

I BELIEVE the reason Richard Urban advances in his , questioning bishopsâ\200\231 involvement in the late Chris Haniâ\200\231s funeral (The Citizen, April 22) is so cogent that it should be answered with a clear explanation by the relevant church authorities.

Be that as it may, it was at least consoling to finally see at the graveside some expression of a religious ceremony.

What preceded it at the FNB Stadium had been billed as a â\200\234memorial serviceâ\200\235. As its televised coverage showed, it was anything but that.

Even the official preacher used his turn at

XHani:

PLEASE allow me to quote in full Canon 1184 of the Catholic Churchâ\200\231s \_universal code of Canon -Law:

â\200\234Para 1: Church funeral rites are to be denied to the following, unless' they gave some signs of repentance before death:

â\200\2341. Notorious apostates, heretics and schismatics; :

Â«2 Those who for anti-Christian motives, chose that their bodies be cremated;

Â«3\_ Other manifest sinners to whom a Church funeral could not be granted without public scandal to the faithful.

â\200\234Para 2: If any doubt occurs, the local Ordinary

the microphone to launch  
the most rousing tirade of  
the entire political rally.

Because Christ's view  
and personal experience  
of man is more complete  
than that of Communism,  
a Christian funeral service,  
of its very nature, must go  
beyond the grave and focus on  
the greatest freedom death  
brings: The victory of eternal  
life in our risen Lord and  
Saviour.

Given the party he believed  
in and headed, it wasn't  
surprising that Mr Hani's  
memorial service stopped short  
at only political freedom in  
this world (something Christianity  
also regards as important and essen-

Church la  
flouted

May I respectfully sug-

(bishop) is to be consulted  
and his judgement followed.

As it is common knowledge  
that the late Mr

" Chris Hani, a public fig-

ure, openly confessed to  
being an atheist, he would  
certainly be regarded by  
the Church as a noto-

rious apostate (one who

had abandoned his Cath-  
olic faith).

Therefore, the Catholic  
Church according Mr  
Hani its funeral rites, fol-  
lowing its own ritual with  
holy water and incense,  
has certainly caused grave  
scandal among many of  
its faithful.

The Citizen PO Box 7712  
Johannesburg 2000

emorial servic  
as political rally |  
tial).

However, when even a -

bishop stops short at only  
the worldly level, claim-  
ing (with supporting Bible  
text) Godâ\200\231s sanction for  
such â\200\234limitedâ\200\235 freedom,  
one is left questioning  
Christianityâ\200\231s cardinal be-  
lief in the resurrection  
from the dead.

My personal prayer is  
that Mr Hani, having  
fought and  
earthly freedom, now en-  
joys, through the mercy  
of our loving Father, the  
eternal and complete lib-  
eration that only Christâ\200\231s  
resurrection can  
achieve.

FATHER KEVIN  
REYNOLDS

gest that Reginald Ors-  
mond, Johannesburgâ\200\231s  
Catholic Bishop, owes his  
flock an explanation â\200\224  
preferably in the columns  
of your newspaper â\200\224 how

he could have flouted the

provisions of his own  
Churchâ\200\231s law on Monday,  
April 19.

Surely Mr Haniâ\200\231s peace  
utterances in the final  
week of his life cannot be  
interpreted as a â\200\234sign of  
repentanceâ\200\235 of his apos-  
tasy before his death?  
SCANDALISED

CATHOLIC  
Pretoria

killed for

iâ\200\231retorin  
v&

AS THE horror of the Hani assassination recedes and the anger and fear which it unleashed begin to ease somewhat, the country needs to move ahead quickly to a settlement.

How many more such traumatic episodes can South Africa survive without relinquishing all hope of a negotiated settlement and economic recovery for some time to come?

A transitional executive authority needs to be put in place in a matter of weeks, setting the scene for an election within 12 months or so â\200\224 or else irreparable further damage will be done to the economy.

President De Klerk argued in Parliament this week that the TEC could be in place in six weeks. Is this really possible? :

Is Mr De Klerk really determined to do a deal this time, in spite of the rumblings of myopic elements in his own ranks?

The next few weeks could be decisive.

There is already broad agreement between the

- NP and the ANC on the composition of the Transitional Executive Council and its functions in preparing for an election. â\200\230

Five years

This agreement includes the delicate area of multiparty direction of the security forces during the transition. Even here a working compromise is already taking shape, although de jure control of the security forces would only change hands after an election and a new government is in place.

Before the countdown to an election begins, however, Mr De Klerk is also insisting on agreement on the terms of a power-sharing interim constitution which will function for five years after the election.

Here also there is common ground enough between the major players, even though the ANC rejects the terminology of power-sharing and prefers to characterise the arrangement as an interim (coalition) government of national unity.

Mr De Klerk also seeks prior agreement on the broad principles on which the final constitution will be based, and this is also within reach, although this whole area could offer much scope for pro-

longed haggling and further delay, .

as could the appointment of a commission to determine the regional boundaries.

pampered NP

Given the new sense of urgency, however, the NP and the ANC could certainly reach an understanding reasonably quickly.

So what are the possible snags? The problem will be to persuade all the other players and particularly those with strong vested interests in the regions to go along with the scheme of things.

Further delay

The big players are close to a reasonable compromise, but some of the regional players, and Inkatha in particular could be tempted to go for further delay in order to force a more favourable deal for the regions as well as buying more time for electioneering.

This is a dicey strategy in a country which is slipping dangerously close to anarchy. It is already agreed that the country needs a constitution which entrenches regional powers. The detail is a matter for negotiation. Further delay at this point in getting things moving will play into the hands of extremists who are determined to thwart a negotiated solution. e

The threat coming from fanatics on both the right and left flanks of the political spectrum will increase

rather than decrease as the country

approaches the critical decision to go ahead. :

The De Klerk government (and

soon, a multiparty committee) will

have to decide what to do about inflammatory rhetoric of the kind coming from Winnie Mandela and Peter Mokaba, on the left, and Eugene Terreblanche and his associates on the right.

Startling

Mr Terreblanche's equestrian

misadventures and platform histrionics are good for a laugh but he is able to stir dark passions among unsophisticated, disadvantaged and unstable elements in the white community.

As Radio Today reported this week in a startling live broadcast of one of his meetings, Mr Terreblanche is urging his followers to refuse to hand over their arms to the police and to prepare for war.

There cannot be many South Africans who would like to take over Mr De Klerk's responsibilities at Tuynhuys until the transition is behind us. He is having to endure a great deal of ill-informed sniping from, fearful elements on his own side who need to be told the facts of political life. :

Mr De Klerk, regrettably, has been hesitant and ineffectual in dealing with problem areas on the right and in the security establishment which he inherited from Mr P W Botha. The sinister culture of clandestine operations in Military Intelligence has yet to be convincingly exposed and may not yet have been entirely eradicated. 4

Against this background, the Hani | assassination has undermined trust and imperilled negotiations. Mr De Klerk would do well to pay as much attention to restoring trust and healing wounds in the black community as to coddling his own pampered and privileged constituency. :



Friday 23 April 1993

THE CITIZEN

Â¢

HARARE. â\200\224 Vete-  
ran political fighter Jo-  
shua Nkomo is again  
beating the war drums,  
more than a decade  
after â\200\234\leading Zim-  
babweâ\200\231s guerrilla cam-  
paign for Black majori-  
ty rule. 1

Mr Nkomo is still fight-

ing for the cause that

drew him into politics 50

years ago by trying to  
wrest control of the land  
and wealth from Whites  
and Indians and place it in  
the hands of the Black  
majority. - -

â\200\234We are not bringing  
the Whites down or being -  
- racist, but we want our  
- people to be like them, up ~ has a reputation as an un-

| there,â\200\235 he told reporters

| recently.  
. The former guerrilla  
â\200\234leader conducts his latest  
Â\$ battlg dressed in tailored

for Blck

Mr JOSHUA NKOMO  
- beating the war  
drums. Â¢  
three-piece suits in boar-  
drooms and conferences

across the land, where he

compromising negotiator,

especially on land deals.  
â\200\234Land and farming is

his first love,â\200\235 a govern-

The grand old man of  
Zimbabwean politics, a  
burly figure from the war-

rior Matebele tribe and

one of Zimbabweâ\200\231s two  
vice-presidents, has be-  
come the most radical



voice in a post-independence campaign by Blacks to own businesses.

The 75-year-old Mr Nkomo â\200\224 commonly known as â\200\234the old manâ\200\235 or â\200\234the bullâ\200\235 for his abra-

sive style â\200\224 recently

raised the stakes by warning the government of a possible race war if Blacks continued to have no major stake in the economy.

Mr Nkomo has thrown

his political weight behind a new business lobby

which has been trying to steer Blacks from their current major interests in

ment colleague said.

township bottle stores,

Nkomo on warpath X  
business

village grinding mills and small grocery shops into big industries.

\*With Mr Nkomoâ\200\231s help, the Indigenous Business Development | Centre managed in the 1992/93 financial year to squeeze Z\$100 million (R46,8 million) in loans from a cash-strapped government to prop up its members.

But Mr Nkomo, who says his political career would be unfulfilled if Blacks remained poor, is | demanding more concessions for his cause.

He said local authorities should introduce special long-term leases for Blacks to acquire busi-

- ness property in towns,

arguing that more prosperous Whites and Indians had an unfair advantage. ,

â\200\234If we do not do this we  
shall find ourselves  
plunged into a pit. far  
greater than the one that  
ended in 1979,â\200\235 Mr Nko-

in reference to a

â\200\230bloody seven-year guer-  
rilla war that ended White  
rule in then Rhodesia,  
and ushered in an inde-  
pendent Zimbabwe in  
1980.

Mr Nkomo and Zim-  
babwe President Robert  
Mugabe were co-leaders  
of a 40 000-strong guerril-  
la army that fought for in-  
dependence. â\200\224 Sapa-  
Reuter.

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Friday 23 April 1993

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CAPE TOWN. â\200\224
Elections to establish
legitimate local gov-
ernment should be
held soon, and could
take place ahead of
national elections, Dr
Tertius Delpor, Mi-
nister of Local Gov-
ernment, said yester-
day.
Presenting government
proposals for new munici-
pal systems, Dr Delpor
said he would introduce
legislation at the present
sitting of Parliament to
provide for different elec-
tion dates in different
areas or regions.

At present, local gov-
ernment elections were
postponed to October
1994. Depending on the
progress made with -

gamations, the date could

f YOO 10N ITS
I believe that we must

arrive at elections at the
local level as soon as poss-
ible, so that newly-struc-

tured local authorities

may begin to function.â\200\235

The progress made
with amalgamation and in

agreements at the multi-party negotiating forum would ultimately determine election dates. But he believed local government elections could be held ahead of the first general election.

â\200\234The events of the past two weeks focused renewed attention on the fact that forces which lie hidden may destroy South Africa and reduce it to ashes. We have been made aware of the abyss that threatens, should we lose direction.â\200\235 Â¢

No political agreement at national â\200\230or regional level could succeed in ~ achieving @ .

new South Africa. Only

local government could satisfy peopleâ\200\231s everyday needs, as it was here that people lived, worked and raised their children.

At a news conference yesterday, Dr Delport rejected proposals by SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) that all local government should be abolished by June, and replaced by bodies nominated by the government and by Sanco

Dr Delport said the Local Government Negotiating Forum, set up last month between the government and Sanco, was not adequately representative, and had no mandate to speak on behalf of all the people of South

caâ\200\231

It would also not have the ultimate say in third-tier reform, as this rested

â\200\230-wnhmemumputyï¬\201egmâ\200\234â\200\231\ negotiating forum. |

ANCtor

By Charlotte James )

and Sapa

THE â\200\234kill the boer,  
i kill the farmerâ\200\235 call by  
' African National Con-  
-gress Youth League  
president Peter Moka-  
.ba at public meetings  
recently has become  
inappropriate-and - its  
â\200\231usage at''public â\200\230meet-  
â\200\234ings 'is " being " reas-  
sessed, the ANC and  
the ANCYL said in a  
joint statement yester-  
day.  
The contentious chant,  
swhich has infuriated  
'Right-wingers and caused

~concern among Whites,

. did not represent official  
â\200\234ANC policy, ANC sec-  
retary-general Cyril Ram-  
/ aphosa said.  
This follows a. meeting

â\200\234of the two organisations .,

Â»in Johannesburg attended  
\_by Mr Ramaphosa and  
representatives of the  
Â«ANCYL led by its sec-  
retary-general, Rapu Mo-

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

lekane.

They jointly reaffirmed  
" the ANC policy of non-

racialism, which had al-

ways been the rallying call

of the ANC â\200\234and what we

had always fought forâ\200\235.  
Mr Ramaphosa said the

ANCâ\200\231s policy on violence

was both clear and well-

L A  
H )Iâ\200\230A'I,T}le'v Aâ\200\231NC 2 had sus-  
-.pended armed struggle,  
and did not advocate the  
killing of anyone, Black  
or White.

Both the ANCYL and  
Mr Ramaphosa said the

chant that had been Jed  
by Mr Mokaba stemmed

from the history of the -

ANC which had included  
armed struggle.  
Such a chant had  
served a mobilising pur-  
" pose during that stage,  
and its use should be  
viewed within that con-  
text. :

However, Mr Rama-  
phosa said, it would not  
be correct to say that the  
slogan, even at that time,

eth

'3 C/â\200\230TIZT:/\,  
oer

was specifically intended  
to identify either White  
South Africans or farmers  
per se as targets for milj-  
tary action by Umkhonto  
we Sizwe (MK) cadres.

The actions of MK had  
been directed at symbols  
of White power and the  
apartheid military ma-  
chine and personnel!{ not  
civilians, i .

The meeting agreed  
that the chant had be-  
come inappropriate in the  
present changed circum-

stances, and that its usage.

in public meetings was be-  
ing reassessed.

Both  
made an urgent appeal to  
all South Africaâ\200\231s youth,

Black and White, to not-  
allow themselves to be -

used by â\200\234dubious forcesâ\200\235  
attempting to drive :the  
country into a race war.,

Mr Mokaba said 'the

chant was an old song of  
the ANCâ\200\231s armed wing  
Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It had been used to

b npn-\_rag:iagism, is  
N brâ\200\231leached,by the chant,â\200\235  
id

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~ organisations

ink us

23 /s

call-

steel soldiers in training  
and create â\200\230solidarity.

The MK hymn, which  
has a line â\200\234kil the  
Boersâ\200\235, was sung at the  
funeral of Mr Chris Hani  
because it had been de-  
cided to bury him in mili-  
tary fashion.

â\200\234The ANCâ\200\231s policy of  
not

he said.

It had been sung on  
many occasions, including  
after the massacres at Bj.  
sho and Boipatong last  
year, and had not driyen  
people to kill Whites or  
farmers.

Mr Mokaba said the  
chant had never become  
an official slogan such as  
â\200\234Peopleâ\200\231s Education for  
Peopleâ\200\231s Powerâ\200\235. It was

- .different because . jt did

not reflect policy.

were not trying to incite a

He said â\200\230the ANCYL â\200\230

race war, but that the spi- |

rit of non-racialism was  
engendered among its fol-  
lowers.

In a statement issued  
after meeting in Pretoria,  
Cosag said it was simply  
not sufficient for the  
ANC to distance itself  
from these statements,  
which were clearly pre-  
meditated and were re-  
peated by Mr Mokaba, in  
what was clearly a calcu-  
lated act to incite ANC

Mokaba accordingly,â\200\235  
Cosagâ\200\231s steering commit-

tee said.

â\200\234In this regard, we also  
have to regrettably in-  
clude inflammatory state-  
ments by certain mem-  
bers of the clergy, who  
should be messengers of  
peace.â\200\235

1  
Supporters to kill Whites. '  
â\200\234It is incumbent on the

ANC leadership to prove  
its commitment to non-vi-  
olence and the peace pro-  
cess by dealing with Mr



S

; Vivian Warby  
ANC \president, Mr  
Nelson Mandela yes-  
terday urged youths  
from the Vaal Triangle  
township of Sebokeng  
to join the ANCâ\200\231s mili-  
tary wing, Umkhonto  
we Sizwe (MK), in or-  
der to fight for free-  
â\200\230dom in a disciplined  
manner.  
Addressing thousands  
of Sebokeng residents at  
. the townshipâ\200\231s stadium  
yesterday, Mr Mandela  
said the ANC was fully  
behind the people when  
they said they wanted to  
fight for freedom.  
However, â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230you can  
only fight and win if you

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and

reached. â\200\234We have had a  
long and protracted strug-  
gle and we have achieved  
many victories over our  
oppressors. We are now  
in the dawn of our free-  
dom,â\200\235 Mr Mandela said.

He said Mr Hani was  
killed in much the same  
fashion as senior official  
of Swapo Mr Anton Lu-  
bowsky, who was murder-  
ed in Namibia close to its  
date for democratic elec-  
tions. \_

â\200\234What we are saying is  
that the oppressors donâ\200\231t

dela urges y  
fight f()rflreedord?<

find it easy to relinquish  
power. There are ele-  
ments among them who  
donâ\200\231t accept the prospect  
of majority rule.

â\200\234The task of the Right-  
wing is to attempt to divi-

de people of South Africa  
and create so much chaos  
and havoc in -our lives.  
This tactic has cost us  
many lives.â\200\235

In urging the youth to  
get an education, . Mr  
Mandela said â\200\234We expect  
you to try and go to  
school and get a matric

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. to defend a demo-  
cratic government. You  
are our leaders of tomor-  
row. The young people  
must go back to school  
and get the necessary  
qualifications,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234Qur friends in Asia  
and Africa have difficulty  
in training our youth be-  
cause their education was  
low. But we donâ\200\231t blame  
the children. (State Presi-  
dent) De Klerk does not  
want you to be educated.

â\200\234Try to go to school  
and get a matric. You

are part of a disciplined  
organisation, a disci-  
plined armyâ\200\235, he said.

He further urged the  
youth to get an education,  
saying that they would  
never be soldiers in the  
proper sense of the word  
without an education.

