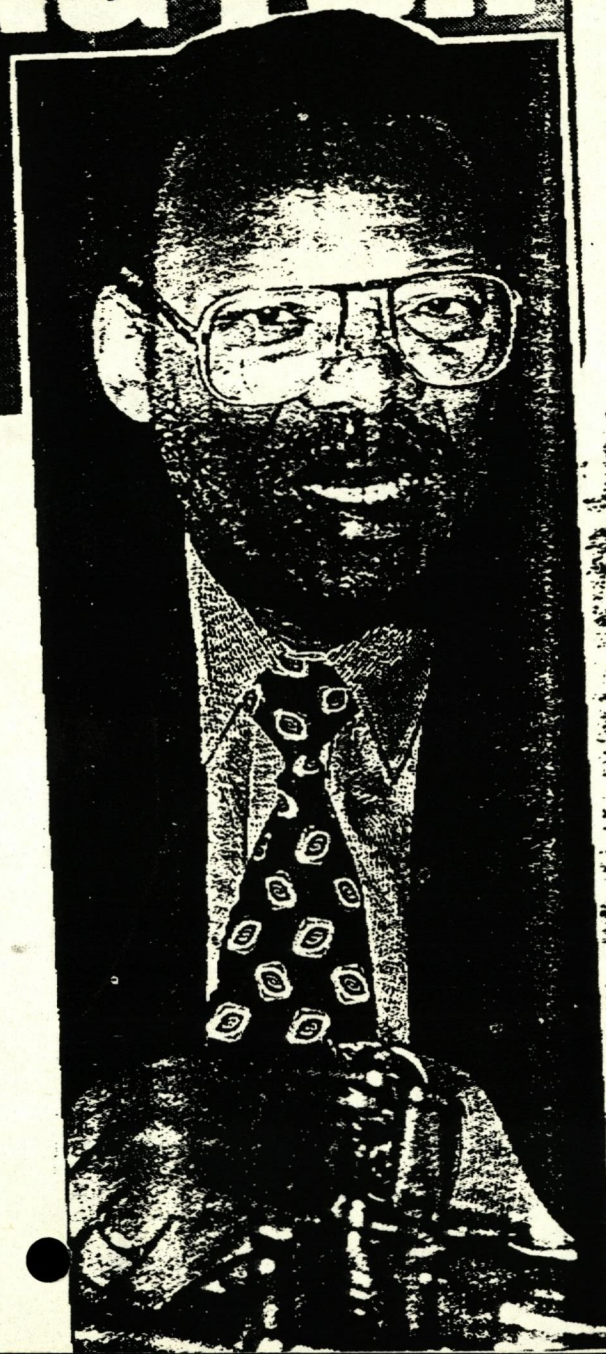
He fears a "stitch up" between President F.W. de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela will leave the ANC with all the power — and the killings will increase.

WE'RE HEADING FOR A BLOODBATH

Zulu chief's grim warning

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HANI ASSASSINATION

Anger turns to fiery violence

Staff Reporter JOHAN SCHRÖNEN monitors violent reaction in the Western Cape to the shooting of Mr Chris Hani.

STONINGS, petrol bombings, barricade-burning and torching vehicles were reported throughout the Peninsula following Chris Hani's murder.

A police spokesman said the squatter settlements of Bloekombos and Wallacedene near Kraaifontein, Khayelitsha, Guguletu, Brown's Farm near Philippi, Athlone and Umfuleni were among the areas worst affected.

Early today police reinforcements were again called to Umfuleni police station where at least two vehicles had been stoned and torched.

The spokesman said yesterday crowds of men and women petrol bombed vehicles and buildings in the area and a police patrol reported coming under automatic gunfire from a water tower while investigating the attacks.

Police vehicles were damaged but no policemen were injured.

The spokesman said Internal Stability Unit members used rubber bullets and teargas to control and disperse crowds.

About R100 000 damage was caused to the Ikapa Town Council offices in Umfuleni when a mob torched the building yesterday.

A shop owner lost more than R90 000 when a crowd looted and damaged her premises.

Her large calibre revolver and ammunition were also stolen.

Police portable radios were stolen from Mowbray police station yesterday when about 60 men and women occupied the charge office. About 200 people gathered outside.

Theft dockets were opened when personnel discovered the radios missing when the group dispersed.

On Sunday protesting men and women blocked an intersection in Khayelitsha.

Police and traffic police cordoned off various roads in Guguletu, Khayelitsha and Kraaifontein to protect motorists and vehicles.

