

# Massacres and Medals



*The Liberty Medals... the St James massacre...  
the storming of the World Trade Centre...  
and constructive relationships forged across the negotiating table.*

# The Argus

## The Struggle For Peace

**S**UDDENLY a cheer went up and the protesters backed away to let the vehicle — painted khaki and driven by men in black uniforms — edge up to the building.

It advanced slowly, but inexorably, crashing into huge plate glass windows. Splinters rained down as the vehicle forced its way in.

A plainclothes policeman crouched in front of the vehicle, his shotgun at the ready ...

— **Siege of the World Trade Centre ... Day of the Barbarians.**

“THERE were real obstacles and from time to time both of us were under extremely heavy pressure. There was some bitter argument ... there were often harsh words.”

Having come through that contributed to these two men being able “to bring about long-standing agreements”.

— **Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa ... ‘Hooked’ on working together.**

KILLERS kicked open a door of St James Church and lobbed handgrenades and fired assault rifles as the unsuspecting congregation sang a hymn.

Seconds later 11 people were dead or dying and 54 were injured — including a number of Russian and Ukranian seamen who had been invited to share the evening’s worship.

It was an act of barbarism which shocked the world.

— **Massacre ... Night of the unthinkable.**

ALTHOUGH relations between the two South African delegations were strained in their behind-the-scenes contacts, the two leaders put aside their differences and after receiving their medals and cheques shook hands ... to a standing ovation from the hundreds who had gathered to witness the event.

— **Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk ... Blessings from the New World.**

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### In Part 3 TOMORROW

On the last lap to agreement on an interim constitution.  
The killing of Amy Biehl, the Heidelberg pub attack and East Rand carnage.  
The single ballot and the double-cross.  
FW, Mandela share the Nobel Peace Prize.  
Transfer of power: The Transitional Executive Council meets for the first time.  
Forward to the election — but talks with the Freedom Alliance dogged by failure.

## DATES WITH DESTINY - part 2

**A**FTER the assassination of Chris Hani, South Africa was plunged back into violence and dangerous uncertainty and the prospects of an early agreement on a new constitution seemed remote.

But slowly leaders began putting the pieces together, starting with the resumption of multi-party talks at Kempton Park. While the first contacts were largely over procedural issues, the momentum of talks was slowly regained. Here are some of the political highlights of the following months:

**April 30:** National Party launches new colours and logo in bid to reflect political reform.

**May 1:** Five people killed, seven injured in what is claimed to be an Apla attack on an East London hotel.

**May 4:** De Klerk warns

that government cannot continue to negotiate on a variety of issues in face of threats of unacceptable mass action.

**May 7:** Multi-party negotiations resume in full. Afrikaner Volksfront, rightwing political bloc of 21 organisations, formed in Pretoria. Former military generals among its leaders.

**May 10:** Mandela and De Klerk meet in Cape Town in bid to defuse crisis in education. Government climbs down on insistence on exam fees for matric.

**May 11:** DP issues draft Bill of Rights with a commitment to equality and the rejection of discrimination as a cornerstone.

**May 13:** ANC starts campaign in rightwing areas by meeting in Parow civic centre, the night after Inkatha Freedom Party rally there.

**May 14:** Violence in Cape

Flats townships after high school pupil mass action against matric exam fees.

**May 24:** More violence in Natal and East Rand.

**May 25:** Most of PAC national executive and several members of Apla arrested. PAC pulls out of negotiations.

**May 27:** PAC agrees to return to talks after most of its detainees released.

More violence in Kattlehong.

**May 31:** Storm of criticism follows De Klerk’s decision to reject some appointments to new SABC board.

**June 23:** Mandela and Buthelezi meet in Johannesburg, pledge themselves to peace, also at grassroots level, and agree on free political activity throughout country.

**June 25:** Rightwingers attack World Trade Centre, Kempton Park.

**June 30:** Negotiation parties agree on formula to draft final constitution — two-stage process involving election of interim government which will finalise the constitution. Later, Cosag group has misgivings.

**July 2:** April 27 1994 set as date for nation’s first non-racial democratic election.

Inkatha and KwaZulu delegations walk out of negotiations over the setting of an election date. They want this done only once a constitution has been agreed. Conservative Party and other members of Cosag group later also withdraw.

**July 5:** De Klerk and Mandela awarded liberty medal from President Clinton in Philadelphia.

Renewed violence in Tokoza, East Rand, where 29 are killed; 43 deaths in Natal in a few days.

**July 6:** Inkatha Freedom Party calls for halt to multi-party negotiations, accuses government and ANC of “coming together to sell South Africa down the river”.

Government and ANC present blueprints for seven or nine national regions.

**July 18:** CP announces withdrawal from negotiations until draft constitution is published; will have nothing to do with it unless it provides for self-determination for Afrikaners.

**July 25:** Eleven die, 49 wounded as four men open fire, toss grenades into St James Church, Kenilworth.

**August 3:** Bloody violence rocks East Rand townships; 93 die in four days.

**August 15:** Inkatha vows boycott of multiparty negotiations until plans for constituent assembly are scrapped.

# Night of the unthinkable

## Killers kick open the door and massacre worshippers at St James Church

**A**FTER the death of Chris Hani, the debating parties once again were separated by a chasm of distrust. South Africa was faced by a worsening economic situation and violence continued to grip the country, transcending all other concerns. It was often sudden, brutal and apparently random.

About 10.15pm on Saturday May 1, a small group of employees of the SPCA were among those having drinks at the Open Arms cocktail bar at the Highgate Hotel on the outskirts of East London.

Two gunmen in balaclavas burst in and fired coolly at the patrons with AK-47s from a range of just a few metres. Another terrorist tossed a hand-grenade into the men's bar and snooker room — mercifully nearly empty — before opening up with his assault rifle.

By the time they had finished, four men were dead and a fifth, seriously wounded was crawling towards the pavement outside, where he died.

