

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GENERAL

1992

JUNE - JULY

De Klerk's peace call

CT 11/6/92
JOHANNESBURG. — President FW de Klerk says all leaders in South Africa should commit themselves to a peacefully-negotiated settlement.

He said at Jan Smuts airport before his departure for Russia, Japan and Singapore that such commitment should create confidence among the people of South Africa and should not be part of a lip-service hiding a double agenda.

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He said it would be regrettable if some leaders taking part in the negotiation process would not be prepared to complete the process.

Threats and other actions would serve no purpose and South African leaders could reach a permanent agreement only through negotiation.

Mr De Klerk appealed to political

leaders to urge their followers to refrain from violence.

He said his trip to Russia and Japan had important dimensions and his visit to Tokyo in particular had far-reaching economic implications.

Shortly before Mr De Klerk's departure, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha was sworn in as acting State President by Mr Justice Eloff. — Sapa

CT 1/6/92 274

Mandela warns whites of violence

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela warned white South-Africans yesterday that they could become targets of angry blacks — and renewed his threat of mass demonstrations to speed the process of change.

He said the ANC would discourage attacks on whites but may be powerless to stop them.

As he issued the warning during a visit to Phola Park squatter camp, crowds of ANC supporters stoned police armoured vehicles less than 100 metres away.

Several shots from an AK-47 rifle were fired. Police, who have encircled the camp with barbed wire to combat what they call its unacceptable level of violence, said the shots were aimed at them but no one was hit.

Mr Mandela accused President F W de Klerk of responsibility for the township violence that Mr Mandela said had killed 14 000 blacks since 1984. He said the police should be acting against the rival Inkatha Freedom Party instead of Phola Park.

He warned that "sooner or later this violence is going to spread to whites... we will fight such a development because it will throw the country into chaos.

"We are taking steps to prevent that, but it is going to be difficult for us to continue disciplining our people when the government is protecting criminals who are involved in this violence."

Mr Mandela said the only way to end the violence was to set up a non-racial

interim government which would control the security forces.

Police, who accuse the ANC of using Phola Park to train township "self-defence units", say police patrols have been attacked there 23 times in the past three weeks.

A police spokesman said on Saturday that the ANC accused the police of not caring about township violence, but then criticised them for acting to stem it in Phola Park. — Sapa-Reuter

Buthelezi calls for joint peace rallies

By day 11/6/92

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MARITZBURG — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called for joint peace rallies with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Making the call at a rally near Maritzburg on Saturday, Buthelezi said it was time for the leaders of the ANC and Inkatha "to put the interests of SA first", reports Sapa-AFP.

Reacting to Buthelezi's speech, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu told reporters while touring troubled Phola Park squatter camp near Johannesburg that the ANC would investigate whether the suggestion was "genuine".

Political fighting between the ANC and the IFP was cited as one of the reasons for township killings in the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry's interim report last week.

Both Buthelezi and Mandela have accepted there is conflict between the IFP and the ANC.

"Let us proclaim peace and let us show by our example that we are genuinely committed to solving the problem of violence in SA today," Buthelezi said in his weekend speech.

Past attempts at peace between the two rivals have generally met with little success and Buthelezi's appeal for joint rallies is not the first time such a call has been made.

WILSON ZWANE reports that Inkatha central committee member

Walter Felgate said at the weekend Inkatha would be prepared to hold joint political rallies with the ANC once the two organisations improved their bilateral relationships.

Earlier, the SA Council of Churches (SACC) said a working committee comprising Inkatha, the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and homeland parties would meet this week to work out strategies by which joint rallies could be held in trouble-torn townships.

Felgate said that although something had to be done urgently about violence, Inkatha wanted to meet the ANC privately before the two organisations held joint rallies.

"Bilateral relationships between the ANC and Inkatha have to be attended to as a matter of urgency," Felgate said.

Other sources close to Inkatha expressed misgivings about joint political rallies.

They said rallies would fuel tension rather than end violence and eradicate intimidation.

An SACC spokesman said the working committee to discuss joint rallies was appointed in April at a meeting — convened under the auspices of the SACC — of black political parties.

The organisations pledged themselves to find mechanisms for bringing peace to unrest flashpoints such as hostels and squatter camps.

legislation requiring all new cars in the

THE NEWSPAPER FROM THURSDAY'S

Support for mass action campaign

ANC forges its policy for an election

B/day 1/6/92 (274) (162)

THE ANC policy conference yesterday endorsed an "unprecedented" campaign of mass action from next month, designed not only to break the negotiation impasse but also to prepare the ground for a future election campaign.

The ANC's political mobilisation programme is to focus on what its negotiations commission report called "the regime's attempts at restructuring apartheid rule", and on government corruption and complicity in the activities of alleged death squads.

The programme includes a proposal for a new coalition of anti-apartheid groups to be established around these themes, and a conference of civic, unions, political and business groups is being considered.

In criticising government's record, the ANC intends presenting itself as an alternative, offering "democracy, justice and good government".

Armed with a host of new policy guidelines adopted at the conference, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "The ANC is ready to assume the responsibility of governing this country."

In his closing address to the conference, Ramaphosa accused the NP of plunging the negotiating process into crisis. For that reason, he said, "if negotiations and mass action have not always been mutually reinforcing elements of our struggle, they now need to be so".

Asked to elaborate on the forms of mass action planned, Ramaphosa said if government did not meet the ANC's demands for an interim government by the end of June and constituent assembly elections by the end of the year, a stayaway of longer dura-

TIM COHEN
and ALAN FINE

tion than ever seen before could not be ruled out.

He pledged "rolling" mass action of various types which would revitalise the link between grassroots membership and the negotiations process.

The key to the ANC's negotiating position from now on would be the question of time frames designed to ensure a short transition period and quickly to resolve deadlocks. This would prevent the ANC becoming locked into an interim government under an interim constitution for an indeterminate period.

Speaking to the media after the conference, ANC president Nelson Mandela said while he did not think negotiations had failed, the ANC would have to use its power to get government's co-operation.

"If government is not prepared to co-operate, they must be prepared for turmoil." The ANC was continuing talks with government in an effort to break the deadlock, he said.

Asked for his response to fears that the programme of mass action would damage the economy, Mandela said, "Our economy has been so mismanaged it can hardly be further hurt by mass action."

Ramaphosa said the policies adopted at the conference gave shape to a "truly democratic SA". They reflected the view that even when all South Africans had won the right to vote this right would remain a shell "unless our people are economically empowered".

The central thrust of the policy stressed

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ANC policy

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not only the need "for redistribution and growth, but also to ensure end of deprivation, degradation and despair".

However, he added, the conference realised that policies would not provide a "quick-fix solution".

"You cannot wipe out decades of degradation without a systematic programme of growth," he said.

Turning to the importance of building

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the ANC, Ramaphosa said while the policies adopted at the conference might be sufficient to get the ANC into government, "policies on their own are no substitute for organisation".

He urged that the ANC should begin a comprehensive door-to-door campaign to ensure that it remained "a vibrant, dynamic organisation" that would "continue to relate to the masses of our people and their needs".

Buthelezi accepts IFP role in violence

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07/16/92

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced at the weekend that he was prepared to accept the finding that the IFP had played a role in the violence.

Addressing a rally at Vulindlela in Maritzburg on Saturday, Chief Buthelezi made an impassioned plea to his members for reconciliation and to forget the past.

He said: "Let us be man enough to accept that we have had a part to play in the violence, whether as self-defence or retaliation, or whatever, and let us look forward. Whatever our memories of violence, and no matter the loved ones we have lost, there comes a point where it is counter-productive to harp on the past".

He accepted that without the political will of the IFP and the ANC there would be no peace in the country.

He also gave a stern warning to Codesa, saying that "if Codesa makes decisions which affect our existence or future — there can only be defiance

Call for joint peace rallies

MARITZBURG. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called on Saturday for joint peace rallies with the ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi said now was the time "for the presidents of the ANC and the IFP to put the interests of South Africa first".

"Let us proclaim peace and let us show by our example that we are genuinely committed to solving the problem of violence in South Africa today," he said.

The bitter fighting between the ANC and the IFP was one of the reasons given for the current wave of violence by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone in his report on township carnage. — Sapa-AFP

in opposition to the implementation of its decisions.

"I say very emphatically, nobody but nobody, should dare to decide KwaZulu's fate without discussing it with KwaZulu.

"If Codesa throws down a gauntlet and dares KwaZulu to pick it up to save its identity and its future, we will pick that gauntlet up and follow through with whatever is necessary into every possible consequence.

"That is the only politics that will remain open to us — the politics of defiance and the politics of resistance."

ANC to look at calls for joint rallies

Sowetan

1/6/92

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SA Press Association-AP

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called for joint peace rallies with African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The IFP leader made the call at a rally near Maritzburg on Saturday.

Reacting to Buthelezi's speech, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu told reporters while touring the troubled Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand that the ANC would investigate whether the IFP president's call was "genuine".

Buthelezi said now was the time "for the presidents of the ANC and the IFP to put the interests of South Africa first".

"Let us proclaim peace and let us show by our example that we are genuinely committed to solving the problem of violence in South Africa today," Buthelezi said.

The bitter fighting between the ANC and the IFP was one of the reasons given for the current wave of violence by Supreme Court

judge Mr Richard Goldstone when he released a report on the bloody township carnage.

Both Buthelezi and Mandela have criticised the Goldstone report but have accepted there is conflict between the IFP and the ANC.

Past attempts at peace between the two rivals have generally met with little success and Buthelezi's appeal for joint rallies is not the first.

Some 7 400 people have lost their lives in the township war that has raged since Mandela was released from jail in February 1990.

The Peace Accord signed between the ANC, the IFP and the government in September last year has done little to stem the bloodshed.

Mass action planned 'on scale not seen before'

ANC turns the threat

STAC 11/6/92

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

The ANC has declared political war on the Government and South Africa faces unprecedented turmoil from the end of this month unless President de Klerk accedes to a set of tough demands.

The ANC's national policy conference, ended yesterday at Nasrec, near Johannesburg, with the organisation issuing "battle orders" to its members — and announcing a programme of mass action on a scale not seen before.

The ANC is demanding a positive response by the end of June from Mr de Klerk on the stalled negotiations of interim government and the election of a constitution-making body by the end of the year. The campaign will also push for the release of political prisoners and the "levelling of the political playing field".

The mass action would continue right up until the installation of a democratic government.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said the organisation had finally concluded in the aftermath of the failure of Codesa 2 — that the Government would have to be forced to negotiate a transition to democracy.

Thus mass action would henceforth be an integral part of the ANC's negotiations strategy. "We are committed to negotiations," he said, "but if we are unable to get the co-operation we deserve and expect, then we have to use (our) power."

If the Government is not prepared to co-operate, they must be prepared for a "must-be-prepared-for" history in this country.

Adopting the hardest line against the Government since its unbanning, the ANC agreed on a "programme of action" involving Cosatu, the South African Communist

Party and the "mass democratic movement".

Stressing that "time is of the essence", ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "It will be unprecedented mass action. It's going to be rolling mass action, taking on a variety of past and new forms. We cannot rule out forms like general strikes and stayaways which are much longer than what we've had in the past."

"The campaign aims to root out minority domination and we will embark on mass action whether he (Mr de Klerk) likes it or not."

Asked whether the campaign would not damage the economy, Mr Mandela said:

"Our economy has been so mismanaged that it can never be further hurt."

He said the ANC could not avoid protests and strikes "if the Government remains dead to our efforts. It can happen next month, in July."

"Our mandate from conference is clear. Without firm timetables, there will be no deal at Codesa."

The ANC emerged from the militant conference united and directed as never before. The Stat understands that "not once did an issue have to go the vote in the closed sessions — such was the pervasiveness of the perception that the only way forward was a full-frontal attack on the Government."

● ANC ready to rule, says Ramaphosa — Page 3

Attack on Goldstone: HRC apologises

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Human Rights Commission (HRC) has apologised to the Goldstone Commission for criticising its report, saying it had commented "on the basis of a government Press release".

This follows a few days after ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela toned down his initial criticism of the report.

(274) AUG 21/92
The HRC said yesterday that when it made its scathing attack on the report last Thursday it did not know of certain details in it.

These included the fact that "the government Press release misrepresented and manipulated the Goldstone Report to place the security forces in a favourable light and to promote the impression that the primary cause of the violence was the political battle between the ANC and the IFP".

Crackdown on illegal guns

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Political Staff CT 2/6/92

IN a further attempt to crack down on weapons used in crime and political violence, the government yesterday tabled a bill increasing penalties for illegal possession of semi-automatic guns and rifles to a maximum of 25 years.

The Arms and Ammunition Acts Amendment Bill excludes semi-automatic guns from the definition of "arms" and these may only be possessed once a permit has been granted by the Minister of Law and Order.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel proposes in the bill that any rifle capable of firing repeatedly should be forbidden to civilians.

Police adviser Mr Leon Kellerman said an existing ban on sub-machineguns would be extended to civilian models of the AK-47 and the R1 and R5 rifles. These weapons are freely available on the black market, he said.

The penalty for owning a non-automatic AK-47, frequently used in robberies and assassinations, would rise from a fine of R12 000 to a prison sentence of between five and 25 years. The five-year minimum would be introduced as an amendment to the bill next week. A police spokesman said 1,2 million South Africans legally owned 3,3m firearms.

APPROVED BY:

DATE:

COURSE	LECTURE
	PERIOD

SECOND SEMESTER

COURSE	LECTURE
	PERIOD

FIRST SEMESTER

APPROVED CURRICULUM FOR CURRENT YEAR

YEAR OF STUDY

DEGREE

STUDENT NUMBER

(To be completed in quadruplicate)

TIMETABLE ANALYSIS

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE & HUMANITIES NAME

Violence findings — Goldstone hits at government

(274)

ARG 2/6/92

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

IN the latest salvo on the controversial Goldstone Commission report on violence, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone rounded on the government for creating unfortunate confusion in its handling of the document.

He said the commission was concerned at the manner in which its views were unfairly and selectively used by public representatives who for some weeks had been in possession of all the information.

"This led to unfortunate confusion."

In a sharp criticism of the government, he said. "That could not have happened if all interested parties, and particularly all signatories to the National Peace Accord, had been placed in possession of the commission's report before

government and police spokesmen made public comment on it."

The commission recommended that steps be taken to avoid a repetition of this.

In his statement yesterday, Mr Justice Goldstone reiterated that the commission had not exonerated elements in the security forces from contributing to violence in South Africa, but added that action by the security forces alone could not meaningfully curb violence in Transvaal and Natal areas.

He said the primary cause of the present violence in these areas was the political battle between supporters of the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party and the violence could not abate until these organisations' leaders had taken appropriate steps to cause their supporters to abandon violence as a political weapon.

He said no evidence at all had to date been placed before the commission which would justify a finding that there was a third force, but the commission would continue to inquire into any future allegations or evidence relevant to the cause or causes of public violence and intimidation.

"The commission in no way sought to apportion blame for violence in South Africa as between any organisation. Inquiries which are currently being conducted by the commission would make it highly inappropriate to do so."

These inquiries related to the involvement in current violence of the SA Defence Force, the SA Police, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu Police and the African National Congress.

The Commission had expressed no views or conclusions on the allegations.

Stayaways 'may be part of new SA'

BOYCOTTS and stayaways are so entrenched they may well extend into a post-apartheid society — as may the practice of using coercion to ensure their success, a new SA Institute of Race Relations publication notes.

In a special Spotlight on Coercion, Boycotts and Stayaways, researcher Paul Pereira examined 17 consumer boycotts, 34 suspensions of services to townships, and 45 school disruptions over six months.

He quoted supporters of boycott strategies saying it was these strategies that forced government to abandon the apartheid system.

Pereira noted the ANC's department of political education head Raymond Suttner had stated mass mobilisation should not end when a

democratically elected government came to power.

"We want people to continue participating in the deeper transformation of the country, democratising it further. That will be achieved if the masses continue to be involved," Suttner had said.

Others agreed, saying the possibility of continued boycotts was a means through which society can be democratised to a local level, through ordinary people using their economic muscle.

An important question was the voluntary, or involuntary, participation in township-launched boycotts, said Pereira, warning that the continued use of coercion posed a threat to free political activity in the future.

He quoted the University of the Western Cape's head of political studies Vincent Maphai as saying boycotts and stayaways "are not intended to be voluntary or optional. The process is inherently undemocratic".

Pereira said there was no way of gauging the level of support among township residents, but "high unemployment, the possibility of job losses, and the very real possibility that pay would be docked, may have made consumer boycotts and work stayaways a difficult strategy to sell in the townships".

He noted also that while Azapo, Nactu and the PAC were in favour of boycotts and stayaways, they had at times objected to the coercion employed in enforcing them. — Sapa.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Peace secretariat (274)

STATUTORY provision for the establishment of the national peace secretariat and a special directorate to provide it with administrative assistance has been provided in a new Bill, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Internal Peace Institutions Bill also makes provision for certain justices of the peace to be able to issue orders to combat violence and intimidation when peaceful relations in a community are disturbed.

Law for public entities

PUBLIC entities such as Transnet, Eskom and the CSIR would have to report to Parliament on their activities and financial matters in terms of a Bill tabled for debate, State Expenditure Minister Amie Venter said yesterday.

The Reporting by Public Entities Bill was drawn up following recommendations by the Browne Committee of Inquiry.

Environment looked at

DEFICIENCIES in existing legislation regulating the protection of the environment were redressed in the Environment Conservation Amendment Bill, Environmental Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar said yesterday.

Federal lobby

POLITICAL risk consultant Wim Booysse, provisional chairman of a new five-member lobby advocating federalism, said yesterday the aim of the Coalition for a Federal Democracy was to encourage Codesa participants to think in terms of a federal framework.

REPORTS Political Staff, Sapa

Private firm to probe phone taps

CODESA's management committee agreed yesterday to employ a private company to investigate whether ANC phones were tapped during Codesa II last month.

Chairman Pravin Gordhan said the company would evaluate information collected by the ANC on the bugging to establish where the taps were placed and to propose preventive measures.

The management committee would then decide how responsibility for the bugging should be assigned.

The ANC yesterday claimed to have incontrovertible proof that three of its Codesa telephone lines were tapped.

In a document submitted to Codesa's daily management committee yesterday, the ANC blamed government for the tapping and suggested possible complicity by a Telkom technician.

Telkom last night said it regarded the allegations in a very serious light and would investigate the matter thoroughly.

A Telkom spokesman stressed that in terms of the Postal Act, no application to have a tap placed on a telephone could be made without the explicit permission of the president, the National Intelligence Service, the Law and Order Minister or a senior official named by the Minister.

"Telkom is very strict about the tampering with its telephone service and does not allow any unauthorised equipment to be linked to its network," the spokesman said.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ra-

PATRICK BULGER and
STEPHANE BOTHMA

maphosa stated in the document that tests by a private investigation agency had shown that three lines were bugged.

A second opinion by Ineq private investigation firm technical director Andy Grudko, who had been supplied with computer printouts made by the first agency, confirmed the tapping, Ramaphosa said.

The document did not disclose the identity of the first agency.

The check revealed no suspicious devices inside the World Trade Centre — the venue of Codesa. However, technical experts said the devices were placed on three lines outside the building, probably at the Isando exchange, the document claimed.

The alleged culprit, the ANC stated, would have to have had technical equipment and resources at its disposal and unimpeded access to the Isando exchange.

The ANC submitted that the check made by the private company hired by the ANC and the expert opinion of Grudko provided incontrovertible evidence that three of its lines were being monitored.

Ramaphosa said: "Furthermore, the issue must be placed in the context of accumulating evidence as to how the different agencies of the state have been and are still operating. Without labouring the point, it is our considered view that one or other agency of the SA government is involved with the use of state funds and resources and activities aimed at destroying the ANC."

Viljoen's return scotches resignation rumours

CAPE TOWN — State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen assumed his new portfolio yesterday after a month's rest from exhaustion — putting to rest rumours that he would resign under the cloud of the Development Aid scandal.

Refusing to react immediately to allegations of theft, corruption and bribery uncovered in his former department by Judge Benjamin Pickard, the former Constitutional Development and Development Aid Minister said he was orienting himself to his new job.

Viljoen's doctor ordered him to bed

BILLY PADDOCK

just days before the Pickard report was released. Rumours were rife in Parliament that he would resign.

Government sources said Viljoen would, in due course, react to the Pickard findings and the furore over his rejection of an advocate-general's suggestion that there was corruption in the Development Aid Department and that an investigation should be conducted. Viljoen was Minister from 1985 to 1989, the period most criticised by Pickard.

Viljoen's spokesman said he had given no indication that he would make any statement on the matter.

He said rumours of Viljoen resigning were "rubbish". While he was not moving into Tuynhuis because the Parliamentary session was almost over, there were preparations being made for him to occupy an office in the Union Buildings.

Viljoen's new job was seen by parliamentarians as a sideways shift to take him out of administrative functions and negotiations and make him more of a backroom strategist and adviser on negotiations.

Goldstone condemns Government over report

Sowetan 2/6/92
JUDGE Richard Goldstone yesterday criticised the way in which the Government had handled the release of the Goldstone Commission's second interim report saying it had led to unfortunate confusion.

He said the commission had not exonerated elements in the security forces from contributing to violence in South Africa.

Mr Justice Goldstone said action by the security forces alone could not meaningfully curb violence in Transvaal and Natal areas.

The primary cause of the present violence in those areas was the political battle between supporters of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, he said.

Violence could not abate until leaders of these or-

ganisations had taken appropriate steps to cause their supporters to abandon violence as a political weapon.

He said the commission was concerned by the manner in which its views were unfairly and selectively used by public representatives who for some weeks had been in possession of all the information.

"This led to unfortunate confusion. That could not have happened if all interested parties and particularly all signatories to the National Peace Accord had been placed in possession of the commission's report before the Government and police spokesmen made public comment on it."

The commission recommended that steps be taken to avoid a repetition of this occurrence.- Sapa.

Caprivi trainee tells of 'battling' UDF

PRETORIA. — A man who underwent military training in the Caprivi strip yesterday denied having been a member of a hit squad involved in killing members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the Hammersdale area in Natal. **274**

Mr Vela Mchunu, one of 200 alleged Inkatha members trained in Caprivi, appeared before the Goldstone committee inquiring into the Weekly Mail's allegations about hit squads in Natal. **CT 216/92**

Asked by counsel for the Weekly Mail, Mr David Soggott, if he knew of the existence of hit squads in Hammersdale, Mr Mchunu said he had only read about them in newspapers.

Mr Mchunu conceded, however, that he had taken part in several "battles" between Inkatha and UDF supporters and that he and other Caprivi trainees had fought alongside Inkatha regiments.
The hearing continues today. — Sapa

Law soon for peace group

CT 2/6/92 Political Staff (274)

PROVISION for the establishment of the National Peace Secretariat and a directorate to provide administrative assistance has been made in a new bill, tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Internal Peace Institutions' Bill also provides for some justices of the peace to issue orders to combat violence and intimidation when peaceful relations in a community were disturbed.

Administration

A memorandum to the bill said the aim was to give effect to the provisions of the National Peace Accord signed in September last year which, together with the Goldstone Commission, formed one of the pillars of the peace process in South Africa.

It said the guidelines put forward in the NPA played an important role in the drafting of the bill.

The bill also provides for the Directorate of Internal Peace Institutions to perform the administrative duties of the secretariat.

It also provides for a regional committee, or a local committee, to achieve the aims of the accord and any activities necessary to achieve the aims of the Goldstone Commission.

Goldstone hits out at handling of his report

WILSON ZWANE (274)
and BILLY PADDOCK

JUDGE Richard Goldstone yesterday slammed the way in which government had handled the release of his commission's second interim report, saying this had led to confusion.

The judge said in a statement his commission was concerned about the manner in which its views were unfairly and selectively used by public representatives, who had been in possession of all the information for some weeks.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, however, last night stood by government's handling of the issue. *B/day 2/6/92*.

Goldstone's report was submitted to President F W de Klerk on April 29, but a news statement on the report was released only last week. Other Goldstone reports have all been released within two days of being submitted to De Klerk.

Goldstone said yesterday government's handling of the issue led to an "unfortunate" confusion, which could have been avoided, had all interested parties — particularly the signatories to the national peace accord — been given the report before "government and police spokesmen made public comment on it".

Reacting to the statement, Coetsee said that he agreed all signatories to the national peace accord should be recipients of all relevant reports "at the earliest possible opportunity".

He also said that the second interim report by the Goldstone commission had certain far-reaching implications for departments and the taxpayer and as such the departments concerned had to be allowed an opportunity to study the recommendations.

The DP yesterday criticised the mutual recriminations of government and the ANC over the Goldstone findings.

In a statement DP Deputy Law and Order spokesman Lester Fuchs said the DP was concerned that the two parties "have once again resorted to opportunism and gestures designed to appease their respective constituencies rather than mak-

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Goldstone *B/day 2/6/92*

ing an honest attempt at finding solutions to SA's most nagging problem — the ongoing political violence".

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the "mischievous" way in which government had handled the commission's report could have had serious consequences, such as denting Goldstone's reputation and impeding an important "instrument" of the national peace accord — the Goldstone commission.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) yesterday apologised to the Goldstone commission for having criticised its report saying it did so without knowing that government had "misrepresented and manipulated" the report.

Goldstone said his commission had not

exonerated elements in the security forces.

The commission had said action by the security forces alone could not meaningfully curb violence in Transvaal and Natal areas. The primary cause of the violence in these areas was the political rivalry between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

Goldstone said violence could not abate until ANC and Inkatha leaders had taken appropriate steps to cause their supporters to abandon violence as a political weapon.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said her organisation would take stringent disciplinary measures against members who violated the organisation's code of conduct.

Inkatha central committee member Musa Myeni said his organisation had proper control over its members.

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Handling of report irks judge

CT 2/6/92

(274)

PRETORIA. — Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday criticised the way in which the government had handled the release of the Goldstone Commission's second interim report, saying it had led to unfortunate confusion.

He said the commission had not exonerated elements in the security forces from contributing to violence in South Africa.

But, Mr Justice Goldstone said, action by the security forces alone could not meaningfully curb violence in Transvaal and Natal areas.

The primary cause of the present violence in these areas was the political battle between supporters of the ANC and IFP, and the violence could not abate until these organisations' leaders had taken appropriate steps to cause their supporters to abandon violence as a political weapon.

He said the commission was concerned by the manner in which its views were unfairly and selectively used by public representatives who for some weeks had been in possession of all the information.

"This led to unfortunate confusion.

"That could not have happened if all interested parties and particularly all signatories to the National Peace Accord had been placed in possession of the commission's report before government and police spokesmen

HRC apologises for Goldstone criticism

JOHANNESBURG. — The Human Rights Commission yesterday apologised to the Goldstone Commission for criticising its report on the causes of violence based on the government's statement.

In a statement the HRC accused the government of "misrepresenting and manipulating the Goldstone Report to place the security forces in a favourable light".

The report released after four weeks did not take into account certain revelations which would serve to strengthen the evidence of state and security forces complicity in the violence, the HRC statement said. — Sapa

made public comment on it."

The commission recommended that steps be taken to avoid a repetition of this occurrence.

Mr Justice Goldstone said no evidence at all had to date been placed before the Commission which would justify a finding that there was a third force, but the commission would continue to inquire into any future allegations or evidence relevant to the cause or causes of violence and intimidation.

Last night Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee attempted to deflect the criticism of the government withholding the report by saying the report had "certain far-reaching implications for departments and the taxpayer". The departments "had to be allowed an opportunity to enable them to study the recommendations". — Sapa and Political Staff

Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Goldstone attacks 'unfair' use of report

The Goldstone Commission has criticised the Government for delaying publication of its interim report on political violence last week and unfairly using selected extracts from it.

The chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Goldstone, said that the commission report on political violence and a separate press statement on only the Transvaal and Natal day in an attempt to clarify the confusion.

Mr Justice Goldstone submitted the interim report to President de Klerk on April 29, but the Government only released it last week. The delayed interim report spreads the blame evenly among all parties to the violence, while the press statement clearly identified the ANC/IFP rivalry as the primary cause of violence.

Mr Justice Goldstone said that the commission was concerned by the manner in which its views were unfairly and selectively used by public representatives who for some weeks had been in possession of all the information before it was made public.

"This led to unfortunate confusion. That could not have happened if all interested parties and particularly all signatories to the National Peace Accord, had been placed in the report had been held back to allow Government and police to study its recommendations."

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee responded last night by explaining that the report had been held back to allow Government departments time to study its recommendations.

The Human Rights Commission yesterday apologised to the Goldstone Commission for its earlier criticism of the report, saying it had commented on the basis of a Government press release.

which had to be studied. Mr Coetsee said he agreed that all signatories to the National Peace Accord should receive all relevant reports at the earliest possible opportunity.

Inkatha takes joint blame for unrest

LONDON — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi acknowledged yesterday that ANC-Inkatha rivalry was the cause of township violence, saying last week's Goldstone report contained nothing new.

"He wasn't telling us something we didn't know because, after all, it takes two to tango," Buthelezi said.

Judge Richard Goldstone this week accused government of distorting his report. Government had highlighted a finding that there was no evidence to back ANC charges that much of the violence was instigated by a third force.

Speaking at Heathrow Airport en route to the US, Buthelezi urged ANC president Nelson Mandela to respond to a call he

made last weekend for them to "stand together" and address mass rallies in a bid to end township violence.

He said there had to date been no response from Mandela.

Buthelezi criticised the ANC for threatening mass action to force government concessions in negotiations, and urged Mandela to return to talks with president F W de Klerk "I would urge them to be calm. The threat of mass action ... is just going to tear the country apart."

Aides said Buthelezi, who flies to Los Angeles today, would give lectures for the SA Educational Foundation and meet former president Ronald Reagan and business leaders. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

State 'should take control of training'

THE state had to take control of and responsibility for industrial training because 20 years of experience had highlighted the inadequacies of its being left to market forces, two University of Cape Town researchers have concluded.

Businesses tended to train only for their immediate needs. It was clear that despite generous tax concessions for training, industry had not trained sufficient skilled workers, said researchers Shireen Mohamed and Zaid Kimmie.

Although it was still too early to assess the success of 1990 legislation, the 1981 Act had failed for a number of reasons.

Employment of apprentices remained contingent upon the business cycle "as employers were loath to invest money in training during periods of recession", and employers were reluctant to commit themselves to the lengthy contractual obligations which accompanied the employment of an apprentice.

Only 10% of SA's workforce was being trained in technical fields, while it was estimated that 75% should be trained to meet economic requirements.

The researchers said SA's industrial training strategy should aim to provide a skilled workforce to meet the requirements of economic development.

They found that an industrial training system "left to the mercies of market forces" performed inadequately. "Unless control and responsibility for training revert back to the state and become part of an overall centralised plan for long-term economic development" the problems could not be addressed, they said.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Insurance laws to change

INVESTORS should be wary of investment opportunities offering high interest rates and attractive conditions, Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant said yesterday.

Replying to a second reading debate on the Financial Institutions Amendment Bill, Alant said legislation would be introduced next year to regulate the short- and long-term insurance industries. Current legislation on pension funds dated back to 1943 and was antiquated in many respects.

Prosecutions delayed

LESS than 10% of the prosecutions of conscripts who failed to report for national service or camps last year had been completed, Defence Minister Gene Louw said yesterday.