About 11pm yesterday, a minibus taxi was forced off the road by a crowd who unloaded luggage and set it alight.

The occupants or the vehicle were not attacked.

Police appealed to motorists to be patient and obey police at roadblocks after a driver apparently ignored a roadblock near Bloekombos squatter camp and was forced off the road and attacked by a mob.

Two policemen were admitted to Tygerberg Hospital on Sunday after their vehicle were petrol-bombed on the Old Paarl Road near Kraaifontein.

Constable S Lesch had burns on his face and Constable H J Kotze had burns on his face, arms and hands.

Several shacks in Khayelitsha were gutted at the weekend.

● Pat Candido of The Argus Bureau in Port Elizabeth reports that an uneasy calm returned to the Eastern Cape today after a weekend of violence in which three children died and several people were injured.

Today no buses were running, worker attendance was down sharply and police were out in force watching the situation, specially on the Uitenhage road where cars have been stoned.

Police have warned companies not to make deliveries to townships and citizen force units have been placed on 24-hour alert.

There was no production at Volkswagen in Uitenhage today. Yesterday three children aged about 15 died in Kwanobuhle near Uitenhage when a crowd attacked a police vehicle. Police say they were forced to return fire.

Two children aged 10 and one aged 11 were admitted to hospital with bullet wounds.

Three policemen were admitted to hospital with serious head injuries.

Several buildings, including the post office and the rent office in New Brighton were razed.

Petrol bombs were thrown at police stations and policemen's homes. Cars were set alight.

Incidents also occurred at Kirkwood, Adelaide, Tarkastad, Laspach and Cookhouse.



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.

LATE-NIGHT MARCH: Protesting University of Cape Town students march in Main Road, Rondebosch, at the weekend.



Pictures: OBED ZILWA, The Argus.

EMOTIONAL MOMENT: Mr Tony Yengeni, a close friend of Mr Chris Hani, speaks to a crowd before yesterday's march to Athlone police station.

Yengeni lashes leaders

The ANC's regional secretary tells Staff Reporter VUYO BAVUMA that ANC and Communist Party leaders should consult their grassroots members in deciding the way forward.

THE ANC and SA Communist Party leadership were criticised by ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni today for behaving "as if it is business as usual after the death of a leader of such calibre of Mr Chris Hani".

Mr Yengeni, a close friend of Mr Hani for more than 16 years, said there should be a serious and thorough consultation with the grassroots membership to decide on the appropriate way forward.

"It is the masses who should call the shots on what



TYRE PYRE: Marshals toyi-toying beside a burning barricade in Guguletu.

action is to be taken in the wake of Mr Hani's assassination. It should not be clever leaders who are negotiating on behalf of the people in smoke-filled rooms. The negotiations have effectively demobilised the people."

The leaders of the SACP

and the ANC should not only feel anger but should also display it, he said.

"It is only when the leaders express their real anger that the people will listen to calls for calm," Mr Yengeni said.

It was important that the anger should be channelled to-

wards constructive means aimed at achieving the dreams Mr Hani lived and died for.

"One such goal should be that the election date be brought forward. Delays will cause the country to be in ruins."

HANI ASSASSINATION

A belief he was prepared to die for



A MARKED MAN: Chris Hani ... knew it was more likely than not that he would meet a violent death.

Hani was convinced negotiations would deliver democracy

Chris Hani couldn't wait for the New South Africa, but the old South Africa got to him first. Argus Correspondent ESTHER WAUGH, who knew Mr Hani well, marks his tragic passing.

TWO weeks ago, after yet another death threat, Chris Hani jokingly asked me whether I realised how high the chances were that I would one day be writing his obituary.

Warning to the marcarbe theme, he suggested I write one then and there — so he could read it and see what he thought.

This was typical of the private Chris Hani, a different man from his public image.

Whenever discussion turned to his security — and this was often, because of his highest-of-the-high profile — he would say he was not afraid of dying.

He would then retell the story of his three close shaves with death, "which only sheer luck" saw him survive. The first was when he came under fire in Rhodesia in the Wankie campaign so long ago.

The second, the Lesotho raid by South African security forces in the days of P W Botha. And the third, so recently, at Bisho.

His military background, one supposes, obliged him to affect the untouchable air, but Hani's vulnerability did get to him occasionally.

After a trip in February to Cuba — his first visit and meeting with Fidel Castro — he let slip that one of the aspects he enjoyed most was not having to "look over his shoulder" all the time.