Also in May, nationwide protests erupted after the Department of Education and Training's decision to increase matric exam fees — and the level of violence in the country again took a sharp upward spiral.

Angry pupils belonging to Cosas (Congress of South African Students), Paso (Pan Africanist Students Organisation) and others launched "Operation Vala" (to close) and — more menacingly — "Operation Barcelona", threatening to burn all government and big business vehicles, as well as those driven by "arrogant" drivers.

Their threats were not idle and there were a number of incidents of arson and stonings. But the real tragedy of those misguided strategies would only manifest itself some months later.

On the last day of May, the peace initiative had a welcome boost — and substantial media coverage — when many of the nearly 14 000 Comrades Marathon runners wore Peace Accord badges after signing a peace pledge.

On June 6 an estimated 36 000 people turned up to take part in a peace chain in Bloemfontein in what National Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys described as "proof of the Free State's commitment to peace".

About 12 000 of the crowd gathered in the city centre for a church service while others formed four chains, in the shape of a cross, heading out to the four points of the compass on routes leading from the city.

In June, 32 people died in a single bloody weekend in Natal — 13 of them massacred in a series of attacks around Port Shepstone by four balaclava-clad men in trenchcoats.

And on another weekend in the same month at least 22 people died in the violence-stricken Vaal Triangle townships.

On July 19 seven early morning commuters were coldly executed in Germiston when gunmen with AK-47s, apparently targeting Inkatha supporters, ordered them from their taxi and shot them dead in the veld.

For many South Africans — and indeed for many people of



**HELPING HAND:** One of the 20 people injured in the shocking St James Church attack is helped by fellow worshippers. Nine were killed in the attack.

all political and religious persuasions across the world — the on-going violence and indescribable inhumanity reached a nadir on the icy winter night of July 25 when the unthinkable occurred: the massacre of people at worship.

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**K**ILLERS kicked open a door of St James Church in Third Avenue, Kenilworth, and lobbed handgrenades and fired assault rifles as the unsuspecting congregation sang a hymn.

Seconds later 11 people were dead or dying and 54 were injured — including a number of Russian and Ukrainian seamen who had been invited to share the evening's worship.

Although the number of victims was not as high as in some other terrible incidents in the country's recent history, it was an act of barbarism that shocked the world.

Mayor Frank van der Velde, who had rushed to the tragic scene, asked the people of Cape Town to contribute to a special fund which had been established to help the victims of what came to be known as the St James Church Massacre and to wear a white ribbon for peace.

He also asked his chaplain, the Rev Colin Jones, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of the Anglican Church, and Bishop Frank Retief of the Church of England — the denomination of St James — to arrange a "people-for-peace" meeting.

"The idea flowed from a council resolution that a minute's silence be observed at noon as part of the campaign against violence. Now we want to bring it forward," Van der Velde said.

Four days later, on July 29, the people of Cape Town packed the City Hall during a memorial service for those who had died at St James Church and in various acts of violence in the townships.

Twenty minutes before the midday service started, the 1 100-seat hall was overflowing.

Almost all wore white peace ribbons, exchanged in the foyer for donations to the fund for the victims.

Outside the City Hall several thousand other mourners and supporters of the peace initiative waited patiently.

Afterwards, they linked hands and moved slowly around the Grand Parade until a giant circle had been completed.

Archbishop Tutu told the un-

known gunmen: "You have only succeeded in bringing us together."

At St James Church itself, more than 2 000 people arrived for the combined funeral of four of the victims.

And in Manenberg on the Cape Flats that evening, there was a well-attended inter-faith peace service at the appropriately-named Church of Reconciliation.

Throughout the day — and, for many, in subsequent days — prominent personalities and ordinary citizens going about their daily business wore white ribbons signifying their commitment to peace.

Politicians, entertainers, sportsmen and women, business leaders, teachers, pupils, lawyers, trade unionists... all sported the white ribbon in a show of unity for peace, and as the noon gun sounded from Signal Hill, paused briefly and prayed.

The Argus wrote in an editorial: "These may seem like symbolic gestures of little practical effect on the level of violence. But they serve as a tremendous source of communal unity in the face of the senseless and appalling slaughter of innocent people in the Cape and elsewhere.

**Thousands of mourners link hands for peace — and Tutu tells unknown gunmen: 'You have only succeeded in bringing us together'**

"They demonstrate to those most intimately affected by the violence that huge numbers of their fellow citizens really do care, and to those who perpetrate these deeds that they stand condemned in the eyes of an overwhelming majority of people..."

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**M**EANWHILE the constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre continued. There had been an unofficial understanding reached between many of the parties that the scale of violence would not be allowed to disrupt the quest for peace. The alternative would have allowed the perpetrators of violence to dictate the national agenda.

The emphasis throughout was on the importance of consensus-seeking. Indeed, it was only rarely that negotiators went public on an issue they felt particularly strongly about.

Said Democratic Party negotiator Dene Smuts: "We tried to persuade each other because we wanted to work out something that was as close as possible to what we all wanted.

"The negotiations were a remarkable process precisely because of this consensus-seeking spirit, because the stakes were so high and because the people participating were not just opponents but had been each other's mortal enemies until quite recently.

"It remains remarkable that people who had been locked in not only a political battle but (whose supporters) had killed each other should get together in this way.

"The negotiations also combined political reconciliation with a contest between various party interests on the way to formulating a new system."

The huge building of the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park had an air of conviviality and calm, with wide open corridors where journalists from throughout the country and the world mixed freely with delegations from all the political parties, and with MK cadres, bodyguards, secretaries and researchers.

At the end of each working day there was a lot of esprit de corps and good fellowship in spite of differences. This led to an understanding among the negotiators of each other and of

(Continued on next page)

# Esprit de corps — and hard bargaining

(From previous page)

each other's differences. But there were many frustrations.