Replying to a question tabled in Parliament by Gen Bob Rogers (DP, Walmer), he said: "The prosecution action is an ongoing and time-consuming process. All cases of failure to report are investigated."

Afrikaner homeland poll

A QUARTER of black women believe an Afrikaner homeland should be discussed at Codesa but two-thirds disagree, a survey has found.

The poll conducted by Research Surveys among 800 black women in the middle of April found 23% agreed an Afrikaner homeland should be discussed at Codesa, 45% did not agree and 33% said they did not know.

REPORTS Sapa, Political Staff

Mandela slated for 'war talk'

(274) BILLY PADDOCK
CAPE TOWN — CP leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday lashed out at ANC president Nelson Mandela, claiming his warning that violence could spill from black to white areas was an effective "declaration of war on whites".

During a weekend visit to the Phola Park squatter camp Mandela said the ANC would do everything in its power to prevent black anger from spilling over into white areas, but could not guarantee this would not happen.

The row has been fuelled by NP-supporting newspapers, which have strongly portrayed Mandela's statement as a threat that whites would be targeted.

Treurnicht said Mandela's comments were a blatant attempt at intimidating whites to bow to ANC demands. "In effect it is a declaration of war on whites."

This was a facet of the ANC's strategy to take power and was a clear contravention of its signing of the national peace accord, he said. He said it was not yet too late for whites to tell the ANC it found its threat unacceptable and that an ANC government was totally unacceptable to Afrikaners.

He said government was faced with deciding whether it wanted to form a government with an organisation which had a private army, held it to ransom and did not respect people's freedom.

LP bid for poll pact with ANC

THE ANC has been approached to assist the Labour Party candidate in the forthcoming House of Representatives by-election in the Diamant constituency at Kimberley.

The by-election — which is the NP's first attempt to gain support among coloured voters — is seen in political circles as a test of whether the ANC-aligned LP or the NP has majority support among coloured voters.

However, the LP's efforts are being hampered by traditional ANC antipathy towards the tricameral Parliament. Its northern Cape region has already called for a boycott, a move which could see the NP's Howard Isaacs taking the seat.

A well-placed LP source said party leader Allan Hendrickse yesterday spoke to ANC president Nelson Mandela and to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to persuade the organisation not to oppose LP candidate John Scholtz's bid for election.

An ANC statement said yesterday that Ramaphosa had held talks with the LP and that the talks were "arranged to discuss the position of the ANC vis-a-vis the by-election".

"Ramaphosa said the matter was still being discussed with the ANC northern Cape region and no finality

PATRICK BULGER
had been reached," the statement said.

The top-level talks were held a day after LP officials met the ANC's local government spokesman Thozamile Botha and local civic representative Darkey Afrika in Kimberley on Monday. Both men apparently turned down the LP request for assistance.

The LP claims it is already being assisted by the local ANC-aligned civic organisation. But the ANC's northern Cape region was planning a boycott of the election and a mass rally to coincide with the June 24 poll, northern Cape ANC media officer Pakes Dikgetsi said.

LP organisers said the ANC had to realise that more than a Parliamentary seat was at stake.

One said the LP wanted the local ANC-aligned Kimberley Civic Organisation to help bring out voters, especially an estimated 8 000 in Galeshewe township where the civic holds sway.

He said the LP was strong among working class people which comprise about half the 24 000 eligible voters. However, the LP was concerned that traditional ANC hostility towards the tricameral Parliament would deter more sophisticated voters from going to the polls.

BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, June 3 1992

Govt to fence off hostels

Political Staff

GOVERNMENT was dealing with the upgrading of hostels as a matter of urgency and attention would be given to fencing them, Local Government and National Housing Minister Léon Wessels said yesterday.

His department had noted that the Goldstone Commission regarded hostels as a common participant in most violence in afflicted areas. It had also noted the commission's recommendation that the hostels immediately be properly fenced. *Bibany 3/6/92*

Wessels said in a statement government had already approved a comprehensive strategy for upgrading them.

Wessels said he had already announced that humane living standards at hostels were a high priority for government and R294,6m had been allocated for the conversion or upgrading of hostels.

Nationwide strike on 'mass' action' agenda

PATRICK BULGER

ANC, Cosatu and SACP leaders would meet on a weekly basis in the months ahead to plan mass action that could culminate in an open-ended general strike in August, Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa said yesterday. *3/6/92*

Shilowa was outlining how the alliance's campaign of mass action, confirmed at the ANC policy conference at the weekend, would unfold. The mass action campaign was consistent with the alliance view that negotiations were "another site of struggle", he said.

The alliance has told government

that it wants a firm commitment to interim government and to elections for a constituent assembly or it should face unprecedented mass action and possible withdrawal from negotiations at Codesa. *3/6/92*

Shilowa indicated, however, that mass action could still take place as the alliance was demanding government action on a whole range of issues ranging from corruption to government-sponsored violence against its opponents.

The alliance partners would be

going back to their constituencies between now and mid-July to hold report backs and to seek mandates on mass action. *(274)*

Shilowa said mass action would take the form of factory occupations, stayaways and a general strike in August that would continue until government gave in to alliance demands.

He said the issue of Cosatu participation at Codesa had become "academic". More important was the involvement of organs of "people's power" like the civics in negotiations.

● Comment Page 8

SIEMENS

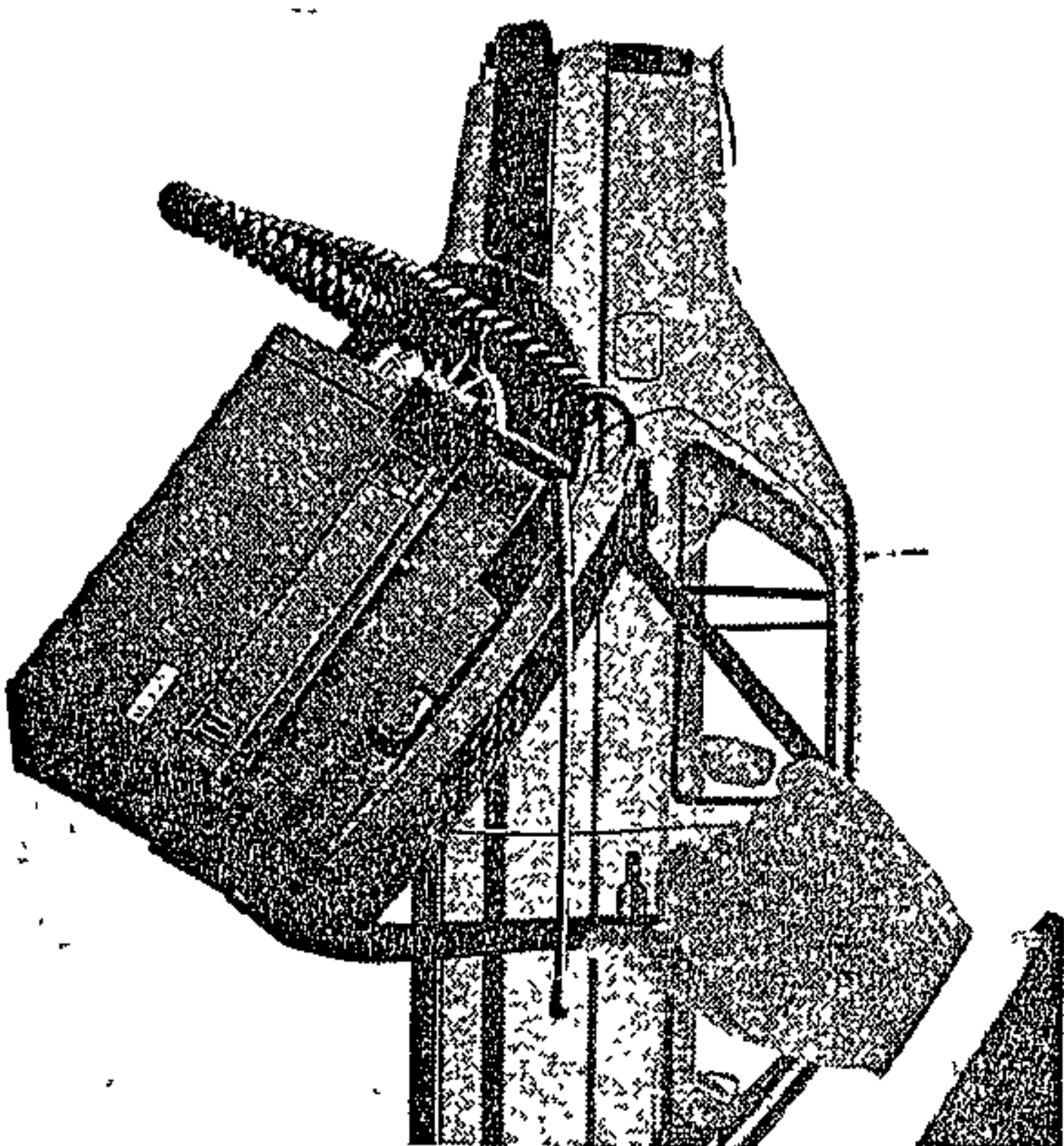
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3/22/92 3/6/92

Mandela slated for 'war talk'

274 BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — CP leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday lashed out at ANC president Nelson Mandela, claiming his warning that violence could spill from black to white areas was an effective "declaration of war on whites".

During a weekend visit to the Phola Park squatter camp Mandela said the ANC would do everything in its power to prevent black anger from spilling over into white areas, but could not guarantee this would not happen.

The row has been fuelled by NP-supporting newspapers, which have strongly portrayed Mandela's statement as a threat that whites would be targeted.

Treurnicht said Mandela's comments were a blatant attempt at intimidating whites to bow to ANC demands. "In effect it is a declaration of war on whites."

This was a facet of the ANC's strategy to take power and was a clear contravention of its signing of the national peace accord, he said. He said it was not yet too late for whites to tell the ANC it found its threat unacceptable and that an ANC government was totally unacceptable to Afrikaners.

He said government was faced with deciding whether it wanted to form a government with an organisation which had a private army, held it to ransom and did not respect people's freedom.

Board 'to play advisory role'

THE establishment of a Police Board in terms of the national peace accord marked the true birth of community policing in SA, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday. (274) 3/6/92

Speaking at the first meeting of the 22-member board in Pretoria, Kriel said it could make a major contribution towards impartial policing and to the attaining of credibility among all of the community.

Kriel, however, warned the members — lawyers, academics and senior police officers of the SAP and the self-governing states as well as ANC and DP representatives — not to use the board as a tool to further their own ends. B/Dan 3/6/92

The function of the board, under the chairmanship of former Transvaal attorney-general Don Brunette SC, will be to consider and make recommendations to Kriel in regard to training and efficient functioning of the police.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

The establishment of the board in effect meant that the community would have a say directly related to internal police policy, Kriel said.

"A process of reorganising and restructuring is taking place within the police right now and through this board the community will have an important input"

The police needed an independent arbitrator to ensure public trust and co-operation, he said.

The board would not participate in the daily running of the SAP, but would advise on strategies Kriel said the process of political change has contributed to a national atmosphere of insecurity and unsafety.

"No security force, no matter how powerful, can continue effective policing under a barrage of hatred and criticism," he said.

Wronsley denies knowledge of phone tapping

AUDITOR-General Peter Wronsley yesterday denied knowledge of the tapping of assistant chief auditor Jaap Serfontein's home telephone and government telephones in his office.

A mysterious secret agent had reportedly

WILSON ZWANE

tapped telephones in Wronsley's offices for two months to monitor the Melamet Commission's insurance industry probe.

The agent also reported-

ly tapped the home telephone of Serfontein — the man credited with uncovering corruption in the Development Aid Department and who is engaged in an audit of files of 11 Multilateral Motor Vehicle Accidents' Fund agents.

Dr No hits at Mandela

Political Staff 274

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday lashed out at ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, claiming his warning that violence could spill from black to white areas was an effective "declaration of war on whites". CT 3/6/92

During a visit to the Phola Park squatter camp at the weekend Mr Mandela said the ANC would do everything in its power to prevent and discourage black anger from spilling over into white areas, but he could not guarantee this would not happen.

Dr Treurnicht said Mr Mandela's comments were a blatant attempt to intimidate whites to bow to ANC demands.

Commission to issue own media releases

Political Staff

THE Goldstone Commission will in future handle all its own media releases, to avert any further "misunderstandings" and delayed releases of its reports by government agencies.

Justice Ministry spokesman Mr. Werner Krull confirmed yesterday that the commission had informed the department that its help in releasing statements would no longer be required.

The decision by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Politically Motivated Violence

and intimidation comes in the wake of the furore last week after the government apparently delayed the release of the second interim report in an apparent attempt to serve its own interests and embarrass the ANC.

The report, which was handed to President F W de Klerk on April 29, was released only a month later, although earlier reports had been released within two days.

Before releasing the report the government released a press statement — just two days before the ANC's conference — that Mr

Justice Goldstone had ruled out a "third force" and described Inkatha/ANC rivalry as the chief source of the violence.

And then, before the interim report was handed to the signatories of the National Peace Accord, Defence and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel issued statements attacking the ANC.

The interim report placed Mr Justice Goldstone's press statement in "clearer perspective and was a more balanced finding, placing

blame on the government, the ANC and Inkatha.

The interim report labels as one of the causes of violence in SA "a history over some years of state complicity in undercover activities which include criminal conduct".

It says the criminal conduct of certain members of the SA Police and the KwaZulu Police "exacerbate the perception of so many South Africans that the government or its agencies are active parties responsible for the violence".

(274) CT 3/6/92

NEWS

SACC plans rallies for peace

274
ST 1972
3/6/92

A nationwide series of peace rallies organised by churches in an attempt to put a stop to violence, was agreed to yesterday by a multi-party committee of the SA Council of Churches.

The SACC said the meeting was a follow-up to an "emergency summit on violence" on April 22.

Political leaders will be invited to attend the rallies.

The Rev Frank Chikane, who chaired yesterday's meeting, said: "The peace rallies aren't for political leaders, to campaign for their party, but to ask that violence stops, and to say they hate the violence. They aren't political rallies. Their main purpose is a joint effort towards peace."

Address

He said those at the meeting had determined that the rallies would address their conviction that the Government was primarily responsible for the violence.

"They (the rallies) will put at the regime's door primary responsibility for the violence it has created," according to a participant, who noted the recent revelations of continuing involvement of the security forces in perpetuating violence.

"We can't go and pretend all these things aren't happening," Dr Chikane said.

The rallies will probably be held in July and August in areas most affected by violence.

The SACC also resolved to:

- Call for a commission to visit hostels, informal settlements and other "bad spots" to assess the situation.
- Set up workshops to promote tolerance and democracy.
- Discuss with editors the media's role in creating a climate of peace. — Sapa.

ANC like a petulant child, says Buthelezi

STAR 3/6/92

(274)

LONDON — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday criticised the African National Congress for threatening black unrest to force white concessions in constitutional talks.

He urged ANC leader Nelson Mandela to return to negotiations with President de Klerk.

The talks are deadlocked over whether the white minority will have special rights under majority rule.

"I am just disappointed that the ANC adopted the line whereby they are threatening," Chief Buthelezi said at London's Heathrow Airport.

"That is typical behaviour of a petulant child throwing out toys," he said.

Chief Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu-based Inkatha movement, had stopped over in London on his way to the United States.

The ANC on Sunday threatened what secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa called "rolling mass action" in the constitutional confrontation.

"I would urge them (the ANC) to be calm," said Chief Buthelezi. "The threats of mass action and so on is just going to tear the country apart."

"And who suffers if the country is torn apart? All of us, including them. There is no gain for anyone."

Aides said Chief Buthelezi would lecture for the South African Educational Foundation in the United States and meet former president Ronald Reagan and business leaders in Chicago, Miami, New York and Washington.

Chief Buthelezi acknowledged during the interview that rivalry between the IFP and Nelson Mandela's ANC was the cause of township violence.

He told reporters that last week's report by Mr Justice Goldstone on the violence contained nothing new.

Asked whether the violence was a result of IFP-ANC rivalry, he said: "He wasn't telling us something we didn't know because, after all, it takes two to tango."

Chief Buthelezi urged Mr Mandela to respond to a call he said he made last weekend for the ANC leader to "stand together" with him to end township violence.

"I personally made a plea to him that he and I should really, at this point, try and address joint peace rallies," the Inkatha leader said.

"So far there has been no response," he said.

At least 11 000 blacks have been killed in the violence in the last eight years.

Mr Justice Goldstone accused the Government on Monday of distorting the findings in his report and said it was not intended to apportion blame.

The Government had said the judge had vindicated its view that the main cause of violence was rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha, and highlighted the finding that there was no evidence to back ANC charges that much of the violence was instigated by a third force of right-wing whites. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

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Jurists lay blame for violence on Buthelezi

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

LONDON — The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) has put much of the blame for South Africa's present township violence squarely on the shoulders of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

A hard-hitting report produced in Britain after a visit to South Africa by a five-man fact-finding mission goes on to suggest that while the amount of violence caused by the ANC had increased, this was "perhaps inevitable" in the absence of effective law enforcement or a curb on Inkatha supporters.

The members of the mission are unequivocal about the seriousness of the situation as they saw it. Their report says flatly: "Law and order has broken down in Natal and in the parts of the Transvaal we visited. The violence was significantly worse than it was in September 1990. The ordinary black population has been absolutely ham-

pered." (274) So bad is the situation that the ICJ believes that free and fair elections are now impossible — a view held by the vast majority of people the mission interviewed.

The commission blames unemployment, the absence of social security, massive urbanisation, squalid living conditions, the hostel system, the evolution of the police as the enforcers of apartheid, the loss of influence of traditional and religious leaders, the collapse of education for blacks and the rise of gangs who kill indiscriminately.

The ICJ goes on to accuse the security forces of siding with Inkatha and indulging in random killings (one example of which was witnessed by the members of the mission themselves, the report states). The conduct of the KwaZulu Police had deteriorated since the ICJ's last visit and the situation was set to slide even further if Chief Buthelezi did not assert his authority and control the excesses of his supporters, the ICJ said.

"It is our view that Chief

Minister Buthelezi carries a heavy responsibility for the escalation of the violence."

The mission believes that the police could still play a major part in bringing the violence to an end, though "we do not think the police force as presently constituted will ever be able to gain the confidence of ordinary people. South Africa needs a new civilian police force."

The ICJ recommends that Codesa should call on the help of a team of international experts to monitor on a continuing basis South Africa's law enforcement agencies and other signatories to Codesa.

It also suggests outside supervision of elections, the introduction of senior civilian administrators into the SAP at all levels, and a ban on all weapons at meetings or in public places.

It urges a new agency to supplant the old riot squads, immediate action by the security forces to end all violence, and the replacement of hostels by homes for families and single people which provide a degree of privacy.

Alfred Thibault
Uweled 5/6-11/6/92
274

The case for defence units is that they help protect communities against hit-squad attacks. But they may provoke even more violence, argues EDDIE KOCH

WENTY years ago a colleague of Che Guevara warned that the idealised ghost of his friend, gun in hand and a star on his beret, would encourage a generation of militants to destroy their prophet's vision of a just society with a rash abuse of weapons

That warning has a grim relevance for South Africa today where self-defence units — manned by African National Congress activists armed with AK-47s and frequently adorned with insignia of guerrilla struggle — have begun to turn inwards and prey on people in the townships rather than protect them from rightwing attacks

No systematic research has been done on the operation of defence units, which almost all organisations to the left of the Democratic Party hold up as the solution to the wave of assassinations and attacks directed against their members, but evidence is emerging to show that these groups serve only to alienate large sections of the populace and invite repression from the right

Research conducted by Babylon Xelwane, a post-graduate student at the University of the Witwatersrand, indicates that one in every three people from a small sample of Sowetians interviewed last year believed that defence units served, in the long run, to provoke violence and undermine political tolerance

It's a view that Calvin Khan, personal assistant to Umkhonto weSizwe chief Joe Modise, rejects. He told *The Weekly Mail* in an interview this week that the work of defence units, especially in hotspots like the Natal Midlands, had stabilised a volatile political situation

"If it was not for them, the level of political violence would have been much higher and it would have meant that the regime and its security forces would have had a free hand to run rampant. They have prevented a situation where these forces could openly and provocatively attack communities," says Khan



Holding his weapon, an axe, a defence unit member warns himself from the winter cold in a Transvaal township. Photo KEVIN CARTER

The claim may have been true in the past and may still hold for some townships. But it flies in the face of increasing evidence that townships, once the bastions of resistance to rightwing terror, are now being led by some defence units into a cycle of internecine violence and lawlessness

The Phola Park squatter camp, once a no-go zone for the police and almost immune to raids by Inkatha impis, was the first to go. Then the townships of the Vaal, where returned MK cadres made a brave attempt to protect residents from some of the worst township violence, have turned into an organisational nightmare as rival groups of ANC members threaten to turn their guns on each other

The townships of Natal, where defence committees have successfully rebuffed attacks by vigilantes that at times resembled

organised military operations, are also being subjected to a wave of lawlessness by renegade members of defence units

And the political leadership of the ANC is deeply disturbed by these developments, despite claims by Khan and others that "we have dealt very effectively with cases of indiscipline reported to us. For us it is an insignificant problem"

South African Communist Party central committee member Jeremy Cronin acknowledges that a number of self-defence units around the country have degenerated into township banditry

But he argues cogently that communities will spontaneously resort to arms to defend themselves and that it is better for political organisations to exert some kind of control over these activities — rather than press for disarmament — precisely because of the danger posed by the unregulated and un disciplined use of guns

"It's easy for self-defence units to go off the rails if they are not subjected to strong organisational control and input. They can decay into pockets of gangsterism and warlordism," says Cronin

"We must not fetishise the use of arms and see self-defence units as the sole answer to problems of violence. At the end of the day solutions have to be political. We have to look at alternatives such as mass action, protests and strike but at the same time confront the reality that people will take up arms as a natural self-defensive reaction

control and discipline over the self-defence units rather than demobilising them

But efforts to do exactly this appear to have failed dismally. The ANC, as well as the top command of Umkhonto weSizwe, has attempted to intervene in some of the crises that have erupted around self-defence units. In some cases, efforts by ANC leaders to persuade renegade units to disband voluntarily have only caused increased tension and there are signs that organisational initiatives to control these people's militias have resulted in increasing disorder

Even in the hostels of the Vaal, where the National Union of Metalworkers had built a strong shop stewards committee — once seen as the most disciplined and democratic forms of political leadership to emerge in the country — it has been impossible to prevent the violent fragmentation taking place on the left in the Vaal

The reality is large elements of South Africa's township population have become ungovernable. No party or organisation — ranging from the government to the SACP — has the strength and ability to prevent these areas from falling under the rule of the gun

Regis Debray, the compatriot of Guevara who warned that romanticised and uncontrolled use of arms to fight repression would prove to be counter-productive, coined an epigram in the 1970s: there is a time when myths can kill

That time has now come. All political organisations should strip self-defence units of the legend that surrounds them and seriously explore alternative forms of political pressure on the government to end the violence

It is instructive that last month's consumer boycott of taxis was far more effective than the work of any defence unit in reducing the spiral of violence on the Reef

ERNEST SOTSU is a slightly-built, wizened man who laughs a lot and looks much older than his 64 years. A humble-looking veteran in a houndstooth jacket, he's the picture of vulnerability. But looks can be dangerously deceptive.

Sotsu is a shrewd and powerful man who, by all accounts, commands the support of several thousand hostel-dwellers in Sebokeng and is at the centre of a raging battle between rival defence units jockeying for power in the Sebokeng and kwaMasiza hostels.

A resident of Boipatong township in the Vaal since 1956, Sotsu went underground as an Umkhonto weSizwe operative after being hounded by the police for his involvement in the 1984 Vaal uprisings. He was detained in 1986, charged with terrorism in 1988 in Transkei where he was active, sentenced to five years but was released from Robben Island a year later

When his wife and two children were killed in a gun ambush in July last year while he was attending the ANC congress in Durban, Sotsu was taken into Sebokeng hostel by workers loyal to him. Now he seems to lord over the hardened fighters that make up the original defence units.

In part, the power struggle in the two hostels, and in ANC and civic structures in the Vaal Triangle, stems from conflict between some 200 MK members returned from exile who support Sotsu, and existing leaders within the local ANC and civic structures. The latter are apparently threatened by the skills the MK members acquired abroad and are attempting to isolate them for fear of losing their positions.

Such tension may have been defused were it not for the fact that defence groups, loyal to either side and both armed to the teeth, have entered the fray.

Confusion reigns, with "comrades" grouping themselves around those with the most ammunition, fearing each other more than those they're supposedly defending their supporters against — Inkatha and the security forces.

"Bernard", a commander of one of Sotsu's units, says the situation has degenerated into one of "defence units of comrades fighting other comrades. This has only diverted the attention of the defence units against the real enemy".

The divisions are murky and complex and not even those in the defence units



It was the murder of his turned Ernest Sotsu in
critique of a hit
By PHILIPPA

anarchic rivalry rage defence units.

"The present difference existing are merely the doing things. They are our people. The work upon the intransigent step down, as they are them," he says vehemently. Always articulate and Sotsu runs the interview calm any division within the ANC to turn a gun against me. Firstly, I'm

Colbert King, a Numb was gunned down in the kwaMasiza hostel on denies any part in his de against me. Firstly, I'm

More savagery looms

There is absolutely no moral or practical reason for business to support or encourage the strikes and civil disturbances that the ANC and its trade union supporters are planning. Negotiations to broaden democracy have unfortunately been held up. But they have neither broken down nor been abandoned.

There is no rational justification for the intimidation that is being planned.

This is probably the first setback in a negotiating process that inevitably will contain many. If the ANC decides to take to the streets every time one occurs, the cost will be enormous — not only in production and wages forfeited, but in lives lost and injuries sustained.

ANC president Nelson Mandela cannot logically criticise President F W de Klerk for inadequate measures to curb ANC-Inkatha violence, when he himself is prepared to stoke an already fearsome climate of intimidation and killing. We say this for one simple reason — when people take to the streets in large numbers, there is an immediate increase in the potential for mindless savagery.

Our guess, too, is that in these difficult economic times many black workers are going to have to be intimidated into civil unrest. They will not want to lose wages and benefits and have their lives disrupted yet again. Their resentment will inevitably provoke those elements of ANC authority that are overzealous or just plain thugs.

Nor is ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa correct in stating that street demonstrations were behind everything the ANC has achieved so far.

Grand apartheid had been rock solid for 40 years, unshaken by sabotage, sacrifice or sedition. Cracks came only when Afrikaners realised that demographics were against them, when the American banks (motivated by greed and not politics) withdrew vital loans; and when the ANC's diplomatic initiative began to bear fruit.

Taking to the streets at the first Codesa setback smacks of malice born of mortification at the Nats' intransigence. If the prospect of more violence were not so serious, we would remind the ANC that cowboys don't cry. Instead we have to deplore its insensitivity. ■

NEGOTIATION AND PROTEST

FM 5/6/92

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A question of bad faith

In labour law, at least, resorting to pressure tactics during negotiations is, we now know, illegitimate. It's bad-faith bargaining and constitutes an unfair labour practice. This view, contained in an important recent judgment of the Appellate Division, finally settles an old controversial issue in labour relations (see p44).

But it has echoes on the political stage following the ANC's threat to unleash unprecedented levels of mass action to break the negotiations impasse — even while government and the ANC both remain committed to negotiating. In fact, progress continues to be made at Codesa — except on the central question of an elected constitution-making body and its powers.

The analogy with labour is academic. In the final analysis, political negotiations are about power, regardless of either party's stated commitment to keep talking. The hope is that the chief adversaries at Codesa will realise that going for broke will leave the country devastated.

If there is no breakthrough by July, the ANC warns of "rolling" mass action, including strikes, stayaways, sit-ins, demonstrations and "new forms" of action as well, explained ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa at the end of the ANC's policy conference on Sunday (see p45).

The programme of action adopted at the conference reflects the ANC alliance's "conviction that only mass pressure can compel the National Party to commit itself to the logical outcome of negotiations," said ANC information chief Pallo Jordan. "However, we have come to the realisation that unless the majority participates actively in shaping that process, negotiations must fail."

ANC president Nelson Mandela warned: "If the government remains deaf we will take mass action. It can happen in June or July, depending on government's response." Mandela's relationship with President F W de Klerk has in recent weeks soured sharply over culpability for the violence, which, Mandela is convinced, De Klerk can put an end to if he has the will.

Asked whether he did not fear that such a campaign would get out of hand, Mandela replied that persuasion, via Codesa, had failed — though (paradoxically) "we don't think negotiations have failed." The regime, he added, was negotiating today "because we engaged in mass action. That is the lesson of history. The situation has always been out of hand."

What about damage to the economy? "Our economy is so mismanaged it cannot be further harmed," said Mandela dismissively. Business leaders, including Anglo American's Julian Ogilvie Thompson, have rightly

pointed out that mass action would postpone economic recovery.

Government has said that it would not succumb to threats or be bulldozed. NP spokesman Piet Coetzer says it is highly irresponsible of the ANC to fan political tempers, and the Nats are concerned that the organisation could be starting something which it may not be able to control. He warns that mass action includes intimidation and violence. However, the NP is convinced that the negotiating process will continue.

In its report to the ANC policy conference, the organisation's special commission on negotiations said the country has "entered a decisive period in which the transfer of power from the white minority regime to the people is on the immediate agenda" and that the transfer of power "can be achieved in the shortest possible time."

The report maintains that government "pursues a strategy in the transition aimed at weakening and destroying the ANC through violence and other means, and at locking it



into a permanent 'power-sharing' arrangement" in which white minority domination will be largely intact.

It is significant that the mass action programme is also seen "as part of the unfolding process of preparing for democratic elections," which provides another perspective on the threatened protests.

The ANC leadership, it should be remembered, has a difficult balancing act to perform with its militant, impatient cadres, on the one hand, and the demands of pragmatism, on the other. Arguably, the pragmatic approach won through on policy matters — in particular, on economic policy, at its conference — in spite of the drawbacks of its populist, assembly style of democracy.

Much of ANC rhetoric should be seen in

this light. Its negotiations commission, interestingly, talks of the need to "creatively link" negotiations and mass action as "mutually reinforcing elements of our struggle." The slogan adopted for the campaign is: "From corruption, murder and mismanagement to democracy, justice and good government."

If government continues to block the process of transition, appropriate actions will be taken to make the system "truly unworkable." This could include the systematic, nationwide occupation of legislative, administrative and judicial buildings. ■

SHOW BUSINESS

Accents need apply

The SABC board has given the corporation the go-ahead to establish itself as a multi-million-rand international TV producer. Negotiations between the SABC and American producers Kushner/Locke are expected to be finalised soon. They plan to co-produce the third series of the popular TV programme *Tropical Heat* in SA.

David Goldstein, an Israeli who has produced a TV movie that proved a financial failure for the SABC, will be executive producer for the filming of *Tropical Heat*. Goldstein has also acted as an agent for the SABC, buying TV programmes from international companies.

California Secretary of State office records show that Goldstein operates a company called Filmtel Entertainment. An SABC spokesman says Goldstein, then an employee of United Studios of Israel, produced a TV movie, *The Orchestra*, for the SABC in the Eighties. He admitted that the SABC had lost money on the project.