If the youth were se-  
rious about becoming sol-  
diers they should, after  
getting an education, join  
the army of liberation,  
MK, which had all the fa-  
cilities to enable them to

| e;â\200\230 sot Vlo s :â\200\234 >  
Nouldve oot vne  
road. i e

â\200\234Weâ\200\231ve fought all along |

~and never given up.  
Weâ\200\231ve never gone on our  
knees and begged. We  
want you to continue to

fight even today . . . itâ\200\231s  
the only way to get your !  
freedom,â\200\235 Mr Mandela  
said to clapping and  
cheers from the crowd.

However, he warned  
that if the people formed  
their own small groups to  
fight, they would be invit-  
.â\200\230ng disaster and innocent  
people would be killed.

â\200\234That is what the ene-  
my wants. The Right-  
wing is killing our people.  
But the Right-wing knows .  
that the ANC wonâ\200\231t sit  
down if a hero like  
(SACP leader) Chris  
Hani is murdered and if  
19 people in Sebokeng  
are massacred.

Â«weâ\200\231ll fight back. We  
.wonâ\200\231t sit with folded  
arms. We have our own  
plan, but I wonâ\200\231t disclose  
that here,â\200\235 Mr Mandela  
said.

He said the people had  
to begin to understand in  
political terms the stage

their struggle had

outh to

â\200\230officer without a matric.â\200\235

can't be a pilot without a -  
matric.. You canâ\200\231t be an

Mr Mandela said MK  
would not give arms to in-  
dividuals. These would be  
given to an army who  
were trained to use the  
weapons. -

He said the ANC was

angry and upset about the  
19 lives that were lost in  
Sebokeng on the eve of  
Mr Haniâ\200\231s funeral and

also by the fact that no  
one could give them any  
answers,

TS szmâ\200\224



Speed up  
negotiations

process

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URG. Multl-party ;

JOHANNES

negotiations have to be speeded

up, a 10-member planning com-

mittee decided at a meeting at the

XVor]d Trade Centre here yester-  
ay

- The planning committee met in  
preparation for Monday's negotiating  
council meeting, when all 26 partici-  
pants in negotiations meet for the first  
time since the assassination of SACP  
general-secretary Mr Chris Hani.

We as the planning committee will  
stress the element of urgency on Mon-  
day, the chairman of yesterday's  
| meeting, Mr Zam Titus of Transkei,  
said after a three-hour session.

The planning committee will meet  
again this morning to, among other  
things, decide which issues were ur-  
gent.

Participants in negotiations had  
identified different issues as being ur-  
gent. These included violence, the es-  
tablishment of a Transitional Execu-  
tive Council, an election date, an  
interim constitution, and the form of a  
future state.

By B

Mr Titus said the committee had  
opted for a results-orientated ap-  
proach.

The planning committee would also

present a draft motion on Monday con-

cerning Mr Hani's assassination.

It had been clear to everyone on  
the planning committee that events  
since Mr Hani's assassination had af-  
fected the spirit of negotiations and  
we really need to speed up the pro-

cessâ\200\235.

Todayâ\200\231s meeting will mainly deal with a report by a sub-committee on violence and the transition process.

â\200\234The draft report will be presented formally on Monday to the negotiating council,â\200\235 Mr Titus said.

It dealt with recommendations on [

how Codesa agreements were to be incorporated into the enlarged negotl-ating forum.

A document outllmng the way forward on the main issues had been presented to the committee.

The issue of a name for negotiating forum is also expected to be decided by the time the planning committee adjourns this afternoon. â\200\224 Sapa

Buthelezi  
hits at govt  
members

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

MEMBERS of the government seemed determined to worsen the situation of decay and intolerance that existed in South Africa, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He singled out the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, for attack by accusing him- of trying to destroy the confidence and trust that was being built in the negotiations process.

However, Chief Buthelezi did say, at a lunch for the media in the city, that â\200\234after an all-too-long impasse, negotiations are finally back on track, with promise for a successful outcomeâ\200\235.

@Â® The government and the Inkatha Freedom Party met in the city yesterday for high-level talks aimed at â\200\234clearing up misunderstandingsâ\200\235, reports Sapa.

President F W de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi said in a joint statement the meeting had been a â\200\234penetrating discussion on a wide range of issuesâ\200\235.

Protesters  
ejected

| by police

Staff Reporter

POLICE removed a large |  
group of ANC supporters ||  
who tried to prevent IFP |  
leader Chief Mango-  
suthu Buthelezi from ad- |  
dressing about 800  
people in the Stellen- |  
bosch town hall last  
night.

The organisers of the  
meeting appealed to the |  
protesters to give Chief  
Buthelezi a chance to |  
speak and when this had  
no effect asked police to  
remove them.

Chief Buthelezi called  
on regions to use their  
â\200\230â\200\234political strengthâ\200\235 to  
struggle for federalism.

In a speech at the in-  
auguration of the Free  
Cape Movement he also  
rejected a constituent  
assembly and cautioned  
against unseemly haste  
towards elections.

He said the time had  
come for regions to take  
initiatives..



IFP want massacre

MeGRCwRY 23 )02

THE IFP has said it formally approach the Goldstone Commission today to investigate the massacre of seven IFP members, including a four-year-old boy, at Taylor's Halt on Sunday.

The victims were ambushed at Ntembeni, an ANC-controlled area adjoining Gezebuso while returning from Sunday's IFP youth brigade

F\_\_

IFP/ANC

MeRcury  
joint plea  
23fo3 /94

for peace

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Political Staff

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: THE Natal Midlands chair-

man of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mr David Ntombela, has appealed to his counterpart in the African National Congress, Mr Harry Gwala, to join him in the search for

peace.

Mr Ntombela yesterday

: made a plea for calm and re-

- straint in the area after a  
. wave of renewed violence.

About 30 people have died in political violence in the Natal Midlands region in the

past week and the IFP chair- .

man said he condemned the violence, irrespective of the political affiliations of the victims.

. Referring to the murder of 15 people at Creighton and the killing of another six people at Ntembeni, Mr Ntombela said the blood-letting

had to be stopped at all costs.  
Mr Gwala said last night  
that the IF'P leader's call was  
a very good idea and he  
fully supported the idea of a  
peace initiative.  
(Report by P Leeman, 18 Osborne Street, Durban)

9%

Pietmaritzburg Bureau

rally at Taylor's Halt, the IFP  
said. Another six IFP mem-  
bers travelling to the rally  
were injured in two bus am-  
bushes.

Police discovered the  
bodies of the victims on a re-  
mote dirt road at Ntembeni,  
about 10km from the IFP ral-  
ly, on Monday. Spent AK-47  
and R4 cartridge cases were

rob  
found. p D/ e

The dead were identified by  
police as Mr Jabulani Xaba,  
25, Smoyi Dlamini, 4, Mr Baf-  
ana Lambo, 48, Mr Zeblon  
Gwala, 38, Mr Calvias Zondo,  
gg, and a Mr Dlamini, about

The IFP said yesterday the  
name of a seventh victim will  
only be released when his  
next of kin have been told.

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SIR-â\200\224 The latest edition of the African Communist publi- cation quotes Mr Joe Slovo as saying that the ANC/SACP alliance has gained total vic- tory in its efforts to sway the National Party into accepting a centralised form of government. 3

This statementâ\200\230 vindicates

Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s position on remaining outside of the TEC and the elections. It reinforces his position that constit\_:utlon- al guarantees pertaining to federalism need to be en- trenched at the regional level. Without these guarantees, the ANC will be able to re-write the constitution at will after the elections, revoke powers at the regional level and monopolise power at central government.

.President De Klerk has duped many white voters into believing that federalism will be guaranteed in the â\200\230â\200\230new South Africaâ\200\235 and that fair and free elections can be held without the participation of

those in the Freedom\_"

Alliance.

Clearly, there cannot be a federal system of government or fair and free elections until federal powers are entrenched in the constitutions of the dif- ferent federal states. For this country to prosper and for true democracy to be en- trenched, the powers of cen- tral government must be limited.

It is only through devolving power to the federal states

â\200\230South Africaâ\200\231â\200\231 with the

able governmï¬\201ent and some level of transparency. For years the NP central govern-

- ment has abused its power

and subverted the aspirations  
of those who opposed it.

We cannot afford to have  
the same scenario in the â\200\234new

ANC/SACP alliance at the  
helm.

Chief Buthelezi has stood  
fast in the face of a hostile me-  
dia and ANC/NP double deal-  
ing in order to ensure a lasting  
peaceful, prosperous and  
democratic 'f%?luntry. Fordtlgs

st be commended.  
B KÂ¥M HODGSON  
Former IFP Information  
Officer  
5 Lester Road  
Kloof

that one can attain account-

NUarai

SIR â\200\224 Because socialism, and  
not free market economics, has  
been taught for decades in our  
universities, few people realise  
that secession would provide  
the opportunity for  
Natal/KwaZulu to become quite  
quickly the richest state in  
Africa. 25 &

African governments have de-  
stroyed liberty and created pov-  
erty throughout Africa. They  
embraced socialism because it  
gave them complete power over  
the people. The ANC/SACP will  
gbviously repeat this tragedy in

A.

But an independent  
Natal/KwaZulu could go in the  
opposite direction and become  
immensely rich. It has good re-  
sources, but these are not neces-  
sary, as proven by economic  
miracles in resourceless Switzer-  
land, Japan, Hong Kong, Singa-  
pore, etc.

All that is needed is complete  
freedom, with free markets and  
no controls whatsoever. Durban

and perhaps also Richards Bay would be free ports, attracting trade from all over the world, particularly as an entry to all of Africa. There must be no taxes or subsidies on exports or im-

23 /e,

ports, no tariffs or quotas, complete freedom. Consumers would enjoy the cheapest goods the world could provide. . Private enterprise would provide everything the government now provides, at half the cost. This cost ratio is a well-established fact. Since the government would only protect the border and combat crime, only -a small national tax on sales would be required.

Freed from the crushing burden and disincentive of our taxation and massive bureaucracy, people would work very hard, would save, invest in innumerable new enterprises, and become very wealthy.

The curse of government control of money would be ended. Inflation is theft, and throughout history every government controlled money has steadily deteriorated until it was worth nothing. Instead of being forced to accept the declining rubbish rand as legal tender, people would learn to choose better money such as gold, silver, Swiss francs, yen, British pounds, etc.

As in past centuries, competi-

Secession option would

Mgrewry

benefit N atÂ\$f7KwaZMu W

tion would force banks to back their notes with gold or silver, thus ending inflation here for ever. One cannot multiply gold in a printing press. With free banking, money would pour into Nata/KwaZulu as in Switzerland or Hong Kong.

Switzerland should be copied in detail as it is truly democratic. The 26 cantons cater for four race/language groups according to local population, so here Zulus, whites and Indians could have their own cantons to avoid

friction or domination. The canton boundaries are decided by the people themselves, not by remote officials.

Also, local taxation and laws would be decided locally. For example there could be polygamy in some cantons, monogamy in others. Being twice the size of Switzerland, Natal/KwaZulu should have more cantons. People would control their own lives and laws at the lowest possible level, national issues being decided by referendum. .

LESLIE RIGGALL  
Igwababa Road  
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â\204çe Sina aalerlas

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" Derby-Lewis linked

to world extremism

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uAmi¬\201i¬\201s .the most, noto-  
"\*, ,xj.pusâ\200\230 ,aâ\200\230zis and death

\_One of the most promi-  
â\200\234pent international right-  
wing organisations to  
which Clive Derby-Lewis  
is linked is the World  
~ Anti-Communist League  
(WACL), of which he is  
â\200\230the South African repre-  
â\200\234sentative.  
" A position in such an

;e}tremist organisation -  
would have put him in  
the forefront of the inter-  
â\200\234national far-right strug-

\_gle against communism.  
~ WACL, founded in 1966  
â\200\230by the dictatorship re-  
"gimes of South Korea  
" and Taiwan, has been ex-  
3 in a book, Inside

e League, written by

~John Lee and Scott An-

â\200\234derson, -as the foremost  
â\200\234umbrella organisation  
â\200\234bringing. together unre-  
~pentant â\200\234terrorists,  
â\200\234Nazis and Latin Ameri-  
~-can squad leadersâ\200\235.

'squad leaders connected  
â\200\234to WACL were Klaus  
â\200\230Barbie, the Butcher of  
â\200\230Lyon, and Major Roberto  
â\200\234Dâ\200\231Aubuisson, leader of  
â\200\234the Alianza Republicana  
â\200\230Nacionalista (ARENA)  
party in El Salvador.

Sponsored

Derby-Lewis himself  
has said that South Afri-  
Âça has a fully fledged  
chapter of WACL and as  
such would have been

entitled to financial support from the organisation.

According to Inside

the League, the WACL is at least partly sponsored by the Rev Sun Myung Moon's controversial Unification Church and is known to have financed extremist organisations and right-wing guerilla movements, throughout the world. :  
. The Moonies also fund Jean-Marie Le Pen's neo-facist. French National Front. Derby-Lewis has

South Africa can be

Western Goal is affiliated to WACL. It handled the public relations exercise of the visit of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Derby-Lewis to Europe in June 1989. :  
The organisation has recently been described

Detained Clive Derby-Lewis is not only a leading figure in the Conservative Party, he also has extensive international links with a neo-facist organisation.

tions. [ACQU'ES ~ as an unofficial ambassador for the South African Conservative Party,

' the German Republics (a

met Le Pen on various far-right political parties. . the French National WACL activities in = Front and the El Salvador

g \_dorian ARENA party.  
traced back to the 1960s ~ WACL has close ties when it had Ivor Benson with the extreme right- |  
formerly chief press wing National Students' Federation (NSF). Kemp Prime Minister Tan s also known to have Smith as head of its links with the NSF. South African chapter. In June 1985 the NSF  
Other South Africans held an international conference of right-wing WACL's activities in the forces, with the co-oper-



country were the former ation with the SA De-

editor of the South African Defence Force, at Unita's

SED Jamba headquarters in

Brown, and former NGK southern Angola.

can Observer,

Leader Dr Koot Vorster, The conference was  
brother of former Prime attended by re ;  
Minister John Vorster. tives of the Nicaraguan

's Derby-Lewis's fellow  
detainee, prominent  
rightwinger Arthur

Contras and the Afghan  
Mujahdin. It accepted a  
motion to fight commu-

Kemp, is also known to nism to the bitter end.  
have links with WACL. g  
WACL has since 1990 Neofacist

changed its name to the  
World League for Free-  
dom and Democracy  
(WLFD), although it is  
still referred to as the  
Anti-Communist League.  
" Derby-Lewis is also  
vice-president of West-  
ern Goal (UK) and has  
links with other extrem-  
ist elements in British  
conservative politics.  
Western Goal, founded  
in May 1985, described it-  
self in one of its own

Derby-Lewis is also  
known to be a member  
of the conservative Heri-  
tage Foundation, a pow-  
erful American right-  
wing organisation whose  
members have been  
linked to financial sup-  
port for the Contras. :  
He is on the address .  
list of the World Apart-  
heid Movement (WAB), a  
neo-fascist South African  
organisation which has

press releases as 's Lon- links worldwide.  
don-based right-wing or- It is known that Pol- :  
ganisation devoted to the ish-born Janus Waluz, al-  
preservation of Western leged assassin of Chris  
values and European Hani, was regularly seen

at meetings of WAB, an  
organisation which has  
always attracted large  
's numbers of foreigners,

culture, opposed to communism, liberalism, internationalism and the multicultural society.

The &xal

Negotiators meet to  
â\200\230prepare fo X

ther Waugh . By Jo-Anne Collinge

and Political Staff fina AT R R X they should be |

} The Governmentâ\200\231s reform empowered to levy addition-

For the first time since Chris ' plans for non Qâ\200\230Ciï~\2021 local al rates on reside  
nts to un-  
â\200\231s ation, key ne- | government are founded on dertake specific community

S ; X  
gotiators met yesterda to mentwas equall committed separate voters rolls: one for projects  
.  
set the agenda for Mondayâ\200\231s to the urgent installal o% roperty and one here interes  
t groups in

crucial meeting of the m ti- , sub-councils.  
partfvt:re otiating council. - He believed it should This was disclosed in P â\200\234Jocal  
optionâ\200\235 W!  
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ult residents. a given area m; &otiated a  
ch deviat-  
aniâ\200\231s murder two possible to reach agreement liament yesterday, ed from the Governm  
entâ\200\231s  
weeks ago, both ANC presi- within the next six weeks on Local Government Minister framewor  
k, such solutions  
dent Nelson Mandela and such as: Dr Tertius Delpprtâ\200\230released should be given legal  
recoi-  
President F W de Klerk The process details of the Local Govern- nition, the Minister said.  
It  
asked that momentum be : on. ment Reform Bill, which was possible the Govern-  
tions. @ The establishment of 2 will soon be published for mentâ\200\231s position should b  
e a  
ANC also called for 2 TEC and an lnd\_ependent comment. Â«fallback positionâ\200\235 where  
transitional executive cours electoral commission; a new Irrespective of the ratio of local  
negotiations failed to  
cil (TEC), with a sub-council Electoral Act; and delimita- | property owners to other prod  
uce D â\200\230i  
to deal with multiparty con- tion of electoral regions. | residents, seats in town or Delpo  
rt rejected the no-  
functions and powers city councils should be split tion that the dual voters T 11

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@ The  
of regional authorities. on a 50/50 basis between and ward councils were de-  
sxuungm P @ Constitutional principles , candidal elected bï~\201' signed to protect the pri  
vi-  
Wednesday, De Klerk said and a constitutional court. ed ro leqâ\200\231led classes.  
Â«great progressâ\200\235 could be @A charter of human rights â\200\234Thereâ\200\231s no w  
ay you can  
made within the next gix ina transitional constitution. the . entrench privileges.â\200\235  
eeks. The Government re- On the homelands, De In addition, W cils Other proposals in the  
mained committed to an Klerk said the Government | â\200\224 intended â\200\234to maintain  
the Governmentâ\200\231s reform pack-  
election early in 1994 or even felt Transkei, Bo hutha- | â\200\230own characterâ\200\231 o  
f smaller age include: BT  
" at the end of this year. - tswana, Venda an Ciskei communitiesâ\200\231â\204¢ â\200\224 s  
should be .â\200\230c@olidaï~\201ng legislation  
But much depended on should be reincorporated set up on 2 voluntary basis and removing all  
racial ref-

whether negotiations could into South Africa as soon as | and be given statutory ces in law  
. -  
progress more quickly. sible. Talks were being wers, the ter said. @ Creating metropolitan  
Consensus would first d with those territories. Among other things, such councils or servic  
es boa ;  
have to be reached on the The p! committee councils or â\200\234gyb-municipalâ\200\235 Qpre  
scribmng a process {0  
further development of the â\200\22410 negotiators appointed structures should set norms am  
algamate local authori-  
constitutional process andon for their expertise and not : ties and set areas of jurisdic-  
the nature of institutions to representing their organisa- tion for municipalities, met- â  
\200\230  
be elected. tions â\200\224 met at the World | and deal with \_ ropolitan councils and ser-  
â\200\234Â«About the Governmentâ\200\231s Trade Centre yesterday. vices boards. â\200\230  
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Right-wing politics in South Africa is entering a new phase of resistance and mobilisation that may lead to widespread violent resistance against a future, democratically elected government.