Veteran DP negotiator Colin Eglin recalls: "I sat there both on the negotiating council and on the planning committee. The element of frustration was that while you were ostensibly debating issues you were debating against the background of deals or partial deals which had already been made between the government and the ANC.

"Therefore very often the ANC and government didn't take part in the debate in a fulsome way because they had already come to some understanding."

"It did not mean that you could not change that understanding but it was not the same as starting from scratch to debate an issue. This was frustrating for those of us who were not part of the deals.

"The planning committee at the negotiations had no control over the timetable of the government and the ANC, who were extremely lax as far as the timetable was concerned. One had the impression in the end that they were compelled to reach decisions only because there was a cutoff point and the plenary session was to be held.

"Had they not had this 'guilt-time of time' hanging over them Roelf and Cyril would probably still have been talking to each other."

In contrast to the earlier talks in Codesa the government this time did not have a whole group of delegations it could call on. At these talks it was singularly alone.

In contrast the ANC still had its patriotic front group which generally, once they had been briefed, toed the ANC line.

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**B**UT as agreement on broad principles slowly was reached, a colourful collection of personalities began to emerge. They were later to become the Freedom Alliance, but they were not known as such during the talks.

There was Mickey Webb, a lawyer representing the Ciskei. He made some colourful and fiery speeches but gave the impression of not being a politician but a lawyer putting his brief and in the end he usually had his objection recorded.

Then there was Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana.

Eglin recalls: "He made an impact because he was eloquent and had a good sense of political tactics.

"He gave the impression that he was desperately trying to keep the negotiations on track although he was always conscious of the fact that he had his principal President Mangope breathing down his neck.

"Then there were the IFP and the KwaZulu government which were represented separately and showed a distinct difference of style and tactics.

"The IFP, represented by Joe Matthews and Frank Mdlalose, took a relatively flexible political line.

"The KwaZulu government, represented by Ben and Harriet Ngunane, took a tough and inflexible line directed from Ulundi.

"Then there was the Conservative Party, which was the only party to appear thoroughly un-



**MEN OF THE RIGHT:** The Afrikaner Volksfront ... leader General Constand Viljoen and, from right, Andries Beyers of the Afrikaner Volksunie, Servaas de Wet of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Jan Groenewald of the Boere Bevrydigingsbeweging.



**HANDSHAKE:** A major bid to make peace — ANC president Nelson Mandela meets Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.



**EAST RAND BLOODSHED:** Violence claims another victim in the on-going conflict in Katshehlong.

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**LEFT:** African National Congress supporters show where their loyalties lie in the first ANC meeting in a traditionally conservative area, at Parow town hall.

comfortable throughout the proceedings.

"The reason for this was that all the other parties were in one way or the other committed to a single, non-racial South Africa whereas the CP was not.

"So they spent an inordinate part of the negotiators' time through their spokesmen Fanie Jacobs or Thomas Langley resorting to what appeared to be deliberate delaying tactics."

The SACP's Joe Slovo always drew attention because of his skilful use of words and his close attention to tactics. Slovo also recognised the importance of the audience outside the World Trade Centre and his speeches often were more directed to the people beyond the debating hall rather than to the other negotiators.

By far the most loquacious performer was Amichand Rajbansi, representing perhaps the smallest group at the talks, the National People's Party.

He would raise his hand on a point of information or order, or seek an opportunity to speak, on almost every issue from the ratification of the minutes to the final item on the agenda.

This loquaciousness prompted a telling interjection on one occasion from Slovo.

The council was dealing with amendments to the standing rules of debate, in the course of which Rajbansi suggested that the rule should be amended to prevent a speaker from speaking for too long.

Snappily, Slovo suggested that the words "or too often" should be added to this.

But of all the personalities, the two who most strikingly influenced the negotiations, from the start, were the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and the NP's Roelf Meyer.

**C**YRIL Ramaphosa has no idea whether young Tobie and Wimpie Meyer have mastered trout fishing, or are the least bit interested in trying their hand at it again.

But the day he tutored the two young sons of government negotiator Roelf Meyer in the rudiments of casting a fly proved to be portentous, politically. Ramaphosa, an avid fly-fisher, and his wife, Nomazizi, were on a trout farm in the north-eastern Transvaal, an executive's retreat, for the weekend. Unbeknown to him, Roelf and his family were invited too.

The idea — the plan was hatched by the prominent Johannesburg businessman who owned the place — was to get these two central figures together on neutral territory to nurture their relationship in the interests of the negotiation process.

In fact, Ramaphosa was not entirely happy with the arrangement when told about it.

By then, though, it was too late to do anything. The Meyers had been flown in and the helicopter had returned to the city.

So he decided to make the best of it ... and took it upon himself to impart some of his knowledge of the ancient art of fly fishing to Meyer's sons.

Tobie and Wimpie were delighted and submitted to their new-found maestro's lessons keenly.

Roelf himself was intrigued too. But he got in the way.

"I'm not a trout fisherman and never will be," he recalls, "but I joined in. I literally got caught in the middle ... with a hook stuck in my finger."

The hook was deeply embedded and the wound painful.

Initial attempts to get it out failed. It even stumped Nomazizi

who is a trained nurse. What were the options? There was no doctor for miles, the helicopter had long since flown off. What was to be done?

Then Cyril decided he would do it. With a pair of pliers.

"First I had to take a swig of whisky," Roelf grins.

And, indeed, Cyril yanked the hook.

Cyril notes: "Taking a deeply embedded hook from a person's finger who is in deep pain after many unsuccessful attempts is quite something I think it was symbolic."

Strikingly perhaps, he doesn't know if Roelf's sons have laid hands on a fishing rod since. "I have not seen them again."

Set against the great events of the day, this incident seemed insignificant.