The SABC will invest R21m in the R42m *Tropical Heat* production. The spokesman said the SABC's return (the series is shown in other countries) will generate enough funds to promote local productions. He said 90% of the production team will be local technicians. Local actors will also be used.

Moonyeenn Lee, a spokesman for the TV division of the Personal Manager's Association (for actors), cautiously welcomed the chance for SA actors to feature in an international TV series. But Lee warned against a repetition of what happened some years ago when the only artists employed were those with "a perfect American accent."

Some SA filmmakers are concerned after being told by SABC staff that funding for local productions in the current financial year has dried up and that completed productions will be paid for only in the next financial year.

Eddie Botha

Free elections 'impossible'

CT 5/6/92

JOHANNESBURG — Free and fair one-person-one-vote elections would be impossible in the climate of violence that prevails in much of South Africa today, says an International Commission of Jurists survey report released yesterday.

This was the view of the vast majority of people across the political spectrum, including senior police officers in Natal, the report says.

The survey, called Agenda for Peace, was conducted by an ICJ delegation who visited the country earlier this year.

It blames Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for much of the black-on-black violence.

It also accuses the security forces of siding with Inkatha and indulging in random killings.

The report says the increase in violence on the ANC side is inevi-

table, owing to ineffective law enforcement.

The five-person ICJ delegation spent two weeks in March conducting their survey in Natal and Transvaal.

"Violence is the most pressing problem which South Africa faces. Violent political rivalry exacerbated by random killings, has now become the dominant factor in peoples lives," their report says — Sapa

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Codesa drafting 'peace treaty', says Andrew

THE Codesa negotiations are slowing because in essence they are formulating a final peace treaty between the government and the liberation movement, says Mr Ken Andrew, MP. ^{ARC 5/6/92} (274)

The Democratic Party federal council chairman and other speakers representing the National Party and the African National Congress was addressing a Black Sash meeting on Codesa in Mowbray yesterday.

Analysing the slow progress at Codesa, Mr Andrew said there were three processes that inhibited the negotiations.

First, there was the transferring of power, ex-colonial style, from the white minority to a democratic majority.

"Second, a peace treaty is in effect being negotiated because major elements of the liberation movement and the government have been involved in a low-intensity civil war till recently.

"So far only elements of a ceasefire have been negotiated but not really a final peace treaty," he said.

A third factor was the mobilising for elections which was taking place outside, and spilling over into, Codesa. — Sapa.

DEFENCE UNITS AREN'T OUR RESPONSIBILITY, SAY THE ANC

PAUL STOBER talks to MK leaders about their 'forces on the ground' (214)

THE African National Congress has come out firing in support of defence units, but insists they fall outside the ranks of the organisation's military wing.

"We called for the community to defend itself because we believe they have the political right," explained Calvin Khan, personal assistant to the commander of Umkhonto weSizwe, Joe Modise. But, Khan added: "Defence is the responsibility of the community. It is not the duty of MK to establish and control defence units."

Khan pointed out that many of the existing defence units were attempts by communities to defend themselves from the attacks they had experienced over the past two years. "It is not as though the ANC created the conditions in which defence units have

flourished," he said.

According to Khan, the high profile of MK members in defence units came about because they were the only people in their communities who had the experience and training to organise an effective fighting force. However, he insisted MK members were a part of defence units in the areas where they lived in their individual capacity, and that the organisation had not assigned cadres to particular communities.

He described the constant stream of MK personnel, many of whom hold key positions in defence units, through the ANC's military headquarters (MHQ) as part of a process of consultation. "Our forces on the ground always follow the political leadership. There is nothing sinister in their looking to the ANC," he said.

The thin red line between an operational MK unit and the actions of individual mem-

bers is a point of dispute between the government and the ANC. According to the government, the action of MK members who belong to defence units constitutes a violation of the Pretoria and DF Malan accords under which the ANC suspended its armed struggle.

Khan disagrees: "You cannot confuse the right to self-defence with contravention of the accords. Defence units are not organs of the ANC."

He firmly denied the ANC was using defence units as a means of having fully trained units on standby if the negotiation process failed.

The ANC sees defence units as non-partisan structures, open to members of the community who have identified the need for them. Although they provide training and political guidance, they cannot distribute weapons to unit members. The con-

stant complaint of members of defence units that they need more and better weaponry would seem to support this.

How weapons are procured is left to the local defence unit, but Khan admitted MK ordnance may be finding its way to the units: "If an MK unit had access to weapons before the unbanning and used them for self-defence, it is beyond our control."

However, Khan insisted all MK arms caches were under the control of MHQ. When pressed for details, he responded: "It is enough for you to know we control them." He believes the defence units have other means of arming themselves and pointed out that it is not difficult to obtain, or even make, weapons in South Africa.

Despite recent reports of defence units being hijacked by criminal elements and running amok in the very communities they are supposed to protect, Khan feels the

ANC will continue supporting the structures.

He described those defence units responsible for abuses as "insignificant elements" and "those cases that have been reported to us have been dealt with very effectively."

The organisation reasons that the units prevented a situation where the security forces and rightwing elements could openly attack communities, and that without them, the level of political violence would have been much higher.

Khan dismissed the apparent inability of defence units to end attacks and random killings: "Of course, there will be losses, but over the past year they have changed into an effective mechanism."

He agrees that the defence units are not the solution to spiralling violence: "It is absolutely necessary that we find a political solution," he says.

Child, 3, killed in Reef, Natal violence

PRETORIA. — A child of three and her father were among those killed in Transvaal and Natal violence.

Sebokeng hostel resident Mr Sitembele Betshe, 41, and his daughter Kayakaze died when gunmen stormed into his room on Wednesday night. His wife Sylvia escaped through a window with their three-month-old baby.

In Natal, two people were killed and three others were injured when gunmen burst into their Edendale home early yesterday and opened fire on the sleeping occupants.

● Phola Park squatter camp residents, mostly women, had wanted to march to the mobile police station near the camp yesterday to demand the withdrawal of the police force and the removal of barbed wire around the camp, but were prevented from doing so, the ANC Women's League charged.

'ANC attackers' held

DURBAN. — Seven people were arrested on Wednesday after police searched a house near Port Shepstone and found a pistol, ammunition and several items of military clothing which were allegedly to be used in attacks on IFP supporters.

Police alleged two of the suspects were members of the ANC.

ANC lower South Coast zone chairman Mr Cyril Shezi yesterday condemned the "inflammatory" statement by the police and said the matter was being taken up with the Local Dispute Resolution Committee. — Sapa

A man was killed in Phola Park on Wednesday when he allegedly attacked a policeman trying to arrest him for possession of dagga, Witwatersrand police said.

Police have arrested 35 people in the camp since the start of a "crime-prevention exercise" last Friday.

● Four people were wounded in a shooting incident at Springs on the Far East Rand yesterday morning. Police said it was part of the taxi war rampant on the Reef. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

The Township Post

Mandela Warns Of Attacks On Whites

MR NELSON MANDELA called President Frederik W. de Klerk a criminal on Sunday and compared his government to Hitler's Germany as the political climate in South Africa worsened.

The unusually harsh attack came at the end of a policy-making meeting of the African National Congress at which the anti-apartheid organization took a militant new approach to its dealings with the white-minority government. The ANC threatened a campaign of strikes and demonstrations aimed at crippling the

country unless the government takes new steps to end violence and backs down on demands for special constitutional protections for whites. The organization blamed state security forces for the ongoing violence in black townships, which has claimed thousands of lives in recent years.

"In Nazi Germany people were being killed not because they were a threat to the state but simply because they were black," The ANC leader said that the violence was occurring because de Klerk "has given the capacity to certain groups to kill innocent people." That assertion contradicted a report last week by a judicial commission. It said that the ANC and its chief black rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party, were mostly to blame for the violence and mostly responsible for stopping it.

Earlier in the day, Mandela visited a black

squatter camp at Phola Park, about 30 miles south of Johannesburg, where residents have accused police of attacking residents and where security forces are maintaining a heavy presence, and said that township violence could spread to white areas if President de Klerk failed to stop it. "People are getting very angry." The ANC would discourage attacks on whites but might be powerless to stop them. The only way to end the violence was to set up a non-racial interim government which would control the security forces, he said.

Could mass action strategy backfire on protest

IS?

AS SOUTH Africa stands at the threshold of another round of possibly debilitating and costly mass action, a scientific report has called into question the basic premises of the tactic in achieving goals. JOE LOUW reports.

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THE ANC and its allies will be holding their first "broad forum, MDM (Mass Democratic Movement) type" meetings next week to discuss "implementation and action on the ground" of its plans for mass action to pressure the Government into accepting its political goals at Codesa.

The meetings will involve not only the major alliance partners, such as Cosatu, but also "broader organisations" such as student and civic organisations and regional labour movements.

Thus the mass action campaign "to break the deadlock" at Codesa, announced by ANC president Nelson Mandela at the end of the organisation's policy meeting last week, appears to be on its way.

But while the issues may appear to be clear-cut to the ANC and its allies, a pamphlet issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations examining the implications and effects of boycott and stayaway strategies raises some troubling questions that may have to be raised by the community as a whole.

The pamphlet does not address this particular mass action call by the ANC and its allies, but its author, Paul Pereira, focuses on specific consequences implicit in such strategies.

Boycotts, and withdrawal of labour and consumer patronage, he points out, have been part of the South African political scene for dec-

ades, and its supporters assert that with mass mobilisation, the Government has been forced to abandon the apartheid system and negotiate for the inclusion of all citizens in decision-making.

But while many such campaigns realised their objectives, there were some heavy costs involved. For example, during the VAT stay-away of November last year, 100 lives were lost and the economic losses can't really be quantified — although the Government claimed them to be around R2 billion.

According to Pereira, although the media and politicians talk about "popular strategies" and "residents' demands", there is no way of gauging the level of support among residents for strategies of boycott.

A contributing factor to violence, he says, has been the lack of consultation between the organisers of such campaigns and those expected to implement them. "Arguments put forward for the use of coercion to ensure the success of such campaigns have been that the benefits would be enjoyed by all — both those who sacrificed and those coerced to participate."

In the present climate of economic recession and high unemployment, Pereira points out, "with the possibility of job losses and pay being docked, work stayaways may prove a difficult strategy to sell, thus adding to the impetus to use coercion in these campaigns."

Presenting another element of the coercion argument, Pereira cites Vincent Maphai, head of the political studies department at the University of the Western Cape, saying that boycotts and stayaways "are not intended to be voluntary or optional".

"Coercion towards a common purpose is less objectionable when em-

ployed in circumstances whose goals are praiseworthy, clear and reasonably attainable," writes Maphai. "It is unrealistic for a struggle to depend entirely on voluntary support, as only a few 'heroic' people would participate."

Maphai adds: "A struggle which relies exclusively on coercion is morally and politically bankrupt as it delays the transition to democracy and reinforces a culture of political intolerance."

Asked about the extent to which the ANC and its allies intend to adhere to the principle of consultation and to address the problem of coercion during the coming campaign, Mandla Dhlamini, one of the ANC strategists assigned to the task, replied:

"Mass consultation is the principle behind mass action — it is the primary essence in the involvement of the masses — discussion at the grassroots was proved during the recent VAT stayaway and the train boycott. Mass action is not an elite campaign — you won't hear any high-flown English spoken there."

"Mass action is not responsible for the decline in the state of the economy and for the suffering of the people. We know that apartheid and its policies of economic mismanagement and high-scale corruption are responsible. That is why we have to rid ourselves of this illegitimate minority Government," Dhlamini said.

Tutu calls for an end to killings

AKG 6/6/92

LINDA GALLOWAY
Weekend Argus Reporter

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu has called for a moratorium on killings and "provocative rhetoric" by political leaders.

At a Eucharist service at St George's Cathedral yesterday, a national day of prayer for justice and peace in the country, the Archbishop called on political leaders to hold joint peace rallies "where they must not try to score political points off each other, but where they will condemn violence unequivocally."

The church, knowing that apartheid was intrinsically evil and that evil methods were necessary to perpetuate it, was not surprised at revelations of corruption, venality, inefficiency, but squads and assassinations.

"Now we are seeing just how rotten and evil this system has been," he said.

He called on young black people not to degrade themselves "by involvement in undisciplined action."

"For goodness sake stop killing people for whatever reason and stop necklacing. Nothing can ever justify such a gruesome method of destroying the life of another person."

'Leaders must stop jockeying for position'

when our country is being asphyxiated

He called for the installation of an interim government as a matter of urgency and for a constituent assembly to draw up a constitution for a popularly elected government.

"For goodness sake, for the sake of all of us, for the sake of our children, for the sake of our country, install a widely accepted interim government as a matter of extreme urgency and let a democratically elected constituent assembly get down to the business of drawing up a constitution so that we can have a popularly elected government in office for the new non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa."

■ See page 5

Louw Alberts to speak at seminar

Weekend Argus Reporter (2714) AKG 6/6/92

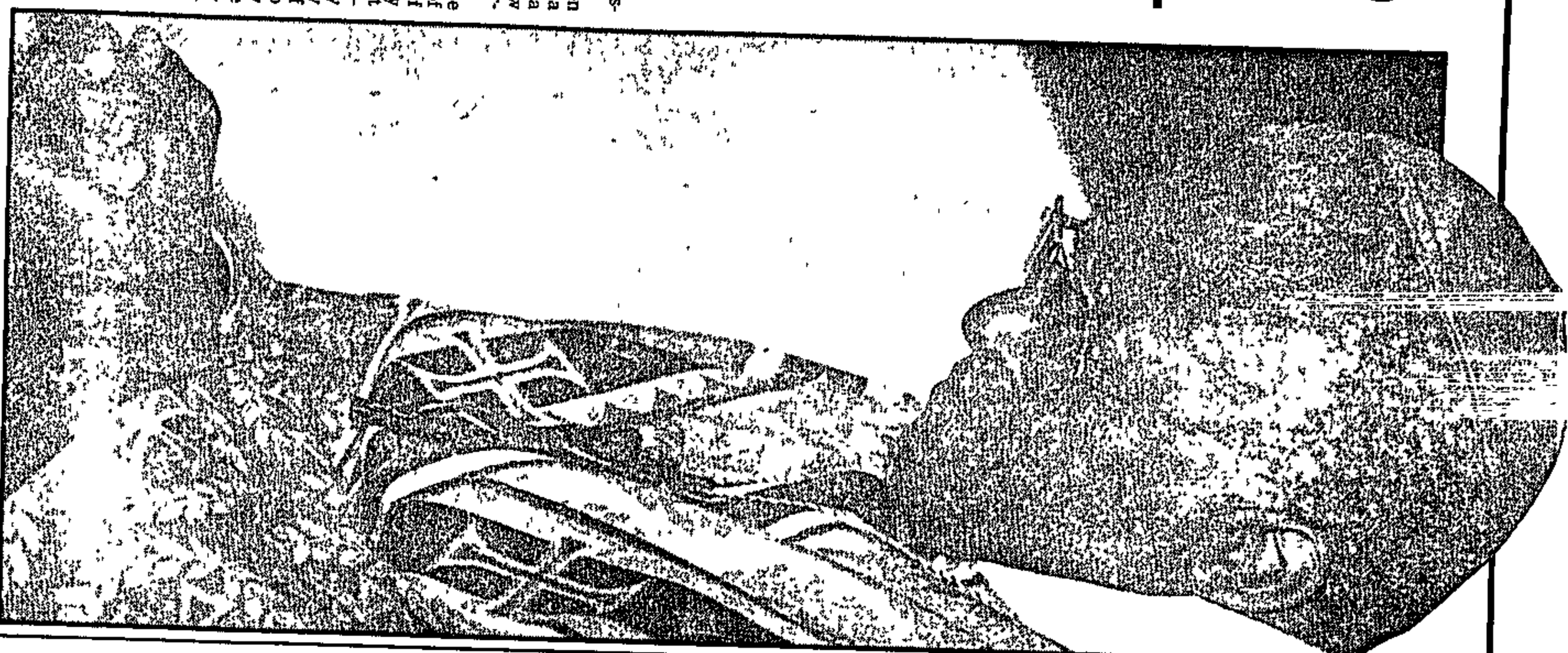
LEADING peace campaigner Dr Louw Alberts will take part in a seminar which will address various issues, including capitalism and socialism, in Cape Town on Tuesday.

Others taking part in the

seminar at the Rotunda in Camps Bay are international evangelist Dr Ravi Zacharias and Dr David Block, professor of applied mathematics and astronomy at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The seminar, *If Christ Is The Answer, What Are The Questions?*, is being held under the auspices of Mission Southern Africa and the Christian Communication Trust.

The closing date for reservations is Monday (telephone 021-45 2344), the cost is R65, including breakfast, and it will last from 8am to 12.45pm.



Picture: OBEID ZILWA Weekend Argus

PRAYER FOR PEACE Archbishop Desmond Tutu in prayer at the Eucharist service in St George's Cathedral yesterday, a national day of prayer for peace and justice. Archbishop Tutu called for a moratorium on killings and provocative rhetoric by political leaders.

Dairy Board slammed for 'obvious bias'

AKG 6/6/92

LIBBY PEACOCK Supreme Court Reporter

A JUDGE has slammed the Dairy Board and the levy system it imposed on dairy produce distributors and strongly criticised the way the National Marketing Council "rubberstamped" the board's decisions.

In a three-hour judgment delivered yesterday, Mr Justice van Niekerk said in the Supreme Court that the Dairy Board had shown "obvious bias" towards large-scale businesses.

The judgment was the culmination of a lengthy trial following the institution of an action against the Minister of Agriculture, the Dairy Board and the National Marketing Council by Independent Food Processors, trading as Homestead Independent Dairy.

The action stemmed from an amendment to the Dairy Control Scheme under the Marketing Act in 1987. The amendment introduced a system of levies imposed on dairy produce distributors, which Homestead asked the court to declare null and void, branding it a "grossly unreasonable and inequitable" system.

At the time Mr Greyling Wentzel was Minister of Agriculture. He had "failed to apply his mind" when promulgating regulations enforcing the scheme, Homestead claimed.

Mr Justice van Niekerk found Homestead's managing director, Mr Kobus Jacobs, a "reliable" witness.

Dr Martinus Hermann, general manager of National Co-operative Dairies (NCD), had contradicted himself in his evidence and had been an "irritable and impatient" witness.

There was "considerable evidence" to support Homestead's claim that the enforced levies compelled the non-manufacturing distributors "to subsidise their competitors". This had the additional effect of "undermining the economic viability of the non-manufacturing distributors", the judge said.

The judge accepted the evidence by former minister Mr Wentzel. He had testified that at the time he relied heavily on information provided to him by the National Marketing Council.

He expected the Marketing Council to make a study of relevant aspects, yet it emerged from the evidence that the council "rubberstamped" the Dairy Board's decisions, provided it was decided unanimously by members of the board.

When the Dairy Board proposed the amendment to the scheme, enforcing the levies, the Marketing Council made no independent inquiry before drawing up a report for the Minister.

Mr Wentzel "misdirected himself" because he was not fully informed by the Dairy Board and the Marketing Council.

The Marketing Council's policy not to investigate a scheme if it was unanimously accepted by the Dairy Board rendered the report handed to the Minister valueless, the judge said.

Information that the non-manufacturing distributors were opposed to the scheme had been "deliberately excluded".

When the notice promulgating the amendment to the legislation appeared in the Government Gazette on February 1987, it had not been signed by the Minister. It was published without having been approved, accepted or signed, the judge found.

Mr Wentzel first saw the amendment on March 3, 1987, when he signed it. There was no evidence that the Minister had accepted the scheme by the time it was published, therefore the notice was not valid and binding, the judge said.

The Dairy Board also knew at all times there were large numbers of milk distributors whose interests were not represented. The board had neither consulted these distributors, nor afforded them a hearing.

Bias and "a disregard for the financial situation of the non-manufacturing distributors" had been shown.

It was "disturbingly significant" that the recipients of subsidies from the Dairy Board were not obliged to apply funds in any particular way.

There had been "obvious bias" towards large-scale businesses by the Dairy Board, the judge said.

He declared the amendment to the scheme void and said there was a lack of bona fides on the part of the board.

Tutu calls for an end to killings

ARG 6/6/92

(274)

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'Leaders must stop jockeying for position'

some method of destroying the life of another person

"We call on those who are tools of evil forces, who are ready to be bought to kill fellow blacks - we say don't be duped. Don't allow yourselves to be used in such a ghastly fashion."

The government could end the violence if it wanted to.

"We have no doubt that if whites were being killed then we would see just how effectively the government can act. The violence is ultimately going to destroy our country."

He called for an apolitical, neutral and professional police force which had the confidence of the people and urged Codesa "to stop splitting hairs and quibbling and jockeying for position when people are dying."

when our country is being asphyxiated"

He called for the installation of an interim government as a matter of urgency and for a constituent assembly to draw up a constitution for a popularly elected government.

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'Months taken to extradite police'

ET 6/6/92
PRETORIA — A Goldstone committee heard yesterday that it took the police in Ermelo almost 10 months to extradite two KwaZulu policemen implicated in murder cases arising from a funeral at Wesselton.

Captain Andre Marais of the Ermelo police told the committee — sitting here to inquire into public violence and intimidation — that the SAP in Ermelo contacted the KwaZulu Police on four occasions between September 1990 and June 1991 about the extradition of a Warrant Officer Maseko and Constable Zweli Dlamini, who were suspects in two cases of murder and three of attempted murder.

'Assassination'

WO Maseko and Constable Dlamini were handed over to the SAP in June last year.

● The IFP said yesterday it would call on the Goldstone Commission to investigate whether an alleged ANC member, Mr Siphiwe Zulu, arrested after attacking an IFP official's home in Imbali, Maritzburg, was ordered by senior ANC officials to assassinate IFP leaders.

The ANC said it was still investigating the incident. — Sapa

Naidoo hits out at 'caretakers of the status quo'

Cosatu general secretary JAY NAIDOO explains why mass action is the only way.

STANDARD

2194

THE silly season of hysteria has arrived once again, as Government ministers, big business and elements of the media attempt to whip up a storm of protest against the attempts of our people to challenge an intrinsically corrupt and ruthless clique who are refusing to surrender power. These caretakers of the status quo are throwing up their hands in horror at the proposed programme of peaceful mass action by the ANC and Cosatu.

These archaic critics, so quick to claim that mass action will result in suffering for ordinary people, have been slow to express concern for the welfare of the masses when it has come to condemning State orchestration of the violence, high food prices, corruption and Government intransigence in the negotiations.

The most charitable explanation is that they are cushioned from the harsh realities.

The NP Government has got so drunk on power for the last 44 years that it clings to minority rule through preposterous mechanisms such as a 'constitution-making body' subjected to the vain power of a senate of losers, and expected to rubber-stamp an undemocratic interim constitution.

Democrats in our country have no option but to devise methods to challenge the bully-boy attitude of the present Government and pressure it towards bona fide negotiations.

Our demands are rational, reasonable and represent the aspirations of the millions currently

trapped in the deadly embrace of apartheid, violence and poverty, and all committed to peace and justice.

There are certain basic demands which we believe can unite all but a tiny minority of our countrymen and women. These are:

● Political — The installation of an interim government of national unity to level the playing field and to oversee the election of a constitution-making body with the sovereign right to draw up a new constitution.

● Murder — Immediate measures to bring the security forces under control of a multiparty commission and the public investigation of all death-squad activities and State involvement in the violence. This would then make it possible to implement the National Peace Accord effectively.

● Corruption — Billions of rands that could be going into job creation, schools and hospitals are stolen or mismanaged. We need open and accountable government now and in the future. Cosatu is demanding a public investigation of all Government departments, the recovery of these assets and

the prosecution of all officials involved.

● Poverty — Cosatu is demanding a national programme of urgent poverty relief to address the widespread hunger and starvation. Drought relief and poverty relief must involve local communities. In addition, our VAT demands for exemption on basic foods, as well as the proposals on bringing down food prices have to be addressed urgently.

● Economic — The continued unilateral restructuring of the economy is causing increased conflict. Having accepted the legitimacy and logic of a national economic negotiations forum, the Government should engage in a process of meaningful negotiations with the major players in society — a process which delivers goods in the short as well as the long term.

The Cosatu and ANC programmes of mass action must be seen in the context of the Government's systematic refusal to meet these demands. Our programmes are designed to break the political logjam which is the consequence of Government intransigence. If the critics of mass action know of other effective ways to make the National Party see reason, we are interested to hear them.

Falling this, we would call on all South Africans to support our programme of mass action in their millions, to demonstrate to this corrupt, violent and intransigent Government that if they refuse to go gracefully, they will be ignominiously swept aside by the tide of democracy.

Private scheme to protect witnesses

5 Times 7/6/92

By CHARLES LEONARD

THE country's first private witness protection programme has been started by Lawyers for Human Rights, which claims that police fail to provide enough safeguards in sensitive court cases.

The programme was established last month against the background of what co-ordinator Indrin Govender described as "the total lack of trust in the police in black communities".

Fear

Three of the witnesses who testified in the Sebokeng night-vigil massacre case this week are part of the scheme.

Seven Inkatha-linked men are being tried in the Vereeniging circuit court for the slaying of 39 Sebokeng people in January last year.

Without the programme, these key witnesses might not have testified.

"The police have been unable to get these wit-

nesses to appear as they feared for their lives, as the perception in Sebokeng and other townships is that the police are in collusion with Inkatha," said Mr Govender.

The need for the scheme became apparent during Goldstone Commission hearings when a key witness had to flee from his community.

"The commission could not give him protection and we had to fill that role," said another of the programme's co-ordinators, Mr Aubrey Lekwane.

Twenty witnesses have been involved so far, he said.

Protection ranging from accommodation at "safe houses" and hotels, transport to and from court, liaison with local organisations and defence units, and the monitoring of witnesses' safety before, during and, especially, after cases.

After three days in the witness box, harassment by Inkatha supporters outside the court and clandestine trips between the court and a safe house, Mr Tankiso Makhanya hardly looked his 19 years of age as he explained his reasons for giving evidence.

"Most of the victims at the vigil were elderly people who were not involved in politics at all," he said. "Also, three of my best friends were mowed down in the attack."

Gangsters

"But I would not have given evidence if it was not for the programme."

"Firstly, we don't trust the police as we have seen evidence that they are in cahoots with the gangsters.

"Also, I wouldn't have gone to court if I had to travel by taxi as they drop you off in the middle of town. I would have been too scared to walk from the taxi-rank to court."

An act of compassion

S/ Times
Last month Sowetan editor AGGREY KLAASTE published a picture of a woman who was being necklaced. He explains why

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S/ Times 7/6/92
A COUPLE of weeks ago I was appalled, horrified and consumed with disgust at the death of a woman near Mzimhlophe hostel. Acting under such passionate subjectivity, I decided the Sowetan should carry a picture of the "necklaced" woman.

It was a decision straight from the heart or rather, more anatomically correct, from the stomach. I was hoping to spark similar feelings of disgust among readers. It turned out that some viewed my response with a disgust directed more at the newspaper than the dastardly deed.

Before I rationalise the use of such a picture, let me share with you other feelings of dismay that fill me with a passion of total disaffection against blacks or Africans in general. I ask myself: Why do we hate so much? Why do blacks have this particular hate for blacks?

I thought back to the days of Idi Amin, a black leader who trampled on black life the same way that you would squash the life out of insects.

I thought of the massacres in Angola and how that country has been ruined by

black-on-black violence.

I thought of Renamo and mentioned this to my wife. She said the blame lay with South African whites. I said this was true, but only in part. The whites behind Renamo used black men to mutilate and destroy black women and children.

The other day I met a friend who had just returned from Maputo. There was no hope, no life in Mozambique, he said, and most of the blood was on the hands of black men.

Renamo whites are doing what certain white elements are doing in South African townships. I get furious to think that black people can be used to such desperate lengths against their kin.

This was as much the reason for my decision to use that picture because my stomach was turning and the vomit was about to churn out in all its green bile. Later I rationalised. I said this ability to turn against your own was not unique to blacks. It is a human failing affecting all.

I consoled myself with the extremely horrid thought of Auschwitz and how whites despatched other whites in

the World Wars, visiting pain and damnation on their kin.

Out of disgust I asked that this picture be used. I hoped to shock readers, I hoped to make them feel ashamed.

I did not know if this was right. But I do not make excuses for it because I did it out of compassion.

The reader who called me said he was convinced we were being sensational. He was pretty disgusted with me and called me all sorts of unhappy things until I lost my temper, alas!

I thought about this deeply. Perhaps there is a distinctly dirty, soiled, voyeuristic part inside me which forces me to use such shock tactics; to do these terrible things for personal gain and aggrandisement. If this is so, then God forgive me.

God help us all!

At the risk of boring some of you, this is how my friend, Father Nouwen, puts it in his *With Open Hands*:

"Compassion includes various moments. In the first place, it shows you that your neighbour is a man who shares his humanity with you.

"This partnership cuts through all walls which

might have kept you separate. Across all barriers of land and language, wealth and poverty, knowledge and ignorance, we are still one, created from the same dust, subject to the same laws and destined for the same end.

"With this compassion you can say: 'In the expression of the oppressed I recognise my own face, and in the hands of the oppressed I recognise my own hands, which speak of powerlessness and helplessness. His flesh is my flesh, his blood is my blood, his pain is my pain and his smile is my smile. There is nothing in me that he would find strange and there is nothing in him that I would not recognise.'

"In my heart, I know his yearning for love, and down to my entrails I can feel his cruelty. In his eyes, I see my plea for forgiveness and in his hardened frown I see my refusal. When he murders I know that I, too, could have done that, and when he gives birth I know that I am capable of that as well. In the depths of my being I have met my fellow-man, for whom nothing is strange, neither love nor hate, nor life, nor death."

Here angels never tread

By ZB MOLEFE

ARE South African political leaders now using violence to achieve what they are unable to achieve by democratic means, Institute for Multi-Party Democracy executive chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo asked this week.

Writing in a Natal newspaper Dhlomo pointed out that it is also disturbing that both the ANC and the IFP "have so far found it extremely difficult to effectively discipline those of their members who publicly flout the provisions of the Peace Accord by engaging in so-called war talk".

South Africans are still waiting to read about the outcome of an ANC "investigation" into inflammatory anti-Inkatha



**HITTING OUT AT ALL
... Oscar Dhlomo.**

statements made by Peter Mokaba in Richmond several weeks ago, Dhlomo points out.

"Add to this Harry Gwala's boast about killing so-called IFP warlords by the ANC."

The IFP, according to Dhlomo, at least fares better in this regard. He recalled two recent instances where IFP leaders

In the ugly arena of SA politics ...

issued public statements challenging or contradicting inflammatory statements "issued by some of its politically reckless leaders".

Some of these included a reported announcement that the IFP was planning to deploy thousands of armed people in Soweto to tackle the ANC.

The other was the statement that the IFP was about to establish a so-called Bambatha Regiment to challenge the ANC's Umkhonto we-Sizwe.

The government does not escape Dhlomo's wrath. "Not even the government is immune from playing politics with the

lives of innocent people who are dying in the violence."

Dhlomo pointed out that the government had received an important interim report about violence from the Goldstone Commission, but decided to sit on it for four weeks.

"To add insult to injury, it (the government) then selectively quoted from this report with the aim of creating the wrong impression that two parties, namely the ANC and IFP, were singled out as the only culprits fermenting violence," continued Dhlomo.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel "even appeared on television

gloating that the Goldstone report had exonerated the police as far as violence was concerned".