" So says political analyst Dr Wim Booysse, who, over the past few years, has made an extensive study of the right wing in South Africa.

He believes there is more em-

| phasis on unification of the  
| Right than ever before. Where,  
" at the time of the referendum in March last year, there were 186 right-wing organisations, structures and cells, there are now fewer than 20

Most rightwingers, even those in extremist organisations such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Orde Boerevolk (OB), see the Conservative Party (CP) as the mother organisation.

Booyse believes that the CP's Mobilisation Council is, in the future, going to play a major role in unifying and mobilising the Right. % .

He is convinced that it would be able to pull in the AWB and other extremist organisations. The council was recently formed under the leadership of former SADF general Koos Bischoff, who said at its launch that his ideal was the unification of the Right.

| . Leading CP member Clive

The assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani has once again put the spotlight on the right-wing threat in South Africa. JACQUES PAUW reports that the Right is

mobilising against a democratic election that will signal the end of white rule.

Derby-Lewis, detained in connection with the murder of

SACP leader Chris Hani, has .

been a major force in getting the council launched.

Another organisation striving for unity on the Right has re-

cently been launched.

It is called the Eenheidskomitee 25 (Unity Committee 25), and includes powerful military figures such as former Military

Intelligence general Tienie:

Groenewald and former Commissioner of Police General Mike Geldenhuys.

Since the police started their campaign against rightwingers three years ago and arrested 136 leaders and supporters, the

Rightfi"has undergone major changes, Booyse says.

It was broken up and many of | the smaller organisations disap-

ared. â\200\230

Members have since then got

together again but now exist in smaller cells without names or constitutions.

Out of fear of infiltration by '

the police, they donâ\200\231t advertise

their existence and are very cautious who they allow to join |

them. It is within these cells that violence is planned and hit lists compiled.

It is possibly a nameless cell -

like this that planned and exe- |

cuted the assassination of Hani.

Booyse says that because of utmost secrecy it has become more difficult for the authori-

ties to expose and act a t  
these cells. o

Most cell members will, how-

ever, still hold membership of  
the CP, the AWB or other  
known organisations. Many  
have joined the commando  
structures of the AWB which  
enables them to receive train-  
ing. The AWB remains by far the  
biggest and probably most dan-

gerous para-military organisa- |

tion. Although AWB leader Eu-

he has

STAR INVESTIGATION 33 â\200\224o4=Q2

Right â\200\230becoming desperat

he claims that The â\200\230World-Apartheid Move-, pelieves that although '  
e b Tegâ\200\230e,?;a?:an 40000 men ment of Koos Vermeulen has a4 tpe tion of Chris Hani |  
under arms, its commandos ways been popular among Pâ\200\230;â\200\2301"â\200\230 may have  
brought the right !  
have no more than 5000 mem- Nazis and foreigners, especially ging's â\200\234plan of action  
â\200\235 forward, .  
TS. ; eastt;m l:,â\200\230iuropean antm:omxmh\| it han alway:m m  
The second largest para-mili- nist fanatics. ; ing of nonra elections as Âç  
tary organisstiong is tll)le Boere- | yse says that until :dyr?si-â\201 time for resistance  
,  
kommando under the leadership ~ ago Vermeulen had an aIt | both armed peaceful.  
of Gawie Volschenk. Although = list of 4000 rightwingers. a . He also says that rightwil  
the Boerekommando has only | has a mlÃ©lotanlz!:blei-â\202g all:disgis:i 4 ers beli;ve\_ ttlâ  
\200\230xllet a time  
ers, they are. training . come when Gt yment  
about 690 member y O ko activhte e !  
might of the security for

well-trained

Piet â\200\234Skietâ\200\235 Rudolphâ\200\231s Orde  
Boerevolk (The Order of the  
Boer Nation) has less than 80  
members, but they are all well-  
armed and trained, and have  
been implicated in large-scale  
right-wing violence, including  
murder and sabotage.

There are smaller organisa-  
tions. Because of existing divi-

sions on the Right, there are, for  
example, three Boere Weer-  
standsbewegings (Boer Resis-  
tance Movements).

There are also smaller, more  
â\200\234intellectualâ\200\235 organisations  
such as the Boerestaat Party of

Robert van Tonder and the  
Boere Vryheidsbeweging (Boer  
Freedom Movement) of Jan  
Groenewald.

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to have lost it â\200\231 -sâ\200\231\â\200\230x'pport becaï¬\202e a  
Vermeulen d by o  
Right of being a police a8

He became famous for e}

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irthday celebrations for 5Â¢  
t;â\200\231mler beld on his fort-like  
outside Pre W2  
Neo-Nazis celebrated Hi  
pirthday last Sunday, DUE S8  
parently only 13 extrer  
pitched up. '

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APRIL - 23 - 1993

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Ci LEADING ARTICLES

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â\200\234THE ECONOMY AND MASS ACTION

Lighting a fire

There are three official public holidays in April, and three more in May (one of which, happily, falls on a Saturday). On top of that, we have already had one national â\200\234day of

mourningâ\200\235 for Chris Hani, plus another extensive stayaway .

on the day of his actual funeral; and now we are faced with a six-week â\200\234rolling resistanceâ\200\235 programme, which threatens even further harm to the economy. : :

No reasonable person will object to the proper show of respect to a man who, whatever his background, in recent months was a tireless worker for conciliation and peaceful reform, cut down in such an abhorrent, barbaric way. And ust beware of simplistic assessments of how much the economy â\200\234losesâ\200\235 by holidays and stayaways, which some-times seem to be calculated in no more sophisticated a manner than simply dividing annual GDP by 365.

But the fact remains that an economy facing its fifth year

of recession just does not need these additional shocks to the system. And they come when, for the first time, there are signs that some fundamental problems are being overcome.

Inflation, for example, despite the latest blip in PPI (see Economy) and an imminent boost from the higher Vat rate, seems to be under control at last. Internationally, even though not all the portents are favourable, there is hope that the US, UK and Japan at least may be over the worst.

If a political settlement could bring renewed access to IMF and World Bank facilities, even the balance of pay-ments squeeze that has taken over from inflation as the main reason for Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stalsâ\200\234s continued tight monetary policy could be relaxed. ~

But whatever the fundamentals, no economy can grow unless those who take economic decisions enjoy a feeling of

idence in the future. And even if the tragic events of the

fortnight have concentrated the minds of politicians (from all points on the spectrum) on the need for a settlement, they can only have heightened businessmen's lack of confidence. ' -

That, in the long run, is far more serious than any loss of output or wealth creation caused by stayaways and other mass action. Experience has shown that, within reason, lost output can be recouped remarkably quickly; deferred investment decisions can take not just months but years to make up. The key phrase, of course, is 'within S/ ity SR reason' - occasional days are one RO, g thing, but a programme extending over six weeks goes well beyond the bounds of reason.

Then, it's all very well to say (with justification) that the unrest of the past week has been a lot less than many people feared, and to commend the.

ANC marshals for their handling of a near-impossible task

. ' - mostly, with a good deal more sensitivity than the security forces showed. :

Trouble is, even one TV shot of burning houses, overturned cars and rampaging mobs is one too many ' - which, of course, is no argument for not reporting what actually happened. There's no long-term benefit in conning foreign businessmen about the state of our society.

What is significant about the rampaging mobs is that they consist largely of the lost generation of unemployed youth, who have nothing to lose by disrupting ' - even destroying ' - a system that gives them nothing. The FM has said before, but it cannot be repeated too often, that this will be one of the most intractable problems facing any new government.

The suggestion of a Peace Corps-type youth corps is a good one; but even if it's named after Chris Hani, there is

' little point in even considering it till a transitional govern-

ment is in place. Any action by this government would automatically damn the idea in the minds of the masses, raising comparisons more with Hitlerian forced labour than the contemporaneous similar projects of the US New Deal.

And it can never be more than a palliative, a short-term

expedient to keep people off the streets and give them some sense of dignity. It can neither create nor form part of a soundly based sustained period of genuine economic growth.

Itâ\200\231s significant, though, that the suggestion has been endorsed by senior ANC figures, indicating that the economic education of the ANC has progressed another impor-

â\200\230tant stage. Having already come to accept the importance of

a vibrant private sector, they are now coming to realise that in future they will bear the brunt of unfulfilled expectations.

The assassination of Chris Hani has no doubt swung some black potential voters from the ANC to the PAC, but is unlikely to have a decisive effect on the first election under a new constitution.

But, as in their different ways both post-colonial Africa and post-communist eastern Europe and central Asia have found, the second election is what counts. If too many expectations remain unfulfilled, the extremists move in. The ANC wonâ\200\231t want that; nor will the business community. As the white government becomes

= more and mere a lame-duck re-  
> gime, so the interests of ~business  
and the ANC â\200\224 and the economy  
â\200\224 as a whole â\200\224 will Â@onverge. b

Only lingering (and understandable) fears of govÃ©rnmentâ\200\231s reformist sincerity can still justify ANC actions that will damage the economy. If mass action lights a fire under the politicians, maybe we can live with it for a while; but fires like that, once lit, can be difficult to put out. o

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FINANCIAL MAIL Â« APRIL Â» 23 Â« 1993 Â« 25

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## LEADING ARTICLES

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## STATE OF THE NATION

Searching for the centre

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| The fear in Johannesburg and the Reef towns on Monday was palpable and vivid. The people who live there have been through some tense times: the Rand Revolt of 1922; the Ossewa Brandwag brawls of the Forties; the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre and the attempted assassination of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd in the early Sixties; the 1976 Soweto uprising; the States of Emergency of the eighties; and the volatile mass action of the Nineties. But it is doubtful whether any of these periods saw the widespread tension experienced on Monday, the day of the funeral of murdered SACP chief Chris Hani.

The black stayaway from work was almost total, despite previous declared days of mourning on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday. By early afternoon even big department stores in the great modern shopping malls had closed their doors. The centre of Johannesburg, strangely quiet for a Monday afternoon, saw a steady stream of white workers and executives heading early for home.

The mainly white suburbs and towns were eerily deserted, with few cars on the streets and even the corner cafes closed. People went home and locked their doors. A silence descended, of a kind not normal even on Sundays and public holidays, and broken only by the occasional sound of a police helicopter.

To be sure, some householders â\200\224 those

g the route of the Hani cortege, and in â\200\234â\200\230vicinity of the cemetery and the Hani home in Boksburg â\200\224 had something definite to fear. They were understandably anxious; some took elaborate and fearsome precautions. But the lives and property of the over-

whelming majority were not in any exceptional danger â\200\224 yet the fear grew and was almost tangible. In other cities, too, there was an unusual tension.

The explanation may be that a sea change has finally taken place in our politics. We have entered possibly the most dangerous

" and fragile phase of the transition.

What has happened is that the ANC has demonstrated that it can do much as it likes. But, as this realisation has sunk in, the ANC has also found that -its power, too, is not absolute â\200\224 even though it steadily subverts the instruments of governance and good order. It does not have the strength to overthrow the government. In turn, the Nats may seem to control the firepower, the civil service, the keys of the kingdom â\200\224 but they can too easily be prevented from maintaining |

order and protecting lives.

This situation has, of course, applied ever since the ANC was unbanned and its president Nelson Mandela released from prison â\200\224 but the death of Hani has finally stripped saway the illusion.

The result is paralysis. It has been expressed in various ways. Last week Mandela appeared on national TV to appeal for calm, Just as if he were head of State. Haniâ\200\231s body, said ANC spokesman without a trace of irony, would â\200\234lie in stateâ\200\235 on Sunday; SA was effectively compelled to mourn for over a week. These are words and arrangements normally associated with a world statesman like Winston Churchill. By giving Hani this status, the ANC was sending a message to the country and expressing its perception of our politics. .

By Monday the shift was almost complete. The political centre of gravity was on the East Rand, relegating the proceedings of parliament to a sideshow â\200\224 and those who watched on TV knew it.

Whereas on Saturday President F W de Klerk had spoken with reasoned assurance about events following Haniâ\200\231s murder, on Monday evening his performance in parliament seemed uncertain and pointless. Mandela assumes the trappings and the manner of power, but takes no responsibility; De Klerk is in charge but not always in control.

By Monday evening the dominant political image was not of parliament â\200\224 the dignified seat of sovereignty, whatever its flaws,

It had been replaced in the common mind

by the vision of a Putco bus, windows shattered and probably hijacked, plastered and with young township radicals waving

Mandela ... time to tackle  
the mob

S A T e e -

. moderation a  
liability?

clenched fists â\200\224 immune to the rules of the  
road, the law and the ANC leadership, even  
to thoughts of their own safety.

This is why fear swelled. People did not,  
generally, feel any threat of direct assault  
from the Hani funeral proceedings. But they  
did get an intimation of anarchy. The fact -  
that, in SA terms, the day went off relatively  
peacefully was no consolation.

None of this is De Klerkâ\200\231s fault. Indeed, it  
is remarkable that he has sustained his presi-  
dential role for so long; without his courage  
and honesty, he might not even have survived  
long in office after February 1990. His prob-  
lem is that his partyâ\200\231s apartheid policies have -  
left a massive moral deficit which whites are  
still paying off (and the ANC is still spend-  
ing freely on credit).

In Los Angeles or Bombay or Beirut,  
looters and arsonists run the risk of being  
shot by police. It is the accepted way, be-  
cause society cannot tolerate such subversion  
of law and order. Condone the looter and  
nobodyâ\200\231s property is safe; the next step is the  
collapse of social order.

Yet it is clear that, on Monday, our secur-  
ity forces were not instructed to protect prop-  
erty; they would only do their best to save  
lives.

For not a few innocent bystanders â\200\224 one  
of whom was burnt to death in his own house  
â\200\224 their best was not good enough. The  
reason is simple: there is a massive political  
cost whenever a black is shot by police. De  
Klerk feels he must avoid paying it wherever  
possible; history has never been on his side.

The irony is that the police and army are  
quite capable of keeping order, without re-  
sorting to the excesses of the Eighties.

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R e e e

T T T et e comamerep e o â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 s e e





## LEADING ARTICLES

Our security forces have the necessary training, discipline, command structures and equipment. But it is now abundantly clear that they cannot do the job and therefore that the threat of anarchy will constantly loom till they are placed under the control of a civilian authority composed of all the major national players.

Joint control of the security forces is essential. It must not be resisted by whites simply because the ANC demands it. But nor can joint control be established simply by forming a committee: it must result from the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC). ¶

At a stroke, the police would then cease to be the police and they would be Mandela and Ramaphosa as well, and if

possible Buthelezi. They would be able to act legitimately ruthlessly, if necessary against murderers, looters and arsonists, without fear of being pilloried and insulted

representatives of the people. Violence would be dramatically curtailed.

### Chilling prospect

Another irony is that government has already agreed in principle to setting up a TEC; indeed, there is a sense in which it would dearly love to lock the ANC into co-responsibility for the security forces. The mechanics of doing so are precisely what is being negotiated at the moment. Both sides have something to lose: the ANC parts of its constituency, the Nats their nominal control.

Apart from the chilling prospect of anarchy that emerged on Monday, many people must have been disturbed by the performance of the ANC leaders and their allies in the past fortnight.

Mandela was statesmanlike and dignified on Monday, and on TV the previous week. He did much to assert his authority. But he is no orator, and it therefore remained likely

at his stature was outweighed among the

th by the calculated and vicious ranting the ANC Youth League's Peter Mokaba and Mandela's estranged wife Winnie.

Hani mourners . . .  
the road

Sexwale . . . romance and  
responsibility

Cyril Ramaphosa â\200\224 cool, intellectual and correct â\200\224 appeared composed. But he appeared to lack authority. Has he grown in the powerful position of secretary-general to someone t);" \wâ\200\230hnmt\he masses might be in awe? Unlike Hani, he has not become a popular idol; a tough negotiator, certainly, but perhaps better suited to the bargaining table than the hustings. He will soon need to assert authority â\200\224 and be seen to do so successfully.

Tokyo Sexwale was thrust into prominence partly through his organising role as the ANCâ\200\231s PWV chairman and partly through being a close friend and neighbour of Hani. He appeared to relish the limelight and his MK uniform; the crowds seemed to accept him. But his speeches were sometimes reminiscent of those by SRC presidents on unruly campuses â\200\224 long on romance and short on responsibility. His sensible appeal for the ANC to avoid racial revenge attacks was undermined by his reckless assertion that government was linked to i-\202aniâ\200\231s murder.

Thabo Mbeki, perhaps the most urbane ANC leader and certainly the least threatening to whites, was not in evidenâ\200\230ce on Monday: was his moderate image regarded as a liability on such a volatile occasion? The only other personality to make any impact was Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who must have appalled many Christians with his lack of dignity and his inflammatory remarks. Anger is one thing: making a clown of yourself is another. The Church, with a TV row of toyi-toying priests, did not make a good impression on Monday. .

And that was about it, the best the alliance could offer in a dramatic and dangerous week. It was not the performance of a government-in-waiting.