Yet, coming as it did after the collapse of Codesa, it laid the foundation for a trusting working relationship between South Africa's two most important negotiators during the most pressing phases of the talks process that loomed in 1993.

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**N**EAT, dark-haired and slim, Roelf Meyer is quick to smile, to display friendliness.

But when the 46-year-old Minister of Constitutional Development and chief government negotiator is thoughtful, there is a piercing sternness about his look that is daunting.

This is the look negotiators probably saw most often because the pressure on the rela-



**DEALING DUO:** The key men at the talks ... ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer.

tively young government negotiation team leader was intense. Yet he drew enormous strength from his relationship with Cyril Ramaphosa.

Oddly, perhaps, it was never a friendship.

In confident, jovial Ramaphosa, Meyer found a shrewd, tough negotiator ... but a man acutely conscious of the historical responsibility they shared.

Meyer reflects: "The understanding, or working relationship, that exists between us was actually quite important for such a process."

Candidly, he believed that "in the final analysis", the agreement had to be one between the ANC and the government.

"We effectively managed to conduct a relationship which

resolve them. And the understanding we had reached kept the process together."

The trout fishing weekend was the one and only occasion where these two powerful men conducted their relationship in a friendly, social sense.

"We don't do things socially with the Ramaphosas. I have never been to his home and he has never been to mine. But that has not taken anything away from our very good working relationship."

Cyril Ramaphosa confirms that there was not a friendship so much as a working relationship "based on mutual respect for one another and an approach that seeks to solve problems".

"What underpinned this was that we knew we would find solutions without sacrificing positions and principles on our side. We tackled many difficult problems without emotion. We knew we would be able to find solutions in the end."

He added: "The role of two people should not be over-emphasised above the role of the organisations but the relationship between us nevertheless helped immensely."

"We do not socialise together ... except, of course, at the negotiating table."

"In that respect, there's a respectable distance between us." Nevertheless, there was a bond.

That bond grew during what became known as the channel meetings, the long process of patch-up talks that took place after the breakdown of Codesa

and led to the Record of Understanding, in September 1992.

Meyer describes this as a "very difficult period from a negotiating point of view".

"There were real obstacles and from time to time both of us were under extremely heavy pressure. There was some bitter argument because of the difficult positions we had to take. There were often harsh words."

But the fact of having come through that contributed to these two men being able to "bring about long-standing agreements".

As a whole, the leader of the government's negotiation team believed 1993 had been "more relaxed".

"There were moments of great importance and difficulty, but this time, we had a relationship through which to deal with them."

Ramaphosa looks back on 1993 as a gruelling year, of working against time, of often sleeping no more than two or three hours a night.

"But we survived. We had a duty to perform."

"There were many difficulties, but in the end we got a good deal. There was a commitment and determination on both sides which enabled us to get there."

Meyer admits to a "feeling of unbelievable privilege at having been involved in a process like this."

"So seldom is the history of a country at the stage we are at now. It is a remarkable opportunity."

"I sometimes have to pinch

myself to remind myself that it's real."

For him, the success of the agreement is the nature of the balance it struck ... "between those who wanted to ensure their freedom, and those who wanted to prevent a complete overthrow".

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**A**T the tail-end of it all, in the closing days of 1993, Ramaphosa sat in parliament — as a "spectator", as he saw it — not on the green benches of the chamber, but in the public gallery, to witness the final, essentially token debate on the interim constitution.

"One feels strange, here, but elated too," he said at the time.

"It is strange because the debate is on the constitution which we spent so many hours negotiating, and rightfully we should be on the floor debating it, and defending it."

"But here we are, still trapped in the old order, like spectators of our own future even though we are among its architects."

"In a way that leaves you with an empty feeling, but the important thing is that it is a debate that is underpinned by a solemn undertaking reached in the multi-party forum that nothing will be changed here in parliament. There is some consolation in that."

Without doubt, that solemn undertaking was underpinned by the remarkable political bond between Ramaphosa the negotiator and, below him in the chamber, Meyer the minister.

Within their own organisations, and beyond, these two men symbolised the essence of the rapprochement and the political inter-dependence that lay at the heart of the transition to the new South Africa.

# Blessings from the New World

IT was on June 3 that the Kempton Park talks struck their first big problem, when the negotiating council provisionally decided on April 27 1994 as the election date.

The IFP objected because it maintained that sufficient consensus had not been reached, but the decision went through all the same.

As the argument over the date raged on, Ramaphosa and Meyer were caught in more personal crises of their own. On June 3, hours after the IFP had lodged its objection, the two men were due to receive the Man of the Year award from Sowetan, the country's leading black newspaper.

But they were also due to fly out of South Africa that night for the United States, where they were to take part in a seminar at the University of Massachusetts on the life of Robert Kennedy and later were due to receive honorary degrees from the university.

The wrangle with the IFP dragged on and on. The guests at the Sowetan award dinner began arriving. The jumbo jet which was to fly them to London on their way to Boston began taking on fuel. The IFP was adamant, threatening a walkout at the talks. Arguments raged, the Sowetan guests were seated, anxiously waiting for the two political stars to arrive. The jumbo began boarding its first passengers.

Frantic telephone calls and a hair-raising drive into downtown Johannesburg brought Meyer and Ramaphosa to the Sowetan's banquet for just long enough to receive their awards. Then, still dressed in tuxedos, they were driven at breakneck speed to the

jumbo which, fully boarded, had been delayed on the tarmac at Jan Smuts for the two VIPs.

No sooner had the flight departed than the two negotiators were told that their connecting flight from London to Boston had been delayed because of a strike at Heathrow airport.

The degree ceremony at the University of Massachusetts in Boston was envisaged as a symbol of reconciliation for America.

That symbolism would be even richer when played out in Kennedy country, the heartland of liberal Democratic America.

It was also aimed at bolstering the nascent unity emerging at the talks between the ANC and the NP, once at opposite poles of the political struggle.