He knew it was more likely than not that he would meet a violent death. Hani knew he was "a sitting duck anywhere." He worried most about his family's safety. He said he would "get a lump in his throat" when he had to leave home, which was frequently.

South Africa gained nothing from Chris Hani's assassination. It suffered a tremendous loss. The former MK chief of

staff did not, in spite of his image, relish violence.

On Saturday, on a rare day off, he was planning to attend the soccer match between South Africa and Mauritius.

An avid Orlando Pirates fan and keen supporter of the South African squad, he was looking forward to sitting in the stands again. He loved going to soccer. From the moment the whistle blew, he was transported out of the world of politics.

He was as animated about daring shots and body swerves and fouls as he was famous for captivating his audiences at mass rallies.

Many South Africans were astounded by — and many were cynical about — Hani's recent calls for peace and political tolerance because of his close identification with the armed struggle.

But if you knew him, you would know that it was precisely this background that made his peace interventions so credible, so potentially persuasive, so invaluable to South Africa.

Many have called for peace and been ignored. Hani's calls had a far greater chance of being heeded.

Chris Hani was also a family man — protective and proud of his three daughters' achievements at school and university.

Only five days ago, he wondered aloud about what would happen to them if he should die.

Since his return to South Africa, and especially since the end of Codesa I, Hani was convinced that the days of the armed struggle were over and that negotiations would deliver democracy to our country. It was a belief, he said, he was prepared to die for.

He was also, let it be said, a committed socialist until



HANI PROTEST: The bridge across the railway line at Guguletu appears to have disappeared under the feet of thousands of activists marching to Athlone police station to protest against the killing of Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani.

the end. He regretted never having been asked to be allowed to attend the Lenin School in Moscow because of the armed struggle.

He said he was lacking the theories of socialism, and had never read Marx's Das Kapital. But he tried in his own way, to work for the upliftment of the poor and the installation of democracy in the country in which he was born.

He was larger than life in the townships, and this amazed him. In January, when a Markinor poll found him to be the second most popular political leader in the country — after Nelson Mandela — he was incredulous.

He first became aware of the extent of his popularity inside the country at the launch of the SACP in July

1990. He had picked up signs of it when he visited Transkei on return from exile, but explained this to himself as being a reaction to his being a "local boy."

Although he had severed his links with Umkhonto we Sizwe, many cadres still went to see him to seek advice.

Only last week, he was again asked to help sort out "problems on the ground" with MK. He was willing to help, but was sensitive about stepping on others' toes. It had to be a formal arrangement, for Hani to feel comfortable.

It is well known, that Hani was passionate about Shakespeare, Shelley and Homer. He enjoyed reciting long extracts of plays or poems, he loved Latin, and sometimes

said he wished he'd been a lecturer.

He was interested in and knowledgeable about Xhosa history — a subject he wanted to write about.

Face-to-face, Hani was intensely honest, to the point of bluntness. He was greatly respected within ANC, MK, SACP and Cosatu ranks, by friends and foes alike.

About six months ago, Hani began exercising furiously, sometimes twice a day, and he was unashamedly excited about the future and his part in it.

He had lost weight in preparation for the New South Africa.

But the old South Africa got to him first.

A note on desk pad said 'Peace Corps' ...

Argus Correspondent

"PEACE Corps" is a scrawled across a piece of paper on Chris Hani's Johannesburg office desk.

He was making notes on Friday about a peace-keeping force 16 hours before his life was stopped by an assassin's bullet.

His office is pleasant, spartan. A few pot plants, a bookcase with copies of Lenin's works, a couple of posters, a pen and ink drawing of workers and the struggle. His desk is a humble size.

Joe Slovo, once again in the heat and darkness of an assassination, sat behind it, sighing deeply. He's been through this appalling kind of thing before. He said the death of Chris, "that warm, warm man" took him back 10 years, to the assassination of his wife, Ruth First.

He recalled meeting a very young Chris Hani in the 1950's at an underground meeting of the SACP. "He was thin, so young, so shy, never said a word."

In the general office were some of the best known of South Africa's former political prisoners, people who had also known sudden death, as-

assassination, jail and torture. There was no hysteria, it was all calm. People filled with bedrock sorrow.

Jeremy Cronin, activist, negotiator and poet sat quietly at his word processor writing and honing an obituary about his leader. And calling for peace.

Esther Basel, an apartheid fighter from way, way back was quietly fielding the phone calls, and former Robben Islander, Indres Naidoo was feeding the fax machine.