Mandela has made it clear that the ANC

is still committed to negotiations â\200\224 but what is not clear is how confident the ANC leadership is about its support. Not having been tested at the polls, it is not sure just how much appeal the PAC has for the restless

| - youthz - â\200\224â\200\224

Sermo )

By Tuesday afternoon nobody in the ANC

had dared to condemn the outrageously inciting remarks by Peter Mokaba and Winnie Mandela about killing white farmers. Lamé references were made to people speaking in â\200\234a personal capacity.â\200\235

Untempered by electoral politics and the intractable demands of office, the moderate ANC leaders appear to confuse too easily the ranting of the demagogues with the rationale for a policy.

They respond too quickly to romantic â\200\234struggleâ\200\235 verbiage. In an attempt to placate the mob and retain its support, they rush to supply more rhetoric and promise more mass action.

Sooner or later the ANC, if it is to inherit a country rather than a smoking ruin, will have to reckon with the mob. It is the mark of a great politician that he is capable of divining what the silent majority wants and acting to achieve that, while having the courage to ignore and isolate the vocal and intimidating extremists. No ANC leader has yet shown such qualities â\200\224 though Hani had made a good start.

â\200\234Speed is of the essence,â\200\235 said Mandela in demanding an election date to be set; he noted that â\200\234forward movement can no longer be held hostage to narrow party political interests.â\200\235 De Klerk has repeatedly given such views.

So whatâ\200\231s the problem? It is simple: each side is hoping that the other will blink first, will make compromises in crucial areas such as regional powers in a future constitution. Whether they blink or not is a matter for their judgment.

But they should not be rushed: there is an equal danger in proceeding with undue haste (rather than good speed). Haste can lead to foolishness, most dangerously in the kind of settlement which might so upset Mango-suthu Butheleziâ\200\231s Inkatha Freedom Party that Natal would be torn apart.

Radical goï¬\201:ï¬\201ill

There is [ittle doubt that the vast majority of South Africans want the thugs and radi-

cals marginalised; people want to be left in peace to go about their business free of intimidation.

They do not expect miracles but they do want progress. There remains, in the country at large, a remarkable amount of racial goodwill and understanding â\200\224 and an increasing suspicion of the politicians.

What De Klerk and Mandela need to understand is that they will be stronger together than apart, and that the broad mass of people will support them. The choice between war and peace is, essentially, theirs to make together.

All reluctant parties should consider Lord Palmerstonâ\200\231s defence of the radical 1832 Reform Bill, which he regarded as necessary, even if undesirable:

â\200\234Those who seek to check improvements, to cherish abuses, to crush opinions, and to prohibit the human race from thinking, will find their weapon snap short in the hand, when most they need its protection.â\200\235

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

### WHITE POLITICS

B . O L e

An anxious sideshow

It took two small TV screens in a parliamentary press office this week to underscore the massive tilt in SA's political equilibrium following Chris Hani's assassination.

On the one were images of the funeral gathering: 80 000 angry people hearing demands for an end to white rule. On the other, parliament's closed circuit system, the white rulers and their white opponents floundered in a debate on the State President's budget vote that should probably not even have been happening at the same time.

A Democratic Party move to have the debate postponed until after the funeral as a mark of respect was dismissed. The DP walked out and only returned in the late

afternoon. The Labour Party and the five ANC MPs didn't attend at all. Symbolically, suspending the sitting could have been an important gesture.

But President F W de Klerk denied that, by going ahead with the debate, government was either insensitive or unappreciative of the seriousness of the situa-

. tion in SA.

It is our view that parliament should, under the serious circumstances caused by the murder of Mr Chris Hani, and true to its tradition and character, use the opportunity offered by this debate to address the situation in a sympathetic, constructive and dignified manner. This is the essence of parliament. At a time of crisis, it grasps the nettle and discusses the crisis in depth.

What ensued was a bitter slanging match between the National Party and the Conservatives. Parliament failed to address the crisis. For a few brief hours, Nelson Mandela seemed to become SA's de facto president.

If De Klerk missed his opportunity to

emonstrate true statesmanship in the hours following the killing, he could have regained

ground in parliament this week. Instead, the debate confirmed that parliament's only remaining role is to rubber-stamp externally negotiated agreements for the sake of constitutional continuity.

The CP knows that it's never going to win power through the current parliamentary system which means it will never win power and now simply uses the forum as a platform from which to urge white resistance to democracy.

The DP, its role as parliamentary watchdog now waning, sits on the sidelines desperately hoping a new system will evolve in which it can continue to play a part.

The call by the DP's Roger Hulley, when the party eventually returned to the debate, for government to defuse the crisis by announcing dates for an election and the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, came across as a desperate attempt to

keep pace with events.

The DP, perhaps more than any other party, is committed to negotiated agreements. Demands for unilateral government action, simply in the hope that it might defuse a crisis, are totally out of line with conventional DP thinking.

With parliament further discredited, government's only fallback is a military crackdown in attempt to avert total anarchy. For-

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unately, that's not currently an option. The priority is the speedy resumption of multi-party talks.

De Klerk's unimpressive performance at the start of this week's debate illustrated how dependent he has become on progress negotiations, not only to keep personal on the process of transition but also his constituency. The Hani crisis, inherent threat to the process, severely cuts his position and leaves him unable to CP attack.

De Klerk's speech was 'wishy-washy'. It added nothing new to resolve the crisis. His one noteworthy contribution came in remarks not included in his prepared text. In apparent response to mounting pressure to move faster towards the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, he said government was prepared to examine ways and means of establishing joint administrative

structures with negotiating partners, to deal with specific issues even before negotiations on broader issues were finalised.

The more substantive issue of dealing with the crisis was left to hardline Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel (though De Klerk was expected to respond to militant ANC demands late on Tuesday).

Significantly, Kriel chose to issue his tough warning to the ANC and its allies not in parliament but in an interview with the

\* Cape Nat mouthpiece Die Burger.

#### REGRET AND CONCERN

With foreign policy focus virtually monopolised by the hideous imbroglio of Bosnia, it is not surprising that the murder of Chris Hani and subsequent events have drawn little significant comment from Europe and the US.

There have been the predictable expressions of regret and concern, coupled with repeated exhortations for restraint and for all the parties in SA to redouble efforts to reach a negotiated settlement. As one British Foreign Office source said: "We can only hope that the killing of Mr Hani will perhaps concentrate minds even more."

If anything, there has been relief at the restraint shown by leaders on all sides and that the ensuing violence was relatively muted. 1

"We were shocked by the assassination but not surprised," said a German

Foreign Ministry official. "Such an event has always been a possibility and will-

continue to be so in SA. We have seen far worse pictures from SA on our television than those which were broadcast in the past few days. It can only be hoped that the mass action campaign sees better control of the security forces and the demonstrators."



The US State Department has taken heart from the fact that, so far, the forces of the centre are intact. But it is concerned that the breaking of the Hani link to the young radicals could leave a dangerous gap between the ANC leadership and its constituents.

The masses have their martyr, commented a State Department official, and unless the vacuum is filled quickly, it could be exploited by extremists. It makes speedy progress in the negotiations an even more pressing imperative to meet the frustrations of people who feel that, three years after Nelson Mandela was

released, not much has changed.

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" CURRENT AFFAIRS

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(~ Stories covered by the FM on April 24  
[ 1959 included:

O Recession, overproduction and govern-  
Inent policy are putting the screws on the  
southern Transvaal clothing industry.  
| Employment has been shrinking for years  
and recession, though, speeding up the  
process, is hiding a long-term adjustment.

The market failed to expand as fast as  
productivÃ© capacity and local and foreign  
competition is fierce. Profits have  
slumped as costs have soared.

And apartheid, in the form of job reser-  
vation in urban areas and uncontrolled  
competition from rural areas, threatens  
established factories. Urban factories  
have also lost part of their market to  
producers in Rhodesia and the East, but

THIRTY-FOUR YEARS ON : e

speciality and high fashion goods seem  
Jlikely to remain the preserve of better-  
paid, highly skilled urban workers.  
00 A new company, yet unnamed, is be-  
ing formed to promote finance for small  
industrialists. Initial capital will be  
Â£1 000. The first directors will be Lord  
Craigmyle, Harold Whitehead, F S Max-  
well and H N Berliner. The implication  
clearly is that Lord Craigmyle (of the  
{nchcape family) will bring in UK capital  
and Maxwell SA money. There is also an  
implied tie-up with Whiteheadâ\200\231s firm of  
management consultants. Itâ\200\231s envisaged  
to finance amounts from a few thousand  
to Â£50 000, through redeemabl g prefs  
with a minimum coupon of abott 7,5%.  
Whatever happened to that/one?

Q(ricl committed the police to firmer action against unruly demonstrators to stamp out the sort of behaviour witnessed during the Hani funeral.

Die Burger said Kriel â\200\234climbed barefistedâ\200\235 into the ANC over its inability to maintain order as it had promised and that he strongly doubted whether further agreements between the police and the ANC on the conduct of gatherings and marches would be possible.

Kriel said that ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosaâ\200\231s attempts to distance the organisation and its alliance partners from the violence was like â\200\234Pilate washing his hands.â\200\235

He said the police were carefully assessing the lessons of the last few days. â\200\234It is clear to me that co-operation with the ANC is not enough to prevent murder, manslaughter, looting and hooliganism. It seems as if a longer show of force is needed.â\200\235

P deputy lgdder, Ferdi Hartzenberg looked beyond â\200\234co i called on whites to/fise up and defend themselves. However, â\200\224 but thankfully no action â\200\224 by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging during the-Hani funeral, the white Right appears to still believe the crisis can be defused.

Getting back to negotiations is as crucial to the underpinning of that belief as it is to finally removing the frustration of the toothless tricameral parliament. o

POLITICAL SUPPORT  
Moving goal posts

If numbers attending or participating in parades, stayaways and mob violence are an indicator of political support, then the events of last week suggest that much of the Inkatha Freedom Partyâ\200\231s support has been yanked from under it in its stronghold of

Natal/KwaZulu.

However, what is likely to be worrying IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi right now is the extent to which the transition will be speeded up â\200\224 and the extent to which federal options will be undermined.

The level of support for the ANC in Natal must have seemed overwhelming during the week of mourning â\200\224 the organisation admits

it was taken by surprise â\200\224 but it could be a mistake to read too much into this. At least 100 000 people (the ANC claims 155 000) marched through Durban â\200\224 but the march was hijacked by extremists who wrong-footed both police and ANC marshalls.

They did this by starting the march an hour early and then â\200\224 apparently deliberately â\200\224 deviated from the agreed route. That was followed by a spree of vandalism and intimidation which left Durban reeling. The regional chamber of commerce has even called for a complete review of the policy allowing marches through the city centre, though management committee chairman Peter Mansfield says he doubts it will beâ\200\231 possible to ban demonstrations. That, he maintains, would be going back to the â\200\234bad old days.â\200\235

Do the events reflect support for PAC methods? Mervyn Frost, head of the department of politics at the University of Natal, thinks not. Though he does concede that there was an undisciplined PAC element in the Durban march, he says it was not a big group.

â\200\234I suspect that PAC support is still relatively negligible in the area,â\200\235 says Frost. â\200\234Numbers under the PAC banner at the Wednesday march were small. Other yardsticks, such as 'less than impressive organisational ability and the fact that the PAC holds few rallies, support this view.â\200\235

On the question of a shift of support from the IFP to the ANC, Frost stresses: â\200\234We wonâ\200\231t know what the support for the respective organisations is until there is an election.

The real significance of the events of the last 10 days is that the ANC alliance has a martyrdom which has boosted their cause. Furthermore, the turnout at the funeral and the generally impressive way it was conducted, will have a bandwagon effect. So, politically speaking, the week of mourning has turned out to the advantage of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.â\200\235

Perhaps more important, Frost feels, is that the consequence of the events could upset the IFP timetable for change. â\200\234The IFP seemed to have comfortably accepted a lengthy process towards the establishment of a transitional executive committee, then an election and constituent assembly. The likely consequence of the past fortnightâ\200\231s events is that the whole process will be speeded up. If the IFP tries to oppose this, it will simply be seen as a spoiler.â\200\235 ]

MOTOR INDUSTRY  
In the clouds

Motor industry employers and unions are deeply divided after the first round of annual pay talks. Vehicle manufacturers have rejected outright union demands for further centralised control of the industry. And they claim that pay demands could virtually double some companies' wage bills. Unions warn that the employers' attitude threatens to create a conflict which would make all previous conflicts in the industry look like a tea party :

Representatives of the two sides are meeting this week in an attempt to find common ground before the next full round of talks early next month. Negotiations are between manufacturers, the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) and the SA Ysteren Staal union.

Numsa is insisting on a package of changes to be phased in over three years to June 30 1996. The main features of its initial demands are:

- 0 An average annual wage increase over three years equal to inflation plus 5%;

- 0 The differential between artisan rates and bottom wage rates to be reduced to 20%;

- 0 Actual, rather than minimum, earnings to be common throughout the industry;

- 0 Average working week to be reduced from 40 hours to 39; Å¥

- 0 Employers to dock non-union staff the equivalent of union subs and pay the money to the unions;

- 0 Individual company pension and provident funds to be converted to a single industry retirement fund by July 1994;

- 0 Guaranteed job security for all employees during industry restructuring; and

- 0 A single bargaining forum for the entire motor industry, including vehicle manufacturers, motor components companies and tyre manufacturers. ;

While Numsa admits its programme is intended to bring about fundamental change in the industry's negotiating relationship, it

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DEATH SHOCKS CP

By Brian Stuart  
and Sapa

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The death last night of Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative ~ Party since 1982, has shocked Right-wing supporters throughout the country. Dr Treurnicht, a leading figure for much of his life in Afrikaner religious, cultural and political circles, suffered a heart at-

tack in Cape Town last week.

Subsequently, he had a second heart attack, leading to an emergency operation on Sunday at City Park Hospital for a multiple heart bypass.

Although remaining under intensive care, he appeared to be recovering well yesterday, when he suffered ventricular fibrillation, -a condition in which the heart fails to beat normally.

Medical attempts to re-

store the heart beat failed,

and he died about 6 pm. His wife, Mrs Engela Treurnicht, was present.

Dr Treurnicht is survived by his wife, four daughters and grandchildren.

Mr Frank le Roux, the CPâ\200\231s chief whip said no date had yet been set for the funeral.

He believed two of Dr Treurnichtâ\200\231s daughters were at his side when he

TO PAGE 2

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T'S

Tributes

to party  
leader

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr ANDRIES TREURNICHT, who \*  
died in a Cape Town hospital yesterday evening of heart fibrillation  
after a heart bypass operation.



CATIZEN

1 reurn

1A prayer had been said  
at the death bed by the  
- MP for Witbank, Mr, Wy-  
nand van Wyk. (a former  
church minister), . . . ,  
" - Conservative Party col-  
leagues heard the: news  
.during the final minutes  
of the day's parliamentary  
sitting. An- urgent caucus  
meeting was held to. in-  
form all party. MPs and  
members of ; the Presi-  
dent's . Council. " Some  
were in tears afterwards.  
Dr Ferdi Harlzenberg,

acting leader of the party,  
was on a right to Johan-

nesburg for 4 meeting. It.  
appears 'certain that he

will - su Dr Treur-

nicht as leader, and his  
formal election at a con-

gress could be unop-  
posed. In parliamentary cir-  
cles, however, it was said  
the CP would miss the re-

conciling hand of Dr-

Treurnicht. He had done -  
everything possible ear-

lier. this year to prevent ' , .

the defections that led to

:the establishment. of the

Mkmer Volksunie.  
Hrs background as for-

mer Ned Geref Kerk' mr-\_\_

nister and editor of Die \*  
-Kerkbode, chairman of  
the - Broederbond, and  
member of the Cabmet  
until the 1982 breakaway,  
made him the elder  
statesman of Right-wing  
Afrikanerdom, and there-

fore natural leader and .  
' spokesman for its aspira-

tions to self-determina-  
tion.

It was also under Dr Treurnicht's that the decision was taken on CP involvement

in the new multi-party ne-

gotiation forum. Dr Hartzenberg heads the party's negotiation team.

Mr Le Roux said last night that Dr Terurnicht was a dedicated leader in the cause in which he believed and which he served all his life:

Without: demanding

loyalty, it was bestowed on him by his followers, who were sincerely devoted to him.

\* Dr Treurnicht's death is a very great and sad loss to the CP. We are, however, bound by our loyalty to him to carry on with the struggle and to attain the ideals for which he strove.

: learning and dignity. Undoubtedly, his death will

ily, Dr Treurnicht's col-

- leadership -

He was a most genu-

ine Christian, and an ex-

ample to all of us. In his

- leadership, he set us an example.

. Mr Ken Andrew, national chairman of the Democratic Party, said: Dr Treurnicht was a

man of many talents, who " mat and he had the gift of

- being able to differ from the Afrikaner people ' ) in a variety of ways people without antagonis

dedicated himself to serv-

throughout his life.

" He was a man of :

be a severe loss to his pol-

itical party.

On behalf of the DP he  
extended sympathies to  
Mrs Treurnicht, the fam-

leagues and friends.

The National Party  
conveyed its condolences  
to the Conservative Party  
and the family and friends  
of Dr Treurnicht.

Chairman of the Nat-  
ional Information and  
Management Committee  
of the NP, Dr Dawie de  
Villiers, said it was to Dr  
Treurnicht's credit that he  
had led the CP to the ne-  
gotiation table during the  
last months of his life.

He had distanced him-  
self from political viol-  
ence throughout his pol-  
itical career.

His gentlemanly con-  
duct commanded respect  
across the political spec-  
trum.

Dr Andries Treurnicht  
was a talented and versa-  
tile man who made his  
mark in many different  
fields, leader of the  
Boerestaat Party, Mr Ro-  
bert van Tonder, said last

night.  
He held a leading pos-

ition as moderator in the

Church, he was a leading  
editor in the field of jour-

nalism, and as a politician  
he was a leader of stature. ;

" He was pre-eminently  
a peacemaker and diplo-

ing them.

Dr Treurnicht was a

~;-civilised and polite per-

" son, and friendliness was  
one of "his outstanding

' + qualities.