But as a result of the strike at Heathrow, the two South Africans missed the Kennedy seminar on the Friday and at the last minute South African ambassador Harry Schwarz and ANC representative at the United Nations, Tedago Mafole, had to stand in for them.

Exhausted and plagued by jet lag, Ramaphosa and Meyer arrived in time for the dinner given by the university that evening in honour of all the honorary doctors.

South African embassy staff were immediately struck by the rapport between the two men and this soon spread to the support staffs on both sides.

Ramaphosa and Meyer stayed in the same hotel, the Meridian, in downtown Boston. Embassy spokesman Wesley Johannesen recalls the hotel manager giving him the keys for the rooms of Meyer's party. On the spur of the moment Johannesen, guessing the mood, asked him for the Ra-

maphosa party's keys too.

"So both parties went up in the lifts together. We were on the same floor and wandered into each others' rooms. It was very relaxed," Johannesen recalls.

The next day both parties travelled in the same motorcade to the University of Massachusetts's harbour campus at Dorchester, a few kilometres outside Boston.

The graduation ceremony went off without incident in the open air on a bright summer's day. Meyer and Ramaphosa sat with the other honorary doctors and the university's senior staff, under a marquee, facing a large crowd of undergraduates and spectators sitting in the sun.

The four or five other honorary doctors were introduced by the university president to polite applause.

But the dons and others threw academic decorum to the winds and got to their feet in their voluminous gowns and mortar boards to give a standing ovation when Meyer and Ramaphosa were introduced.

In their speeches, both South Africans struck a note of reconciliation, although Ramaphosa could not resist a small dig at Meyer as the representative of the National Party, the architect of apartheid who had now seen the light.

Behind the scenes, not everyone in the ANC's support group in the United States was pleased that Meyer had been honoured equally with Ramaphosa.

Many felt that a member of the NP was unworthy of sharing the honour. The more pragmatic ANC people dismissed these arguments, gently but firmly.

"They don't understand the dif-

ference between resistance politics and the politics of governing," one ANC source said.

The two principals themselves seemed oblivious to such undercurrents. At the press conference after the degree ceremony, they behaved like members of the same party.

When one could not answer a question, he would deflect it to the other. There was an almost nostalgic air about these exchanges.

After the press conference, the two attended a cocktail party given by the university. Ramaphosa then returned to South Africa; Meyer stayed on and flew to Washington the next day.

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A FEW weeks later, on the 217th birthday of the United States, it was the turn of President De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela to receive the Philadelphia Freedom Medal (and a cheque for R300 000) from President Clinton at a ceremony held in bright sunshine outside Independence Hall, the simple but dignified red brick edifice where the US constitution had been drawn up.

The object of the Freedom Medal exercise was to reinforce the unity between the two former South African adversaries, and to honour their achievements. But from the outset their visit to the US — in contrast to that of Ramaphosa and Meyer — was marked by sniping and bickering.

On the Thursday, De Klerk started it by saying that the International Monetary Fund stood ready to lend South Africa R2.7-billion — if only the ANC could

clarify its position on remaining sanctions.

Mandela hit back by saying that De Klerk was "irrelevant" to the ANC's decision on remaining sanctions and called for the retention of sanctions until final agreement had been reached on the formation of the Transitional Executive Council.

Then, on the Friday, when the two South Africans were scheduled to walk with Clinton through the White House rose garden to a media briefing, the arrangement suddenly changed — at the behest of the ANC. ANC officials in the United States believed De Klerk was "riding on the back" of Mandela and getting good publicity in the process, a claim contemptuously dismissed by the government side.

But although relations between the two South African delegations were strained in their behind-the-scenes contacts, the two leaders put aside their differences for the ceremony in Philadelphia and after receiving their medals and cheques they shook hands to a barrage of popping flashbulbs and a standing ovation from the hundreds who had gathered to witness the event.

For his part, President Clinton played the role of scrupulous honest broker, seeing the leaders separately and praising them both in his speech at the ceremony.

Back at home, the IFP, now joined by the CP, made objections to the election date more forceful but when, on June 2, the negotiating council endorsed the date agreed upon by the other parties, the IFP and the CP finally walked out.

## Farewell to two leaders

CHRIS Hani's assassination assures April 1993 prominence as a bloody beacon in the annals of South Africa's difficult transition, but, in this same month, death laid claim to two other South Africans of stature.

Each represented a distinctive, fiercely opposing stream of political thinking and conduct.

Oliver "OR" Tambo and Andries Treurnicht were poles apart in their lifetime, but died within two days of each other.

For both these men, the events of the last weeks of their lives must have been an enormous strain. The slaying of Hani unleashed a bitter anger, and violent revolt swept through the country.

For Treurnicht, there was the irksome fact that two of his party stalwarts, former MP Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife, Gaye, had been arrested for the killing of the SACP leader.

Dr Treurnicht — Dr No to his detractors, the "lion of the north" to admirers and supporters — died of heart failure at the City Park hospital in Cape Town on April 22, several days after heart by-pass surgery. He was buried in Pretoria.

The death of the 72-year-old Conservative Party leader — the pre-eminent figurehead of the white right — removed from politics one of South Africa's last unashamedly Verwoerdian politicians.

Courteous, even urbane, he was fiercely tenacious in politics and philosophically resolute.

His life spanned three careers — as a dominee, an editor and a politician.



Oliver "OR" Tambo ... taxing years of exile.

A long-time Nationalist, he and the present CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg left the Cabinet in March 1982 to join other defectors who had left the NP in protest at P.W. Botha's first tentative reforms. So was born the Conservative Party.

Not for nothing was he pejoratively known as Dr No.

A fateful resistance in 1976 to warnings of rising resentment among young blacks to being taught in Afrikaans was followed by an uprising in Soweto and a convulsion of civil unrest that proved a turning point in post-war politics.