Even his deputy, Johan Scheepers, repeated this in a television debate. It took the ANC's Tokyo Sexwale, in that debate, to remind Scheepers that he had apparently forgotten part of the report "which refers to the role of the police, the Defence Force and apartheid in the violence".

"In the final analysis it is this disappointing attitude of government spokesmen towards the Goldstone Report that will ensure that violence does not end," argues Dhlomo.

"As I have repeatedly observed in the past, there are certainly no angels in this violence. The Goldstone report seems to confirm this observation."

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C1 Press 7/6/92

CODESA should stop splitting hairs and jockeying for position when people were dying and the country was being asphyxiated, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, said on Friday.

Addressing a lunchtime service in St George's Cathedral organised for the National Day of Prayer and Healing, he said for the sake of everyone and the country a widely accepted interim government should be installed as a matter of extreme urgency.

"Let a democratically elected constituent assembly get down to the business of drawing up a constitution so that we

Tutu condemns violence

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MAN OF PEACE ...
"All are precious."

can have a popularly elected government in office for the new democratic SA."

clips 7/16/92
Archbishop Tutu called on political leaders to hold joint peace rallies and condemn violence unequivocally to demonstrate their commitment to peace.

He appealed to young people in the black community not to degrade themselves by being involved in undisciplined action.

Archbishop Tutu said people were not really surprised by the revelations of corruption and inefficiency, or by hit squads and assassinations of political opponents.

"We call on the government to act far more

speedily to bring all the culprits to book."

The government could end the violence if it wanted to. "We have no doubt that if whites were being killed then we would see just how effectively the government can act.

"The violence is doing nobody any good. It is ultimately going to destroy our country."

Archbishop Tutu also called on the government to "produce a police force that enjoys the confidence of the policed".

The country was being wracked by violence that was plaguing especially

the black community, a devastating drought that was exacerbating the country's economic woes, and an "enduring" recession.

"We have gathered to pray for the blessings that will end our woes, so that our society may be more caring, more compassionate, more sharing so that we may proclaim in word and deed that each person is of equal, infinite worth because each one is precious to God the Father who created each one of us in His image," Archbishop Tutu told the congregation. — Sapa

Van Eck ejection could rebound on NNP

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

SHORTLY after voting to suspend ANC member Jan van Eck from Parliament this week, a National Party member said he felt as if he had just watched the Springboks lose a rugby Test.

The MP, a backbencher who opposed the move but did not break ranks, was contemplating the implications of what was a parliamentary first in this country.

Mr Van Eck was suspended for the rest of the parliamentary session because the NNP believed he had abused the privilege of freedom of speech.

What they objected to was Mr Van Eck's statement that sources in military intelligence had said that former president P.W. Botha had often stated that the government had been responsible for the execution of more than 1 000 black radicals.

To achieve the suspension, the Nationalists, who say they are opposed to the idea of a political party being able to wield total power simply because it has a majority of members in Parliament, used their simple majority in the Assembly to override opposition from the CP, the DP and the ANC.

The Act, which deals with offences against Parliament, is the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act of 1963.

It is this Act which gives members the right to exercise freedom of speech, but also defines what they may not say or do and what action may be taken against them if they break these rules.

Among the more common examples of what they may not do is to accuse another member of lying or of being a coward or a traitor.

Last year several CP members got into trouble with the Speaker for repeatedly accusing Mr F.W. de Klerk of being a traitor.

They were "named" by the Speaker and told to leave the precincts of Parliament for a week.

In Mr Van Eck's case, he did not contravene any of the provisions of the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act.

So to act against him the NP had to use a provision contained in the present constitution, but which dates back to the 1910 constitution.

The effect of this provision is to confer on Parliament all the rights and privileges that existed then in the British Westminster system.

In SA, however, parliamentary officials and researchers could find no precedent for the action against Mr Van Eck.

The only previous occasion they know of a House deciding to suspend a member for offending it was when the House of Delegates suspended Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

That was on the ground that he had deliberately misled the House (Parliament's euphemism for lying).

So to suspend Mr Van Eck, the NP had to rely on precedents set in Britain and Australia, of which there are many.

However, most of these examples date back several years, and the tendency in both countries more recently has been not to act against members on the ground that they abused privilege.

The NP chose to ignore these more recent rulings and used its majority to suspend an ANC member.

The ramifications of this are enormous.

This provision allowing a House to act against a member who offends it will almost certainly be included in the interim constitution to be drawn up by Codesa. That constitution will govern the operation of a 400-member national assembly that will write a final constitution.

Should the ANC, as expected, have more than 50 percent of members of the assembly, but not a sufficient majority to force through the final constitution if wants, it could simply chuck out its opponents on the ground that it found what they were saying to be offensive.

Obviously this would require of the ANC that it behaved in a particularly bloody-minded way. But then, if the NP be bloody-minded, why shouldn't the ANC?

It was for this reason that the more astute members of the NP were not celebrating their "victory" on Tuesday night.

NEWS ROUND-UP

Leaders to debate

Goldstone report

THE Goldstone report on the causes of violence is to be debated by the National Peace Committee and political leaders next month. The long-awaited verdict, released last week, was lost in the scramble by politicians to lay the blame elsewhere.

The National Peace Committee has decided the report "is of such significant importance that national political leaders would be invited to discuss the content" at the National Peace Executive's next meeting on July 30. The executive has also asked that the ANC give an assurance that the principles of the Peace Accord be strictly adhered to during mass action.

It is also to give urgent attention to the establishment of a sub-committee to "deal with the massive task of handling the numerous complaints and violations" of the accord.

Zimbabwe in Fisherman's

Azapo: 'Don't fund violence'

CT 8/6/92 (274)

PRETORIA. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) is to call on bodies throughout the world to refrain from funding organisations responsible for fomenting violence in South Africa.

"Azapo will call on the Organisation of African Unity, the frontline states, the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and all democratic and socialist organisations throughout the world to stop funding those organisations responsible for the violence in the country," a statement said yesterday.

The black consciousness movement, which is holding its fifth national council at Laudium near here, said it had long since identified the perpetrators of the violence which had resulted in at least 10 000 deaths since 1984.

The Goldstone Commission had now endorsed Azapo's long-held view, it said.

● Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said supporters of Codesa had substituted consultation with the masses with consultation at Codesa working groups and committees of experts. — Sapa

Extracts from the report of the International Commission of Jurists on the findings of its mission to South Africa in March.

LAW and order has broken down in Natal and in the parts of the Transvaal we visited. The violence is significantly worse than it was in September 1990.

The causes are many and varied.

Unemployment in excess of 40%, the absence of social security, massive urbanisation, the squalid conditions in which many are forced to live, the hostel system, the fact that the traditional forces of law and order have never had credibility in the black community because the police were largely entrusted with enforcing arbitrary apartheid laws which had no moral content, the loss of influence of traditional leaders in churches, in communities and the family, the collapse of education for blacks, political competition and opportunism; and the presence of gangs of well-armed, well-organised people who kill indiscriminately.

While apartheid and the ideology of separate development are the root causes of the trouble, violent political rivalry exacerbated by random killings, has now become the dominant factor in people's lives.

The Trust Feed case established that the South African Police worked with Inkatha, that the South African Police ordered the killing of innocent people to create mayhem, that this happened with the knowledge of senior officers and that there was a massive cover-up which involved generals in Pretoria.

The Trust Feed case is not an isolated case. Human rights lawyers have long known that the security forces have sided with Inkatha and have indulged in random killings. It is still going on.

Chief Buthelezi

In our last report we said that in the long term Inkatha would continue to lose support unless Chief Minister Buthelezi asserted his authority and controlled the excesses of his supporters and in particular the "War Lords". He has not done this.

It is our view that Chief Minister Buthelezi carries a heavy responsibility for the escalation of the violence.

We are also satisfied that the amount of violence caused by the ANC has increased since we were last here. In the absence of any effective enforcement of the laws, and any action by Buthelezi to curb his supporters, this is perhaps inevitable.

It is our judgement that the police have the capacity, given the right leadership, to bring the violence under control within three to six months. The South Africa Police force is

Violence: FW must show he is committed to ending it



CHEERLESS... A resident in a squatter camp tries to light a fire in pelting rain. The International Commission of Jurists cited massive urbanisation and squalid living as but two of the causes of violence in SA.

well disciplined police-men are likely to obey orders.

What is needed is first the political will, and second someone to monitor and make sure that the orders are being implemented.

We believe that the violence will only be brought under control if politicians of all parties and the whole civil society play their part.

We also think the interim government would be wise to invite a small international team to monitor the violence and provide an independent point of reference.

While we think the police could play a major part in bringing the violence to an end we do not think the police force as presently constituted will ever be able to gain the confidence of ordinary people. This is a serious problem for the present and any future government. South Africa needs a new civilian police force.

Very effective

There have been many positive developments since our first mission. First, South Africa is fortunate in the quality of its judges and lawyers. The Trust Feed case shows that if the police do their work, the courts will be impartial and fearless in investigating

the evidence and reaching a decision.

Second, the Goldstone commission has been very effective. It has shown it can act with great speed to get at the truth and diffuse situations. Difficulties remain. There is too much to investigate. People are terrified of giving evidence. Some witnesses have been killed.

Third, the Peace Accord has laid down structures within which politicians and others can play their part in the process.

We come back to the question which we were asked wherever we went: "Is the government committed to ending the violence?" It is extremely worrying that this question is still being asked, and underlines the fact that President De Klerk has failed to address the problem.

For many years responsible people have been calling for a ban on weapons at all political rallies and marches. No ban has been imposed. Why?

For 18 months people have been slaughtered on the commuter trains. We have seen that the government can stop this by searching people at stations. They have not done so. Why not?

There are no satisfactory answers to these questions.

What is crystal clear is

that many people — John Hall, the chairman of the Peace Accord, Judge Goldstone, human rights lawyers, church people, doctors, businessmen, virtually the whole civic society — are totally committed to stopping the violence and to a democratic South Africa.

Their position and influence has strengthened. President De Klerk must surely realise there will be no winners if the violence is not brought under control. He must now show by his actions that he is committed to ending the violence and bringing the security forces under control.

We think senior civilian administrators should be introduced into the South African Police force at all levels.

Young graduates from all sections of the community should be recruited into the police force at officer level.

Policing in KwaZulu and Natal should be brought under a unified command.

Detective agency

The South African Defence Force, uMkhonto weSizwe, present members of the KwaZulu police and the military wing of the Pan African Congress should be brought together in a combined defence force. A similar exercise was undertaken with great success in Zimbabwe. Agreement on this seems likely.

A new detective agency should be established to investigate crime and to take over from the old riot squads. This new force should have a civilian structure. As the agency develops and acquires experience it could take over further functions from the South African Police. Former policemen should be incorporated into the Defence Force.

There should be a ban on carrying all weapons at political meetings, rallies and in public places.

The security forces should be given clear orders to intervene and end the violence. These orders should include:

- (i) Searching passengers before they board all commuter trains;
- (ii) Searching hostels and disarming hostel residents; and
- (iii) A much closer check on the cross-border arms trade.

The government must withdraw all undercover support from Inkatha. Known and notorious killers who are still at large must be prosecuted. The hostels must be replaced by homes for families and single people which provide some privacy.

The political leaders on all sides and particularly the ANC and Inkatha must spend more time in their grassroots, promoting local peace accords, and requiring people to throw their weapons away.

Finally President De Klerk should take personal charge of law and order and insist that the necessary action is taken to bring the violence under control.

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Jurists criticise police in Natal

Political Staff

POLICE in troubled townships in Natal were not taking the recommendations of the Goldstone Commission and the provisions of the Police Code seriously, said the International Commission of Jurists, which visited the country in March.

The commission said in its report, released in London last week, that law and order had "broken down" in Natal and parts of the Transvaal and the violence was significantly worse than in September 1990. CT 8/6/92 (274)

"It would not be possible to hold free and fair elections on a one-person one-vote basis in much of South Africa today," it said.

● The National Association of Democratic Lawyers says South Africa urgently needs an impartial international monitoring force to strengthen the Peace Accord as current efforts to end violence are not working, reports Sapa.

Opinion

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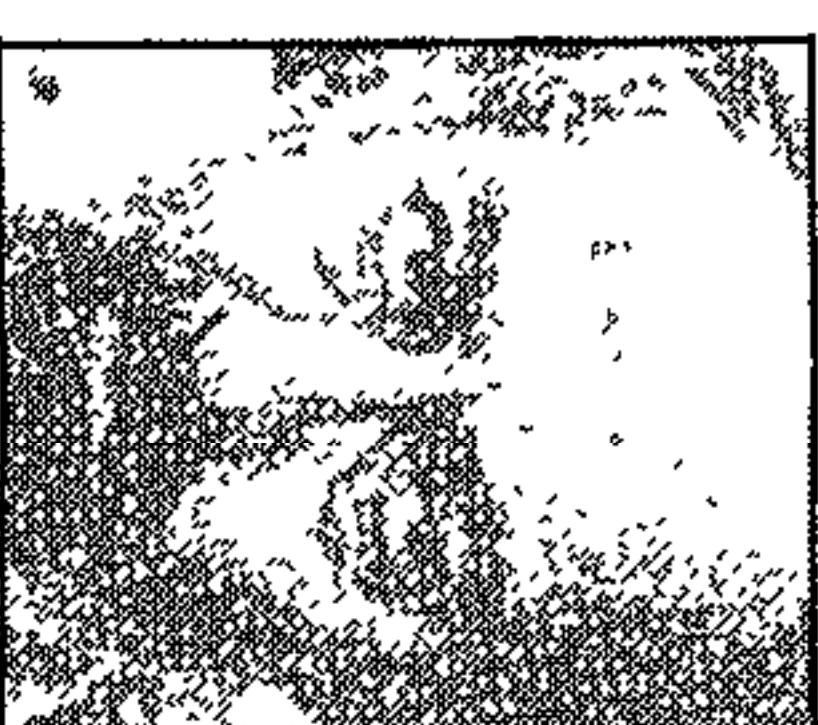
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Political violence is not our biggest problem, writes Victor Nell

We all believe the Big Lie

Star 8/6/92

(274)



SOUTH Africa is bleeding to death. In the first four months of this year, 923 people have died in political violence, often in hideous ways. Lawyers for Human Rights report 119 political assassinations in the 16 months to April 1992 — five times higher than 1985-1990, years of the Iron Fist.

No political life is possible under this reign of terror, let alone delicate negotiations in which both sides must give way to the other in trust. What credibility can mass-based black political organisations hope to attain when they are powerless to stop the slaughter of their followers?

As the train murders, the funeral massacres, the machine-gunning of taxis, the hacking and burning of individual victims continue like some evil plague, South Africans have come to believe the Big Lie: the problem is "political violence".

Ask any politician, journalist, political analyst or policeman "what is South Africa's biggest problem today?"

You can bet the answer will be "political violence".

In the sense that politics is another name for power, this is true. In the struggle for power whether

in Natal or Yugoslavia, people get killed for political reasons.

But paradoxically, in today's South Africa, when all is said and done, "political violence" is a false consciousness that obscures the true cause of the problem.

If political violence is the problem, political leaders must carry the can. If the ANC could "control its followers," if Comrade Mandela and Chief Buthezi got together and swore peace, the violence would stop. If the violence is political, political mediation structures must defuse the tensions.

But if the true problem is not political, but criminal, its solution lies not with political leaders or the Goldstone Commission, but with the one state agency whose job it is to compel all people to obey the law.

Political crime is no less criminal than ordinary crime. Killing people outside a hostel or funeral vigil is no less a criminal murder than killing a bank manager.

In a society that is not at war, there is no bright line dividing ordinary violence from political violence. Indeed, in today's South Africa, "political violence" is not a helpful category for either politicians or ordinary people.

All violence is criminal, and

preventing it is primarily a police job. Political leaders must play their part, but their role is secondary. At least two arguments support this view.

In the first place, political violence is the tiny tip of an iceberg. The political killings make the headlines day after day. But there is another set of statistics, even more terrifying, that sketches the size of the submerged mass or violence in our society.

These figures show that back in 1986-1987, 1 614 Johannesburg residents died of violent causes. In the highest risk group, males aged 25-44, there were 79 white deaths per 100 000 population, 133 "coloured" deaths, and 197 African deaths.

These figures can be directly compared to the death rate in political violence. The 923 political deaths reported in the first four months of this year translate to a Johannesburg incidence of just 80,73 per 100 000 a year.

It is violence that is killing people. Relative to the overall death rate by ordinary, everyday violence, political violence is making a very minor contribution. Of the order of only 10-15 percent.

The second argument is that throughout South Africa's recent history, and certainly from the

1950s to the present, the police themselves drew no distinction between their duty to suppress crime and to suppress political crime. The same police force was capable of nipping any crime, political or other, in the bud even before the conspirators had finished laying their plans.

In the days of the Iron Fist, how far would a kombi full of "terrorists" armed with machineguns have travelled before being stopped and taken away for interrogation? Ten metres would be an exaggeration.

Today, every bank robber and political assassin has an AK-47 with a plentiful supply of ammunition. If illegal arms were taken out of circulation as they would have been in the bad old days, if the AK-47 supply lines were cut off at source, a huge contribution to public safety — and the ending of much political violence — would be made.

Overwhelmingly, the victims of both the everyday and the political violence are black. Black people are dying not just because they are the majority in this country, but because they are black.

In this sense, there is a chilling accuracy to Mr Mandela's accusation that the South African state is guilty of the genocidal slaughter

of black people.

It is blacks who are dying, and only the State has the capability to restore the rule of law.

If this principle is accepted — that the problem facing South Africa is criminal, not political, and that only the State has the means to end violence — the next question can be faced.

How can a climate be created in which communities trust the police, and in which the police can turn to communities for support?

Under conditions of near anarchy, there are two routes to the restoration of order. One is by massive repression. Such repression would end Government's international credibility and the reform process.

The alternative route takes longer and makes heavier demands of politicians. It is to create democratic community structures at the local level to which the police are answerable for their acts and omissions.

But first, such structures must be created. Once the constitution writers have developed a framework for democratically elected, nonracial regional and local government structures, on the model of what Van Zyl Slabbert's Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber might still become,

the next steps towards regional police accountability to these structures can be taken.

And in the meantime? Are people to continue dying while this process unfolds? The challenge facing South Africa's politicians and their advisers is to acquiesce in the creation of interim accountability structures that will have the effect of restoring trust between police and communities.

The only local structures presently in place that could serve this role, and still have the credibility to do so, are the Local Dispute Resolution Committees of the National Peace Accord.

They need to be given delegated authority to participate in the development of police policy at a local level, making their recommendations public whenever necessary, and the powers to make sure that agreed policies are equitably implemented.

Such local structures, far more than a single national Police Board, might prove a significant step toward restoration of trust between police and communities, and thus towards effective, acceptable law enforcement. □

● Professor Victor Nell is the Director of the Health Psychology Unit at Unisa

'Little to show' for FW's visit

ET 9/6/92
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JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk returned to South Africa yesterday from a three-nation tour with a warning that violence would have to stop before investors looked at this country seriously.

During his nine-day journey he was warmly welcomed by heads of state in Russia, Singapore and Japan, where he also met business leaders in a concerted attempt to woo potential investors. He acknowledged yesterday he had little to show for his attempts.

In the two Eastern countries Mr De Klerk painted an image of South Africa as a gateway to Africa, a land with under-used resources and an established infrastructure, and with ready markets for the products of potential investors available in the countries to the north of it.

Yesterday he said he had no doubt that investments would follow his visit — and while he was in Japan he announced that a Japanese electronics firm had told him it intended to set up an assembly plant in SA.

But he acknowledged that there were still major hurdles to be overcome.

"For them (potential investors) the continuing violence is an issue, it is a problem, and makes it all the more important for us in South Africa to solve the problem.

"We need a positive growth rate of five percent and we cannot attain that without foreign investment. And therefore, instead of pointing fingers the leaders within South Africa should start setting out their involvement in bringing the violence to an end."

Mr De Klerk was fully prepared to participate in a new peace initiative.

He thought that another meeting between himself, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and the Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as proposed by the National Peace Committee, would have a positive effect.

Mr De Klerk's visit to Russia, where he met President Boris Yeltsin, was of largely symbolic importance. Bilateral trade agreements are to be signed by the two countries soon.

But Russia, with a struggling economy and internal political problems, has little of substance to offer South Africa beyond sympathy for another country in the same situation.

In Japan, investors' reluctance to commit themselves to a South Africa that has still not resolved the issues of violence, nationalisation and the direction of a future economy is compounded by Japan's own economic slowdown.

On the last day of Mr De Klerk's stay, the Japan Times carried a report of his farewell press conference under the headline: "Visit was fruitful, De Klerk says." The report above it was headlined "Investment abroad declines for second consecutive year" and detailed how Japan's direct investment abroad declined by 26,9% in fiscal 1991.

It is from Singapore that Mr De Klerk might hope for the quickest results.

At yesterday's press conference he noted that the pocket-sized country was reaching the limits of its growth. To continue expanding its economy Singapore would have to either import labour, for which it had no living space, or move into international operations. — Sapa

Violence must end for SA to grow, says FW (274)

MARTIN CHALLENGOR

SINGAPORE. — Leaders had to put an end to political violence so that South Africa could secure foreign investment to create vitally-needed jobs, President De Klerk said before flying out of here.

He was addressing a Press conference at Singapore Airport yesterday.

The one message he brought home from Japan and Singapore was: We're interested, but South Africa has first to settle politically.

President De Klerk conceded that possible investors were worried about continuing violence. This made it "all the

more important for us to solve the problem because we need job-creating investment in the face of unemployment".

"We have been starved of investment as a result of sanctions for a very long time. We need a positive growth rate of five percent and we cannot attain that without foreign investment."

"Against this need, instead of pointing fingers, the Mandelas and other leaders within South Africa should start becoming involved in bringing violence to an end, and not use it for political purposes and make and score points against political opponents."

Man 'fired at ANC coffin' (214)

CT 9/6/92

PRETORIA. — A witness at the Goldstone Commission committee inquiring into public violence yesterday testified that he saw an Inkatha man fire shots at a coffin of a man who was to be buried by ANC supporters on August 11, 1990.

He also saw a teenage boy who was at the head of the ANC funeral procession shot down by Inkatha members, who were holding a funeral at the same time for one of their members.

Mr D, a former Black Cats gangster from Wesselton near Ermelo, who may not be identified, said that during fighting between the Black Cats and the "comrades" in July 1990 in Wesselton, the houses of several Black Cats members, including his own, as well as those of various comrades and civic leaders, were attacked.

"As a result, many of the Black Cats, including myself, went to stay at the municipal offices and later at the offices of Uwusa (the Inkatha-aligned trade union) in Ermelo. During this time members of the SAP visited us at the Uwusa offices." — Sapa

Probe 'taking too long'

PRETORIA. — The officer investigating the alleged SAP conspiracy to murder the chairman of the Civic Association in Schweizer-Reneke yesterday informed the Goldstone Commission that investigations had reached an advanced stage.

According to a statement released here by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, the officer also informed the commission that the docket had been handed to the Transvaal attorney-general for instructions.

The commission had "became concerned at the time which it was taking to report progress" in the police investigation. — Sapa

Mass action puts our future out on the street

8/10 Aug

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1992

AFTER Codesa II, the ANC withdrew its consent from key agreements already reached because of the deadlock over the constitutional making body, and said it would use mass action to break the deadlock.

If government is to accept that agreements reached after nearly six months of negotiation involving 19 delegations can simply be overturned, by one of those delegations, Codesa becomes irrelevant for three reasons.

Firstly, if the threat of mass action prevails, then SA's future is already in effect being decided in the streets and the NP may as well hand over power at once instead of pretending that it can ensure that the process is orderly and constitutional.

Secondly, other Codesa delegations would be exposed as nothing more than decorations to give an appearance of wider legitimacy to whatever concessions government makes in response to threats of mass action.

Thirdly, Codesa itself would be exposed as neither a consensus-seeking

body nor a nation-building forum, but simply as an expensive rubber stamp.

In a sense, government has itself partly to blame for the position in which it now finds itself. At the end of March it abandoned its plans to introduce VAT on certain foodstuffs after Cosatu threatened a government strike and Nelson Mandela threatened to destroy the economy if VAT was imposed on food. No doubt mindful of the fact that the anti-VAT campaign last November killed 100 people, government capitulated. The ANC and Cosatu drew the obvious conclusion, and they are now doing the obvious thing.

Mass action may not stop even if an interim government were to be installed. It would probably be used against that interim government until that government, too, handed over power. The pattern was established in St Petersburg in 1917, in the October half of the Russian Revolution, because the target of mass action on that occasion was not the Czar, who had already been forced to abdicate,

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

but the inept reformist provisional government under Kereensky.

The threat of rolling mass action prompts various questions:

□ Is Cosatu becoming the dominant partner in the ANC/Cosatu/SACP/Umkhonto we Sizwe/SACP alliance? Despite the difficulties at Codesa II, Mandela struck a bullish note immediately afterwards, only later talking about mass action to break the deadlock.

□ Although 3.5-million workers supported (or were coerced into supporting) the anti-VAT campaign last year, can a stayaway be sustained beyond a week when retrenchments are a daily occurrence and absolute unemployment — no work in the informal or formal sector — is running at 2.5-million to 3-million?

□ Will Cosatu seek to avoid this risk by staging a series of shorter stayaways instead?

□ Can De Klerk dig in his heels without reversing the extraordinary breakthroughs he has made on the international front, where, at a guess, he is probably the most popular leader in the world today?

Since the processes of Codesa are necessarily slow, SA faces the prospect of a second decade of mass action, boycotts, stayaways and the like. The price in terms of economic damage and loss of life is apparently regarded as acceptable. Mandela recently said: "Our economy has been so mismanaged it can hardly be further hurt by mass action."

Some supporters of mass action dismiss violence as endemic anyway, and last year, after the first 24 deaths (in two days) in the anti-VAT stayaway, a Cosatu official said, complacently and inaccurately: "There have been fewer deaths in the last two days of peaceful protest than there are during the normal running of the country."

The risk to the ANC in mass action is that it awakens unrealistic political expectations at the same time as

the organisation is beginning to lower economic expectations.

It was, indeed, in the very speech that he talked of using mass action that Mandela pointed out that "a much greater percentage of our membership now understands the resource constraints that an ANC government will face and that there will, therefore, be no quick-fix to decades of apartheid destruction". This argument was echoed by Cyril Ramaphosa a day or two later, when he too warned against "quick-fix solutions" to "centuries of deprivation, (and) decades of corruption and mismanagement of our economy".

Occasionally, when ANC officials speak on economic issues they seem a bit more realistic than some sections of the business community with their predilections for "kick-starts" which are, after all, the economic equivalent of the political quick-fix.

□ Kane-Berman is executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations. This is an extract from an address to the Rotary Club, Maritzburg, last Friday.

LETTERS

FW blasts ANC over proposed mass action

By Helen Grange

The ANC was given another lambasting last night from President F W de Klerk on his return to South Africa from a visit to Russia, Singapore and Japan.

A beaming Mr de Klerk became sombre on being asked by waiting pressmen at Jan Smuts Airport about his feelings on the ANC's plans for mass action in the wake of Codesa 2's failure.

The ANC's decision to initiate strikes, parades and marches militated against their commitment to nego-

tiations, he said. It raised questions about the ANC's integrity to commit itself to negotiations.

Mr de Klerk said that he had noted "irritation" among those who had received him overseas about the ANC's failure to "live up to expectations and to become a more concrete part of a solution." *STW 2 9/6/92*

Asked when a political breakthrough in negotiations could be expected, Mr de Klerk said: "When all political leaders accept full responsibility and stop playing typical party politics. We

must rise above this...

"I implore them (the ANC) to be careful... I accept mass action as a legitimate democratic method, but during this period of intense negotiations, it is counter-productive, to my mind, and I am highly critical of it," he said.

Earlier Mr de Klerk said all three countries he had visited had received him warmly and he expected much good to flow from the visit.

He said there would definitely be investment and an expansion of trade. But he

insisted that the visit had been low-profile, focused more on "laying foundations" than on concrete results.

"We don't expect pre-arranged agreements, but there was a general acceptance and recognition of our progress and the fact that South Africa will play a central role in the southern African region."

Mr de Klerk, with his entourage, last night flew from Pretoria's Waterkloof Airport to Cape Town where he will meet Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi later today.

Govt negligent, says Amnesty

Report links armed forces to violence

B/Dang 10/6/92
LONDON — Amnesty International has accused SA's security forces of involvement in violence and says government is guilty of "gross negligence at best" in not bringing the culprits to book.

The London-based human rights organisation also said unless steps were taken to safeguard human rights the political reform process in SA could break down.

These were among the conclusions reached by Amnesty in a 100-page booklet, called SA — State of Fear, which was based on a month-long visit to SA by senior members in December last year and subsequent monitoring operations.

The report, released worldwide today, said reforms in SA had brought sweeping changes but it was "business as usual" for the security forces — often including collusion in political killings or standing by while others massacred political rivals.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze described the report as partisan and one-dimensional.

It could "therefore not be regarded as a constructive addition to the debate on violence due to the fact that it represents an almost complete whitewash of the ANC, one of the main, if not the major, antagonists in the violence". Kotze said it ignored the fact that policemen were victims of violence.

Inkatha and the KwaZulu police were also heavily criticised in the report. It also accused the Bophuthatswana government of violent coercion and said there was a strong suggestion authorities in the home-

CHRIS BATEMAN and
GAVIN DU VENAGE

land condoned the use of torture.

It said the ANC had been guilty of abuses against its members as well as involvement in township violence in the past two years. "The ANC and its supporters have been responsible for deliberate and arbitrary killings."

Although victims of violence came from across the political spectrum, the "overwhelming majority" had been members or perceived sympathisers of the ANC and other formerly banned organisations.

The report documented what it called a "systematic pattern of police and military involvement in torture and assassinations" during the past two years.

Government had failed to act against "all but a tiny proportion" of human rights violators within the police and military. This served to give the security forces the impression that they could "get away with anything, even murder", the report said.

The report follows last week's stinging criticism of police by the International Commission of Jurists, as well as an interim report by the Goldstone Commission which also implicated police in violence.

The Amnesty report said in spite of President F W de Klerk's promises to take the police out of politics, the police had continued their "war against the ANC and allied organisations". Government had been slow to act against policemen despite mounting evidence.

In township violence which had cost

□ To Page 2

Amnesty report From Page 1

7 000 lives since early 1990, police had continued the fight against those they saw as "the enemy"

The report documented many incidents in which police were alleged to have been involved in violence or colluded with Inkatha supporters in massacres

The report noted that in only one of these cases had the conduct of the police been subject to independent inquiry. When there had been official inquiries these had been hampered by violence and marked by official failure to act on their conclusions.

One exception was the "rare example of professional police investigative work" of Maj Frank Dutton, the policeman who brought to court seven policemen accused

of murdering 11 people at Trust Feed.

A western Transvaal probe into torture, killings of detainees and extra-judicial executions by police resulted in witnesses and human rights monitors being harassed, threatened and shot at by police.