. Although he did not  
agree with the Boerestaat

" policy to restore the Boer

Republics, he was not

\*\_hostile in making his dif-

ferences known.â\200\235

An ANC statement in reaction to Dr Treurnichtâ\200\231s death called on the CP to find common ground with the ANC for

- the sake of peace.

â\200\234The policies of the

ANC and the CP are at

enormous variance. However, this is not the time

to concentrate on our differences, but to try and

find whatever common ground is possible for the sake of our country.

â\200\234Dr Andries Treurnichtâ\200\231s death comes at a critical time for the country and the Conservative Party, with leading figures of the CP implicated in the assassination of (South African Com-

munist Party secretary-

general) Chris Hani.

â\200\234The ANC hopes that

the CP will make a careful "â\200\230assessment of the situa-"

tion and commit them-

lchtâ\200\231s death shocks C

selves unambiguously to negotiations,â\200\235 the statement said.

The ANC extended its sympathy to Dr Treurnichtâ\200\231s family â\200\234and those close to himâ\200\235,

The Labour Party was sad to hear of the death of a man who, while a political foe, was always a dignified, and an "honest fighter for what he believed in, the Labour Party said.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said Dr â\200\230Treurnicht had been in-

variably polite, never stooping to personal attack however much some of his opponents tried to drag him down to that level of debate.

â\200\234Tough and uncompromising, it is heartening to remember that it was under his leadership that the CP entered multi-party negotiations and started on the road to becoming part of the new

South Africa.  
Dr Treurnicht would be

remembered for having pursued his own political line with considerable skill, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said. E

During the years they had worked together, he always found Dr Treurnicht to be a courteous man, and the wide political gulf between them never interfered with a good personal relationship.

â\200\234Our deepest sympathy goes out to Mrs Treurnicht and her familyâ\200\235 We shall miss him in Parliament.â\200\235

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 Dr  
Andries Treurnicht,  
leader of the Conser-  
vative Party, died in  
the City Park Hospi-  
tal, Cape Town yes-  
terday evening.

Dr Treurnicht was ad-  
mitted 10 days ago and  
underwent a heart by-  
pass operation from  
which he had been re-  
portedly recovering well  
up to Wednesday.

However, he died un-  
expectedly yesterday  
evening.

Dr Treurnicht, the  
man also known as Dr  
No, was the man  
blamed for South Afri-  
caâ\200\231s worst Black riots in  
1976 and the senior Nat-  
ional Party leader who  
finally also said no to his  
partyâ\200\231s decision to go  
for powersharing with  
Blacks.

Dr Treurnichtâ\200\231s big-  
gest political role began

Dr ANDRIES TREURNICHT . . . once cdhsld-  
â\200\230 ered the new Verwoerd.

with an ultimate aim to  
his Prime Minister, Mr  
P W Botha, whose re-  
formist direction took  
formal shape in 1982.

After a dramatic  
walk-out of Right-wing  
MPs from the National  
Party's parliamentary  
caucus, he left the Cabi-  
net, lost the powerful  
position as leader of the  
Transvaal NP and  
founded the Right-wing  
Conservative Party.

It was a party which  
was to become the first  
viable alternative to the  
NP in Afrikaner politics  
and which grew to be-  
come the Official Oppo-  
sition in 1987.

Ultimately, however,  
it failed in its goal to  
make Dr Treurnicht  
Prime Minister or State  
President and to lead  
Afrikaner politics back  
to apartheid.

In his varied career as  
churchman, newspaper

editor and politician, Dr  
Treurnicht was a man  
who was always in the  
forefront of events and,  
usually, in the midst of  
controversy.

He was once consid-  
ered the new Verwoerd  
of White politics and in  
many ways he matched  
his model.

Born in the Piketberg  
district on February 19  
1921, Andries Petrus  
Treurnicht was one of  
nine children of Hester  
and Andries Treurnicht,  
a farmer.

After matriculating at  
Piketberg High School  
in 1938, he obtained a  
BA degree at Stellen-  
bosch University, and  
from 1942 to 1945 at-  
tended the university's  
Theological Seminary.

During these years he was a member of the Studentsâ\200\231 Representative Council, chairman of the Studentsâ\200\231 Christian Association (SCA) and chairman of Polumnia, an association for theological students.

In 1946 the young Treurnicht became travelling secretary of the SCA and the same year was appointed minister of the NG Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church) in Oudtshoorn.

He played rugby for South Western Districts and in 1949 was their scrum-half against the touring All Blacks.

Until 1960 he also served the NG Kerk congregations of â\200\230Rondebosch, Stellenbosch and Pretoria.

While at - Rondebosch, he completed an MA in Philosophy and a PhD at the University of Cape Town.

In 1960 Dr Treurnicht became editor of the church weekly newspaper, Die Kerkbode, a

position he used to play a prominent role in a conservative counter-movement within the NG Kerk against the controversial Cottesloe recommendations of 1960.

In this respect he became the then Prime Minister, Dr HF Verwoerdâ\200\231s ally within the church, helping to hound out the NG Kerkâ\200\231s Cottesloe representatives who had endorsed the conferenceâ\200\231s strong anti-apartheid stance.

One of these men was Dr Beyers Naude who later took up the struggle against



outside the church.

#### Precedent

Dr Verwoerd set a precedent by personally intervening in a church matter during a festive season public broadcast to the nation. Dr Treurnicht backed him in rejecting his own church delegates' recommendations, coming out strongly in support of separate development.

His editorship immediately became controversial with even the party mouthpiece, Die Burger's editor, Mr Piet Cillie, attacking him in editorials.

In the company of other conservatives gaining ascendancy in the church, Dr Treurnicht's influence continued to grow.

In 1965 he was

elected assessor of the NGK Cape Synod and in 1966 of the General Synod, whose moderator was now the new Prime Minister's elder brother, Dr Koot Vorster.

In 1967 Prime Minister John Vorster invited

apartheid

Dr A. DRIES TREURNICHT ... campaigning at the polls for CP candidate Ms LEONIE STEELE.

Dr T's â\230No's split frikanerdom;

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" Dr Treurnicht to be-

come editor of the new Pretoria daily, Hoofstad, a position from which he promoted a universally conservative view of politics, theology, culture and academic life.

In a 1971 by-election he became the National Party MP for Waterberg. Again, his candidacy was the centre of a

controversy with many -

NP supporters believing, almost to the last minute, that he would more aptly be a candidate for the Right-wing opposition party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Although only a parliamentary back-bencher, he immediately exercised political power through his chairmanship of the Broederbond, the powerful and secret Afrikaner club which was generally credited with formulating and directing government thinking.

In 1976 he was appointed Deputy Minister of Bantu Adminis-

Jttation and Education,

where he was to play the role which earned him the negative tag for his refusal to drop Afrikaans as education medium in Black

schools.  
Fateful

When Mr Percy Qoboza, the editor of the influential and subsequently banned Black newspaper the World,

went to warn him of rising resentment and pleaded for a change in policy, Dr Treurnicht gave him his firm and fateful â\200\234Noâ\200\235.

The - subsequent schoolsâ\200\231 protest turned into a bloodbath as rioting spread across the country.

In 1979 the information scandal which â\200\230brought down Mr Vorsterâ\200\231s regime also disgraced the Transvaal leader and prime candidate for his succession, Dr Connie Mulder.

Dr Mulder lost his bid for the Premiership and his role in the so-called Info Scandal soon forced his resignation from Parliament and the party. Dr Treurnicht was elected Transvaal leader in his place, defeating the more verligte and senior candidate, Mr Fanie Botha.

The new Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, did

not like Dr Treurnicht

but had no choice but to elevate the leader of the most powerful province to the Cabinet.

He gave him the most junior and harmless post in political terms, that of Minister of Public Works and Tourism and in 1980 another politically neutral portfolio, Minister of State Administration.

From the outset it was clear that there was both personal and political tension between the two men. His junior position in the Cabinet did not deter Dr Treurnicht from openly defying party policy as being developed by Mr Botha and his first lieutenant, Mr Chris Heunis.

He continued to propose views contrary to aspects of NP policy, including opposing notions of a mixed Parliament or Cabinet and campaigning against integrating schools rugby in the Craven week.

Mr Botha, himself a fighting man who quickly took control and acquired his own mandate in the 1981 election, repeatedly slapped down Dr Treurnicht at public meetings for treating people of colour as â\200\234lepersâ\200\235.

As the government refined its rejected 1977 plan for a three-Parliament constitution, the issue of power-sharing was raised at an NP caucus meeting on February 24, 1982.

Dr Treurnicht and 22 MPs voted against a motion of confidence in Prime Minister Botha and his policies. The MPs then stormed out of the caucus meeting.

Resigned

On March 2 Dr Treurnicht and another senior Cabinet Minister, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, resigned from the Cabinet and joined them.

An attempt to hijack the Transvaal party was foiled when Mr Botha broke with convention and personally arrived at a Transvaal NP executive meeting to spearhead Dr Treurnichtâ\200\231s ousting and the election of Mr F W de Klerk as new provincial leader.

The new Conservative Party (CP) was established on March 20 at the Skilpadsaal of the Pretoria showgrounds.

Following the CPâ\200\231s formation, DPr Treurnicht

nicht consistently criticised the government for its move away from Verwoerdianism, claiming his party represented the true Nationalists.

The CP became the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly after the 1987 general election, its growth, however, not fully realising its own expectations or the fears of government supporters. :

The inability to show significant growth created a measure of frustration which increasingly saw the party becoming more militant in its public statements and choice of friends such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). )

The first sign of a faltering leadership came with the challenge from Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, who exposed Dr Treurnicht's inability to cast his separatist ideas for an Afrikaner homeland into a viable policy.

Hounded out

Mr Van der Merwe was hounded out of the party but its potential as a political alternative was finally destroyed in a referendum, held in March 1992, on President De Klerk's reform initiatives.

After that disillusionment with a directionless leader, an absence of any clear policy prompted party stalwarts to follow the maverick Mr Van der Merwe out of the party.

They formed the Afrikaner Volksunie, a step which broke the CP's exclusive hold on the right and forced it to join other parties in see-

king a negotiated constitutional settlement.

A sudden heart ailment requiring a bypass operation first raised questions about his possible retirement from politics.

Dr Treurnicht was awarded the Decoration for Meritorious Service (DMS) in 1982.

He was also a prolific writer, including authoring a controversial book, *Credo van Afrikaner*, regarded by many as the blueprint for Afrikaner conservatism. ;

He married Engel: Dreyer in 1949 and the couple had four daughters.

~ ters. Sapa.

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FROM PAGE 1

stage, senior men inside the CP and among those who most recently left the party for the Afrikaner Volksunie, were unanimous that Dr Hartzenberg stands unopposed.

There were a number of likely candidates for the deputy leadership, they agreed.

The severe conservatism of the party's policies are matched by its old-world organisational style, making it unlikely that a sudden reversal or change of direction which would

lection at this early

Dr Treurnicht has

been credited by those

who have deserted his party with an amazing

ability to hold the mid-

dle ground and persuade his diverse membership to remain within the party. He was a master of the compromise.

Dr Hartzenberg and Mr Pienaar are not of the same ilk. They have shown themselves to be uncompromising hardliners who have not flinched from the most

/ pitter attacks on political foes.

The departure of Dr Treurnicht, observers say, will remove the

safety catch from the party at leadership level and load it with a potential explosiveness which can drive moderate men

like Dr Mulder, his brother Corne, (Randfontein) and more restrained members such as Barberton's Mr Casper Uys and Brakpan's Mr Frank le Roux out of the party.

Some suggestion that

leadership does some-

times moderate the fieriest leader once membership and support is at stake, and that Dr Hartzenberg may therefore cool his rhetoric. and leave his former role to his deputy. Sapa.

necessitate another leader could emerge.

The only thing that is possible is a further hardening and radicalisation, a former CP MP said.

For that reason the more moderate Dr Pieter Mulder, MP for Schweizer-Reneke, would probably not succeed in the deputy leader stakes. Other candidates, all likely to fail against the more militant Mr Pienaar, are Mr Jurg Prinsloo (Roodepoort) and Mr Andrew Gerber (Brits).

A leadership duel involving Dr Hartzenberg and Mr Pienaar is certain to radicalise the party even more and, some informed conservatives agree, lead to a break-up of the ranks Dr Treurnicht managed

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government hag publish-  
ed its Proposals

â\202¬ draft Bjj  
tabled by the Minister of  
Government, Dr  
o :

ities NegotiationÂ»Forum,  
and at the national Jeve]  
Mulî¬\201-Party Negotiations  
Forum, The latter woylq  
ultimately decide on ,  
new system,

No central or regional  
political settlement coylq

ica if there  
Was no success jn reachin,  
that goal at local level, he  
said.

ded into two worlds â\200\224  
one of which

-privileged â\200\224 and the goal  
was to make these two  
worlds meet fairly.

â\200\224

was more

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government  
\proposals tabled.

â\200\234We must reach out to  
one another withjn  
OWn social contract which  
fan effectively address

â\202¬mands of oyr time  
if it is based on the ap-

Proach that the feqrs and

aspirations of both worlds  
are accomodateq.

There were three re-  
qQuirements for such an  
approach:

Â® The need for politi-  
cal balance being attained  
in which neither â\200\234worlqâ\200\235  
dominated the other;

Â® The  
sing development with  
the Primary theme being  
correction of imbalances;

and

Â® The need for sub-Municipal structures to allow expression of community pride and lower-level leadership.

There governing Local government and these had to be rationalised into a system.

â\200\234Furthermore, it is Surely unacceptable that laws which are racially

retained,â\200\235 included the Authorities

ated and regulated management Committees.

We must move rapidly as possible to a position where all ordinances of local government will apply to all Local authorities.â\200\235 Dr Delport said the for rationalisation stemmed from , recommendation should be three types of local government structure:

@ Local Authorities, traditionally developed as the primary form of local government, but whose areas Jurisdiction

service the whole area of South Africa uniformly;

Â® Metropolitan and Townships, urban and Rural, to pool resources for basic infrastructural needs with participating Local Authorities being represented and jointly deciding on common functions; and  
Â® Ward Councils to conserve the character of smaller communities by, for instance norms and standards of Property, security etc,

The Minister also proposed that Delimitation

should commend on the delimitation of areas of jurisdiction based on historic,

economic and geographic  
considerations,

The traditional oca)  
authority functions  
should be retained while  
financing of , complex js-  
Sue could be aug-  
mented by new sources of

| Revenue not traditionally  
connected with local gov-  
ernment such as Regional  
Services, long-term, Pf} - A

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Attack on club: APLA  
complicity ruled out

DURBAN. â\200\224 Police  
have ruled out the possi-  
bility that the Azanian  
Puope Liberation Army  
(APLA) was behind an  
attack oa the Richmond  
Countsy Club in Natal's  
Midlands o Wednesday  
night.

â\200\234We've ruled out that  
possibility,â\200\235 said Pieter-  
marizburg police spokes-  
mar Czprain Henry  
Budhram. "\e have no  
cvidenc2 to prove APLA  
was invoived. "

Police were following  
pesitive leads and ex-  
pected more arrests soon,

said Capt Budhram.

Â® Police and army re-  
inforcements may be sta-  
tioned in Richmond in the  
Natai Midlands because  
of the attack on the  
town's â\200\230country club on  
Wednesday night.

Manager Mr Willam  
Isaacs said a police gener-  
al visited the club yester-  
day morning, and promis-  
ed to station soldiers and  
policemen at a unit near  
the complex to ecnsure  
patrons were protected.

Mr Tsaacs said he was

inside the clubhouse soon  
after 9pm on Wednesday  
when he saw three men

outside crawling towards  
the building.

I shouted and they  
stood up, aimed their  
arms at me and I ducked.  
They fired three shots.

I rushed to the bar to  
get my firearm and then  
ran away, letting ring and  
firing indiscriminately.  
One car was damaged.

Damage to the clubhouse  
was insignificant.

Mr Isaacs said about  
three policemen were  
among about 20 guests  
playing pool at the club  
when the attack started.  
They were armed with  
AK-47s and  
R-4 rifles. Saturday !

THE CITIZEN, FRIDAY 23 APRIL 199

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THE WORLD '---" AROUND ug/ -

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quits: Search;  
for new PM

ROME. â\200\224 President | represeatation as the ba

Oscar Luigi Scalfaro |  
formally beg\*n  
search for

post-war

Minister  
Amato formaily  
signed.

Mr Amato. whose four-  
party coalit:on was buried  
by ahugs po! litical bribery  
sc.mdal wiil stav on as  
caretaker Fremier in the  
meantinie. 2 presidential  
statement said.

Early sucze  
Scalfaraâ\200\231s search would  
boost financial market  
and smooth the path to-  
wards the couniry's most  
important clec-



Past, was being judged by

a Senate panel which is

hearing magistrates' evidence of alleged ties  
' links with the Mafia.

The panel must decide  
whether to advise the full  
Senate to lift Mr Andreotti's parliamentary  
immunity so he can face  
criminal charges ;

Its willingness or otherwise  
to recommend offering  
up Mr Andreotti to  
the courts is being seen as  
a key test of how far the  
government will go in the battle  
against organised crime. !

The outcome of the  
vote which had been  
scheduled for yesterday  
evening but which may be  
put off to next week is  
in the balance with the  
panel reportedly  
divided.

The accusations against  
Mr Andreotti and three  
of his former Ministers  
outraged ordinary Italians  
and helped turn last  
weekend's referendum  
vote into a national  
verdict of censure. Sapa-  
reuters

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THE CITIZEN, FRIDAY 23 APRIL 199

English complaini¬\201

&paâ\200\231fâ\200\230ks Zulu harangue

1AN Indian MP harangued  
+/the Conscrvative Party in  
Zulu yestercay after a CP  
MP co.-r.plaincd about of-  
ficials being asked to  
speak Exgiish for the ben-  
efit of Members of the  
Housc of Delegates.  
Spesking in debate on  
the Rcad Treffic Second  
Amendment Bill, Mr  
Lcon Louw {CP Welkom)  
saiÂ¢ the CP had written to  
the Specker asking for  
urgent action on the fact  
that officials 2ppearing  
before the Joint Commit-  
tee on Traosport had  
been asked by its chair-  
man. M: Sakkic Blanche,  
to spcak English rather  
than A"â\200\224<aa'1\$

This high handed ac-  
tion conflicted with Par-  
liamentâ\200\231s proud tradition  
of bilingualism. The CP

believed it was not that

the Indian MPs did not  
understand Afrikaans.  
but that they did not want  
to understand it.