In a conciliatory message on his death, the ANC extended a hand of political kinship to the CP.

"Our policies are at enormous variance, but this is not the time to concentrate on our differ-

ences, but to try to find whatever common ground is possible for the sake of our country."

Two days after Treurnicht's death, Tambo died of a stroke at the Milpark Hospital in Johannesburg, ending a long and eventful life in South Africa and in exile.

He is the man credited with having maintained the cohesion and sense of purpose of the ANC in the long, taxing years of exile and banishment. Tambo spent more than 30 years in exile.

He was buried at the Wattville cemetery in Benoni after a solemn and dignified funeral service at the FNB stadium near Soweto.

Crowds of people, who gathered on rooftops and lined the dusty streets to the cemetery, cheered wildly as the procession — the coffin draped in a yellow, green and black flag — passed through the township.

Glowing tributes poured in from all over the world, many from leading international political figures.

Nelson Mandela referred to Tambo as his brother, underscoring the long years of friendship and comradeship which began when they were young lawyers practising in Johannesburg in the turbulent 1950s.

Tambo, 75, Mandela, and Walter Sisulu formed the ANC Youth League in 1949.

In a moving address, Mandela told mourners: "As you instructed, we will bring peace to our tormented land. As you directed, we will bring freedom to the op-



Andries Treurnicht ... unashamedly Verwoerdian.

pressed and liberation to the oppressor."

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, a long-time friend, said exile tested Tambo to the full.

He said of his friendship with the former ANC president: "I thank God for the greatest gift of friendship given to me in Africa 50 years ago when I came here."

Just a month earlier, there was another departure — a political death rather than a mortal one, but an end quite as significant: the hawkish General Magnus Malan, former Defence Minister, quit the Cabinet and active politics.

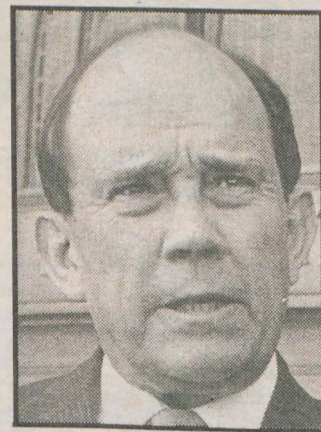
In fact, since his demotion in 1992 to a lesser ministerial post, his retirement was not unexpected.

But his departure symbolised the demise of "total strategy". A

key figure in P.W. Botha's time, his influence diminished steadily under the reforming F.W. de Klerk.

After several command posts, he became Chief of the Army in 1973, Chief of the SADF in 1976, and Minister of Defence in 1980. He was elected MP for Modderfontein in 1981.

Remembered for occasional displays of breathtaking political naivety — such as his comment that political rights were not a relevant concern among the black masses — General Malan was, in the latter part of his career, embroiled in furious controversy over the ironically named and sinister secret military unit, the Civil Cooperation Bureau, and persistent speculation about government "dirty tricks" campaigns and hit squads. He always denied his involvement or approval.



General Magnus Malan ... embroiled in furious controversy over CCB.

# 'Day of the Barbarians'

OTHER right-wingers joined the chorus opposing the consensus reached on the election date, but when right-wingers announced plans early in June to converge on the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park to put their own case for a volkstaat, nobody really knew what to expect.

Assurances beforehand suggested it would be peaceable enough.

The police appeared to be confident that their negotiations with the rightists had secured sufficient guarantees.

But how wrong they were.

June 25 was certainly no ordinary day at the talks venue.

It turned out to be, as one headline at the time put it "The Day the Barbarians Bust In!"

Thousands of right-wingers began gathering at the gates of the complex from early in the morning, jamming the entrance road, but, for the most part, merely milling about harmlessly.

At 8am the situation outside the gates seemed to be under control.

But journalists — and others — sensed the tension.

A policeman confided that the Afrikaner Volksfront — the newly formed rightwing front headed by former SADF generals Constand Viljoen and Tienie Groenewald — had warned the police they would "have to choose today which side we are on".

It was an ominous warning.

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RIGHTWING anger had been mounting since the talks resumed in March, mainly over what it perceived to be the scant regard among the Kempton Park negotiators for any scheme to provide Afrikaners with their own land, their *Lebensraum*.

The right felt that South Africa's constitutional future was being planned without any consideration of interests.

And they felt that they, as Afrikaners, had a special case.

Veteran politician and Democratic Party negotiator Colin Eglin recalled the rumours the day before that "something is going to happen".

"This was in spite of the fact that special conditions had been set when an application was granted the Afrikaner Volksfront to have a demonstration. These were that not more than 3 000 people would be allowed outside, no interference with the proceedings and no arms."

The drama began when a car carrying Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members swept through the main gates behind a delegate's vehicle at 9.15am.

As police tried to stop it, khaki-clad demonstrators swarmed around it and swept along the 500-metre road to the centre.

Police managed only to staunch the flow, and only briefly.

It was immediately apparent that the police were inadequately prepared and that the centre itself was inadequately manned.

An elderly AWB member, carrying a baton, walked round the police cordon and argued briefly with a young sergeant.

Then he turned and shouted: "Kom boere," and set off purposefully across the grass towards the centre, followed by streams of chanting, shouting protesters.

Policemen sprinted in front of



ARMoured PROTEST: The Viper strikes . . . right-wingers ram their way into the World Trade Centre.

them in a vain attempt to stop them from getting to the building.

It was hopeless.

A cameraman fell among the protesters, but they trampled over him.

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INSIDE the building, about 8.30am, police generals addressed the 10-member planning committee, but shortly after the meeting broke up, police ordered that doors be locked.

Word was received that the right-wingers had broken through the gates and were advancing on the building.

Key negotiators went into an inner room in the government's offices.

Cyril Ramaphosa, Mac Maharaj, Joe Slovo, Roelf Meyer, Dawie de Villiers, Tertius Delpert, Sheila Camerer and Leon Wessels took refuge there.