Amnesty noted not a single prosecution followed the high-profile judicial inquiries of 1990 and 1991 into "death squads" where evidence of murder, poisoning, kidnapping, arson, perjury and destruction of evidence by the police and army had emerged.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the report confirmed "our concerns over SAP complicity in the violence".

A Bophuthatswana government spokesman described the report as "nonsense".

Difference of opinion no reason to kill - Chonco

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Sowetan 10/6/92

By IKE MOTSAPI

PEOPLE should accept that differences of opinion did not mean that people should eliminate one another, listeners to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show heard yesterday.

Dr Seshi Chonco, a director of the Institute of Multiparty Democracy of South Africa, was speaking on the causes of political intolerance and what



should be done to stop this malady.

Chonco said South Africans were in an awkward position because they were being exposed to a violent

tradition that engendered tolerance.

He also said intolerance grew by the day among people of different ideological affiliations who demarcated areas for themselves according to their political beliefs.

Chonco said: "This is bad for our society because the end results are that many people get killed due to the unnecessary tension created by this

"Political organisations should also stop inciting others against their opposition."

"If, for instance, the ANC does wrong, the Inkatha Freedom Party should be left free to criticise it, and vice versa."

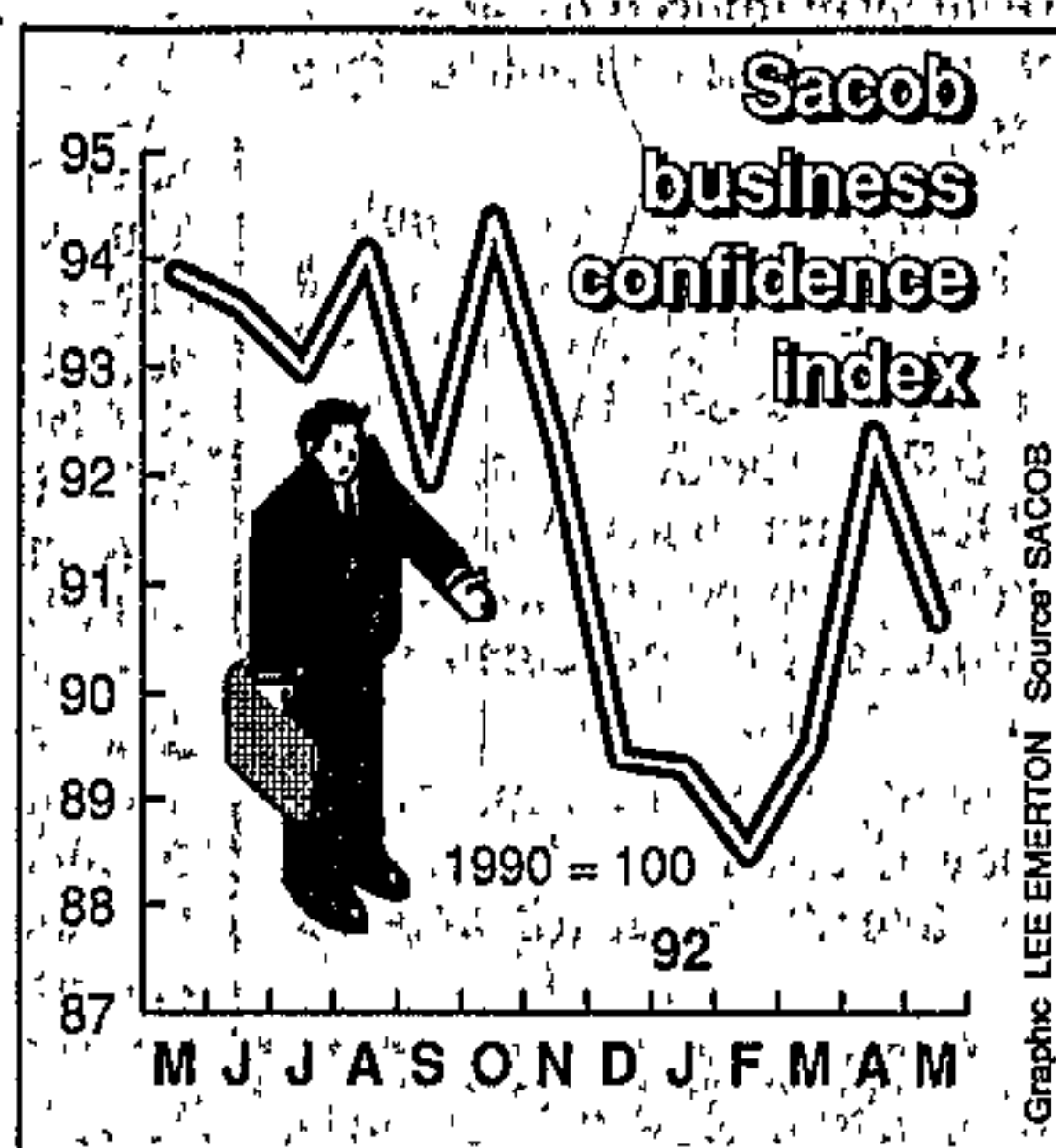
Debate

Chonco said people should debate issues of interest to learn from one another and promote nation building, as the *Sowetan* was doing.

Abbey said violence could stop if people "accepted that tribalism and regionalism will always be there".

Godfrey from Hillbrow said a change of government would make people tolerate one another.

He blamed the Government for using the IFP to do its "dirty work" because it wanted to be seen as "clean in the eyes of the international community".



Unrest dampens business mood

SHERIDAN CONNOLLY

BUSINESS confidence levels fell sharply in May on the back of a downturn in eight of the 13 sub-indices which made up the business confidence index (BCI), the SA Chamber of Business said yesterday.

Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons said the BCI dropped 1,7 percentage points to 90,7 in May from 92,4 in April. A zero economic growth rate could now be expected for the rest of the year due to a deepening of the recession in the first half of 1992 instead of a bottoming out.

Referendum euphoria had now worn off and political unrest was taking its toll on the business mood, he said.

Parsons said the fall could also be ascribed to the apparent political logjam in Codesa and threats of mass action. Recent economic policy statements by the ANC showed some signs of realism, but still reflected a reluctance to accept the imperatives of a market-driven economy.

Sacob expected growth to resume in 1993. If all factors fell into place, a growth rate of up to 4% could be expected.

Parsons said SA needed investment-friendly policies in order to ensure investors a return on their capital.

He warned that future foreign investment trends should not be assessed on the basis of a number of foreign delegations currently visiting SA. "They are bringing their notebooks and not their cheque-books."

Prospects for the remainder of 1992 were somewhat bleaker but the outlook for 1993 was considerably better.

Weapons held as a member of the ANC, court told

Supreme Court Reporter *ARC* 10/6/92 (274)
A MEMBER of Umkhonto we Sizwe, convicted of illegally possessing firearms and ammunition, told the Supreme Court he had the weapons in his capacity as a member of the African National Congress.

David Dlali, 32, yesterday pleaded guilty to illegally possessing a Beretta pistol, a Makarov pistol, an AK 47 machine rifle, four handgrenades, two limpet mines, 30 AK 47 bullets, 27 9 mm bullets and 2 .22 bullets.

He was arrested on April 7 in Guguletu.

In Dlali's plea explanation, he admitted the offences and said he was a member of the ANC, and particularly Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

In 1989 he received instructions to accept the weapons and keep them in safe storage until further instructions. He buried them in Strandfontein.

In March 1990, after the unbanning of the ANC, he was told that the weapons had to be kept safely and not used under any circumstances.

In April he was informed that negotiations between the government and the ANC on MK and arms and ammunition had reached an advanced stage and he had to prepare to hand the weapons over to the joint command of the government and the ANC.

Under cross-examination by State advocate Mr J van Vuuren, he denied being an MK commander. He said he was an ordinary member and had no people under him.

If negotiations between the government and the ANC failed and he was instructed by his commander to take up arms, he would do so, he told the court.

Dr Vincent Maphai of the department of political studies at the University of the Western Cape testified that Dlali was a part-time law student in his department.

He was a very determined, open-minded and highly motivated student. He had enormous leadership potential.

How killers survive to kill again

STAR 10/6/92

IN A CLOSE scrutiny of patterns of political violence in South Africa, Amnesty International shows how alleged killers and torturers escape the sanction of the law and, literally, go on to fight another battle.

The London-based human rights group's report, "South Africa: State of fear", delves beneath the generalities, drawing linkages between violent events and arguing particularly that security force actions and general government licence serve to maintain a chain of terror in the age of political reform.

It tells, for instance, the little-known sequel to the abduction and murder of three trade unionists in the Natal Midlands township of Mpopophemeni in 1986: an inquest court found nine identified Inkatha members responsible for the killings. The Attorney-General did not press charges.

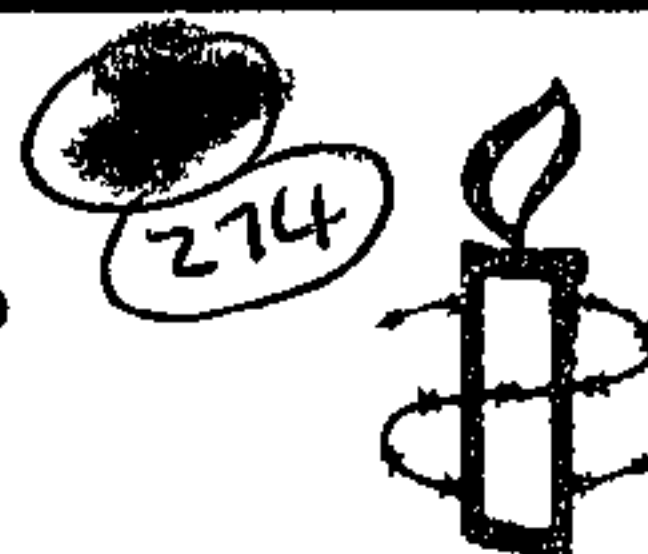
"In early April 1992, one of the nine men appeared in a Natal Midlands Magistrate's Court charged with the murder of two men in February 1992. It appears, also, from the list of names handed to the Goldstone Commission in 1992, that this same man was one of a group of Inkatha members trained by Military Intelligence in the Caprivi Strip in 1986."

The report also focuses on the township of KwaMakhutha near Durban, where armed men accompanied by members of the KwaZulu Police allegedly went on a shooting spree in December 1990, killing several teenagers.

According to Amnesty, "An eye-witness described seeing a vehicle with darkened windows pass his house. A gun barrel was sticking out of one of the windows. The car was accompanied by two KwaZulu Police vehicles whose registration number the witness noted."

This sinister procession passed out of sight. Gunfire

Amnesty International has released a report based on research during its first visit to South Africa last December. JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports.



sounded. The vehicles returned, "this time moving slowly behind a group of about 10 armed men. The men were shooting at anyone on the street or visible to them in the houses."

When the South African Police arrived about an hour later to collect the bodies "they were accompanied by the same KwaZulu Police vehicles which had escorted the attackers," the witness stated.

Interdicts

The same civilians backed by the same police vehicle allegedly continued their reign of terror into 1991. Court interdicts were issued to restrain some of the group, but they remained at large.

In July 1991, Emmanuel Bhengu, a determined peace-maker and Inkatha leader who switched allegiance to the African National Congress, was assassinated. One of the two men charged with his killing was among those supposedly restrained earlier by a court.

These cases serve to illustrate the close mesh of the Amnesty report and suggest its two major theses: one, that the security forces continue to pursue a war against ANC-aligned organisations; and two, that the Government as a whole is "grossly negligent" in bringing its armed forces to book for human rights abuses.

The organisation is not arguing a case of "rogue policemen" in isolated, minor instances. Its research deals extensively with major events relating to political violence, from the Harms

Commission on death squads to the massacres at Phola Park, Swaneville and Bruntville; from the 1990 "Seven Day War" around Maritzburg — preceded by the Government-funded Inkatha rally of Inkathagate fame — to the ongoing Cape Town "taxi wars".

Amnesty states that its concern is the consistent pattern of allegations and, in some cases, evidence of State complicity in these mass killings and other acts of violence. The report details these allegations, many of which have been carried in the media in the past.

The section on the "Seven Day War", for instance, is said to be based on 200 statements from residents displaced in a series of co-ordinated Inkatha attacks. It contains allegations ranging from police bias in failing to check Inkatha assailants to accusations of direct attacks by the police on embattled communities.

"According to one eye-witness (of events at Caluza), when some women went to help one of the wounded youths, a white police officer intervened and asked him to open his mouth. The police officer then allegedly put a gun in the boy's mouth and fired," the report reads.

Amnesty argues that President de Klerk's 1990 message that neutrality and professionalism are now expected of the security forces has simply not filtered down to members on the ground. Referring to evidence in the Trust Feed case in which five policemen were convicted for 11 murders, Amnesty

submits that the police were "operating in an environment which encouraged members of the security forces to do everything in their power to act against those perceived as the 'enemy'," mainly the ANC and its allies.

It hones in on the inaction which followed the Harms Commission and the failed defamation action by police forensics chief General Lothar Neethling, heard by Mr Justice Johan Kriegler. "Judge Harms and Judge Kriegler between them uncovered evidence of murder, poisoning, kidnapping, arson, perjury and destruction of evidence by members of the SAP and SADF. Yet not a single prosecution has resulted."

Far from increasing control over the KwaZulu Police, the South African Government effectively increased its jurisdiction this year with the passing of the Police Amendment Act, the report notes.

In the western Transvaal township of Khutsong, where a special police investigation was launched into alleged assaults and extra-judicial executions by members of the police unrest unit, there were indications that police officers under investigation, "including suspended officers", continued to be involved in unlawful activities and that witnesses and human rights activists co-operating with the probe were harassed and threatened with death.

In its closing chapter, Amnesty makes a strong plea for action on the part of the Government to check the security forces. It spells out internationally accepted practices.

Amnesty effectively tells Mr de Klerk that, if he does not meet this challenge, there is a large question mark over his declaration to the police in 1990 that "we don't want to use you any more as instruments to reach certain political goals". □

Armed forces undermining law report

By Jo-Anne Collinge

STAR
10/6/92

The London-based human rights group Amnesty International has challenged the South African Government to publicly admit that grave human rights violations continue to be committed by its armed forces.

It also calls on the Government to act with urgency to stop the police and military from undermining the law.

"Despite Government promises to take the police out of politics, the fact is that they have continued their war against the ANC and allied organisations — and the Government has been slow to react despite mounting evidence against the police," Amnesty said.

The statement accompanied the release of a 100-page report based on Amnesty's first official visit to South Africa in December.

The report, titled "South Africa: State of Fear", documents police and military involvement in torture and assassinations.

"The Government of South Africa has, at best, been grossly negligent. It has failed to act against all but a tiny proportion of human rights violators within the police and the military," Amnesty's statement said.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze criticised the report, describing it as biased, one-dimensional and representing "an almost complete whitewash of the ANC, one of the main — if not the major — participants in the violence".

Captain Kotze added: "It (the report) also ignores the fact that the SAP itself is a victim of violence and that scores of policeman have been murdered trying to end violence."

● How killers survive to
kill again — Page 17

ANC

calls for peace

CT 11/6/92

(274)

Approach to police, Inkatha

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has called on the police, Inkatha and others to join it in bringing an end to violence.

Reacting to an Amnesty International report on the violence in South Africa and the emphasis placed on police complicity, the ANC said "We call on the South African Police, the Inkatha Freedom Party and all the organisations that have been mentioned in these reports to join us in a full-out effort to bring an end to the violence in terms of the undertakings of the National Peace Accord"

But Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday that the Amnesty report was selective and ap-

peared to be an attempt by the human rights organisation to ingratiate itself with the ANC

The ANC said it would study the full Amnesty report together with the Goldstone report and the International Commission of Jurists' report, which clearly looked at the violence from different angles.

Dr Mdlalose added: "Even a cursory study shows that Amnesty has relied entirely on secondary sources. It has done no research of its own, relying

instead on the reports, writings and conclusions of others"

The report — called "South Africa, State of Fear" — is highly critical of the SA security forces. Some criticism is directed at Inkatha

"The IFP views and answers to the allegations made were not sought and are not reflected," Dr Mdlalose continued

● One man died and five were injured in overnight unrest-related incidents, police said yesterday

The body of a man was found

in Tokoza, Alberton. He had gunshot wounds, according to the official police unrest report

A man was stabbed yesterday morning at Braamfontein station near Johannesburg. He and four others were injured in attacks on Soweto trains on Tuesday and early yesterday, police said.

Police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Pieke said commuters arriving from Soweto were searched at Johannesburg station yesterday morning. Police confiscated dangerous weapons and arrested six people for hindering authorities

● The Human Rights Commission has recorded 54 deaths and 85 people injured in its latest repression report for the week ending Tuesday — Sapa

27 11 6/92
Hold inquests
— Goldstone

(274)
PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission has asked the attorney-general of the Transvaal to hold inquests into two cases of murder and three of attempted murder allegedly committed during a shooting incident in Wesselson.

The request stems from evidence that policemen implicated in killings at separate ANC, IFP funerals on August 11, 1990 had not been charged in spite of prima facie evidence against them. — Sapa

Take charge, FW, say world jurists

W/med s/b - 11/6/92

SOUTH AFRICA'S political violence could be checked within three to six months if the government had the political will and if President F.W. de Klerk took personal charge of law and order.

This is the finding of the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), in a 25-page report released this week, based on their recent two-week visit to South Africa. Jurists from the United Kingdom, Sweden, Senegal, Zimbabwe and Ghana met scores of politicians, lawyers, judges, academics, ministers and township dwellers countrywide.

Recommending that the country's law enforcement agencies should be monitored by at least 100 European, Commonwealth, United States and African observers, based in Johannesburg and with branches in all major centres, the ICJ also called for the South African Police to be restructured with civilian administrators at all levels.

As presently constituted, the SAP was "unlikely ever to gain the confidence of ordinary people", in part because of its record of enforcing "apartheid laws which had no moral content". Pointing to the Trust Feed judgment, which "proved conclusively that violence is being pro-

If the government had the will, there is a way to end the violence, say international jurists who visited South

Africa. By ARTHUR GAVSHON

voked by some elements in the security forces", the ICJ warned that unless the army and police were controlled "it will not be possible to hold free and fair elections on a one-person, one-vote basis in much of South Africa today".

Law and order in Natal and large parts of the Transvaal had broken down and "are being torn apart by terrible strife", the jurists said. "The police do not protect the people and people do not trust the police and misconduct is rife."

The report is heavily critical of the Inkatha Freedom Party, charging that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had contributed to violence by his failure to curb the excesses of his followers.

It also accuses the police of collaborating with Inkatha in murders and attacks on African National Congress supporters. The Trust Feed case represented "the tip of the iceberg", it said. The jurists said the one big question the group



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... Failed to control 'warlords'

encountered wherever it went was whether the government was truly committed to ending the violence.

"For many years responsible people have been calling for a ban on weapons at all political rallies and marches. No ban has been imposed. Why?"

"For 18 months people have been slaughtered on commuter trains. We have seen the government can stop this by searching people at stations. They have not done so. Why not?"

"President de Klerk must surely realise that

there will be no winners if the violence is not brought under control."

Turning to the IFP leader, the ICJ says Buthelezi "carries a heavy responsibility for the escalation of violence between his supporters and those of the ANC".

Because he had failed to control Inkatha "warlords", ANC retaliation had become inevitable. Harry Gwala, the ANC's Midlands chairman, is quoted in the report as saying: "People hit back ... they carry the war to those who started it. If people are angry they will kill anyone. The acts are acts of desperation."

The explosion of violence in the Transvaal in 1990, centred on the hostels, coincided with Inkatha moves to extend its influence outside Natal, the commission said.

Citing positive developments, the jurists said: "The country's lawyers and judges had displayed courage and impartiality in dealing with evidence presented to them by honest police officers. Captain Frank Dutton and Warrant Officer Wilson Magadla are cited for exposing the cover-up of the Trust Feed massacre."

● The Goldstone Commission had been effective in defusing violent situations, despite the size of its task and the intimidation of witnesses.

Rights body blasts ANC probe

STAR 11/6/92
LONDON — The Frankfurt-based International Society for Human Rights has dismissed as "insufficient and unacceptable" the terms of reference of the ANC's commission of inquiry into complaints by former ANC prisoners.

The society said the terms of reference res-

tricted the commission to dealing with only the conditions of detention, allegations of maltreatment and complaints about missing property, but ignored any inquiry into the reasons for these detentions and the "blatant miscarriage of justice" that had occurred.

— Star Bureau.

Developing correct approaches to dissent is vital for the future, writes **Christof Heyns**

Ensuring disobedience is civil

STAN 11/6/92.

(274)



THERE is a certain logic in the fact that South Africa was the cradle not only of apartheid, but also of one of the strongest modern forms of political resistance, namely mass action or civil disobedience.

It was here, at the beginning of the century, where Gandhi achieved what Jan Smuts would later call "a successful coup", when his campaign of Satyagraha brought about fundamental changes in the racial policy of the South African Government. For the first time in history did the masses openly and non-violently resist the State by defying its laws.

Civil disobedience, in one form or another, would hereafter play a prominent role in the political history of South Africa. "Passive resistance" would be inscribed as a legitimate strategy in the first constitution of the ANC.

After World War 2 followed the Resistance Campaign of 1946-1948, the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and the Anti-Pass Campaign of 1963. Another widespread cam-

paign of anti-apartheid civil disobedience was held in 1989. In 1990 the Conservative Party, following the rapid changes introduced in that year, threatened not to pay taxes and TV licence fees

Early 1991 saw the siege of Pretoria by disgruntled farmers.

This raises the question how government should respond to civil disobedience. In some cases it is justified to disobey certain laws (for example if they prohibit one from praying) but it cannot always be tolerated. Respect for law is a value cherished in all civilisations. On what grounds can acceptable civil disobedience be distinguished from unacceptable civil disobedience?

One must ask oneself which criteria for legitimate resistance would I accept today, that I would also accept under a new government. That is, one's approach should be the same whether one is the resister or the resisted.

The first condition for having a right of resistance is met when the government infringes on basic human rights. This connection be-



Gandhi... the father of non-violent resistance.

tween the recognition of human rights and the right of resistance runs through all the major human rights documents of the world, from the Magna Carta of 1215 to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

No one has the right to disobey the State in protest against its policies (for example the decision that a certain street should be a one-way in a certain direction), but one has the right to resist serious violations of basic RIGHTS.

In short, it could be said that civil disobedience is legitimate if — and only if — basic human rights are being violated and breaking the law is the only reasonable alternative to resist this.

How is this criterion to be applied to the recent threats of mass action by the ANC? At the bottom of the ANC's statements lies the demand for political participation. This is a demand for the recognition of a basic right, which means that, as long as everybody in the country does not have the vote, there is in principle a right of resistance.

One could argue, however, about the question whether mass action is indeed the only reasonable alternative available to secure this right. Those on the side of the Government would maintain that Codesa provides a constitutional channel for the attainment precisely of the goal of political participation and that makes resorts to extra-constitutional mechanisms unacceptable.

The ANC, on the other hand, argues that Codesa is at best a

flawed instrument of liberation and that they can no longer reasonably put up with what they see as its slow progress.

Both sides, therefore, seem to accept the criterion for legitimate resistance posed above, but they differ on the application of this norm.

The maintenance of law and order, and the increase in violence which widespread political turmoil could bring about in some cases, are important factors which weigh heavily. Beyond a certain threshold of anarchy, any form of social progress is dependent upon the restoration of a minimum public order.

On the other hand, however, it should be remembered that civil disobedience could also play a positive role in society. Often such acts of political expression serve the dual function of safety valve and alarm signal.

Given the composition of our society, strong political dissent is inevitable under any conceivable political dispensation. It is no exaggeration to say that the future

of the country, to a large extent depends on whether we can find sensible ways of managing dissent, which encourage less destructive means for expressing dissent.

If the State treats non-violent and violent acts of resistance with equal ferocity, no incentive is provided for protesters to engage in the former rather than in the latter.

Those who are now being resisted should also remember that they are likely to be the resisters of tomorrow. Their treatment of protesters with whom they strongly disagree will set a precedent for the treatment of protesters in the future. Tolerance now is not necessarily a guarantee of tolerance later, but intolerance today will almost certainly lead to intolerance tomorrow. □

● *Christof Heyns is an associate professor of law at the University of Pretoria and acting director of the Centre of Human Rights Studies. He is the author of the forthcoming book "Civil Disobedience in South Africa".*

Mediation comes home



Radford Jordan is a former senior lecturer in political studies at Wits University

Professor Frank Sander of the Harvard Law School, an internationally recognised expert in alternative dispute resolution (ADR), recently spent two weeks in SA. He came at the invitation of Adrasa (the recently formed Alternative Dispute Resolution Association), which hopes he will prove to have given ADR decisive help in taking root here.

ADR was born in the US more than a decade ago. It offers various techniques for resolving disputes more quickly and cheaply than recourse to courts of law. Of these, the most important and the one that contrasts most strongly with adjudication in the courts, is mediation.

In the course of a packed conference at Sandton on "Streamlined Justice", Sander

drew the following comparisons between adjudication in a court of law and mediation:

- ☐ Looks to the past/looks to the future;
- ☐ Deals with facts/deals with the relationship between the parties;
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- ☐ Results in a general rule or precedent/results in custom-built solution in the instant case.

There is no category of dispute where mediation has not proved its worth. Where mediation seems to have failed, ADR has other strings to its bow, notably informal arbitration and the "mini-trial." Sometimes recourse to one of these proves in the end to be unnecessary; after the mediator appears to have failed, the parties have second thoughts, come together on their own and arrive at a settlement.

The programme arranged for Sander by Adrasa was a heavy one. He visited the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein and judges in the Transvaal, the Cape and Natal. Impart-

ing knowledge of ADR is the breath of life to him. Much as his programme demanded of him, he gave the impression that he would have wished to do no less.

ADR was pioneered here by the Independent Mediation Centre (Imcsa), which has specialised in industrial mediation but has also extended its work to community disputes. Sander agrees that Imcsa's work is of a calibre second to none in the world.

It is not surprising that ADR should have struck roots here. Sander sees its debut in the US as the result of an article contributed to the *Stanford Law Review* about 20 years ago on African methods of settling disputes. So its arrival here is something of a homecoming.

There are two great question marks that hang over ADR's future here. The first is whether a climate of reconciliation is able to build up in the country; Codesa could well be the start of this.

The other arises from the conservatism of the legal profession, the body of people who can excel at ADR if they choose to embrace it, but whose lack of response could well result in its falling into hands less competent but more willing.

INDUSTRIAL AND MASS ACTION

Two sides of a coin

Industrial action in pursuit of political objectives is technically forbidden by the Labour Relations Act. Yet various current wage negotiations — led by the metal and mining industries — could easily deadlock in coming weeks, leading to legal strikes. These would then neatly coincide with the July deadline for mass action by the ANC/Cosatu/Communist Party alliance if a breakthrough is not achieved at Codesa.

Cosatu's largest affiliate, the metalworkers' Numsa (together with 10 other unions), is already formally in dispute with the metal and engineering industries represented in Seifsa. The unions are demanding increases of up to 42,6% against the employers' 6,4% offer. The other major issue is the union's demand for a moratorium on retrenchments, of which there were 34 000 in this sector last year, and 14 000 to May 1992. This trend is found in the building, construction and mining industries too.

Seifsa and Numsa went on talking this week. Failure to resolve their disputes would lead to two more bargaining sessions next week; but if no deal is clinched by then, strike and lock-out ballots are the next step.

It is difficult to read the mood of union members for a strike at a time when the country is in terrible recession. Food price inflation is running at 29% and more than 100 000 have been retrenched across industry in the past 18 months.

There has been a significant decline in strike action so far this year compared to the first half of last year, based on man-days lost, according to labour consultant Brian Allen of Andrew Levy & Associates. Given the high rate of lay-offs, job security is a very important consideration.

But there is the potential for strikes — sporadic and at plant-level, mainly in companies and sectors posting good results. Such action would not be linked to politically driven protest, says Allen, though it would occur at the same time. It would, of course, be perceived as part of the "rolling" mass action promised by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Mass action tends to develop a momentum of its own — as did the protests linked to the Labour Relations Amendment Act two years ago. Allen reckons the impetus for mass action exists and that we will see some kind of political protest whether or not there's a breakthrough at Codesa. It is also pointed out that the high level of lay-offs leads to greater disappointment with "the system," which increases the potential for action.

Saving jobs and providing fair wages are the main issues in the mining negotiations, says a National Union of Mineworkers' spokesman. While the NUM and its members are not satisfied with the increases offered by the Chamber of Mines last month, it is far too early to talk of strike action, according to the union spokesman. The

NUM's policy is to bargain in good faith and it would prefer a "negotiated settlement."

It is looking for a minimum 20%-25% increase on gold mines and an average 40% for coalminers. The chamber has offered a 4% basic rise for gold miners and between 6% and 11% at collieries, in addition to profit- and productivity-linked bonus schemes.

The NUM has tabled a direct profit-sharing proposal this year, along the lines of the deal at Harmony gold mine where 15% of profits are shared monthly between the workers in a stepped way. It is not in favour of the kind of performance-related wage settlement agreed for the first time last year. "Though we recognise the industry's need for rationalisation, at the same time other ways of augmenting wages have to be found," explains the spokesman. The chamber is hiding behind the severe difficulties of the marginal mines, he claims, adding that there are certain very profitable mines, such as Vaal Reefs, Kloof and Driefontein.

The union would like tax laws to be changed to enable profitable mines to assist marginal ones.

In the meantime, however, it was meeting Mineral & Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett this week to propose ways of assisting the marginals.

Chamber/NUM negotiations are scheduled to resume next Thursday. Aside from wages, another core union demand is for an agency shop system, which would enable the NUM to collect dues from non-member miners who, the union argues, also reap the collective bargaining benefits won by it. The chamber — which plans to end the old closed shop for white miners — has rejected the idea.

The NUM "fully supports" the ANC alliance's call for mass action to break the deadlock at Codesa and will be discussing the matter before adopting a plan of action ■

Arms caches: 'Law still law'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE decision by a Supreme Court judge to free an ANC military commander found guilty of possessing a huge arms cache has sparked widely divergent reactions from the police and the ANC.

And the Conservative Party said the decision by Mr Justice J G Foxcroft to postpone sentence of uMkhonto weSizwe commander David Dhlali for a year because of continuing negotiations between the government and the ANC had far-reaching implications and required further examination.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman General Leon Mellet said yesterday that the police would continue to "relentlessly" track down and bring to trial any individuals illegally possessing arms.

He said the police did not wish to criticise the judge's ruling,

MK 'stockpiling weapons'

JOHANNESBURG. — Tons of armaments belonging to the ANC's armed wing are allegedly being stored at former ANC camps in Angola.

This was alleged on Wednesday by the International Freedom Foundation in a letter from its chairman, Mr Duncan Sellars, to the US national security adviser.

The letter says that uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) weapons, including hundreds or even thousands of tons of armoured personnel carriers, light amphibious tanks, rocket launchers and anti-aircraft guns are being stored within 400km of the Angolan capital of Luanda.

Mr Sellars suggests that the UN Angolan Verification Mission impound the weapons. — Sapa

"but the law remains the law and we will continue to hunt down anyone in possession of illegal arms, as too many heinous crimes are today being committed with such weapons".

General Mellet said the ANC had no way of ensuring that its arms caches did not fall into the hands of people responsible "for hideous deeds such as murders, armed robberies, kidnappings

and rapes".