Mr Semaroo Pachai  
(Ind Natal Midlands) said  
Natal MPs were sick and  
tired of the CP continual-  
ly attacking them on the  
language issue.

â\200\234I want to say to them  
that in the new South  
Africa it will be necessary  
for them to learn to talk  
in Zulu and Xhosa,â\200\235 he  
said in Afrikaans, and  
then Jaunched into a

lengthy harangue in Zulq.

â\200\234Order,â\200\235 said the chaiz-  
man, Mr Salamuddi  
Abram. â\200\234The honourable

umnumzaan must return  
to English.â\200\235

â\200\234EK is moeg van julle  
ronsens,â\200\235 said Mr Pachal.

Mr Myburgh Streicher  
(NP De Kuilela) said the  
CP was displaying aâ\200\230\*so-  
tute intolerance.

Often Indian MPs who  
did not speak Afrikaans  
sat dead quiet in the com-  
mittee and did not par.zcn-  
pate, while their Am-  
kaans-speaking col-  
leagues were asking ques-  
tions about the detailed  
interpretation of specific  
statements.

LMuchj;o be:done to educate illiterate on how to vote,

Âç W an T - eâ\200\224  
butID. books on trag  
e .â\200\230w?â\200\230u.' L vty ey b f"".â\200\235i-â\201:" :l ', -" :

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.â\200\230L'Bâ\200\230 RPP\,{â\200\230b q\â\200\234b

{;-â\200\230\_â\200\230 â\200\234THE coming nonracial general election will  
l be. the biggest in.this country with an esti-  
o mated 21 n}illion pepple being eligible tp vote.

wa) '-Although'political' parties and ofginisations are : i  
v\_' band ing election dates about' organising an elec- : ; plâ\200\230eparatlons by his dep  
artment were done in Such  
tion involving 21 million voters, many of them liv- @ Way as to support any  
v ing in remote areas, is a massive undertaking i Fom that might be decided on.

~,Which needs months of thorough planning. ' Mr'Coli-â\201 said misconceptions and deep-root  
ed  
efs

Issues which have.to be resolved include the for- ,, tribal bellefs were also factors that  
had to be con-

" 'mat of the ballot paper, polling station sites and . sidered In educating people for \a  
democracy.

Â« \_the appointment of impartial election officials who A survey by Rhodes Universityâ\200  
\231s media research  
-/ are acceptable to all parties. \*. e \* :and 'trann&gtug\i:i f&und â\200\231:tt;er? 'v{as\_  
great lmi:::con-

|1-~The major stumbling block is the high illiteracy ception about ballots, particularly in  
-rural areas.  
Â« rate. More than 45' percent of all black. South Afri-  
.Acans are illiterate and voter education will be cru- -  
Ji.cial to ensure people understand and exercise their

: Â«qemo\_craticâ\200\230.l"ight&â\200\234t'o cast their vote. 5

cross one made on a ballot paper was either a signature, a bad mark or something one got for being " absent from school. Many' potential voters did not

4% Mr Piet Colyn, director-general of Home Affairs, said that before any election could take place, a suitable electoral system had to be adopted. \_ " â\200\234Because South' African society is largely frag- - mock - mented, the Presidentâ\200\231s Council Committee for called tokoloshe from hiding in any corners.:s.:Â» Constitutional Affairs felt a proportional electoral ~ â\200\230This cultural belief in the tokoloshe also isâ\200\230held system;would be the best. . :

â\200\234In such a system, all citizens of 18 years and older have only one vote and vote for a party list or for independent candidates.â\200\235 = - . e â\200\234Mr Colyn said an important criterion'@ was thatâ\200\230/ the electorate understood the system. vespee e b

were.â\200\235 A

importance of educating would-be voters'that their d i

â\200\234From a conference in-Namibia recently: held by, /+--+ mnocracy in

litical and electoral sys-

" The survey reported: â\200\234Some people thought the even know who Nelson 'Mailndgla\_o\_x: F W de Klerk.

It said that at a Natal seminar to educate domestic workers on how to cast a vote, a circular - polling station was.built to prevent the so-

in other areas of the country:and 'underlinesâ\200\231 the,

â\200\230baflots are secret â\200\224ieven from the tokoloshe.â\200\235:\* r.yarand the-issues surrounding it. . . . c s )

7% The call for:an, election â\200\234nowâ\200\235 might still echo the Washini-\201ton-basedf -National: Institute for- De-:

nternational -Affairs, it transpired that:

W ST Wy T ]

Such understanding remained one of the core el-. " experience gained'in otherâ\200\231countries had shown ements of the legitimacy-of any electoral -system for a deeply divided society like South Africa.â\200\235 v But, said Mr Colyn, care had been taken not to pre-empt a new constitutional dispensation and -

" the media should be controlled by an independent ' â\200\230

.commission long before transitional' elections, in" â\200\234order to establish credibility. = IR Mr Colyn said it was also vital that independent monitoring of pre-election activities and of the ac--

tual elections took place to ensure they ran

smoothly. Legislation making monitoring possible Â¢  
was essential when developing a new constitution. '  
Â\200\230Although no election date had<peen set yet andâ\200\231 .  
much still needed to be done to ensure a free and,  
. democratic election, preliminary arrangements .

were well advanced. 1  
Mr Colyn said 16 000 ballot boxes had been made \*  
for the planned 7000 polling stations around the:  
country. More than 85 percent of all potential vot- -  
Â\200\230ers already had ID books. - - gy ;  
However, Mr Colyn was positive that by the  
. time the election arrived, about 93% of those eligi-

ble to vote would have ID documents. This was  
much higher than had been the case elsewhere in:  
Africa. j .  
Politicians calling for an election â\200\234nowâ\200\235 might.  
Â\200\230be opportunistic. Partiesrinvolved in the new all-  
party negotiating forum had not been able to reach  
onsensus even on naming the new forum.  
The issue of choosing a name would seem simple |  
. compared - with. deciding on an electoral system, -

P  
.for many months to come and'even a date early:

4 . ;  
!-rJ;DWSt year. might-be too close to be practical..Â«Â¢, 1

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PYENETNE T TR L T VR

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st there  
will return from South Africa

Foreign Affairs Minister Botha  
Introducing debate on the

: After his Vote, he said he hoped that in  
TBVC states would be re-incorporated

cause public security.

He said his department remained

concerned about the

misappropriation  
The, worse than

becomes, the more

is a proportion

social. Questions.  
financial

a much broader income base, especially from mining, which contributed significantly to its fiscus.

It also recognised the value of effective control over scarce resources.

Mr Botha said South Africa was now represented in 79 countries. In

bon and the Congo. . - ~

the Middle East had shown increasing  
- interest lately in relations with South  
Africa

: ITBVC states that

2 it residential- representation in  
each African state, 'in the existing repre-  
sentation of economic bloc; play a  
major role.. ...

he, T] VC states.;

the increasing marginalisation

Mr Botha said Bop! huthatswana is different from  
that of the other TBVC states. It had - -

~ The arms race was being replaced  
- by an economic race in which the former  
\* nation of economic bloc; play a  
~ major role.. ...

Africa, full diplomatic relations were .  
- now maintained with Ivory Coast, Ghana ;

s

the corporated 'soon because.  
services are collapsing, says '  
Foreign Minister Pik Botha

budgetary constraints would pro-

Representative offices in Nigeria,  
Egypt, Ethiopia and Jordan would

have to assume regional responsibilities

3 e

Residential representation in the  
. Gulf States of Bahrain, Oman, United  
- Emirates and Qatar: was, how-  
necessary because of their W

g : X%  
South Africa could assist in coun-

rica through, trilateral projects  
with other. Western- countries. South  
Africa was not a donor; countries but  
South Africa, expenses and: know-  
in the African environment  
d: . an important catalyst

development in the rest of the

New criteria now overrode the relationship between countries in the post-Cold War era. Ideological alignment was now less important. Egan expressed the view that which government

for the political and economic needs

- of their people:

South Africa should carefully consider

the need to establish a Council on Foreign Relations to assist the Many other countries in Africa and

government, the Department of Foreign Affairs and the private sector to

prepare for new challenges in the  
complex international relations and the

P W L e



Mandela urges discipline

ANC president Nelson Mandela told angry \

youths in Sebokeng yesterday that they  
g'ould save their fighting spirit for Um-  
khonto we Sizwe.

Speaking in the wake of Sunday's shoot-  
ing spree in Sebokeng which claimed 19

way to take up arms was to join MK, Sapa-  
reports.

A'F''II: ur.g:stand your anger when you say  
that you want to fight for your freedom. I  
understand when you say you want to fight  
back ... but you can only fight and win if  
you have a disciplined army. You will get  
your weapons when you join the army.â\200\235  
But he urged youths to complete their

hurry to join. We expect you to try...to  
get ma':']?; first. You cannot be a pilot  
but

lives, he told a crowd of 3 000 that the only  
studies before joining MK. â\200\234Don't be in &

- BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 23 APRIL 199:

e â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

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[/ / wovp couters -}

without matric, you cannot be an officer.â\200\235 |  
It would be â\200\234courting disasterâ\200\235 if youths |  
|

armed themselves and tried to fight back |  
in small groups. ; |  
Mandela accused the right wing of com- .  
plicity not only in the murder of SACP,  
leader Chris Hani, but also in the Sebokeng  
deaths. He and Anglican Archbishop Deâ\$- |  
mond Tutu visited survivors of Sunday's shoot-  
ing spree in their houses and in hospital. |  
LLOYD COUTTS reports that Tutu said:  
blacks would be ready to forgive when.  
whites were ready to say sorry for the:  
wrongs of apartheid. â\200\234We say, when you  
say sorry, we say we forgive you. We are  
ready to forgive you when you are ready to

Mandela

say sorry for all the deaths.â\200\235

- Ee said blacks held the key to enabling white South Africans to get to heaven.â\200\234Trey will not go to heaven until they ask for forgiveness from us. We say: â\200\230We want you to go to heavenâ\200\231â\200\235 g

Tuty said blacks wanted freedom for both blacks and whites, â\200\234We want whites, for the first time, to know what it is like to live under a democratic government. God is not stupid. God says if you are a human being, you are bound to other human beings. We are saying to white people the freedom we want is not for black people, the freedom we want is for them as well.â\200\235

Sapa reports a row has erupted between police and the ANC over alleged SAP collu-

O From Page 1

sion in the Sebokeng shooting and claims that the ANC is interfering with witnesses.

Vaal Triangle deputy commissioner Brig Floris Mostert denied complicity. He said a number plate found at the scene belonged to a police minibus which had escorted a Nyala armoured vehicle after the attack. Mostert accused the ANC of

+ hampering police investigations by urging

witnesses not to give information to police. But the ANC PWV region said in a state-

ment: "At no stage did ANC officials advise

witnesses to withhold information that

could lead to the arrest of the perpetrators

of violence.â\200\235 It called for an independent

inquiry into the incident. '

Â® Picture: Page 3

- BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 23 APRIL 199

NeQI'a'ions â\200\230have  
to be speeded up%

BILLY PADOOCK :

MULTIPARTY negotiations had to be  
speeded up, a 10-member planning com-  
mittee decided at a meeting at the World  
Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday.

â\200\230Chairman Zam Titus sald: â\200\234We are now !  
al] really aware that people want to see |  
results following the events of the recent  
past.â\200\235 The committee was considering a  
draft resolution on the assassination of  
SACP gereral] secretary Chris Hani and  
the effect this had had on negottations,

The committee meets again today to  
formulate recommendations for the nego-  
tiating council meeting on Monday.

Titus said a report from a subcommittee )  
was tabled yesterday dealing with vio- -  
lence and the transitional process. This  
would be discussed today and a draft re-  
port presented to the council on Monday.

The report on the traasition is split into  
three parts, viz: recording the Codesa  
agreements with qualifications, where ap-  
plicable, under seven headings; a recom-  
mendation to form technical committees  
to draft resolutions on issues such as an  
independent electoral commission; and  
recommendations on violence.

OSapa reports from Cape Town that  
President F W de Klerk met KwaZuly  
Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yes-  
terday. Their joint statement said they had  
discussed a wide range of issues and  
cleared up misunderstandings on constity-  
tional matters. Their meeting would facili-  
tate multiparty negotiations, they said.

@ S+ Page 8

- BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 23 APRIL 199

Housing forum may get extra R400m

THE National Housing Forum is expected |  
to get a further R400m allocation from  
government this fiscal year, over and  
i above the R400m allocated in the Budget.  
last month. :

The forum and the National Housing  
Department said negotiations on a further  
allocation from the state were continuing,  
but declined to elaborate because of the  
â\200\234sensitivityâ\200\235 of the issue.

They said forum 3nd government repre-  
sentatives had roet after the Budget to  
discuss the availability of finance in the  
stateâ\200\231s Housing Fund that could be re-  
directed to a joint initiative between the  
forum and government.

A source close to the National Housing

[ ~ GRETA STEYN |

Forum said the forum was hoping for  
about R1bn from government, but early  
indications had been that the amounts  
available would fall sbort of that target.

A government source said the focus was  
on funds allocated to housing in the 1593/94  
fiscal year, rather than unspent amounts  
from previous fiscal years. Funds that had  
not yet been committed to specific pro-  
jects could be given to the forum.

A total of R1,66bn was allocated to hous-  
ing in last monthâ\200\231s Budget. The Finance  
and State Expenditure Departments were  
kept up to date on developments.

O To Page 2 .

Housing

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i L. iS understood that the fund !s cocsider  
;.;g;nri~\201e different approaches to sperdin :  
o;.-a;.,?catet} funds. Tte initial jdea wag  
i su-.ype :s:te-and-ser\*:ice projects, but  
e â\200\231g'gest.on Was not accepted yn-  
Timously becuse of opposities.to ty  
st;:'{e of bo;sx::g iavolved, o  
o Second suggestion is to jnvoly  
?or. :';;e\_ sgctor by using the state allocea :i[g;

fung â\200\230in \_::; through a housing guarantee  
voivâ\200\230e:i;:rt ee'y;z;s::n& banks would get in-  
Â¢ in term â\202¬ suggsstion, under-  
stocd to have the backing of maj  
300e ! 3jor player  
ltz;attâ\200\234eï¬\201m,or:gage market. Howives f.ff;  
.3t employers would not wanz to beco  
involved kave arisen. The third suggest?t::

- From f.â\200\231age 1

is for pilot projects .  
! J to test idea â\200\230  
launching a major initiative, - i

Before the Budget, th  
e forum ask -  
ï¬\201ï¬\201me}qg for an 2llocation of moreed tgr:0;n  
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available in the Additiona) Approl;en;?iao?te

- BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 23 APRIL 1994

J Hi-\201gewâ\200\230[lables  
plan for legal  
gambling |

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The Howard commis-  
sion has recommended legalising a  
plethora of gambling operations under  
strict, national regulation.

Its report yesterday recommended the  
legalisation of a single national lottery and  
football pool, bingo, the extension of sports  
betting, the reintroduction of dog racing,  
the licensing of about 10 more casinos in  
SA and the establishment of a national  
gaming control board.

The commission, set up under Judge  
James Howard to inquire into the desir-  
ability of gambling and lotteries, sidestep-  
ped ethical questions, saying it would be  
futile, and even dangerous, to attempt to  
stamp out gambling by prohibition.

Government's initial reaction was to  
warn that the recommendations should not  
be regarded as an indication of policy.  
Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said gov-  
ernment would make its position known  
within three weeks and legislation could be  
introduced this year.

However, he suggested a positive re-  
sponse by government to at least some of  
the proposals, saying the criteria govern-  
ment would use to make its decision would  
be the need to reap tourist revenue and to

. boost funding of social welfare projects.

The report proposed government grant  
to a limited number of casino licences to  
developers who established major tourist  
resorts with hotels outside metropolitan  
centres. The resorts should be no less than  
an hour's drive from metropolitan areas.

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â\200\230 â\200\234As the Sun International casinos have  
well actually established 30 in the

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states, we assume that they will continue to exist in the event of those states being reincorporated with SA, but they will have to face competition from new casinos established pursuant to our recommendations,â\200\235 the report said

The commission recommended casinos be established in the western Cape, in the Plettenberg Bay area, on the Natal north coast, in the Drakensberg, near the Vaal Dam, and in the northern and eastern Transvaal. Casinos should pay an annual licence fee of about R30 000 and possibly a 15% levy on the gross Â casino win.

The report confirmed earlier that it would propose a single, lottery to be-run as a commercial enterprise by a statutorily created and government-controlled agency. Existing lotteries

- should apply to a new national lotteryâ\200\231 board for registration. Evidence indicated 22-27% of turnover should go towards social welfare.

It recommended 8 single national football pools regulated by the national lottery board: the board would not run the pool but grant the franchise to a pool promoter.

The report recommended that licensed bookmakers and TABs be permitted to

...accept bets on sporting events to help control the industry. It also recommended dog racing, as this would provide employment.

Bingo should be legalised and slot machine gaming introduced in bona fide sporting or social clubs; a new gaming law should be

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TIM COHEN

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## Gambling

raffles or letteries should be legalised, with certain provisos. izcluding a limit on the total value of the tickets. Gambling debts should be legaily enforceable. i

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that NSL CE Kgomotso Modise said be was â\200\234overwhelmed and overjoyedâ\200\235 at the notion of a soccer pool, with funds golog to sports development, as this would be a windfall for the virtually bankrupt soccer {raternity. But United Cricket Board of SA MD All Bacher warned that the legalisation of sports betting had to be banded with caution to ensure sportsmen'â\200\231s per-

O From Page 1 1

formances were pot influenced. He said besides generating funds for the game. a tote at the stadium would draw people. Sun International MD Africa Ken Rosevear said his jnitial response was in favour of the recommenda-

for. â\200\234southern "

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tions. The company supported the limited .

pumber of licences put forward. The pro~posai that Âcasinos be outside urban argas meant they would not pose a major threat. Sapa reports that Gambling Association chairman Grant Kaplan welcomed the recommendations for wellcontrolled gambling, but said the vast majority of local casino operators would be excluded.