Ramaphosa and Meyer made simultaneous telephone calls.

By this time, the police had lined up along the plate glass windows at the front of the building.

General Constand Viljoen tried to address the crowd through a loudhailer.

His words went unheeded . . . because at that moment AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche drove past on the back of an armoured vehicle — an aptly named Viper — waving to his supporters to follow him.

They did, like a flood.

Some shouted: "One boer, one location."

Suddenly a cheer went up and the protesters backed away to let the vehicle — painted khaki and driven by men in black uniforms — edge up to the building.

It advanced slowly, but inexorably, crashing into huge plate glass windows. Splinters rained down as the vehicle forced its way in.

A plainclothes policeman

crouched in front of the vehicle, his shotgun at the ready, but he backed off as thousands of protesters poured through the shattered entrance.

Police then formed a wedge at the top of an escalator close to the negotiating chamber but were forced back by the advancing crowd.

Among them were Terre'Blanche, Afrikaner Volksfront leaders General Viljoen and General Groenewald, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, CP MP Jurg Prinsloo and scores of the AWB's Ystergarde.

The minutes that followed were marked by high tension.

The protesters, many now carrying weapons openly, filled the complex.

Some turned down a corridor towards the room where the negotiators had been moved. Outside the door, a policeman crouched with his rifle aimed at them. They stopped. Several then turned and walked into the negotiating chamber, the others following.

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EGLIN noted: "There was no doubt that, while General Viljoen was technically supposed to be in charge, the extremists had hijacked the occasion without Viljoen or the police being aware of what they were going to do."

"It was a fairly competent coup."

He added: "It was a traumatic experience."

"I was standing on the mezzanine overlooking the foyer. I saw a thin row of policemen with their backs to the glass windows and all the people shouting outside."

"Suddenly on the righthand side this armed vehicle came and the police parted."

"First it hit the windows and shattered all the glass. Then it reversed and came forward

again, ramming right through.

"By this time the management of the World Trade Centre had suggested that people should not be in the main negotiating council chamber and that the best way of handling the security situation would be for people to go to their various offices."

"As it happened the main suite of offices nearby was that of the government and the National Party."

"Because they had security agents around, that became the general gathering point. You had all the top-ranking representatives of all the parties there."

It was almost 9.30 am when, huddled in refuge, the negotiators heard teargas grenades being fired and received reports that "they are breaking up the negotiating council chamber".

Meyer, De Villiers and Wessels were meeting on one side of the room, while Maharaj, Slovo and Ramaphosa met on the other. ANC negotiators were all saying: "The police must act."

Eglin recalled: "The main negotiating hall was right next door and one could hear the shouting and thumping and all the rest of it."

"A number of people started stacking the furniture against the glass windows to prevent anyone from coming in."

A policeman shouted on a portable radio: "We cannot shoot. That's for sure. They've lost control completely."

Protesters came and went at will, but more than 200 remained in the chamber. By 9.35 am, the protesters had effectively occupied the building.

The atmosphere was electrifying and ugly.

Inside the negotiating chamber, uniformed AWB members smashed nameplates and glasses, tore up papers and daubed the walls with slogans like "eie volk, eie land".

The protesters — many were

carrying arms, some in carry bags, others in holsters — then sang *Die Stem* and *Die Lied van Jong Suid Afrika*.

Some carrying placards with slogans like: "The traitors are rewarded by the USA" and "Away with Mandela and his Clerk".

A brief prayer service was held. Photographers were prevented from taking pictures.

At one point, Eglin decided to leave the other negotiators and have a look around the complex.

"By that time the negotiating council chamber had been taken over. Security people from the AWB were patrolling this area but they were relatively benign and when I said I wanted to look at the council chamber they said: 'By all means, come and see.'"

"Groups of the right-wingers including Hartzenberg and Viljoen were standing about in the foyer and coming up the escalator and the place was swarming with media people, especially foreign ones."

"It was like a political bazaar".

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ONE man who was in the thick of it in more ways than one was "the Raj", the National People's Party's negotiator Amichand Rajbansi. An argument with a right-winger earned him a slap in the face.

The Raj recalled: "They were howling at me like anything and then one man came up and slapped me. But that didn't deter me."

"This was our place, this was the most important place for politics, and we had proved it in negotiations, so I wasn't deterred."

He said he was reminded of Ancient Rome and being thrown

(Continued on next page)

# 'In fear and amazement ...'

(From previous page)

into the lions' den.

"It was very dangerous, in fact, because all these people were armed.

"But I personally believe that if you run away you're lost. I stood my ground."

What's more, the Raj added with inimitable immodesty, "I got very good exposure from it!"

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**T**HE negotiators then received a report that the AVF wanted to talk to the government representatives.

At 9.45 am Meyer said he would meet the right wing. At this stage, Ramaphosa was speaking to ANC president Nelson Mandela.

News was received that Mandela had spoken to President De Klerk on the phone, insisting that the right wing be evicted.

At 10.10am Ramaphosa took another call from Mandela.

Slovo turned to Delpont and remarked sourly: "Tertius, you know what would have happened if they were blacks." Delpont, not surprisingly, did not reply.

Infuriated ANC negotiators said Mandela had told De Klerk in a telephone call that if he did not act against the right wing, he would be forced to send armed members of MK to the World Trade Centre.

Finally, at 10.15am, Meyer and De Villiers prepared to leave the room for a meeting with the right wing.

Negotiations went on for some time.

The right-wingers occupied the chamber for nearly two hours while their representatives handed over demands for a volkstaat and negotiated their free departure from the centre.

The raiders stole documents and even spectacles left on the tables.

World Trade Centre owner Neels Swart, who had exchanged angry words with protesters, told reporters he could not begin to calculate the damage.