He said the vast majority of crimes committed with so-called "terrorist weapons" were being committed by hardened criminals with no political motives.

However, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday that the judge's ruling implied that it was "quite wrong for the security forces to take actions against MK members when negotiations were under way to deal with the problem of arms caches".

He said he hoped the SAP would now stop its "harassment" of MK members.

Mr Niehaus disputed police claims that arms caches often fell into the hands of ordinary criminals.

He said there was a great deal of "arms running" across the Mozambique border, "often with arms provided to the Renamo rebel movement by the SA Defence Force". (274)

PAC, Azapo reject ANC mass action

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC's mass action campaign kicks off on June 16 without the support of the PAC or Azapo. *B12 cur 12/6/92*

The PAC, which joined the ANC in a patriotic front last year and decided on joint mass action to secure a constituent assembly, said yesterday it would not take part in campaigns promoting Codesa.

Sapa reports that Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said his organisation would not take part in actions designed to put Codesa negotiations back on track.

"We are always committed to any type of constructive mass action which is geared to bringing the regime to its knees. We will not participate in mass action designed simply to present protests and appeals," Moodley said.

In Johannesburg the PAC's national working committee also said it would not be party to the actions.

The ANC Youth League yesterday announced June 16 as the start of a mass action campaign aimed at getting government to agree to an interim government and a democratically-elected constituent assembly.

ANCYL president Peter Mokaba said more than 70 rallies would be held around the country. A "people's referendum" would be held to test the scale of rejection of government's proposal of a senate and a 75% majority in a constitution-making

☐ To Page 2

Mass action

body with regard to regionalism.

PAC information director Waters Toboti said the PAC would leave the choice of whether to take part in mass action to individuals.

"People will take their own decisions. We have never campaigned against the programmes of other people," he said. He warned the ANC not to interfere with the right of PAC supporters to take their own

decisions on mass action. *274*

Toboti said the PAC would be launching its own programme and would continue with the armed struggle until government had handed over political power.

PAC sources admitted that the split on mass action would weaken the patriotic front which has been in tatters since the PAC decided not to take part in Codesa.

☐ From Page 1

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Patrick Laurence analyses three major reports on the ongoing township wars

A one-eyed look at violence

STAR 12/6/92

(274)

SOUTH Africans can be forgiven for blinking their eyes and shaking their heads at different interpretations of the township violence. Flash kaleidoscopically before their eyes, accompanied by a cacophonous commentary.

In rapid succession three investigations have presented different perspectives on the violence to the chorused approval or denunciation of politicians, depending on their convictions and prejudices.

The findings of the latest investigation, by Amnesty International, are contained in a 100-page report entitled "South Africa: State of Fear".

They virtually exonerate the African National Congress from blame for the bloodletting and, instead, identify the main culprits as the security forces, their "surrogates" in the semi-autonomous black territory of KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Amnesty's report details scores of attacks around the country on ANC members or sympathisers, pinning responsibility on either IFP or the security forces. Not a line, however, is given to

the more than 200 IFP office-holders who have been murdered in the bloody war for political hegemony between the ANC and the IFP since the conflict started in the mid-1980s. The murdered IFP leaders include members of its central committee.

Similarly, the killing of ordinary IFP members — more than 360 have been shot, hacked or burnt to death since the signing of the National Peace Accord on September 14 last year — is ignored.

Nor does the Amnesty report mention the more than 60 policemen of all races who have been killed during attempts to contain the violence since the beginning of this year.

Little attention is devoted to the ANC's contribution to the violence or, according to police records, the "necklacing" of more than 110 people in the five months ending on May 31.

Amnesty infers that the ANC is primarily a victim rather than a perpetrator of violence. While recognising that the more than 7 000 victims who have died in the fighting since the start of the year are drawn from the entire political

spectrum, it says that the "overwhelming majority" have been ANC members and actual or perceived sympathisers.

ANC-initiated violence is presented as a response to the spiralling conflict and the failure of the security forces to protect citizens.

The report does, however, convincingly substantiate its conclusion that policing has been far from impartial, and that the police have been slow and loath to investigate "compelling prima facie evidence" of the collusion by security force members in violence against ANC or ANC-aligned organisations.

Amnesty's report concludes that President de Klerk has so far failed to fulfil his declared objective of removing the police from the political arena and of reshaping them into a impartial and professional crime combating force.

Its conclusion would have been more compelling if the report itself was less partisan and less vulnerable to police counter-attack for being "one dimensional".

Its deficiencies have given Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the IFP, an opening for a devastating riposte: "The IFP

views and answers to the allegations were not sought and are not reflected."

The Amnesty report comes on the heels of a shorter appraisal of the violence and its causes by the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ).

The ICJ report also points an accusing finger at the De Klerk administration, charging that it failed to take effective action to curb the violence. To that extent, its views reinforce Amnesty's.

The ICJ apportions a large share of the blame on the IFP leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, accusing him of not wheeling in his "warlords". It may be noted in passing that the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression has found that Chief Buthelezi's exhortations to his "warlords" in control of hostels on the Reef to halt the violence are ignored.

The ICJ is more critical of the ANC than Amnesty. In its account of ANC actions in the battle for supremacy in and around the Natal town of Richmond, the ICJ states that ANC comrades went on a "killing spree" after they gained the upper hand.

It quotes Harry Gwala, the tough-minded ANC regional chairman for Natal Midlands, as saying that the ANC is involved in a "war" against the IFP and that neither side is composed of angels.

An interim report and a press statement by Mr Justice Goldstone, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence, offer another perspective.

In his interim report, the judge refers to ANC allegations that the violence is being orchestrated by a sinister "third force" with links to anonymous security officers. He says that the commission has unearthed no evidence of a "third force" so far.

In his press statement, Judge Goldstone identifies political rivalry between the ANC and the IFP as the "primary cause" of the violence in six major black townships, three on the Reef and three in Natal.

His report and statement initially caused jubilation in the De Klerk camp and consternation in the ANC circles, but since then the judge has issued a second clarifying statement.

In it, he accuses the Government of withholding his interim report and using it "unfairly and selectively". He then stresses that neither the report nor the first statement exonerates the security forces from "contributing to the violence" or the Government from failure to take "sufficiently firm steps" to prevent criminal conduct by the security forces.

Mr Justice Goldstone ends, however, by reaffirming his view that the primary cause of violence in six core areas is political rivalry between the ANC and the IFP, and that his commission has found no evidence to date to support theories about a third force.

He repeats a point made in the interim report, the causes of violence are manifold and complex.

It is a point which bears constant re-emphasis. By the same token, the comments of politicians should be treated with scepticism as attempts — in the words of sociologists Mike Morris and Doug Hindson — to "stigmatisate all organisations or institutions but their own". (The quote is from their analysis of the violence in South African Review, "Red Friday to Codesa", Rayvan Press.) □

DIPLOMATS on three continents are quietly preparing moves to monitor political violence and fair elections in South Africa knowing President FW de Klerk is working to thwart their plans.

Well-qualified officials of several governments here reported backstage talks are underway on two inter-related issues under the umbrellas of the Commonwealth Secretariat and European Community (EC), the United Nations in New York and the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa.

The two related issues:

●Firstly, the introduction of several hundred "peace monitors", complete with backup staff, transportation and other infrastructural equipment, to check on the origins and effects of political violence, the role of the security forces and ways of restoring relative normality.

●Secondly, the introduction of hun-

Like it or not, world's going to watch SA

Despite President FW de Klerk's resistance several foreign governments are planning to send delegations to South Africa to monitor political violence and elections.

By **ARTHUR GAVSHON** in London

dreds of foreign observers to see that the country's promised elections are conducted freely and fairly.

Publicly and privately, De Klerk has made it known his government would resist the involvement of a corps of foreign peace or electoral monitors. In verbal and written communications with several countries — including Britain, the United States, Portugal, Nigeria and Kenya — he has

indicated the presence of observers from abroad could be construed widely in the Republic as "foreign intervention" to the detriment of his own government's authority.

Some countries — Britain and Nigeria among them — appear to have varying reasons —

bought this line. The British Foreign Office, for instance, is saying Britain has not been

approached formally to send any sort of monitoring team either to check on violence or on the conduct of a future election. If asked, though, the request would be considered.

Meantime, the government has funded the secondment of a British academic, a Professor PAJ Waddington of Reading University, to serve on Judge Richard Goldstone's Commission. Waddington is an

authority on policing, the handling of public demonstrations and how security forces should go about their business using minimal force.

For its part Nigeria, which presides over the OAU, appears to be backing De Klerk's stance partly because it shares — for its own internal circumstances — his concepts on federalism. Another reason is that a political accommodation is developing between the two countries, as it is also between De Klerk and Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, with future economic co-operation in mind.

Several Commonwealth, EC and UN countries, however, have been shaken in recent weeks by documented disclosures — in *The Weekly Mail* and *New Nation* among other newspapers — of ministerial and senior military collusion with massacres and murders. Revelations of internal governmental corruption also have had their effect. And, as a consequence, they have been saying through their officials that both the peace and electoral processes in South Africa simply must be monitored if they are to be internationally credible.

It was with that in mind that Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku had a series of discreet corridor-talks with leading delegates to Codesa last month when he attended the failed plenary session.

The underlying strategy is that if a consensus is established on the need for monitoring within Codesa, De Klerk's objections could be overruled.

Informants gave this rundown of discussions now going on in Europe, North America and Africa about monitoring:

●In London, Commonwealth diplomats are considering calling a special meeting of their Southern Africa Committee to examine the problem. The committee exercises a watchdog role over events in the Republic.

If a future nonracial South African

government wanted to rejoin the Commonwealth, it would need to conform with the standards set by the institution. Also in London, Britain has stalled the visit of three EC foreign ministers to South Africa for talks with all parties until sometime after July 1 when the British assume the presidency of the EC. The three countries designated to make the journey are Britain, Portugal and Holland.

●In New York UN member countries have begun consulting over the sort of role the world body could or should play in promoting implementation of the Peace Accord and free, fair elections. There is broad backing for such a role but delegates seem painfully aware that the financially-strapped UN already is overburdened with peacekeeping missions.

●At OAU headquarters something of a split has developed on the monitoring issues. Countries like Nigeria and Kenya want to avoid offending De Klerk but most others favour substantial OAU representation in any system of observation.

In the past week, meantime, the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International have issued reports shedding new light on the degree of security force involvement in the violence. Their documented evidence has reinforced the case of those governments arguing for international monitoring of township violence and electoral surveillance.

Mass action launch pad

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The ANC's biggest mass action campaign yet will start on June 16 — the anniversary of the Soweto uprising — it was announced in Johannesburg yesterday.

The tripartite alliance of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu has decided to use Tuesday June 16 as the launching pad for a sustained campaign aimed at forcing concessions in negotiations with the Government. *STAR 12/6/92*

Nationwide rallies and a "people's referendum" would mark the beginning of the "unprecedented campaign of mass action", said senior ANC officials.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba told a

● To Page 3

Big ANC campaign to force negotiations concessions

● From Page 1

media conference yesterday that more than 70 rallies — with an expected total attendance of 1 million people — would mark the beginning of preparations for mass action "to break the current logjam in negotiations".

This year's June 16 commemorations would have a unique element in the form of a mock "referendum" in which

people would be asked whether they supported Mr de Klerk's constitutional proposals.

It is understood this was endorsed by the ANC's national executive committee this week.

A full programme of nationwide June 16 rallies — to be preceded by marches in Katlehong and Soweto — was distributed yesterday.

The League also announced it would mobilise other youth

organisations to make submissions for draft "legislation"

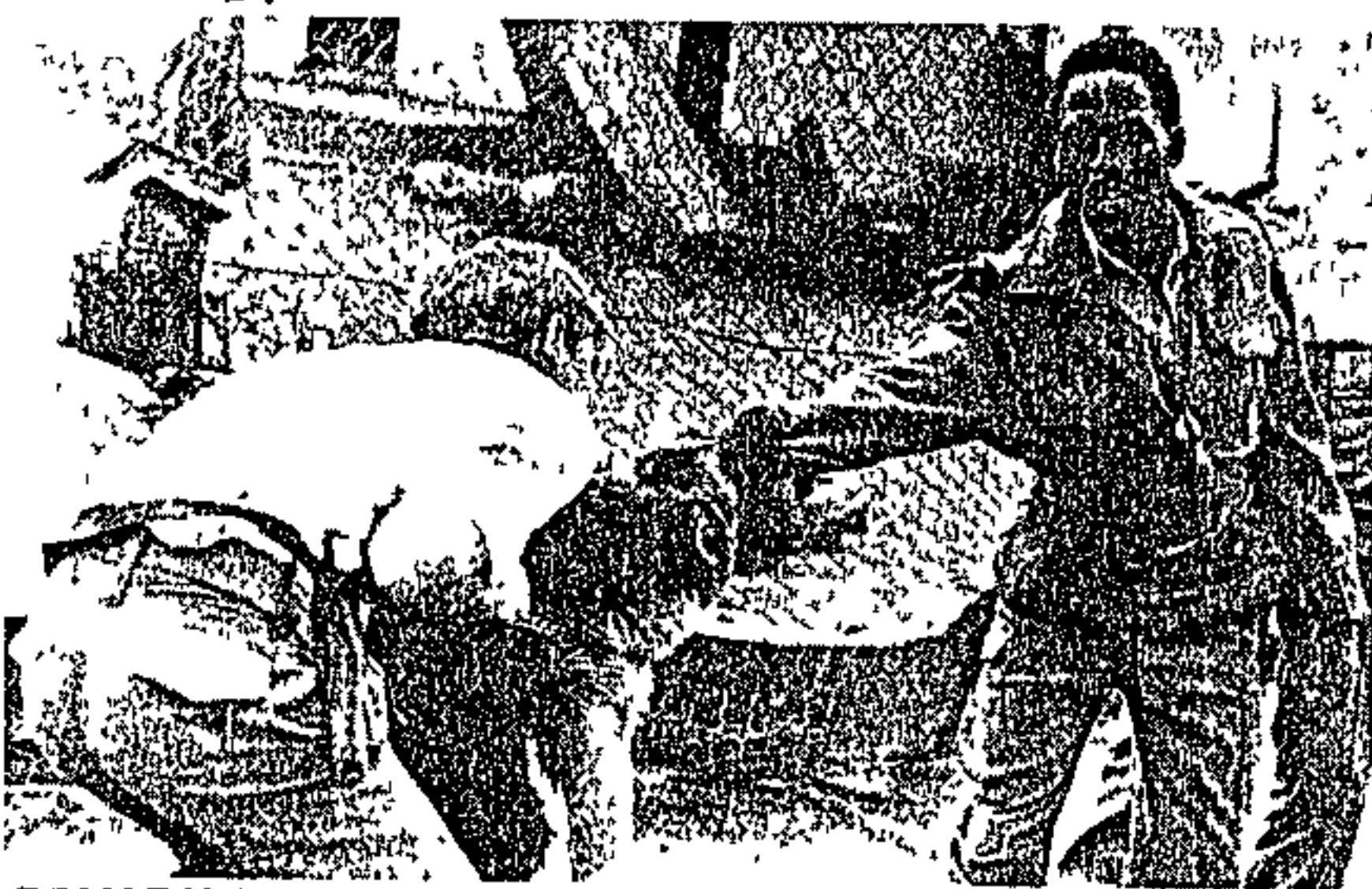
A draft of the "Bill" will be made available to the international community and the South African population.

● President de Klerk will address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi on June 16, it was announced yesterday. A statement issued by IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-

lez's office said Mr de Klerk would later address the public.

The IFP Youth Brigade yesterday announced it would hold "a rally for peace and reconciliation" on Sunday in Soweto's Jabulani Stadium.

● At separate press conferences yesterday, the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation said they would not take part in the mass action campaign.



POLICE UNDER FIRE: Amnesty International says the SAP is still at war with 'the enemy'

'It's business as usual' for partisan police — Amnesty

SOUTH 13/6-17/6/92

By Rehana Rossouw

THE GOVERNMENT must take steps to safeguard human rights or South Africa's political reform process could break down. This is the view of Amnesty International in a report released this week that implicates the police and military in political killings.

"The reforms of the past two years have brought some sweeping changes in South Africa. But as far as the security forces are concerned, it's business as

usual," says the human rights organisation. "And all too often that means taking part in political killings or standing by while others massacre political opponents."

In the 100-page report, Amnesty International documents evidence of a systematic pattern of police and military involvement in torture and assassinations during the past two years.

"Despite government promises to take the police out of politics, the fact is that they have continued their war against the ANC and allied organisations — and the government has been slow to react despite mounting evidence against the police," according to the report.

In the township violence which has cost 7 000 lives since early 1990, the police have continued the fight against those they see as "the enemy", says Amnesty International.

The report details some of the many incidents in which police participated directly or stood back and allowed massacres to occur.

- 80 people killed during an onslaught by thousands of armed Inkatha supporters on Pietermaritzburg townships in March 1990
- 80 people killed in two days of attacks by Inkatha supporters and masked white men on Phola Park squatter camp east of Johannesburg in September 1990
- 29 killed when 1 000 Inkatha supporters with active police involvement invaded Swamiville squatter camp west of Johannesburg on May 12, 1991
- 18 residents of Bruntville township, Natal, killed during attacks by hundreds of Inkatha supporters on December 3, 1991, with the police in unmarked vehicles raiding residents' homes for weapons which they might have used to defend themselves
- 18 people killed by armed Inkatha supporters and police in a dawn attack on March 13, 1992 on the Uganda squatter camp outside Durban

Few attackers prosecuted

In only one of these cases have the attackers been prosecuted for murder and in only one case has the conduct of police been subject to independent inquiry.

When there have been official inquiries, they have been hampered by violence and marked by official failure to act on their conclusions.

During an investigation into torture, killings of detainees and extrajudicial executions by the police in the Western Transvaal, witnesses and human rights monitors were harassed, threatened and shot at by the police.

In 1990 and 1991 high-profile judicial inquiries into military and police "death squads" found evidence of murder, poisoning, kidnapping, arson, perjury and destruction of evidence by members of the police and military. Not a single prosecution followed.

"The government of South Africa has, at best, been grossly negligent," says Amnesty International.

'Get away with murder'

"They have failed to act against all but a tiny proportion of human rights violators within the police and the military."

"This can only serve to give the security forces the impression that they can get away with anything, even murder. They must be held to account."

"Reform is dependent on human rights being respected. As well as welcoming political change in South Africa, the world must be alert to what is happening to human rights at the grassroots level."

"Nearly all the human rights violations in the report have happened since Nelson Mandela was freed."

"Political assassinations and other violations are not a thing of the past, as the government claims. They have not been stopped by the reform process," says Amnesty.

"The government must act now to make the police and military uphold the law, not undermine it. Otherwise hopes for a new South Africa will founder."

This is the second report in as many weeks slamming the government, police and military for their involvement in violence.

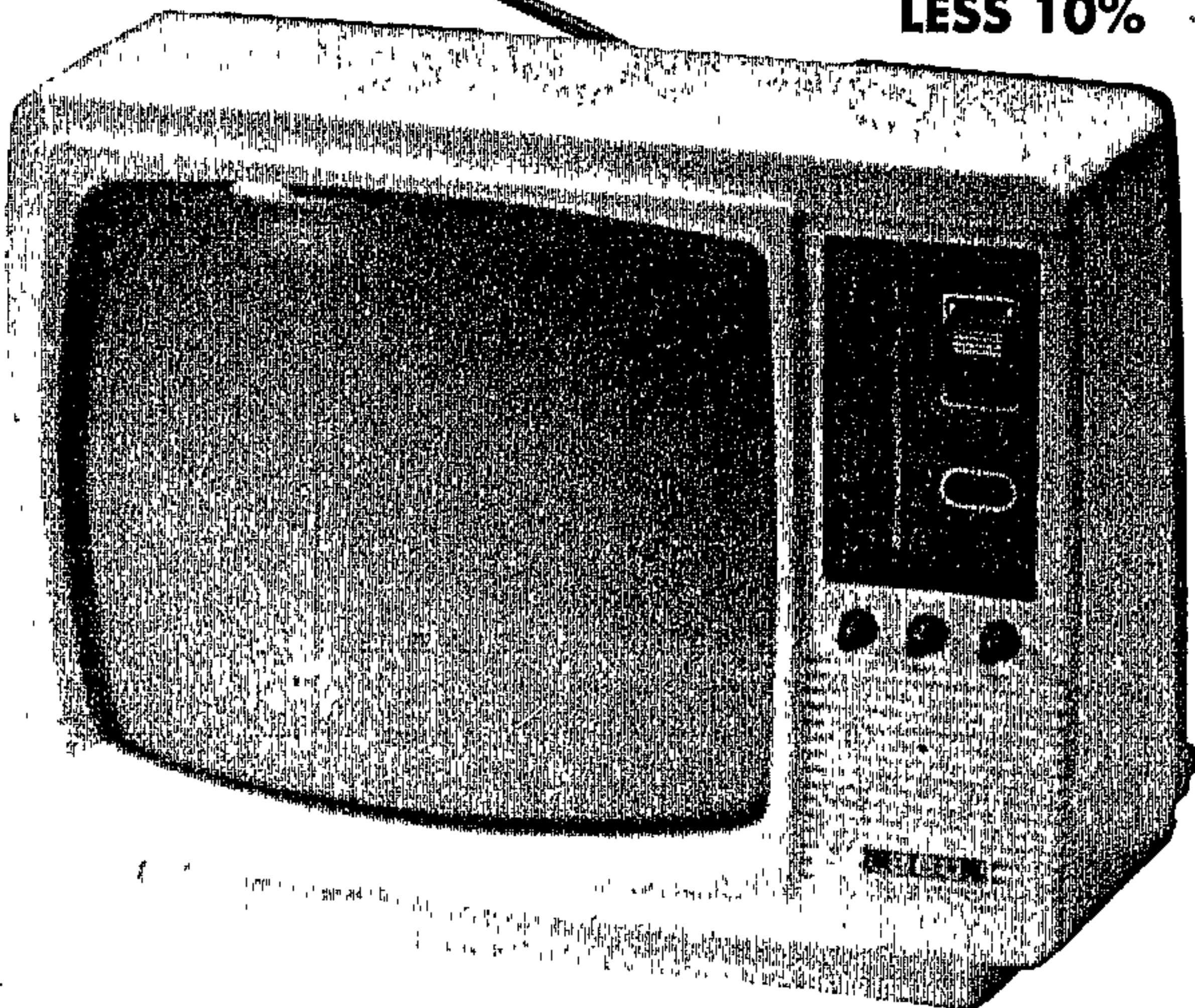
Last week the International Commission of Jurists released a report after their fact-finding tour of the country in March in which they challenged President F.W. de Klerk to bring the violence under control.

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DEFENCE force units have been put on standby as the country braces itself for a return to the confrontational politics of the past when mass action "on an unprecedented scale" hits the streets next week. *STAR 13/6/92*

The African National Congress says "Super Tuesday" will serve as the launching pad for the biggest protest campaign ever mounted in South Africa. ANC president Nelson Mandela said the purpose of the campaign was to "ensure democracy in our lifetime".

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● See Undercurrent Affairs — Page 12

The SADF has confirmed that Citizen Force and Commando members have been placed on standby in response to the ANC's mass action campaign.

Citizen Force and Commando elements were being called up, or being placed on standby in certain areas, SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt said.

The ANC and its allies plan to hold more than 76 rallies involving at least a million people to protest against what it describes as government intransigence in constitutional negotiations.

Mandela said the ANC would have preferred to negotiate solutions to problems encountered at Codesa, but negotiations had reached a dead-end and mass action was the only option.

"We regret that mass action will impact on the economy. But the economy is so mismanaged, it can't be damaged further," he said. "The Government hasn't responded to our compromises and we have no alternative but to resort to the power we have — mass action."

In another development, the South African Police will tomorrow launch a countrywide publicity campaign urging participants in the protests not to resort to violence.

Haven of peace and hope amid the violence

Star 13/6/92

TWENTY-TWO men gang-raped Mrs X after abducting her and taking her to a hostel, where she was kept for two weeks.

Since being set free, traumatised and shocked, she has had enormous difficulty in adjusting to a world that seems unmoved and to which she finds difficulty in relating.

Desperate for help, she approached the Johannesburg Trauma Clinic — run by the Project for the Study of Violence and based at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"The brutality we are seeing is more extreme than anywhere in the world," says project director, Lloyd Vogelmann. "Traumatised victims can't understand what happened to them. Their trust in the world and other people is destroyed."

The project is funded by international agen-

SOUTH Africa, where 44 people are murdered daily and hundreds are seriously assaulted, ranks as one of the most violent societies in the world. THELMA TUCH-GABAY reports on a clinic that has been established to help survivors come to terms with their ordeal.

(274)

ties and was set up in 1988 in response to increased violence in South Africa. It is run by 10 full-time staff members: a social worker assisted by psychologists, students and lay counsellors who provide a free service in the afternoons on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays each week.

Through its doors walk victims ranging from northern suburbs whites who have been robbed and assaulted in their homes, to township residents who have been attacked on trains.

Time is of the essence when it comes to counselling, says Vogelmann.

It must be done as quickly as possible after the trauma. In addition, relatives must learn new skills to relate to victims. Unfortunately, a vicious circle is inevitable. After counselling, township victims head right back into an environment which puts them at risk of more violence. Victims suffer not only the symptoms of post-traumatic stress syndrome, but something Vogelmann now refers to as continuous traumatic stress syndrome.

South Africa ranks as one of the most violent countries in the world, says Vogelmann. Statistics show that 44 people are murdered daily and hundreds are seriously assaulted.

Explaining the psychology of violence and why it is so attractive he says that "during the moment of violence, the perpetrator is almost like God — from being regarded as a nothing, he now has the power of deciding over life and death".

More recently, as people have become increasingly desensitised to violence, perpetrators have had to engage in more and more brutal acts to put their stamp on the world. He described one re-



LOYD VOGELMAN

cent incident when it was not enough for a person just to be necklaced. The victim's head was then severed and stuck on a roof. In addition, young children are increasingly becoming involved. A

five-year-old was reported to have participated in a necklacing this year. From 1989 to 1990 there had been a substantial upsurge in violence. Recent political reforms, he said, took the lid off the reservoir of hostility which had accumulated over years of apartheid.

Another reason was that violence had become part of our political culture and was regarded as the quickest way to resolve conflict. For more information on the trauma clinic telephone (011) 716-3675 or 716-3890.

Killing and culpability

STAR 7/13/92

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IT'S not just that the jury is still out — but that the jury, in many cases, never got a chance to sit. That is the biggest problem in trying to understand the causes of violence in South Africa, writes Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.



MR JUSTICE GOLDSTONE: His commission this week incisively dissected police conduct.

AS EVEN the most casual tennis player will know, it's not too difficult to put away a smash when your opponent's lob is dropped a bit short.

So it was no surprise this week when Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel — through his mouthpiece in the ministry, Captain Craig Kotze — took a confident swipe at an Amnesty International report released this week which charged the police with complicity in attacks on African National Congress supporters.

"A one-dimensional view and a critical lack of balance," Kotze thundered, "a complete whitewash of the ANC." The report, compiled after a visit to South Africa in December by researchers from the London-based human rights organisation, alludes to violent conduct by ANC members but does not detail it.

It virtually ignores the Inkatha casualties and the mounting toll in the police ranks. Most important, it fails to point out that some of the casualties, caught as they were in crossfire, cannot simply be placed in a party-political body-bag.

In one sense, then, Kriel and Kotze had a point. But putting away a smash and scoring a point is one thing — clinching game, set and match is another. Amnesty, by skimming over undeniable aspects of the violence, left some sizeable holes that the police, Inkatha and others were only too happy to push them into.

Even so, the document is still an important chronicle of business that is both bloody and unfinished, a record of conflict that must inevitably act as a seedbed for more of the same for as long as the wounds remain open.

How one allocates blame for events like the Swartville massacre — when 1 000 hostel dwellers attacked a western Transvaal squatter camp in May 1991, leaving 29 dead — or the grinding civil war in Natal is not the immediate point. The fact is there are scores of incidents involving murder and mayhem that have not yet been properly investigated. It isn't just that the jury is still out — the jury, in many cases, never got a chance to sit.

Now this suggestion could easily prompt Kriel and Kotze

into another flurry of words. But one can't help wondering if they might measure their reactions just a little if they had sat in on this week's proceedings at the Goldstone Commission.

The commission has been investigating a massacre two years ago in Wessels town, near Ermelo, where two men were shot dead and others wounded after clashes between the ANC and Inkatha. Both organisations were that day holding funerals for members killed in a previous round of clashes. The focus of the commission's attention this week was on the police investigation into the incident, and why it produced nothing.

The Amnesty International report details other investigations which came to nought. In Mphophomeni, Natal, for instance, an inquest court found nine men responsible for the abduction and murder of three trade unionists, but the Attorney-General declined to prosecute. Six years later, a Natal court heard that one of those nine men had killed again.

THAT at least was a case that came to court. But many of the other incidents dealt with by the Amnesty report have had to be pieced together from affidavits gathered by human rights monitoring groups, from lawyers, newspaper investigations and eyewitness accounts. Most of this material never got a chance to be tested in the full glare of a judicial process. Does this undermine the credibility of the report? Or is it an indictment of the process of law and order and its unwillingness to settle this unfinished business, one way or another?

The Goldstone Commission, by contrast, this week used blades of great sharpness to dissect police conduct in Wessels and assess whether they had in fact taken sides. For perhaps the first time ever, advocates and commissioners had access to the dockets that po-

lice opened after the shootings — dockets, normally, are protected by privilege.

Now before Kriel and Kotze jump in and say — as both have frequently done — that this, and the very existence of the commission, is proof of police openness, one point should be made. These dockets were handed over with great reluctance, and probably because refusing to do so in open court would have been more embarrassing in the long term.

Armed with this kind of cutting edge, the hearing was able to probe deep into what happened in the months that followed the Wessels shootings. Advocate for the commission J.J. du Toit, Judge Richard Goldstone himself and advocate David Soggott — acting

KwaZulu policemen, which had never been carried out.

The third was a statement about the incident by Amos Mthungwa, a KwaZulu MP who had come to Wessels that day to attend the Inkatha funeral. Mthungwa, under oath, said four members of the KwaZulu security branch would be in Wessels to ensure his safety. During the funeral he heard shooting, he says, and saw two of the four, Constable Zwelli Dlamini and Warrant Officer Nhlamhla Khawula, run into the street. "They began shooting back at the ANC members who were also holding a funeral," Mthungwa testified. It was for Dlamini and Khawula that warrants of arrest were issued.

When the investigation was reopened nearly a year later,

statements were only taken from four — Mthungwa, a member of the Black Cats, who were the ANC's foe in Wessels, an ANC official from Witbank who said he was at the back of the procession, and a woman who was injured while running away.

On the night of the shooting, police found hand grenades, pistols and an Uzi machine-gun in a house occupied by members of the Black Cats. Sergeant Botha said fingerprinting was done, but there were no records of this in either docket.

Also found in the house was Dlamini's police ID. Yet Captain Andre Marais and two senior officers went to Ulundi with the warrants and returned to Ermelo without the suspects. Marais said they were told the men could not be traced as there were "so many Dlaminis" in the town.