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- BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 23 APRIL 1993

Derby-Lewises held  
KRUGERSDORP estate agent  
Faan Venter and former  
Citizen journalist Arthur  
Kemp, held in connection with  
the assassination of SACP  
general secretary Chris Hanl,  
were released yesterday,  
while President's Council  
member Clive Derby-Lewis  
and his wife Gaye remained in  
custody. police said.

NEWS

â\200\224â\200\224

Means sought

to strengthen

peace accord

THE national geace

committee dep. ored the

nationwide deaths and injuries  
two weeks

a fully reprehensive meeting  
of the committee last ni

The meeting was held to  
discuss â\200\234the jptroduction of  
urgent measures to strengthen  
the national peace accordâ\200\235.  
The subcommittee workâ\200\230m% on  
amendments to the accor!  
was requested to complete its  
work as a matter of urgency,  
and 3 follow-up meeting would  
be held on May 3.

\_Inflammatory statements  
made by the ANC's Peter  
Mokaba and Wwinnie Mandela  
in contravention of the accord  
were also discussed. Hall said  
members of political parties  
distanced thernselves from the  
speeches. Page 2

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Treurnicht's death leaves a

CAPE TOWN CP leader Andries Treurnicht, 72, died suddenly last night, drawing the curtain on an era in right-wing politics and increasing the woes of his troubled party.

Treurnicht, whose uncompromising stance led him to be dubbed 'Dr No', died at 6pm yesterday in Gey Park Hospital. He had undergone a heart bypass on Sunday.

While his death is certain to put further pressure on his party, it is unlikely to result in a leadership struggle, with current deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg likely to succeed him.

Some observers said the change in leadership was unlikely to result in a major shift in the party's stance but the potential danger was the loss of a leader with the stature and ability to

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| TIM COHEN

unite the various and fractious elements of right-wing politics. Other observers felt the CP's participation in negotiations could in be question as Treurnicht was seen as the only person capable of holding the party together and steering it through the difficult period. Treurnicht was the leading figure in the breakaway from the NP in 1982 and his death signals the end of a political era marked by a debate over the viability of grand apartheid. Despite his personal integrity, Treurnicht had the dubious distinction of being the person who sparked the Soweto school riots by insisting in

1976 that Afrikaans should be the medium of

N R TESRSRESR A

oid in SA politics, says FW

instruction at black schools. Messages of condolence were received from across the political spectrum.

CP MP Frank le Roux said his death was a -

severe loss to the Afrikaner nation and to his party. He had been a principled leader and had never wavered in his beliefs.

President F W de Klerk said his death left a void in SA politics, and that as a church and cultural leader, an editor and politician, he had made an active contribution to Afrikaners and

SA. â\200\234Although we were at opposite poles in the political debate, I have always respected him and we could differ with dignity.â\200\235

DP leader Zach de Beer said Treurnicht was a courteous man and their political differences

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had never interfered with their personal relationship. â\200\234We shall miss him in Parliament.â\200\235 Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said while Treurnicht was a political foe, he was a dignified, tough, uncompromising and honest fighter for what he believed in. The ANC said: â\200\234The policies of the ANC and the CP are at enormous variance. However, this is not the time to concentrate on our differences, but to try and find whatever common

- ground is possible for the sake of our country.â\200\235

Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian

Congress executive Pravin Gordhan hoped the

Party would still be part of the peace process â\200\230as their contribution is an important one".

@ Sea Page 8

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\*â\200\234TIME is running o, ... The :;.itua-

T lion is unstable and the economy is

under greal threat. That is why we have to move quickly to keep (o the timeframes of the {ransition sched-ule and get a seltlemenl,â\200\235 Constitu-tional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said this week.

President FW de Klerk said in Parliament there was no doubt about governmentâ\200\231s commitmem (o the speedy [inalisation of the process.â\200\231

The ANC talks of the need for â\200\234great urgencyâ\200\235 that the process be hastened to achieve a seftlement within six weeks. This, says secre-tary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, â\200\234jis quite praclical and conceivable giv-en the consensus thal exists among the major playersâ\200\235.

Chris Haniâ\200\231s assassination has in-jected a sense of urgency into the process if it was not there befcrc. The ANC and government, though, speak as if their prograrmome for the transition is the only one on the agen-da. They neglecl lo take into account, the substanlial opposition from In-katha and ils allics who reject the notion of transilional structures.

The fact that polls indicale that together they eneâ\200\230oy majorily support might explain their belief that they can gently bulldoze the lesser play-ers into line. Their desire to do so, though, is explained by the uncer-

tainly of the process, the instability and the questlionable ability of the cenlre to hold.

De Klerk's poor petformance in

Parliament during his Budget vote

also indicalcd how much he relies on progress in negotiations to keep his conslituency focused on the process. In November, when announcing the NP timelable, he warned that i( some parlies did nol co-operale he would be forced to find alternative ways lo keep lbhe process moving.

Sources close to De Klerk say he will carry out this threat if necessary. The ANC leadership is speaking the same language for the same reason. Hani's murder unleashed an almost anarchical frustration among the militant youth. ANC Youth League president Peller Mokaba reflected their lack of confidence in the negotiating process when he said -three years of negotiations had produced nothing but the loss of life. The two major players realise that they have to force the pace or they might lose control. But they have not yet completed the procedural work or even found a name for the negotiating forum as they have tried to

Pressure

0lu;v PADDOCK

gn'top's 200\230i" 200\230k up pace

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keep the process as inclusive as possible and to accommodate the mis-

givings and suspicions of smaller.

parties like Inkatha. . Negotiators in both camps say their parties have rethought their negotiating strategies. They are now willing to see what stances Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group take. Clarity on the PAC's

position is also awaited. If, as is likely, an agreement is not

immediately in sight, government |

and the ANC will have to weigh up the costs and implications of moving ahead without one or more of Inkatha, the CP and the PAC - whose armed wing's campaign of violence - has been attracting support from disenchanted ANC youth over the past three months.

The major players have to decide which strategy lends itself better to long-term stability and success, if they want an all inclusive settlement

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they will have to forgo speed as parties in the Concerned South Africans

- Group seek to bargain for a transition on their terms. The alternative:

is to hold -he centre together with  
the parlicipalion of as many parlies  
as possible and swiftly move ahead.  
Early indications are that they will  
opt for the latter and risk an Inkatha  
walhout. :

r \* They waot Inkatha in. The other..

â\200\230homelands, they believe, can beâ\200\231|

dealt with through financial pres-  
sure. The CP is probably dispensa-  
ble. But excluding Inkatha raises the  
ossibility of the â\200\234Savimbi ogptionâ\200\235.  
For that reason, the ANC and gov-  
ernment are struggling in bilaterals

with each other and wilh Inkatha to  
rj come up with an offer Mangosuthu

Buthelezi will accept. If he rejecis a  
â\200\234reasonableâ\200\235 offer, they would want  
â\200\230him (o be scen Lo be a spoiler and  
hecoine he target of domneslic and  
julernational pressure.

The proczss looks fragile. S is  
of the essence, but il has to be em-  
barked vpon wilh caution so that it is  
not derailed. As the old clichÃ© goes,  
â\200\234More hasle, less speed.â\200\235

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Demons of their own makin

UNTIL the end of March, the level of political violence in SA had dropped  
â\200\224 from more than eight killings a day last year to four a day this year. These lower levels have not been

seen since 1989, so at least the trend !

has been in the right direction. So far this month, it has not been reversed. The link between demonisation and violence is at long last beginning to be recognised. Nelson Mandela was correct this week to link Chris Hani's death to a climate that legitimates political assassination. But there is not yet sufficient appreciation of how pervasively demonisation has poisoned our public life. Many of the more than 15 500 people who have died in political violence in SA in the past eight-and-a-half years have been victims of politicians who so successfully damned their opponents that their followers cannot believe why their leaders (on both sides) are now sup-

ping with the very devils of the pre- â\204¢»

vious demonology.  
Hani was himself a victim of demonisation. Several hundred dead

policemen, black councillors, and Inkatha and ANC members are also among the victims â\200\224 demonised, stigmatised, and then petrol-bombed, shot down or necklaced.

But for the fact that apartheid denied him the rights of citizenship, Hani might have been a Latin teacher instead of a freedom fighter in the eyes of youth who idolised him and a terrorist in the eyes of people who thought SA would be at peace but for a communist-inspired total onslaught against it.

One of (the men arrested after the murder, Janusz Walus, belonged to an organisation that believes the total onslaught theory and is angry

that government no longer does.

After all, less than 10 years ago, people such as Hani were targeted for destruction when the defence force raided the ANC in neighbouring states.

Perhaps Hani's recent calls for

peace are one of the reasons there was not more loss of life in the wake

of his assassination. Many of the

,\_@iâ\200\224m KANE-BERMAN

\_ youths who went on the rampage re-

ardless were probably acting under the influence of his earlier calls for a people's war,

And was it not Bishop Trevor Huddleston who said at the Boi-

atong funeral, if Newsweek quoted him correctly, that, 'We have forgotten the need to hate'?

Not only people have been demonised. The very notions of reform and reconciliation were demonised in favour of 'all-or-nothing' politics. Did not liberation theologians equate government with the devil and pronounce reconciliation impossible and then boast that their efforts had exceeded their wildest dreams?

The new Kairos, published by the Institute for Contextual Theology in September 1990, said that, 'The primary task of the church at this moment is not to call for peace but to

call for justice.'

This statement was made during a year of greatly intensified violence. It was made eight months after February 2 1990, four months after the signing of the Groote Schuur Minute and the lifting of the state of emer-

gency outside Natal, and a month -

after the signing of the Pretoria Minute.

The dogs of war unleashed in the mid 80s will not be reined in until demonisation stops and until leaders transmit consistent signals.

Shortly before his death, Hani said:  
â\200\234Idonâ\200\231t accept the PAC's talks of the  
year of the great sterms, because I  
feel we have achieved something in  
this country where those who o  
pressed us in the past are actualr;  
talking to us and showing readiness  
(o negotiate for democratic elec-  
tions.â\200\235 Yet in a leaftet â\200\224 barely men-  
tioned in the Press â\200\224 calling {for the  
stayaway to mark his death, the  
ANGC, its youth league, the SACP, and  
Cosatu urged: â\200\234Let us send a strong  
message to the racial minority that  
it will not kill our people and get

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g bedevil the peace

! way with it. Comrade Chris was  
killed by the system of apartheid. We  
put the blame for his death on De  
Klerk's shoulders. We believe that  
his murder is part of the plan to use  
violence to weaken the ANC-SACP-  
Cosatu alliance and defeat the strug-  
gle for freedom.â\200\235

No wonder Mandela was bard put  
last week to justify his policy of talk-  
ing to government. No wonder, while  
Mandela was successfully riding the  
tiger insideâ\200\231 the FNB stadium this  
week, youths outside were chanting  
â\200\234Kill De Klerk.â\200\235

In his recent study of the French  
revolution, .Simon Schama wrote:  
â\200\234The dilemma for successive gen-  
erations of those politicians who  
graduated from oratory to admini-  
stration was that they owed their  
own power to precisely the kind of  
rhetoric that made their subsequent  
governance impossible.â\200\235

Will somebody one day write that  
about SA? .

0 Kane-Berman Is SA Institute of  
Race flelations executive director.

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BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 23 AP

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COMMENT  
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The new trEk

F EXZCLUSIVE white rule ends in Z

six weeks, it may just come in

time to stop some businessmen  
- irom committing suicide and  
:some professionals from emigrat-  
:icg. But it will take more than  
:shared power and appeals from  
- Neison Mandela to keep businesses  
:going and skills at home.

The ANC president is right to  
â\200\230address white emigration, as it  
:symbolises the malaise he and his  
-fellow negotiators will have to treat  
.whken they form a transitional  
â\200\230executive. If that happens by the  
-beginning of June, as President de  
â\200\230Klerk envisages, so much the  
" better; the promised end of NP rule  
.has dragged on for so long that it is

causing economic as well as politi-  
- cal uncertainty. .

That gives 2dded urgency to the  
\* negotiations which resume on Mon-  
.day. The transitional executive  
- council, due to rule until elections in  
" March or April next year, should be  
\_the signal for the lifting of the  
-remaining sanctions, excluding the  
- UN arms-embargo about which few  
. now care. The effect on the business  
;mood at home and perceptions

abroad will largely be psychologi-  
- cal. It is not going to be an economic

. panacea any more than it will be a .

! political one; Washington ambassa-  
: dor Harry Schwarz warns us not to  
- expect billions in foreign invest-  
- ment to come pouring in. A transi-  
. tional government will be the  
- beginning of real change, but not  
the end of cur problems.  
~ White emigration is picking up  
- again, and the main reasons are not  
political or economic. Skilled peo-

ple are leaving because they fear for- themselves, and more particularly for their children, in the new South Africa. They go not for a better life but for a more secure one. Some are leaving for the second time, having come back home when they thought things were improving. Some are immigrants deciding the future is not as rosy here as they thought.

Many South Africans will be

tempted to view their departure as good riddance. Mandela is one who appreciates the skills, education and initiative that are being lost. But people will not cancel their plans because he appeals to them to stay and help form the new South Africa; the level of violence has become too great, while the rampaging mobs following Chris Hani's murder and funeral made them fear things will only get worse.

Stopping white emigration will hardly be the transitional executive's first priority but, unless it addresses the issues causing people to sell up and leave, the new South Africa may be stillborn. Behind the violence, both urban and rural, is political warfare, hopelessness and horrific levels of unemployment

and a lack of education and skills. Three years ago the prospect of a political settlement was enough to give us hope. Now an imminent settlement may be meaningless unless it gives priority to economic revival, investment, education and job creation. When people rush to leave, wise politicians pay attention; it tells them they are failing. :

and poverty caused by recession -

IL 1992

Andries Treurnicht

HE death of Andries Treurnicht, like that of Chris Hani,

has removed a moderating  
; influence from an extremist  
wing in our politics. Like MK's  
young radicals, it is now Treurnicht's followers who must choose  
whether to fight or talk.

- Treurnicht spent much of the past  
three years trying to avoid that  
choice because it could split the  
Conservative Party he formed in  
1982 in protest at P W Botha's mod-  
est reforms. He pledged his party to  
peace, but warned of a violent reac-  
tion if whites were denied self-  
determination; he supported negoti-  
ation but kept a distance by finding  
fault with the formalities. He avoid-  
ed Codesa, but came into the new

- BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 23 AP

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multiparty forum with a string of  
conditions allowing for an easy exit,

In the end, the more militant  
Afrikaners joined more militant or-  
ganisations, while those favouring  
negotiation broke away from the

CP. The CP is still divided, with two:

factions jockeying for power be-  
cause Treurnicht could not come to  
terms with the new South Africa. |

Treurnicht was not universally  
loved, particularly by black people,  
who remember his role in creating

the resentment that led to the 1976's

Soweto riots. But he was modest,  
principled and honest. His tragedy,  
is that, because of the stubbornness  
with which he clung to outdated  
racial values, he will be remem-  
bered more as a political oddity!  
than as a man of integrity. \

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THE WEEKLY MAIL, 23 - 29 AP

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Assassin  
meant to strlk

]Chn's Hani's alleged assassin was not

mycant to k21 Lo that day -and

Janus Waluz mav have sabotaged

rightwing conspirators' broader plans '

by his impulsive act. police believe.

By STEPHEN LAUFER and

JAN TALJAARD

OLICE investigating Chris Hani's assas- -

stnation believe former Conservative  
Party MP Clive Derby-Lewis supplied

the gun used in the killing. And they are

working on the assumption that he was the mas-

termind behind the hit list discovered in the flat

of Hani's alleged murderer, Janus Waluz  
But police also believe that Waluz unwitting-

ly sabotaged the conspirators' broader plans by |  
acting impulsively when he shot Hani on Easter :  
Saturday, against ofders. They believe that he .  
was in fact on a recennaisance mission, famil- :  
iarising himseIf with the area around Hani's |  
Dawn Park home and gathering information on -

the South African Communist Party general  
secretary's security arrangements.

Hari was in fact only number three on the hit  
list, afier African National Congress president  
Nelson Mandezla and SACP chairman Joe  
Slovo.

-Waluz did not go to kill Hani that day, said |

police spokesman Brigadier Frans Malherb=.

,â\200\234Hc Wwas on a recce, as he had been beâ\200\230ore The

. witness lo the thrq, Mrs Haremse, had seen him in his car in Dawn Park prcvxous!;v' He: obviously just saw Hani alone, without body- |

guards, and seized the opponu.nitv

The circumstances of Waluzâ\200\231s arrest support ! this version of events, say international terror-ism experts.

Tr a rarsfully plamnsd occaccinatinm, tha Villar | would have worn clothing to protect himself |

from the residue emitted when a gun is fired. He would have worn a glove in order not to leave fingerprinis on the weapon, which he would

havc droppcd at the site of the k:llmg or Jcm-soned rl"n-â\200\230râ\200\230y thersafter

Most importantly, a well-prcpamd profes-sional killer would have had a second and pos-sibly a third getaway vehicle waiting, changing once within a couple of hundred metres of the shooting, and again some kilometres away.

. Waluz had no escape route planned and no getaway vehicles waiting. And be was stil] in the car seen by the witness to the killing when he was arrested some tirae later. Police are convinced that there was no second car in the vicinity, as had been rumoured.

Former Citizen journalist and security branch sergeant Arthur Kerap has also been arrested in - connection with the Hani killing. He accompa--

nied police to the Cirizen library on Wednesday to show them clippings reporting on Mandzla and Slovo moving into their new homes. A

Police forensic experts have irrefutably iden-tified the bullets which killed Hani as having been fired by the gun found in Waluzâ\200\231 car. And residue tests oo Waluzâ\200\231s hand and arm show

conclusively that he fired a gun in the n0d around the ktll.nz

Armscor, was stofen from the South African Air Ferce three y2ars vgo in 3 r3id by PietSkietâ\200\235 Â\$ Rudoiph. :

Rudeiph yesterday went to the offices of the Citizen in Pmona, g where " he was involved inf['\$ fisticuffs with g journalist on the 5 newspaper. He was apparently @ displeased at an â\200\234sticie suggesting b ke may have been linked to the Hani killing via Derby-Lawis, Â\$ Pclice are puzziing over the

link between Rudolph and Derby-  
Lewis. Rudolph is believed to  
have jettisoned weapons stolen

proving extremely difficult

weapons smcc tb-'y left Rudolph's possession.