"I am an Afrikaner and I am disgusted," he hissed.

Later the damage was estimated to amount to R708 300.

It was decided that the negotiating council would meet in the afternoon and the management of the centre spent the rest of the morning painting out slogans the right-wingers had daubed inside the chamber, and tidying it up.

Eglin said: "When one went in at 2 pm, it looked just as tidy as before.

"The only things that were missing were a few of the nameplates which the AWBs had obviously taken as souvenirs."



**SIT-IN:** Inside the negotiating chamber, right-wingers daub slogans on the wall and occupy delegates' seats.

**O**UTSIDE again, Terre'Blanche gave a defiant speech to rousing applause from the AVF demonstrators.

Addressing the now 3 500-strong crowd — many of whom had begun braaing — Terre'Blanche roared: "This is the beginning of protests.

"We don't want war but we don't want peace under the heel of communism. That would mean one thing: The Volk had capitulated.

"To those negotiating we say the peace we seek is to live in peace with others and to be able to respect the differences and variety of people.

"What the negotiating forum is proposing can only bring war. They don't have the right to determine the fate of free people. If they don't make a place for the Afrikaner then they have declared war on the Volk."

So the protest drew to a close. There were no deaths but more by good fortune than design. Security had been a shambles.

One commentator noted: "Nothing worked the day the barbarians came to town. Not the barbed wire, not the dogs, the gates nor the hundreds of policemen."

People watched, he said, "in fear and amazement".

"It was noticeable that the po-

lice removed their caps during prayers and stood at attention during the singing of the anthem, while making no attempt to stop the vandalism. Outside later, white policemen again stood at attention during the anthem. Their black colleagues did not."

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**A** public commission by Judge Goldstone came and went, offering fresh recommendations to prevent a recurrence.

In an ironic twist — a travesty surely — the only arrest of the day was that of The Star newspaper's driver Alfred Zwane. He was black. He carried no placards, no weapons and he shouted no slogans. He was doing his job, waiting for a roll of film to take back to the newspaper.

But a traffic policeman arrested him and bundled him into the back of a van. Whites sitting nearby in similarly illegally parked cars were not disturbed.

In another twist, it emerged in July that the manufacturers of the Viper armoured vehicle were duped into sending their pride and joy about 700km from their Richards Bay factory to the World Trade Centre under the pretext that farmers were interested in a demonstration of the vehicle's capabilities!



**FACELESS:** Armed, masked right-wingers invade the World Trade Centre.

Viper Motor Corporation managing director Richard Rosso said: "We never thought that smashing doors would be part of the demonstration."

The first Rosso knew of the incident was when he saw his vehicle on television smashing through the glass doors of the centre. He was not a happy man.

But the right-wingers believed

there was much ado about nothing.

One of the protesters, Kimberley CP councillor Danie Theron remarked afterwards: "Nothing happened.

"A window was broken and the Raj got a slap which he was looking for.

"Nobody was injured or killed. There was no swearing, spitting or throwing of stones at the security forces."

There hadn't been any reason, he argued, for the police to act at all.

But they did ... the arrests followed.

In a series of swoops, police rounded up key players in the drama. Eventually, 13 people — 11 men and two women — were charged and appeared in court in mid-July. The case was postponed until August 18.

Some were acquitted later, but others were arrested and charged.

Eighteen now have charges against them. Their case has been postponed until March 1.

One of them, ex-AWB general Dirk Ackermann, was denied bail in December when he was re-arrested after being on the run for three months, in spite of having paid R20 000 bail at an initial court appearance.

The final chapter in this saga, the day the boere barged in, has yet to unfold.

## A 'curious marriage of convenience'

**A**S the constitutional "glue" began to set after the announcement of the election date and agreement on key elements of the transition, the conservative grouping at the talks — the Concerned South Africans Group, or Cosag — was clearly smarting. It felt the process was moving too rapidly and it had neither the will nor the capacity to keep up.

The Cosag group — Inkatha Freedom Party, Afrikaner Volksfront, Conservative Party, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana — was fundamentally opposed to substantive details of the constitutional set-up emerging at Kempton Park, but also to the

spirit of the talks, to what they perceived as closed-shop deals between the National Party and ANC.

Federalism, and Cosag's demand for the strongest possible federal powers, was a key point of contention.

But Cosag was a loose association, lacked formal unanimity and seemed to lack clout.

Came October and the pressure grew intense.

Finally, on October 7 Bophuthatswana and Ciskei walked out of the World Trade Centre and simultaneously Cosag turned itself into the Freedom Alliance, a formal political movement determined to pursue its goals with

unity of purpose.

A "curious marriage of convenience" as it was seen at the time by a leading commentator, the FA remained a sum of incongruous parts.

Even so, it sought to act as one, and there was even speculation that if it entered the election fray as an alliance, a collective of conservative forces in the black and white communities, it could end up second to the mighty ANC.

The ANC was concerned that it would attempt to hold the country to ransom and "delay liberation".

But, while many in the government shared these concerns,

arrangements were made immediately for talks with the FA to try to keep them involved in some process of dialogue.

Just four days after forming itself into a formal alliance, the FA emerged from talks with President De Klerk declaring its eagerness to continue negotiating ... but not at Kempton Park.

So emerged the concept of two-track talks with the multi-party forum at the World Trade Centre operating parallel to intermittent bilateral talks between the FA and the ANC and the FA and the government.

There was hope that within weeks an agreement could be

achieved to draw the FA back into the process, and win its endorsement of the transitional and electoral processes.

How wrong much of the optimistic speculation of the time was.

While the FA strenuously rejected suggestions that it was a "talks spoiler" or that it was intent on wrecking the process, one of its fundamental demands — that future negotiations be conducted within a conference of leaders and, indeed, that only such a conference "can resolve the crisis facing our country" — cut right across the Kempton Park talks.

Months of wrangling lay ahead.