That, at least, was Marais's version. Goldstone sent Louis Visser, counsel for Inkatha in the hearing, to phone General Jac Buchner, head of KwaZulu Police, to ask him what he had to say. Buchner denied saying that the men could not be found. He says one of them was actually brought in and questioned at length. It took five more visits to the KwaZulu capital and nearly a year before Dlamini and Khawula were eventually brought to Ermelo for questioning.

This entire investigation was under the command of Major Patrick John Otto, then district head of criminal investigation in Ermelo. He has since been promoted to colonel.

This particular commission hearing resumes in August. If Judge Goldstone finally recommends that steps be taken against anyone, he is unlikely to tolerate any dragging of heels. This week he issued what was, in effect, a public reproach to the police for failing to act more promptly on evidence regarding the murder of an ANC official in the western Transvaal.

Last December, the commis-

sion heard evidence to an alleged conspiracy to murder the chairman of a civic association in Schweizer Reneke. The commission Goldstone said, had prima facie evidence members of the SAP had involved in the conspiracy had, however, become "concerned at the time which it was taking to report progress in ensuing police investigation." The investigating officer this week brought before the commission to explain.

This, and the evidence commission heard this week may well add weight to claims that the police are on certain kinds of "disclosure." But the value of these disclosures goes much further — just the settling of arguments and the allocation of blame. The violence has become a vicious circle, and attacks on policemen and Inkatha are undeniably part of it. That circle has to be broken somewhere, and the wider implications of Goldstone's work is that restoring respect for processes of law is a good place to start.

TWO examples reinforce that belief. Earlier this month, Sebokeng police constable, Skuta Marumo, was necklaced. Marumo was accused of shooting young Vaal Triangle and soon afterwards a key witness to that shooting was self-murdered. Repeated requests for the suspension of Marumo, pending settlement of the case, were refused. One decided to take the law into his own hands.

And this week in the Goldstone hearings, one of the Ermelo officers was asked why he hadn't tried to get straight after the shootings. He said it was impossible, "Soon after we got the crowd drove us back with shower of stones." As he said, it was hard not to think that too was a victim of all this finished business.



KOTZE: 'A complete whitewash of the ANC'

for The Weekly Mail, the ANC and others — could not have delved so far without the raw material from the policemen's own files.

This process revealed a number of things. An investigation into the shootings was opened soon after they occurred, but within a couple of months it had been closed. Pressure on the Government at high level forced a reopening of the case in July 1991, after ANC complaints that police were protecting Inkatha people involved in the shootings.

When the case was again put before the prosecutor for a decision, three crucial pieces of evidence from the first investigation were left out. The first was the *ondersoek dagboek* (investigation diary) of Sergeant Anton Botha, who had conducted the initial inquiries. The second was a warrant for the arrest of two men, both

Mthungwa made a second statement to Sergeant Dawid Hall, who told the commission he was never informed of the existence of the first testimony. This time Mthungwa said that when the shooting began, "I had no idea of where the security guards were at that time."

The prosecutor told Du Toit that she never received the first statement. After outlining this to a Warrant Officer Geldenhuys, who took over the investigation in 1991, Soggott put it to him that the investigators had buried the three pieces of evidence that would have implicated the KwaZulu Police in the shooting. Geldenhuys replied that he had not intended this. Goldstone then cut in. Even if this wasn't your intention, was this not the effect?

The police had some more explaining to do. Despite the fact that there were close on a thousand people at the funeral,

CAPE TOWN — Apartheid reform has enabled President F W de Klerk to talk business in 33 countries since 1990, but violence and stalled democracy negotiations have made it hard for him to deliver any deals.

De Klerk got back on Monday from Russia, Japan and Singapore, his 14th safari to barter political change for a return to the world economy. He told reporters on his return he had no guarantees of new economic ties, but expected an improvement in trade with Japan and Singapore.

"Our goals were not to go

back to South Africa with signed agreements of any nature (but) to explore and lay foundations for long-term mutually beneficial agreements. "The continuing violence is a problem."

Western diplomats, speaking on condition of anonymity, said in Cape Town that little had actually happened as a result of De Klerk's travels to boost South Africa's flagging econ-

Violence 'a problem' for

STAR 13/6/92

BRENDAN BOYLE

omy. De Klerk has visited countries as diverse as Poland, Taiwan, Ireland and France since South Africa's diplomatic isolation began to ease two years ago.

One European envoy called him a consummate salesman and said his travels since he began to dismantle apartheid in Feb-

ruary 1990 had increased the potential for trade. "But if you ask me, has he brought home new deals, new business? Well, I have to say, no, not directly."

The South African economy, skewed by 40 years of apartheid, is battling to break out of its longest post-war recession.

"There is a lot of sniffing around, a lot of research is being done in South Africa, but President de Klerk cannot pre-

SA's super salesman

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tend the violence is subsiding or that agreement on an interim government is near," said one diplomat.

About 1 000 people have been killed this year alone in fighting, mainly between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. One diplomat said Western leaders probably accepted that De Klerk was doing all he could to end the violence, although the

ANC accused white-led security forces of fanning the conflict.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha played down the effects of the violence on De Klerk's credibility abroad — and the slow progress in talks on transition to democracy. "There is great admiration for him out there and a firm belief that this Government must not be ousted, that it must be part of the decision-

making process."

Pretoria has opened 15 new embassies in the 28 months since De Klerk freed Mandela. But ANC spokesman Saki Mcozoma is sceptical about the benefits of the welcome given to De Klerk in world capitals.

"They over-estimate him. The red carpet rolled out for him abroad is likely to be translated into increasing intransigence at the negotiating

table."

Deputy Foreign Minister Renier Schoeman concedes that violence and instability are also delaying South Africa's entry to Middle-East markets.

"It is understandable that the often-heated rhetoric of the political debate ... contributes to an atmosphere of uncertainty," he said.

"There are still constraints inhibiting the expansion and consolidation of economic and political relations between South Africa and the Arab world." — Sapa-Reuter.



Mass action is a battle for moral high ground

S1 Times 14/6/92

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ON the South African political calendar, June 16 is loaded with emotion and with menace. This year it is, as the starting date for the ANC's attempt to force the National Party's hand by mass action, more doom-laden than usual.

On one side is the National Party, made nervous by the recent demonstration in East Germany that unarmed masses may bring down a hated government; on the other side is the ANC, dragged along helplessly by township youngsters whom it cannot control. Between them, anything may happen.

Much depends, however, on the form that the mass action takes. In a famous exposition of revolutionary tactics, the Brazilian guerrilla leader, Carlos Marighela, argued that violence was necessary to convert political crisis into armed conflict, and so to provoke the security forces to brutal actions that would further alienate the people from their rulers.

If that is what the ANC's mass action is intended to do — and I have no doubt that some of the organisers follow Marighela's script — a heavy onus will fall on the police and the SADF to act with restraint and with iron discipline. Neither force, I fear, has the discipline, nor indeed the training, for that difficult role.

On the contrary, there are people on both sides of the conflict who think they can use violence as an instrument of politics. Police and military officers, who are singularly ill-equipped to deal with this sort of crisis, will no doubt argue that mass action should be crushed before it begins.

Nothing could be more dangerous. Violence is inherently unpredictable, and — as we know from long experience — the danger of uncontrolled mayhem is never greater than when the security forces confront crowds of black demonstrators. Again, the indiscipline of the security forces comes into play.

So, too, does the indiscipline of the mob. Gandhi, the greatest exponent of peaceful mass action, constantly urged his followers to self-discipline and purity of motive; Martin Luther King actually trained his followers in the

techniques of peaceful mass action. Their concern was not pious, but political.

To understand their argument, it is necessary to draw a distinction between mass action as peaceful protest, and mass action which entails civil disobedience. The former is an absolute right, and much as people may dispute the wisdom of strikes, marches, assemblies and protests, there is simply no reason to forbid such acts. Indeed, the police must protect the demonstrators.

Civil disobedience is different. Its purpose is not simply to demonstrate disaffection, nor even to disrupt the normal workings of society, but to show up the immoral nature of the regime, and the injustice of the law. "Unjust law is no law at all," said Thomas Aquinas.

Martin Luther King, challenged by Christian clerics, retorted similarly that when he broke the racist laws of the United States, and accepted the punishment that went with it, he was obeying a higher law. He understood, as did Gandhi, that non-violent disobedience, especially when it attracts brutal punishment or greater injustice, generates immense moral force — the force that can bring down governments.

HOWEVER, there are certain essential criteria for civil disobedience to succeed. A Canadian scholar, Mark MacGuigan, has identified three essential principles: Firstly, civil disobedience must be distinguished from mere protest, which can be achieved by means other than law-breaking, and from actual resistance, which entails conflict. Secondly, civil disobedience must use exclusively non-violent means, even (perhaps especially) when the protesters are subjected to punishment. Thirdly, all legal means of obtaining redress must have been exhausted.

On the last of these points the ANC argues, not altogether convincingly, that it has exhausted the possibilities of negotiation because the government does not negotiate in good faith. The government, of course, disputes this.

The point will be put to the test in the coming days. If the ANC can per-

suade people, here and abroad, that the government is simply stonewalling, it will generate great pressures on President De Klerk. But if President De Klerk can persuade people that the ANC is using mass action simply to strengthen its hand in negotiations, sympathy will swing to the National Party, and the government will be freed, within judicious limits, to restore order by force.

AN even greater test lies in wait for the proponents of mass action. The second of MacGuigan's points — that exclusively non-violent means must be employed in civil disobedience — is essential to the outcome. In effect, the conflict must be turned into a morality play, with villains and victims clearly identified.

To succeed, the demonstrators must endure, without retaliation or resistance, whatever punishment the law-maker imposes on them. The greater the punishment, the more vivid the injustice, and the greater the moral force which is generated. At the extreme, a demonstrator who dies uncomplainingly acquires the status, and generates the moral force, of martyrdom.

King's demonstrators in the American South were hand-picked for their self-control, and put through rigorous training to endure, without retaliation, assaults by water hoses, teargas, baton charges, and worse.

Nobody, I imagine, thinks that the undisciplined township youth, the lost generations of 1976 and the following years, possess the qualities that might convert mass action into moral pressure. On the contrary, whatever moral advantage they may have acquired from suppression by unjust rulers is likely to be dissipated in cycles of degenerating behaviour, descending from *toy-toy* to stone-throwing, to looting and destruction, to arson and murder, until they discover again, in the very pit of degeneracy, the neck-lace.

At that point, moral advantage will have passed to the Nationalists.

KEN OWEN

Nation braced for mass action

By SEKOLA SELLO and SAPA

THE government and the ANC were yesterday locked in serious talks in a last-minute bid to avoid confrontation over mass action planned for this week.

The emergency talks come in the wake of a hardening of attitudes and trading of accusations by the two parties.

Against a backdrop of deteriorating relations, the ANC alliance announced this week that Tuesday's national June 16 rallies would be a launching pad for mass action on an "unprecedented scale".

In response, the government has put Citizen Force and Commando Force members on standby to help the police "maintain peace, stability and law and order".

This decision amounted to "declaring open war against the people", the ANC said.

It further charged that "there can be no question that the mobilisation of the SADF is intended to intimidate the disenfranchised majority with a massive display of force".

The ANC said it would not be intimidated by a show of force. Rather than "participating with sincerity in the negotiation process", the government chose to rely on propaganda and brute force.

Contrasting its hardline attitude towards mass action by the ANC was the government's leniency towards armed vigilantes parading the streets, the organisation added.

"The people of SA and the international community will hold De Klerk responsible for any loss of life or injuries."

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus confirmed the emergency talks saying mass action, the

call-up and the "situation in general" were being discussed.

At the time of going to press, the outcome of the talks was not known.

Meanwhile, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi cut short a trip to the US because he feared the campaign would exacerbate violence, while the PAC and Azapo said they would not support mass action if it aimed to resuscitate failed talks at Codesa.

On arrival at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport, Buthelezi said he was "very disturbed" with the planned action and foresaw clashes between IFP members and those planning the campaign.

Reiterating its commitment to strive for a reconstituted Patriotic Front, the PAC urged the ANC to desist "from further participation in Codesa".

ANC leader Nelson Mandela shrugged off the PAC's decision not to support the campaign. Speaking in Durban, he said: "Whether they support us or not is irrelevant. Progress has been made so far despite the PAC."

Despite behind-closed-doors attempts to make up, the ANC launched a scathing public attack on the government saying: "The De Klerk government, rocked by corruption, proof of police and military involvement in the murder of activists and a complete failure to protect the lives and property of all South Africans, wants to return to rule by the old ways of coercion and repression."

"Instead of guaranteeing the protection of people whose only means to make their views known is to vote with their feet, De Klerk and his colleagues are identifying them as the enemy."

Killings deepen hospital crisis

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE crisis in black hospitals in the Transvaal deepened yesterday following the brutal gunning down of three trade union members and a bystander in two separate incidents in the East Rand's Natalspruit.

It has also been alleged that strikers have been harassed by police.

A statement issued on Friday by the National Education and Health Workers Union (Nehawu) said Victoria Mazibuko, a

nursing sister at Natalspruit Hospital and Grissell Marubelela, both Nehawu shop stewards, were gunned down by men who burst into a meeting at Mazibuko's house on Thursday evening.

The husband of one of the dead women was also killed in the attack.

In an incident on Tuesday, Nehawu member Vuyo Mtshekeshe was shot dead in Natalspruit.

Nehawu alleged that a nurse at the Boksburg/Benoni Hospital had also been assaulted and her vehicle da-

amaged on Friday morning. This was confirmed by the TPA.

Nehawu said: "This is clearly a cowardly attempt to scare our members and to stop them from exercising what are basic trade union rights."

Nehawu general secretary Phillip Dexter said in addition to the 11 hospitals that were affected by the strike, unconfirmed reports said more hospitals in the Transvaal and Free State have been hit.

At a press conference in Johannesburg

on Friday the Nehawu leadership said strikers would not be intimidated by "union-bashing tactics". They emphasised, however, the strike was not linked to the planned ANC/Cosatu mass action.

Nehawu president Bheki Phakathi said his union would blame the government for any deaths of patients during the strike.

Nehawu condemned "in the strongest terms the revival of the death of 20 babies who allegedly died during the union's 1990 strike at Ga-

Rankuwa Hospital".

It said the TPA was trying to present the strikers as "insensitive people" and was desperately trying to shift attention from the strikers' legitimate demands.

Cosatu vice-president Chris Dlamini said the union federation supported the strikers' demands.

Nehawu is demanding a 15 percent wage increase and the TPA is offering 9,2 percent. By late yesterday the TPA and Nehawu were still locked in negotiations.

Mass action marks shift

Clippings 14/16/92



Negotiations to now take a back seat.

By SEKOLA SELLO (214)

CONTRARY to popular belief, the decision by the ANC to embark on mass action at the beginning of July is not, as several commentators have claimed, the action of a petulant organisation unable to get its way at Codesa 2. Mass action is not a kneejerk response to problems at Codesa. Instead, it marks a definite shift in the thinking of the organisation on the whole question of negotiations and ending white domination.

The battle to dislodge FW de Klerk from power will now be fought in the streets, squatter camps and factory floors – not in the sedate atmosphere of the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Two factors are regarded as having played a big role in the organisation's decision to adopt a confrontationalist approach.

Firstly, the violence – which is being blamed on the government – has seriously hampered the ANC's efforts to organise in the black community.

There is a feeling in the ANC that should elections take place, it may not be able to muster a comfortable governing majority given the level of violence in the country.

Mass action will involve creating structures with "defence components" so that the organisation can, according to a spokesman, "survive in Umtata, Zonkeziwe, and other areas of Natal".

Secondly, there is an increasing lack of confidence in the ability of Codesa or negotiations to deliver. Questions were also being asked whether the aspirations of the ANC's general membership were being adequately represented in Codesa.

It is primarily these two factors, ANC insiders claim, which have now pushed mass action to the fore as the principal weapon to dislodge the government.

Mass action is seen as the best way of ensuring that people's aspirations are realised. Structures with defence components, it is hoped, will also provide protection to the people.

Negotiations are still considered necessary but they are now relegated to a supportive role. A member of the ANC National Executive Committee Peter Mokaba says negotiations must be conducted in the context "of the struggle that is taking place outside the negotiations forum".

Mokaba goes on to say the "two biggest ever mistakes made by the movement" since organisations were unbanned two years ago were to subordinate mass action to negotiations and to use mass action as a tool to be invoked every time there were problems in the negotiations.

The powerful ANC Youth League headed by Mokaba has for some time contended that mass action was not like a tap which could be turned on and off depending on the circumstances.

The prevailing opinion in the organisation now is that negotiations are not the primary strategy or goal of the movement. Mass action is now seen as the overriding strategy on which even negotiations must be based.

That negotiations are taking a back seat as the focus of struggle between the two major parties at Codesa is also shown by the number of headline positions taken at the recent ANC policy conference.

The main contentious issue is that decisions taken by the elected national assembly (the Constituent Assembly) must be accepted by a two thirds majority.

On the two thirds majority issue Mokaba says the organisation is "prepared to have as many deadlocks as possible".

The organisation is adamant that both the election to the Constituent Assembly and its sitting must not take place under the jurisdiction of the present government.

The issue of percentages and the Constituent Assembly are considered non-negotiable.

The planned programme of action provides for rendering "apartheid structures" like community councils, homelands and Department of Education and Training unworkable.

Consumer boycotts, indefinite strikes and the resettlement of the homeless people in any land available and suitable for occupation are part of the strategy.

It is envisaged that structures like community councils, once having been rendered unworkable, will be taken over by the "organs of people's power" to make sure that Pretoria does not reinstate its administrators.

Structures with a "defence component" will also be created to ensure that the movement can organise in places which are now considered no go areas because of the level of violence and intimidation in them.

These will be ongoing strategies against Pretoria, and according to Mokaba they do not expect that "during the course of this mass action there will be calls for such action to stop because we have reached some agreement on this or that".

While focus has been largely on the adverse effects mass action is likely to have on the economy, it is the resettlement of the homeless which is fraught with serious problems.

Several residential associations in Johannesburg's northern suburbs are reported to be arming themselves and preparing to use force to prevent squatters in their neighbourhood.

This followed a decision by the Transvaal Provincial Administration to resettle Zwenfontein squatters at sites in Diepsloot and Nieuwedacht – a decision which has been strongly opposed by residents in the surrounding suburbs.

Most residents claim that resettling these homeless people will devalue their properties, create shun conditions and also lead to an increase in crime.

The ANC's view is that if people had the courage to occupy land in and around black townships, "if this is done in an orderly manner to maintain standards", then white, empty land within white areas will also have to be occupied.

If the ANC lives up to its threats, we could well be heading for a long winter of discontent.

Four-phase strategy to bring government to its knees

ANC UNVEILS BATTLE PLAN

STimes 14/6/92

By EDYTH BULBRING and MIKE ROBERTSON

THE ANC has spelt out details of a four-phase battle plan for mass action aimed at bringing the government to its knees — starting with Tuesday's day of protest.

Occupations, sit-ins, marches, boycotts and acts of disobedience and disruption are planned in an escalating campaign dubbed "Operation Exit", which will culminate with an effort to stage a general strike in August.

ANC campaigns co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils, a Communist Party member, yesterday told the Sunday Times details of the plan adopted by the "alliance" — the ANC, SACP, Cosatu, youth movements and civic organisations. The campaign was condemned yesterday by Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer as

"dangerous, disruptive and with no moral grounds".

As the country girded itself for an extended period of disruption, an SADF spokesman announced on Friday that army reserves were being called up. Yesterday the ANC declared the call-ups amounted to a declaration of war on peaceful protest.

The first phase of the ANC campaign begins on Tuesday with 70 rallies across the country and lasts until June 30 — the deadline the alliance has given the government to establish an interim government.

Another key date in this period is June 26, when the alliance will present draft legislation, a "Transition to Democracy Act", to "people's assemblies" for approval.

During this first phase, Mr Kasrils said, action will be planned locally and regionally.

Focus

If the government ignores the June 30 deadline, the second phase swings into action from July 1.

The focus will be the co-ordination of national campaigns. For example, said Mr Kasrils, a day could be decided on when people take to the streets across the country or a week could be identified for certain boycott action.

During the first week of the second phase, the alliance will also decide on the date and length of a national strike and

stayaway. The middle of August has been proposed.

Phase three would begin with the general strike and stayaway, and intensified civil disobedience. Efforts to target corrupt institutions and bring the government to a standstill would be intensified.

Phase four, dubbed "exit gate", in which the government is supposed to exit from power, begins after the national strike.

Sustained

The alliance envisages that by this point the pressure that has built up since June 16 will have become unstoppable, and that the numbers involved in campaigns will have swelled to several million.

There is no deadline for the termination of the action. It would be sustained until democracy was won, Mr Kasrils said.

"This kind of action, as demonstrated in Eastern Europe to bring about democracy, was applauded by the West. To deny South Africans the same right to become the handmaidens of democracy would be racist and undemocratic," Mr Kasrils said.

The action would be directed at "snarling up the wheels of government". This could include besieging and occupying government buildings and clogging their telephones and fax machines.

Institutions that have been connected with corruption and hit squads, such as police headquarters, would also be targets. Mr Kasrils said the people would demand that individuals involved in corruption and murder be

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brought to justice. Laying siege to prisons to demand the release of political prisoners is also envisaged.

Homeland governments, particularly Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, would also come under pressure. Mass occupation of the casinos has been discussed.

People would be encouraged to boycott products advertised on the SABC, which the ANC alliance believes should be transformed.

Central to the ANC plan is an appeal to the international community to put pressure on the government to bow to the ANC's demands for rapid movement towards an interim government.

"What needs to be understood is that there is a smooth and a rough road to democracy. The government blocked the smooth road at Codesa 2. We must now travel the rough road," Mr Kasrils said yesterday.

The implementation of Operation Exit, adopted at an alliance summit on May 13 and developed at the ANC's policy conference, was discussed at an alliance meeting on Thursday.

Representatives emphasised that all action should be disciplined and peaceful.

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Mr Meyer said after a meeting with the ANC that ANC leader Nelson Mandela had twisted the facts to justify mass action in a speech made in Durban on Friday.

It was not true, Mr Meyer said, that the government was 'clinging to power at all costs and that the negotiation process had reached a dead end. The best proof was the meetings that had taken place with the ANC recently.

The government remained committed to negotiations but would not be threatened. It was also untrue, Mr Meyer said, that progress had not been made in negotiations.

"The ANC knows it has reached agreement with the government on a transitional phase in which provision will be made for a transitional parliament and a transitional government," he said.

Bill gives AGs more muscle

STimes 14/6/92

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

to be balanced with powers to protect the community."

ATTORNEYS general will be given sweeping powers to decide on whether bail should be granted in violence-related crimes in terms of a Bill to be tabled in Parliament tomorrow.

A Justice Ministry spokesman said the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which also contained new provisions to deal with issues such as the possession of firearms, intimidation

and private armies, amounted to "government's declaration of war on violence".

But Democratic Party justice spokesman Tony Leon said the Bill amounted to further evidence that the government was undermining fundamental liberties and the due process of law.

ated the government's motivation in wanting to stamp out violence and drug-related offences.

However, by ditching procedural safeguards it was fashioning a club which the future government could use at will.

He said that, despite recent changes which made attorneys general independent of the government, AGs remained the chief prosecuting authority for the state.

He hoped that many of the worst aspects of the Bill would be removed once the parliamentary select committee that dealt with justice legislation had finished studying it.

He said one aspect that troubled him was that parliament would have just five days to discuss and approve the Criminal Law Amendment Bill if the government was determined to push it through this session.

Treason

In recent weeks the government had tabled a range of legislation which, if implemented, would:

- Reverse the onus of proof in drug-related crimes. The measures would apply not only to drug traffickers but bank managers and stockbrokers who could unwittingly be in possession of drug money;

- Give attorneys general the right to authorise phone taps and mail interceptions in a wide range of suspected crimes, including drug trafficking, murder, treason, rape, bestiality, arson and serious economic crimes.

Mr Leon said he appreci-

When it came to phone taps, he said, this would result in "the state being able to determine whether it has the authorisation to invade a person's privacy".

"I have nothing against the AG, but he is not the right person to sit as judge and jury."

Mr Leon said he would be moving an amendment to replace the AG with a judge in chambers. "He will be a proper referee," he said.

"Fundamental liberties and due processes have to be preserved in the new South Africa. But this has

Bail

A Justice Ministry spokesman said the Bill would give AGs the right to decide on bail applications in violence-related crimes.

If an AG decided not to grant bail he would have to issue a certificate to the court stating that the person concerned was being held in connection with a special offence relating to violence.

An onus would be placed on the state to proceed with the case against the person who was denied bail within a specific time frame.



KEVIN DAVIE

Business

Internal Peace Bill tabled (274)

LEGISLATION aimed at getting communities to combat violence was tabled in parliament on Friday in the Internal Peace Institutions Bill.

The Bill proposes the establishment of a National Peace Secretariat as well as regional and local dispute resolution committees. The secretariat would co-ordinate and monitor the functions of the committees which would work towards peace.

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in other countries that are just as high as ours [Interjections]

†Dr P J GOUS Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon Minister that we are, indeed, a highly taxed country, is it not wise, at this early stage, to give the economy an indication that he is not going to use this source of income as a basis to plan what his expenditure will be, and that he has already decided to live within limited sources of income? Can the present income be sufficient for that or not? [Interjections] Does he not want to give the taxpayer in this country such an indication at this stage?

†The MINISTER Mr Speaker, I did not confirm that we are a highly taxed country. I only confirmed that our taxation is not low [Interjections] At this stage it would be completely premature to give the taxpayer any indication at all. It is far too early in the budget year [Interjections]

Research on greenhouse effect

*3 Mr J CHIOLE asked the Minister of Environment Affairs †

(1) Whether any research has been done in connection with the influence of the greenhouse effect on weather and/or climatic conditions in Southern Africa, if so, what are the findings in respect of the incidence of drought conditions in Southern Africa.

(2) whether South Africa will make any contributions or have any contributions made on the greenhouse effect at the Earth Conference to be held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992; if not, why not; if so, what will the nature of these contributions be?

B752E

†The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS

(1) Yes; South Africa has an active programme of research on global environmental change which addresses the greenhouse effect and the possible influence thereof on terrestrial and marine systems, water resources, agriculture and forestry. Several State departments, universities and other research bodies are involved in this research. Preliminary results suggest that

some parts of South Africa could become drier, other parts wetter, under conditions of climate warming. However, there remains much uncertainty about global warming and its consequences.

(2) No

South Africa was not officially represented at the Earth Conference in Rio de Janeiro and therefore could not make contributions on any subject at that conference. South Africa, however, made a contribution beforehand in the form of the report "Building the foundation for sustainable development in South Africa"—pp 78-80 and p 109 of this report refer to the greenhouse effect.

†Mr J CHIOLE Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, in view of the research that has been done and the acknowledgement that certain areas will become drier and that certain areas may become wetter, are those findings sent to the various agricultural unions before the time or on an annual basis, in order to enable them to report back to the farmers in that area?

†The MINISTER Mr Speaker, I have already told the hon member that this research is very preliminary. It is not conclusive and it would be misleading to relay this information to the different agricultural unions.

†Mr J CHIOLE Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, I would like to know from him what amount South Africa spends on this research annually.

†The MINISTER Mr Speaker, if the hon member will have the question put onto the Question Paper, I shall reply to it later.

Number of self-defence units: ANC

*4 Mr C E HERTZOG asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether the South African Police has any information on the number of self-defence units established in the Republic by the ANC to date; if so,

(2) whether he will disclose this information, if not, why not; if so, (a) how many such units are there in the Republic and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished.

(3) whether the Government intends taking any steps in respect of these units; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when? B756E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

(1) Yes.

(2) (a) The South African Police is aware of the existence of eighty five (85) units in the Republic of South Africa

(b) 5 June 1992

(3) (a) and (b)

No steps have been taken against the self-defence units, as no law makes provision for such action. However, steps are being taken against individual members of the units who commit criminal offences.

†Mr C E HERTZOG Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, does he not think that it is a dangerous situation that is developing?

†The MINISTER Mr Speaker, there are several organizations that we regard as dangerous and that may become dangerous. This is just one. We also regard the Wenkommandos and the Yster-garde, of whom the hon member is, no doubt, aware, as dangerous [Interjections]

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament

Task force to Zaïre

*5 Mr W A BOTHA asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether the government sent a task force to Zaïre during the past year to renovate certain naval bases in that country, if so, (a) when, (b) why, (c) what naval bases and (d) what was the cost involved;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B757E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE.

(1) and (2) No.

Buying-up of smuggled weapons

*6 Mr W A BOTHA asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether the Government has voted any money for the buying-up of arms smuggled

into South Africa, if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, (a) what amount was voted for this purpose and (b) in respect of what date or period is this information furnished.

(2) whether such arms are being bought-up so that they may not reach *inter alia* the ANC; if not, why are they being bought up;

(3) whether the Government intends taking any steps in respect of the brokers and buyers of such arms; if not, why not; if so, what steps;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B758E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

(1) Money has not been voted for the SA Defence Force for the buying-up of smuggled arms. There is, however, a fund which is used to reward persons for handing in arms.

(2) and (3) fall away.

(4) No

SADF involvement in death of two persons:

Noenleput

*7 Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Defence †

(1) Whether he will furnish information on whether any members of the South African Defence Force were in any way involved in an incident during which two persons, whose names have been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, were killed at or near Noenleput in the Kaahran in November 1991; if not, why not; if so, (a) in what way and (b) what are the names of these two persons;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B768E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE.

(1) The SA Defence Force was not involved in the incident

(2) No.

where does the money of the increasing gap is going and what the solutions are. ~~It is~~ According to the report only approximately 29% of the increasing gap can be attributed to the fact that some boards restrict competition. What about the other factors to which approximately 71% of the blame can be attributed but in respect of which no recommendations were made? ~~What~~

The following are examples from the report itself. Firstly, one of the most important causes is general inflation pressure which comprises approximately 40% of the cause which, according to the report, can *inter alia* be attributed to overspending by the State. Secondly, wages and trade union action are not in line with productivity. Thirdly, industries are being overprotected in the name of self-sufficiency. In the fourth instance six large food companies provide more than 60% of the processed food products. They are part of the big conglomerates in the country and their share prices increased more rapidly than those of the other industries. In the fifth instance the gap increased especially after the introduction of VAT in 1991, especially also as a result of the taxability of food which can therefore be linked directly to State policy [Time expired]

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY Mr Chauman, the hon member for Yeoville said he would let me off lightly with his savage attack. Of course, the classic comment on being attacked savagely is that it feels like being savaged by a sheep [Interjections] I thank him for his gentleness [Interjections]

The hon member for Delmas referred to the report of the Board of Trade and Tariffs in which there is an attempt to make an analysis of the divergence between the producer-price index and the consumer-price index. It is interesting to note that the media have run away with this report and interpreted this divergence as being solely the result of control boards.

They correctly pointed out, however, that food inflation is a part of inflation in general. I do not intend to become involved in an argument on macro-economic policy at this stage. It also points out that 2% of that divergence was due to an increase in wages, and also due to an increase in so-called shrinkage in the retail chain. Shrinkage means theft, mainly on the part of the employees of those retail chains.