=) involved in the search for the  
7N truth behind the .hc Hani a.s:sr.ma-f  
o toa, ! i

md"bc at 200\234slogging at 200\235 in police cus-

A couple within the next few days,

the Licrss ubd Wilkew

,\_'\_j' him for 20 days. and the cetem-  
2 ; 22 tion card is of course reacwable,  
Plat 'Sldet at 200\231 Rudolph beli 1 W,  
ey

from the Air Force while on the ma and itic naly bring ,.f...g.s.li. at 200\234. n.:câ  
200\230r:s:sfr}:' i vf. at 200\231. at 200\230, at 200\230 :  
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experienced datecn -c.'. led by a Senendi is con-  
The weapon, a Z88 pisto! manufactured by ducting the inve

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wey. BJ. fe is unlikely to aspear

according te Witwaters:and  
buo at 200\224uv general Klaus vor

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HE African Na.tional

Congress' demand that the

The ANC may sav it wants transition speeded up, but earl

transition to democracy be  
Speeded up may backfire,

elections could hure i, reports CHRIS LOUwW

b~

â\200\234mocratic Party spokesman on Jaw  
and order Peter Gastrow warned this  
WG

Early elections would favour the  
National Party as the ANC was not  
Y<t prepared for elections. Many  
ANC supporters were not registercd,  
i CONTRast to most potential NP sup-  
porters, including coloureds and Ind;. .  
ans, Gastrow said, :

Powsr-sharing wouyld bring joint  
responsibilities for the ANC, with Jit-  
te if any advantages for the average |  
voter. â\200\234If the ANC became partof the  
transitional executive council (TEC)  
in June and elections took place in

arch next year, it gives them less

than nine months to prove to their

Supporters that their participation in governing structures brought tangible improvements. But it is already clear that for significant investors will sit back and wait to see what happens. Even though sanctions will be lifted, nine months will be too short a period to make any difference to the lives of ordinary citizens.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus commented that the organisation's leadership was aware of the pitfalls: "We do not want to share power with the NP. We are not prepared to accept co-responsibility

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In the TEC, the ANC will have to take co-responsibility for law and order, for instance. But little will have changed as far as conditions in the black townships are concerned. The policemen who pull the triggers

will still be the same people. There will be no improvement in education, people will still be without jobs, Gas-trow said.

Detractors to the left of the ANC including people like Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba may then start accusing the ANC leadership of being collaborators.

The high road scenario for the ANC, he added, will be large investment and an enormous influx of money to make the new dispensation work. There must be visible improvements

in the lives of citizens, like noticeable

investment in housing, a

representative police

force, projects for job creation,

â\200\234If the average South African gets the feeling that the worst is behind him or her, it will be possible for the ANC to build on that and to consolidate.â\200\235 f - ;

However, this will only be possible if elections are held immediately after the establishment of the TEC, or if sufficient time is allowed before elections for foreign investments to start flowing in, Gastrow said.

â\200\224â\200\224

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for the legacy of

apartheid.â\200\235

For these reasons, he said, the ANC was seeking a â\200\234package dealâ\200\235 which would include the creation of transitional structures, whose role and responsibilities would be clearly defined, as well as a short period between this and the holding of a post-racial election.

Harald Pakendorf, former editor of Die Vaderland, said ANC leaders were aware that the NP could gain political capital by pulling them into a power-sharing arrangement and for this reason could not understand why the government was not speeding up the process. - : i  
â\200\234It would clearly be to the advantage !

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l}

All stages of the ANC if the period between the creation of a TEC and the holding of elections is short, because then there would be less time for them to make mistakes. However, the reality is that the time period is likely to be longer rather than shorter.â\200\235 L

Practical problems relating to registration of voters, the incorporation of the homelands and arrangements for polling booths needed to be

addressed, Pakendorf said. |

â\200\234Privately, ANC leaders accept this

but say what is most important i-\'201or  
them is a date. This will allow them to  
concentrate their organisation on t-\'202a!  
date and it will allow (ANC presic nt  
Nelson) Mandela to respond to His  
militant critics by saying: â\200\230We under-  
stand your problems. But this is tgie  
date when you will have your frep-  
dom.â\204ç

Gastrow said he feared that the cop-  
trast between the ANC's current strat-  
egy of rolling mass action and the  
actions the organisation will have to  
take once it wins power will be 30  
great that it will alienate many sup-  
porters, especially the youth. 3

â\200\234It must be remembered,â\200\235 he sa\_.ft.  
â\200\234that the youth in South Africa formia  
bigger proportion of the electorate

than in established democracies. Âç .

â\200\234The murder of Chris Hani provid-  
Âçd the ANC with the chance to get the  
masses behind them and to consoll-  
date. But | am afraid, once they take  
responsibility in the TEC, they ma!  
find themselves on the road to disints-  
gration.â\200\235

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- THE WEEKLY MAIL, 23 - 29 APIi:11L 1993

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'ANC youth to â\200\230exi¬\201Ã©1â\200\231  
White Soweto SAP

Citiren Reporter

THE ANC Youth League  
yesterday announced its  
mass action campaign  
would start on May 1st  
with the expulsion of  
White policemen from  
Soweto, and the targeting  
of KwaZulu and Natal for  
rallies and protests.  
ANCYL deputy presi-  
dent, Mr Lulu Johnson,  
told a Press conference  
the campaign would run  
parallel to the Tripartite

Alliance campaign due to

start on May 1.  
The programme of ac-

- tion aimed to establish a

transitional executive  
council, set an election  
date as soon as possible,

and would demonstrate,  
picket and occupy Nat-  
ional Party offices around  
the country until â\200\234these  
ends were met,

Mr Johnson said Black  
lives were lost at the  
hands of trigger-happy  
White policemen.

The shooting of march-  
ers in Soweto came from  
the command of White  
policemen, who formed a  
Right-wing element in the  
police force,

He referred to the  
shooting at Protea Park

" Police Station last week



when five people died.

â\200\234It is a practical situa-  
tion on which we have to  
act. Black policemen  
would not shoot on a

crowd in case a family  
member was part of it,â\200\235  
he said.

He said Whites would  
not become known by  
towaship residents as ene-  
mies of the peace because  
those who were com-  
mitted to non-racialism  
were welcome there,

The campaign to create  
a climate for free political  
activitv in Natal and Kwa-

Zuly would be intensi-  
fied.

â\200\234We are isolating the  
area because it is the sec-  
ond most populated arca  
in the country.â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234If a date for a demo-  
cratic election is not set  
by the middle of May  
1993 all democratic forces  
should gear themselves  
for an extended nationat  
political strike.â\200\235 he said.

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Cj{;untry club comes under attack |

IN ome of several incidents of violence The ANC said one person was shot dead  
around the county, three men fired on 3 {n Meloding, near Virginia, yest day  
country club in R'xchmond.Naul. on Wed- Wwhen police allegedly opened fire oi} the  
pesday night with machine guns. Mandela informal settlement. 1  
Oz Wednesday 8 Boksburg mad

No one was injured and police said they Â¢pot dead while delivering wood

bad ruled out the possibility of the PAC's |, s  
: : eyton, pear Bezoni, while in Katlehong 2  
armed wing Apla beig responsible. an was assaulted and the red Fogrd  
Also on Wednesday, 3 sup bad petrol Laser she was driviog was b  
poured over her ip the Vosmans squatier Sowetoâ\200\231s Diepraeadow towuship, 3  
camp Dear Witbank, when sbe goÂ¢ out of was backed t0 death. '\  
ber car after youtds turlled a petrol bomb Police have offered 3 R100 000 reward  
at it. A resident came t0 ber aid and the for informatios leading 10 the arTes sad  
attackers made off in ber car- copviction of tBose responsible for an  
The ANC's Witbank branch condemned attack oun a house near the FNB stallivm  
'] theattack and said lt would do everything 2 Mouday. Two people burnt to dedth in  
\ ioâ\200\231lits power to track- down the calprits. the incident. â\200\224 Sapa.

- BUSINESS DAY FRIDAY 23 APRIL 199:

"ANC opposes school occupatior

ï¬\201 ANC yesterday distanced itself from r KATHRYN STRACHAN

2 call to occupy white schools, urgl - - :  
pupils instead t% step up @ campaig;ï¬\201g education. The National Education Co-0r-  
open all schools. dirating Corcraittee has also threateses|to

A : target white schools.  
Despite its understanding of the depth of â\200\231rghe ANC said that while governmÃ©nt

tte crisis in education, it did not support IR  
. S had the means to restere credibility by  
g,iag;:ï¬\201;% soa?Ã©uâ\200\235 white schools, the pooariating the way ahead for education  
it  
?n:e ihredt wa; \$he Mdnd of Sction e had declared its position on each CTiis  
- ol int non-regotiable.  
ANC feared would be precipitated by gov- po o seati ig-  
ertment closing talks on e%ucation. ,nga%i;::ï¬\201n?agfitï¬\201fÃ©zzetig Tg:g-  
e g S B, B S e e P  
nien Â¢ Ser A Democratic chersâ\200\231 Union r-  
with the national education negoua'n:ng fo- {a yesterday education problems would in  
rum as a r&ezgs to address the crisis, the future be resolved through ueggtiatigrs&  
crisis wou epen. Louw said consecsus reacked with gbe  
The SA Studentsâ\200\231 Congres; h:{.ss vowe;\_:!t to union pointed to 2 new direction whic  
h  
occupy and disrupt white schools as part o â\200\234augurs wellâ\200\235. The parties agree  
d to jex-  
its protest against the killing of SACP gen- Baust procedures prfscribed in a previous  
erai secretary Chris Hani and to pressure agreemect by means of negotiation beiore  
government to change the stucture of other action was takez. he said.

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THE CITIZEN, FRIDAY 23 APRIL 198:

MULTI-PARTY

Negotiations

have to be

speeded up, a 10-member planning committee

decided at a meeting at

the World Trade

Centre in Kempton Park yesterday.

The planning committee met in preparation for Monday's negotiating council meeting, when all 26 participants in negotiations meet for the first time since the assassination of South African Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani.

The element of urgency will be stressed on Monday by us as the planning committee,

the chairman of yesterday's

meeting, Mr Zama Titus of the Transkei,

told reporters after a three-hour session.

The planning committee would meet again this morning when, among other things, it will decide which issues were urgent, Mr Titus said,

At yesterday's meeting the committee had agreed on the

Speed up

FROM PAGE 1.

principle that we have  
to isolate certain issues  
as being the most urgent

onesâ\204ç.

Participants in nego-

tiations have identified |

different issues as being  
urgent.

These include: vigil-  
ence, the establishment  
of a Transitional Ex-/

ecutive Council, 2  
election date, an inter-

constitution, and (h  
form of a future state. -  
The mood at yester-  
dayâ\200\231s meeting was not  
any different from that  
at previous negotia-  
tions, â\200\234apart from the  
fact that all of us are  
really concerned about  
the events of the recent  
pastâ\200\235, Mr Titus said.

â\200\234People want to see  
results. They laid great  
stress on that.â\204ç

Summarising, Mr  
Titus said the Planning  
committee --had opted  
for a â\200\234results-orientated  
approachâ\204ç.

The planning commit-  
tee would also present a  
draft motion on Mon-  
day concerning Mr Ha-  
niâ\200\231s assassination. -

â\200\234The draft motion  
will - cover something  
along the following  
lines: an "expression of 3  
message of condolence  
to Chris Hani's family,"  
Mr Titus said.

It was â\200\234clear to every-  
oneâ\204ç in the planning  
committee that the  
events of the past 12  
days since Mr Hani's as-  
sassination had affected  
the spirit of negotia-  
tions.

As a result committee  
members have said â\200\234we

- really need. to speed up |  
the process. The ele-

ment| of urgency was stressed very muchâ\204ç,

Yesterday's agenda ; had three main topics:

Â® Procedural matters, including how to implement an earlier agreement to allow the mediaâ\200\231 to attend all negotiating council meetings. Despite a number of â\200\234logistical problemsâ\204ç which [still had to be overcome, â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230the Press will be admitted on Monday", Mr Titus said; 2 4

- Â® Administration and financial matters, which included security: and,

Â® The implications of the Chris Hani assassination on April 10.

Mr Titus said todayâ\200\231s meeting would in â\200\230the main deal with a report by a sub-committee on violence and the transition process. i

â\200\234the draft report will be presented formally on Monday to the negotiating council.â\200\235

It basically dealt with what had been agreed to at Codesa, he said.

Part of the planning committee's brief was to make a recommendation on how Codesa agreements were to be incorporated into the enlarged negotiating forum.

â\200\234A properly drafted document has been presented| to us outlining the way forward as far as theÂç main issues are concerned.â\204ç

The issue of a name for negotiating forum is also expected to be de-

cidgd by Iha timo the  
planning committec ad-  
journs. sgmetime | this

talksâ\200\231z\ |

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afternoon.

- BUSINESS DAY, FRIDAY 23 APRIL 199:

DUDrremarw - . .

Move to defuse storm  
over Mokaba's slogan

ANC Youth League vice-president: Peter Mckaba has moved to defuse a political storm over his repeated use of the slogan, 'Kill the boer, kill the farmer'. Meokaba said yesterday the slogan should not be taken literally. It was simply a part of Umkhonto we

Sizwe's culture which sought to end .

the white supremacist system.

The ANC and youth league said in a joint statement yesterday the slogan had become inappropriate and its use at public meetings was being reassessed. Sapa reports.

This followed a meeting of the two in Johannesburg attended by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and youth league representatives led by Rapu Molekane. They reaffirmed the ANC's policy of nonracialism.

Mokaba's militant statements are believed to have angered senior ANC leaders, including Ramaphosa, who said on television that Mokaba and Wanie Mandela should not be taken seriously.

Farmers' associations convened security committees to discuss the matter and police said they would investigate militant remarks by Mokaba and Mandela

National peace committee chair-

man John Hall said Mokaba and Mandela's inflammatory speeches

=

had contravened the national peace accord. The committee met last night to discuss the matter.

SA Agricultural Union president Boet Fourie asked for an urgent meeting with Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee to discuss security and Bloemfontein's Vergenoeg Farmers Association asked the Free State peace committee to investigate Mokaba's calls.

Yesterday, the Concerned South



Africans Group said the ANC bad to do more than just distance itself from Mokaba's statements which were calculated to incite ANC supporters to kill whites.

Youth league and ANC PWV officials suggested yesterday a national strike could be called if government

RAY HARTLEY |

- failed to meet ANC demands for an election date and a transitional executive council. The league said if a date for an election had not been set by mid-May, democratic forces should gear up for an extended national strike, which would include rent and consumer boycotts.

Mass action would be used to remove white policemen - who were insensitive to the feelings of blacks from townships and to replace them with resident police who would co-

J

operate with communities. The occupation of NP offices, demonstrations and pickets were also likely. . .

Natal and KwaZulu would be targeted for mass action involving rallies, marches and demonstrations. -

PWV ANC secretary-general Paul Mashatile said a proposal for a general strike was being considered by the region and would be forwarded to national structures for a decision.

Sapa reports mass action plans were described by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze as a recipe for confrontation and almost inevitable violence.

The alliance said at yesterday's media briefing police had killed Soweto ANC secretary Sam Tambani and six others without provocation at Protea police station last week.

It is clear from all accounts that the first volley of shots was fired by the police in a controlled and sustained ... burst of fire aimed at the leadership in front of the gate, a statement released at the conference said.

Tambani had asked police to exer-

Exercise restraint only| a few minutes before he was killed.

A funeral service for Tambani would be held at! Regina Mundi in Soweto tomorrow., He would be buried in Avalon Cemetery.

THE CITIZEN, FRIDAY 23 APRIL 199"

FW meets Buthelezi  
on important issues

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 State  
President De Klerk and  
KwaZulu Chief Minis-  
ter Mangosuthu Buthe-  
lezi met in Cape Town  
yesterday to discuss  
â\200\234important constitu-  
tional mattersâ\204ç.

A joint communique

issued by the State  
Presidentâ\200\231s office said  
the three-hour meeting  
was also attended by  
Public Enterprises Mi-  
nister Dr Dawie de Vri-  
liers and the Inkatha  
Freedom Party's Mr Joe  
Matthews.

The discussion suc-  
ceeded in clearing up  
misunderstandings and  
in this regard it should  
contribute towards fa-  
cilitating the multi-party  
negotiation process, the  
statement said. â\200\224 Sapa.













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Press Photographer of the

% stromg coutingent of  
Argus Group cameramed  
wha saspped op the first  
five positions.

The Star's Ken Ooster-  
broek, the 1988 and 1930  
winner and 138% and 1991  
rypner-ap, was back into  
the runper-ap position and  
Etienre Roikbart came  
fourtl overall behind Bren-  
don Ceach of The Argus  
aund ahead of Lacn Muller.  
aivo of The Argus.

Oosterbroek also walked  
off with, the People in the  
News and Pletare Story  
sectives snd came second  
in The Argus's Mauller in  
the News category.

Rothbari, winner of the  
Pecple iy the News Catego-

Year competition, beading

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THE STAR, FRIDAY 23 APRIL 199

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Silva and ,udge Peter Magubane.

rv in 1390 and three titmes  
highly commended sipce  
1986 wop the Featare cat:  
egory and scovped a highly  
commended award (n the  
sameÃ© section.

The Sport prize went to

Beeld's Christiaan Kotze

Star man Press Photographer of Yegĩ¬\202!

iitord Press Photog.?aaher sf the YeÃ©ar Joao

Bieture: Gary Bemard

with Rothbart runger-up. |  
An ipdependent panel of  
judges nominated by the  
major pewspaper ronps  
jodged. the winners from  
ponfoi¬\202m of 10 phesos.

@ Images worth 10 000  
words â\200\224 Page 11

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