It goes further and says that 0,2% is due to the fact that price subsidies on food have been removed. It says that 0,3% is due to the fact that certain controls have been removed. It goes further and says that 1% is unidentifiable.

The popular notion, however, is that control boards are the great evil. I have to say that it was in the [Time expired]

MR E K MOORCROFT Mr Speaker, five years ago, here in Cape Town, I was shocked to see, for the first time in my life, a person scrounging for food in a garbage can. That sort of thing, I thought, only took place in Ethiopia or Bangladesh. Today, however, the sight of hungry people scrounging in garbage cans has become commonplace. One can see it during any lunchtime on a walk up Government Avenue.

It is but one of the many symptoms which indicate the cruel poverty in which increasing numbers of underprivileged people in this country are beginning to live. As my colleague the hon member for Yeoville has pointed out, we do not have to look very far for at least one of the causes of poverty, and that is the ever-increasing spiral in the cost of basic foodstuffs.

The hon Deputy Minister has a knowledge of France and will be aware of the political consequences of shortages of affordable food. He will know what happened to Marie Antoinette when, on being informed that there was a shortage of bread, advised her subjects to eat cake instead.

The first thing the hon the Minister should do, as my hon colleague has suggested, is to study carefully the recently tabled report of the Department of Trade and Industry. He should seek ways of decreasing the ever-increasing gap between producer and consumer prices highlighted in that report. One of the best ways of doing that is to improve the climate for free choice. Both producer and consumer must have free access to markets of their choice. The State should make it possible for this choice to be exercised [Time expired]

MR D H M GIBSON Mr Speaker, the hon the Deputy Minister's reference to sheep was enough to make the consumer's mouth water, because there are many of them who have not been close to that expensive meat for a long time. I was talking about the hon the Minister himself, and I believe he has enormous clout in Govern-

ment, as well as in business, because of his background. I also believe that he should be using the influence he has with the business community to start turning South Africa around. I believe that the hon the Minister is uniquely placed to persuade both the Government and big business to co-operate. One suggestion is that they refuse to grant wage increases larger than 10% for this year. Then they must start limiting price increases, whether administered by the Government or decided upon by business, to no more than 10%. ~~What~~

prof Kassier to investigate the role of marketing control boards in South Africa [Time expired.] Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply

General Affairs

State President

Total cost of overseas visits

*1 Mr D P DU PLESSIS asked the State President:†

What was the total cost of the overseas visits undertaken by him and his entourage (a) in 1991 and (b) during the period 1 January 1992 up to the latest specified date for which information is available?

THE STATE PRESIDENT

- (a) R2 790 357
(b) R2 614 724

These amounts are based on the latest available information and reflect the expenditure for all components which were involved in the overseas visits, namely

- (1) The State President's Office
- (2) The Department of Foreign Affairs
- (3) The security component, as provided by the National Intelligence Service

Second Interim Report: Goldstone Commission

*2. Mr L FUCHS asked the State President

- (1) When was the Second Interim Report of the Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation (the Goldstone Commission) received by him, ~~274~~
- (2) whether this report was released immediately after being so received; of not, (a) why not and (b) on what date was it released?

†THE STATE PRESIDENT.

(1) and (2)

(274)

The report was signed by Mr Justice Goldstone on 29 April 1992 and then made available for the translation, printing and duplication thereof. These steps were necessary due to the fact that the responsible Minister was of the opinion that the report was not simply an *ad hoc* report but represented a phase of the Commission's wider investigation. I was informed that these preparatory steps were cleared by the responsible Minister with Mr Justice Goldstone. Final clearance occurred on 13 May 1992. On 14 May 1992 the Minister of Justice submitted the report to me in the normal course of events by means of a Minute. After consideration of the report I directed that it be tabled in Parliament and that certain Ministers concerned should react thereto with a view to the implications thereof. This, *inter alia*, led to a positive result in that the Minister of Local Government and National Housing could confirm on 2 June 1992 that an amount of R294,6 million was budgeted for the 1992/93 financial year for the conversion and upgrading of hostels. This was in accordance with one of the Commission's recommendations.

Mr L FUCHS: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the State President's reply, is he prepared to concede that in withholding the report for a long time, and then releasing certain selected passages, he was willingly or unwittingly placing the whole commission and its credibility in jeopardy?

The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, I received it, as I have said, on 14 May and gave instructions that it be tabled in Parliament. It was tabled in less than 14 days. If the hon young member [Interjections] would go to the trouble of checking other legislation, he would find that there are prescriptions with regard to the period within which documentation is to be tabled. The usual period allowed is 14 days. In this case the enabling Act does not prescribe any period whatsoever.

I think that within the practice of parliamentary experience it is commonly done within 14 days, and this was tabled within 14 days. That is not an unreasonable delay, and there is nothing sinister in the delay which has occurred, inasmuch as it can be described as a delay. The argument which I am advancing is that there was no delay in any

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

real sense of the word whatsoever. I give the assurance to this House that there was nothing sinister in it. There is nothing in there that we wanted to have hidden. There is still nothing in that report which we want to have hidden on which we would not like the public to know about or be fully informed about.

Mr L FUCHS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the State President, who, with the utmost respect, still has not answered my question, does he believe that the Goldstone Commission has been placed in jeopardy and that the credibility of the Goldstone Commission has in any way been placed in jeopardy?

The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, we did not intend in any way whatsoever to do so, and I do not think that any responsible South African should in any way undermine the credibility of this very important instrument which was created, at the initiative of the Government, to monitor the problem of violence. If its credibility has been placed in jeopardy, it was done by people who misused a simple set of facts in order to create a suspicion about something which never existed.

Ministers

Retirement of teachers on accelerated pension

*1 Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education.†

- (1) Whether, with reference to the joint media statement of 17 February 1992 in which it was announced that certain teachers may retire from service on accelerated, adjusted pension and to which the Minister of Education and Culture in the Administration House of Assembly referred in his reply to Question No 1 on 27 May 1992, he has taken or intends taking any measures in this regard, if so, when will he disclose particulars thereof,
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B750E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

- (1) Yes, amendments in respect of education legislation and regulations as well as pension regulations are currently being

made. As soon as these amendments are effected, details will be made known.

- (2) No, not at this stage.†
- Mr R MBURROWS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he at least give us an indication of the implementation date of these regulations?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I envisage an implementation date of not later than 31 July.

Reduction of personal income tax

*2. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Finance.†

- (1) Whether he considers himself bound by his predecessor's undertaking to reduce personal income tax over a period of five years; if not, why not, if so, (a) how and (b) over what period does he envisage bringing about this reduction,
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B751E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

- (1) I regret that I will not be able to answer the hon member's question satisfactorily until early in 1993. As I stated during the interpellation debate on 20 May 1992, decisions about taxation rates for the next financial year will be taken during the preparation of the 1993/94 National Budget. The final decisions will be taken by the Cabinet. At that stage I hope to propose some alternatives to my colleagues, and I can assure you that at least one of them will be based on lower rates.

As we are all well aware, circumstances have changed since my predecessor, Mr Barend du Plessis, undertook four years ago to reduce taxation rates over a five year period. South Africa is experiencing its longest post-war economic recession and this is placing pressure on state revenue. At the same time, socio-economic demands on state expenditure are increasing. Signs that these dual pressures were limiting the Government's ability to continue with its programme of lowering taxation rates began to emerge last year. They were confirmed in the 1992/93 National Budget when my predecessor

stated that tough economic conditions precluded a reduction in taxation rates during the current financial year.

- (2) I do not intend making any statements on tax rates before the 1993/94 Budget.

†Adv CH PIENNAAR: My Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, will he concede that unless there is an economic upswing, the position of the State's liabilities and the debts that the State has to service at the moment are of such a nature that the indication is that in order just to cope, the State will have to increase taxation?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, any good development in our economy will be able to take place only if we can make the economy grow vigorously again. I think it is clear.

†Dr P J GOUS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask him if he is of the opinion that the South African taxpayer, as far as both direct and indirect taxation are concerned, is taxed at a low rate or not?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I think according to the general expert opinion we are not taxed at a low rate. [Interjections]

†Dr W J BOTHA: Mr Speaker, [Interjections]

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! Just let us hear the hon member's question! [Interjections]

†Dr W J BOTHA: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, I want to ask him if he thinks that the benefits that the South African taxpayer receives compare with the benefits the taxpayer receives in countries that pay lower rates? [Interjections]

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I do not believe I am able to draw such comparisons with other countries. The position of each country is unique, and we treat this situation on merit. [Interjections]

†Dr W J BOTHA: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, may I ask him why, then, he has used the argument of the low rate of taxation in other countries in the interpellation?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am not aware of having made use of low rates of taxation. I think I mentioned a number of rates of taxation

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Cosatu spells out four-phase plan

SA braced for mass action campaign

CAPE TOWN — Government is bracing for an extended period of disruption as a result of the ANC alliance's mass action campaign which starts tomorrow.

The security forces were on standby and thousands of the 500 000-strong citizen and commando reserves had been called up or were on standby to cope with the action, government sources said yesterday.

But this was to ensure the law was not broken and to guarantee the safety of citizens should there be intimidation.

"We will maintain peace, law and order and still show the ANC and its partners that its mass action campaign was a waste of time and only injured its own supporters and the very poor that it claims to represent," the source said.

The ANC, SACP and Cosatu at the weekend spelt out a four-phase plan to cripple government and force it to bow to the alliance's demands.

The action starts tomorrow (June 16, Soweto Day) with a day of protest. It will continue with occupations, sit-ins, marches, rallies, and boycotts. It the plan runs its course it will culminate in a general strike in August.

The government source said that while the mass action campaign was totally unnecessary, destructive and unlikely to help negotiations, government had no real problem with marches and rallies.

However, he said there could be intimidation if there were stayaways. Even though marshalls and organisers might be determined to keep marches and rallies

BILLY PADDOCK

peaceful, they could degenerate into dangerous violence especially if there was strong opposition from other political groupings.

WILSON ZWANE reports that Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa yesterday urged businessmen to shut their factories and offices on days of mass action or strike during the programme.

Shilowa said the fact that business leaders had played a role in securing a yes vote in the referendum showed they were supportive of a new constitution.

"We have made our demands and we would like business — unless it wants to be perceived as siding with government — to say how it wants to participate in our mass action programme," Shilowa said.

Cosatu was prepared to meet business leaders "in whatever way" to discuss the matter.

Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons yesterday declined to comment.

Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Musa Zondi yesterday called on supporters to make the campaign fail by not taking part. Addressing a rally at Soweto's Jabulani

Amphitheatre yesterday, Zondi said his organisation was opposed to the programme.

He said it would damage Codesa negotiations, cripple the economy and give rise to large-scale violence.

Shilowa said the programme's first phase — the mobilisation phase — would begin tomorrow and finish at the end of the

□ To Page 2

Mass action

month. During this period locally and regionally planned mass demonstrations, including marches and pickets, would be staged.

Another key day in this period would be June 26 — the day on which the Freedom Charter was adopted at Kliptown in 1955.

If government did not accede to the demand for an interim government, the second phase of the programme would swing into action. Shilowa said nationally co-ordinated mass action campaigns would be launched in this phase.

Phase three, to begin in August, would be characterised by a general strike, more mass marches and sporadic stayaways.

Phase four, dubbed the "exit gate", is when government is supposed to exit from power.

Shilowa said running concurrently with Cosatu's unprecedented mass action campaign would be "intensified" campaigns for demands such as a living wage, lower food prices and the extension of "worker rights" to domestic and farm workers.

He said his union would propose to its allies that discussions with Azapo and the PAC be held as soon as possible to secure their participation in the mass action programme.

Azapo, the PAC and Nactu have said they would not engage in campaigns aimed at promoting Codesa.

□ From Page 1

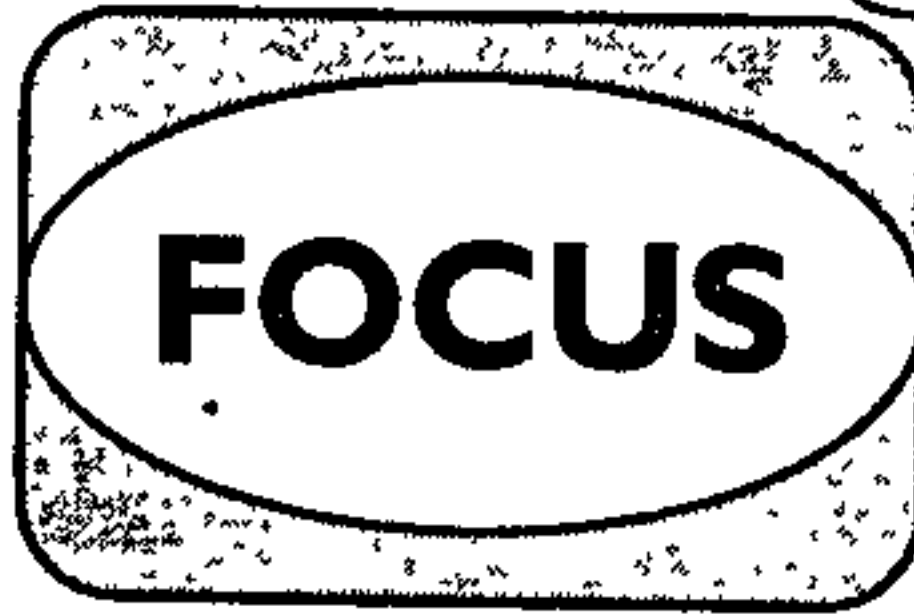
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Return to mass action as June 16 is relived

Sowetan 15/6/92.

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Tomorrow is June 16 and thousands of blacks will commemorate this day. This year, the ANC and Government are squaring up to each other. THAMI MAZWAI, day editor of *Sowetan*, contrasts June 16 1976 with June 16 1992.



SOMEBODY walking in Soweto is sadly reminded of June 16 1976.

From early morning on this day, hundreds of policemen were seen in all corners of Soweto. And the explosion came as students marched in Orlando West. Hundreds died.

The next day the storm spread to other parts of the country, as far afield as the Cape. From then until October 19 1977, when the Government banned all black consciousness organisations, the country was aflame.

June 16 1976 was followed by a number of trials and an inquiry headed by Mr Justice Cillie. He criticised the socio-economic and political infrastructure which had blacks at the bottom of the scrapheap.

He also said the police had been unprepared and poorly trained to deal with the explosion.

While the Government has dragged its heels in eradicating the grievances that led to the black community supporting the student protests to the last man, it has done more than enough in training a force that will effectively deal with any future insurrection.

This is the backdrop of a very tragic June 16, 1992

For on the one side the ANC is mobilising its thousands of members for what it says will be the biggest demonstration of mass action this country has ever known.

The masses will protest Government intransigence at Codesa, the

country's negotiating forum.

In response, the Government has deployed crack units in its security forces to deal with ANC mass action.

Fundamental to this are the reasons that led to June 16, 1976 - a Government that maintains it has the sole right to shape and determine our future.

A look at its duplicity since the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and other organisations confirms this.

In return for the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle, the Government was to release all political prisoners. Today, the likes of McBride and others are still in jail.

According to the Lawyers for Human Rights, over a 100 political prisoners are still in jail. Of note is that many of those in jail were sentenced for the killing of whites.

However, it has not hesitated to free policemen convicted of killing blacks, even for criminal activities.

Furthermore, it now wants to indemnify all state officials responsible for the gruesome killing of activists in the eighties. It hopes to tie this in with the release of remaining political prisoners.

This would effectively close the case on the killing of Matthew Goniwe, Eddie Webster and scores of other activists.

On the other hand, the white community has not gone the reform path. When white residents complain of the value of their properties when squatters must be settled in their lily-white suburbs, one is asked what South Africa are we talking about?

Since when has the value of a



The tombstone of the first victim of the 1976 Soweto unrest victims, Zolile Hector Pietersen has once more been refurbished after being vandalised by mysterious people. Here his mother, Dorothy, shows the new grave.

house taken precedence over the right of an individual to a roof over his head?

The point one makes is that while there is talk of a new South Africa, there is as yet nothing blacks can touch to signify a new South Africa.

Scrapping the Land Act is meaningless if people still do not have access to that land, this time because they do not have the money to buy land. And apartheid saw to that.

The above sores, and many others have festered over the months.

It is the ducking and diving of Government at over one person

one vote at Codesa that has now made blacks say: "enough is enough There is no sincerity in the Government's talk of reform".

Blacks do not want a one person one vote system that gives the minority, or one of the minorities, a veto

Blacks are now taking to the streets, the same as students in 1976 took to the streets.


And the launch pad is to be June 16 services.

Wonder when the Government will start talking of democracy as understood by everybody, and not what it thinks democracy should be: rule by the minority?

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlooe Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Now police launch their own mass campaign

Sowetan 15/6/92 (274) 
THE police have embarked on a "friendly" media and pamphlet campaign to persuade the public that it supports legal, peaceful and non-disruptive mass action.

It is aimed to coincide with the African National Congress' mass action campaign starting tomorrow, the 16th anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising.

A police spokesman stressed that the SAP message was non-political. He said the SAP was not opposed to peaceful protest, but if it did take place it was their duty to ensure it remained peaceful.

The SAP campaign started yesterday with a number of newspaper adverts in which the SAP ask the public what type of mass action it will be: violent or peaceful?

The pamphlet campaign, which also started yesterday, urges the public to report to the police - "secrecy guaranteed" - if they feel intimidated or threatened at any time during the mass action campaign.

The ANC has said it will stage an "unprecedented" mass action campaign to breathe life into the deadlocked negotiation process at Codesa.

SAP members will distribute thousands of pamphlets at places like railway stations over the next few days.

The newspaper advert juxtaposes two photographs above each other - one graphically depicting a necklace victim, and the other a peaceful march led by US civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King.

Legal and peaceful

The caption at the top of the advert reads: "Mass action, what is it to be? This (the necklace) or ... (the peaceful protest)?"

The "friendly message" from the police ends by saying: "Should you choose mass action, PLEASE:

"Make sure its legal and peaceful;

"Exercise your democratic rights responsibly;

"Do not violate the rights of others; and

"Avoid all actions which could result in violence."

The pamphlet has a banner headline which states: "Let us put peace first, avoid violence."

It also reminds the public that they have a legal right "to say NO to intimidation and threats." - Sapa.

Shane



Hector's mother for PAC's service

Sowetan 15/6/92
Sowetan Reporter

THE mother of Hector Pietersen, the first victim of the June 76 uprisings, will speak at the Pan Africanist Congress' commemoration rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto tomorrow.

Mrs Dorothy Pietersen will share the platform with PAC president Mr Clarence Mlamli Makwetu. Hector's sister will also be at the rally.

African cultural groups Bayete and Sakhile will render cultural items during the service.

PAC West Rand spokesman Ntsundeni Madzunya said: "We are urging all the oppressed African masses of our stolen land to highlight the significance of June 16 in our struggling history by attending organised rallies throughout the country."

● June 16 relived - page 10

State declares war on violence

Sowetan 15/6/92 Political Staff 274

THE State is to give itself drastic new powers - including a toughening-up of detention without trial procedures - in an attempt to curb the continuing violence and intimidation.

New legislation to be tabled in Parliament today aims also to ban private armies, give attorneys-general the power to refuse bail and to drastically streamline court procedures for serious crimes of violence and intimidation.

The Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill, as it is called, was described by a Justice Ministry spokesman this week as a "declaration of war against violence" - although the Bill has raised concerns that the rule of law is again under threat

Weekend talks fail to halt mass action camp:

On collision cc

(274) (152) (127)

STAR 15/6/92

Political Correspondent
and Sapa

Confrontation between the authorities and the ANC alliance now seems inevitable as the organisation stands poised to implement an ambitious plan of mass action tomorrow to try to force the Government from power.

The construction industry has warned it could lose as much as R97 million a day

The Association of SA Quantity Surveyors said yesterday: "Retrenchment and closures could become the order of the day if mass action at this delicate stage of work scarcity is sustained for any length of time."

"Lost wages alone could exceed R8 million a day, which would result in extreme hardship."

"There is also the ripple effect into allied industries — cement, quarry, brick,

Start of stayaway season — Page 13

steel, timber, electrical and mechanical."

Senior Government sources said yesterday they were convinced the ANC would go ahead, despite intensive discussions at the weekend aimed at trying to resolve the impasse in negotiations which inspired the mass action campaign.

The sources said the talks were positive and constructive. They would be followed up by a meeting of Codesa's management committee today.

Government sources said the ANC negotiators were unable to abort the campaign now and were being dictated to by the SACP and Cosatu.

This tallied with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's weekend statement condemning the "dangerous and disruptive" campaign and claiming that the ANC had decided on mass action before negotiations stalled at Codesa 2.

The ANC alliance plans to start with 70 rallies around the country tomorrow — the commemoration of the Soweto uprising in 1976 — and to continue with a strategy of sit-ins, occupations, marches, boycotts and acts of disobedience until June 30.

That is the deadline the ANC has given the Government to meet its demands for an interim government.

If this fails, the ANC will start a new phase of wider national actions, culminating in a general strike in August.

Government ministers and security officials fear that the mass action campaign will lead to violence — and even that the ANC's strategy might be deliberately to provoke violent confrontation with the security forces.

They said peaceful legal

● To Page 3

(274) (152) (127) Collision course likely

● From Page 1
STAR 15/6/92
protest would be tolerated. But any violence and illegality would be dealt with "firmly" and with the "necessary force".

The central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday condemned the campaign.

"We remember with horror that more than 30 people died the last time the ANC mounted a national strike, and the IFP said it was going to motivate its members to defy ANC pressures and go to work as usual."

The IFP said it had decided to call mass meetings to demonstrate the fact that the majority of workers rejected the ANC's mass action programmes.

Business has made it clear that it will not indulge the campaign and will follow a policy of no work, no pay. Some have threatened to fire workers who stay away.

Mr Meyer said in a statement that the ANC had no moral justification for a dangerous and disruptive campaign, the aim of which was a mere handing over of power.

He accused ANC leader Nelson Mandela of distorting the facts by saying last week that the campaign was necessary because negotiations had deadlocked and the Government was trying to cling to power.

Bilateral talks were continuing and the ANC knew full agreement had been reached on a transitional phase in which provision was made for a transitional parliament and government.

Brute force not the answer - ANC

Sowetan 15/6/92

THE decision to put SADF units on standby in response to the ANC's mass action campaign tomorrow amounted to a declaration of war, the organisation said at the weekend.

The ANC accused the Government of relying on propaganda and brute force, instead of negotiating with sincerity.

The SADF has called up citizen force and commando force members to be placed on standby for the ANC's mass action plans tomorrow, the 16th anniversary of the June 16 1976 Soweto riots.

SADF spokesman Colo-

nel John Rolt confirmed the move.

The move was supported by the Conservative Party.

CP's spokesman for defence, Dr WJ Snyman called for the units to be used primarily for "home and family" protection against any possible threat "from the communist-inspired ANC".

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, cut short his tour of the US because the "IFP and I are very concerned about the ANC's decision.

"There's already so much violence that we cannot defuse, and the ANC's decision will only exacerbate the ongoing vio-

lence," Buthelezi said on his return.

The ANC said instead of guaranteeing the protection of people whose only means to make their views known was to vote with their feet, president FW de Klerk "and his colleagues" were identifying them as the enemy.

"There can be no question that the mobilisation of the SADF is intended to intimidate the disenfranchised majority with a massive display of force.

"The attitude displayed by the Government is in marked contrast to its lenience towards the mass action of armed vigilantes, who have time without number been permitted to

parade through the streets with their weapons, leaving death and destruction in their wake," the organisation said.

The Government sought to put the onus for the prevailing murder, mayhem and chaos on the ANC, and blame mass action for the country's problems, the ANC said.

The people of South Africa had the undisputed right to demonstrate their opposition to Government policies and practices that they found unacceptable, it said.

The ANC demanded that the country should move forward rapidly to an interim government of national unity. - Sapa.

Business Warning on effects of mass action

SA Press Association

AN estimated R97 million a day could be lost by the construction industry if the ANC's mass action campaign went ahead, the Association of the South African Quantity Surveyors warned yesterday.

"Retrenchments and closures could become the order of the day if mass action at this delicate stage of work scarcity was sustained for any length of time.

"Lost wages could exceed R8 million a day, which would result in extreme hardship particularly as work is scarce and job security is threatened," the association said in a statement.

Sowetan 15/6/92

Reduced productivity

"Each element of construction work has, as a part of its cost makeup, an element of labour cost allowance, and a stoppage does not reduce the quantity of work still to be executed in the completion of any construction project," the statement said.

In fact, Asaqs said, days lost in this manner created an atmosphere of reduced productivity followed by the cost of unproductive overtime.

"There is also the ripple effect into allied industries - cement, quarry, brick, steel, timber, electrical and mechanical industries which largely depend upon the regular turnover of work generated by the construction industry," the association concluded.

Confrontation looms over mass action plan

Soweto 19/6/92



Political Staff

(274)

CONFRONTATION between the authorities and the ANC seems inevitable as it stands poised to implement an ambitious plan of mass action tomorrow to try to force the Government from power.

Senior Government sources said yesterday they were convinced the ANC would go ahead despite intensive Government/ANC discussions at the weekend aimed at trying to resolve the impasse in negotiations which inspired the mass action campaign.

The sources said that the talks were positive and constructive. They would be followed up by a meeting of Codesa's management committee today.

But the Government sources were now certain that the ANC/Cosatu/SA Communist Party alliance intended to go ahead with the start of the mass action campaign tomorrow anyway.

They said the ANC negotiators were helpless to abort the campaign now and were being dictated to by the SACP and Cosatu.

This tallied with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's weekend statement condemning the "dangerous and

disruptive" campaign and claiming that the ANC had decided on mass action even before negotiations stalled at Codesa 2.

The alliance plans to start with 70 rallies tomorrow and to continue with a strategy of sit-ins, occupations, marches, boycotts and acts of disobedience until June 30.

Government Ministers and security officials fear that the mass action campaign will lead to violence and that the ANC's strategy might be deliberately to provoke violent confrontation with the security forces.

The sources dismissed speculation that the Government intended imposing the State of Emergency to deal with the consequences of mass action.

They said they believed that the ANC could sustain a large mass action campaign for the first few days but that fears of not being paid or even of losing jobs would undermine the campaign.

Business has made it clear that it will follow a policy of no work, no pay.

● See page 16

Bill seen as declaration of war against violence

STAR 15/6/92
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The State is to give itself drastic new powers — including a toughening-up of detention-without-trial procedures — in an attempt to curb the continuing violence and intimidation.

New legislation to be tabled in Parliament today aims also to ban private armies, give attorneys-general the power to refuse bail, and to drastically streamline court procedures for crimes of violence and intimidation.

The Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill, as it is called, was described by a Justice Ministry spokesman last week as a "declaration of war against violence".

It is one of a series of con-

tentious Bills that Justice Minister Koble Coetsee has brought to Parliament before it adjourns.

Democratic Party justice spokesman Tony Leon said yesterday it was impossible to do justice to the flurry of legislation from Mr Coetsee.

Mr Leon said Parliament's Justice Committee had six major Bills to process before Parliament adjourns on Friday. "It's a joke to legislate like this," he complained.

Criminalises

He said his chief concern about the Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill was that it gave attorneys-general the power to refuse bail in cases which involved violence and intimidation.

He said the DP would consider moving amendments to ensure the interrogative detention provisions of the new

Bill were brought in line with safeguards in the amended Internal Security Act.

The new Bill contains several major aspects:

- To curb private armies, it makes it an offence to organise, train, equip or arm any military organisation which tries to usurp the role of the police or the army.

- It criminalises indirect intimidation. In the present Intimidation Act, the offence of intimidation occurs only if the victim has been persuaded by acts or threats to do or not to do something.

- The new Bill also creates new intimidation offences. Anyone who commits certain acts of violence with intimidatory intent will be guilty of an offence and liable for 25 years' jail.

- The Bill gives the State extended powers of detention for interrogating those su-

spected of withholding information about unlawful possession of weapons.

These suspects may be detained and arrested on a warrant from a magistrate and held indefinitely, provided that they are brought before a magistrate within 48 hours of arrest and then not less than once every 10 days.

And no one other than a State official shall have access to the suspect.

- The Bill gives attorneys-general powers to introduce special, shortened procedures for offences involving violence and intimidation.

- The Bill establishes a minimum sentence of five years for offences with certain weapons possessed illegally.

Some drastic provisions of the Bill would remain in force for only a year and could be renewed by Parliament.

June 16 sees start of stayaway season

STAR 15/6/92

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THE POLITICS of mass action — manifested in protest actions such as marches, strikes and stayaways — has become a regular feature of South African life over the past few years.

It looks set to remain so during the next few months, certainly during the transitional period.

Mass action, its proponents have argued, affords the people a chance to register their dissatisfaction with the powers-that-be — political or commercial.

Different forms of mass action, especially stayaways, have been used to score political points and draw attention to grievances such as rent increases, electricity switch-offs and perceived police collusion in violence.

But mass action has also proved to be one of the most emotive and divisive issues in South African politics.

The ANC and its allies insist on using it, arguing it is their democratic right to do so. The Government and the business community point at the devastating effects on the economy.

This polarisation also extends to anti-apartheid politics.

Often ranged against the tripartite alliance of the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions is the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose views on mass action coincide with the Government's.

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation, though not opposed to mass action in principle, have often criticised the alliance for both its alleged lack of

Opposition by some organisations to the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance's mass action which begins tomorrow is not likely to affect its success, writes Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

consultation about stayaways and their purpose.

When they supported the alliance's mass action campaigns, these organisations often insisted that students and pupils be exempted.

Tomorrow sees the beginning of yet another round of mass action, and already divisions have emerged. The ANC and its allies will go ahead, starting with a June 16 national stayaway dubbed the biggest in South Africa's history.

The Government, the business community, the IFP, the PAC and Azapo are opposed to the mass action, but for different reasons. The Government, big business and the IFP argue that it will hurt the economy, while the PAC and Azapo say they will not take part because it is aimed at increasing the pace of Codesa negotiations.

Apart from the question of whether the mass action could lead to violence, an equally important question is whether it will be successful. If past stayaways are anything to go by, the answer must be yes.

The first major national stayaway since the unbanning of political organisations was on July 2 1990. Called by the alliance to protest against the "apartheid war in Natal", the stayaway was opposed by all the parties opposed to tomorrow's. It came at a time when the state of emergency had

been lifted everywhere except in Natal.

The stayaway was called to pressure the Government to disband KwaZulu's police department, lift the state of emergency, arrest and prosecute "warlords", set up a commission of inquiry into police action, ensure that the security forces played an "effective and impartial role", and guarantee freedom of political activity in Natal.

Predictably, the Government and business complained about the effects on the economy, the IFP said it was being targeted, and Azapo and the PAC warned that it would heighten conflict between the ANC and IFP.

The South African Council of Churches, fearing violence, stepped in and devised a code of conduct to allow those who wanted to go to work to do so without intimidation.

The stayaway was a huge success, and Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman hailed it as the first national stayaway over a regional issue. Its success rate was estimated at 70-80 percent in the PWV area, 80-90 percent in Natal, 90 percent in the eastern Cape, about 50 percent in the western Cape and 80-90 percent in the northern Cape.

The next national stayaway coincided with the opening of Parliament on February 1 1991, and was again called by the alliance. Supported by Azapo and

the PAC and opposed by the Government, the business community and the IFP, the stayaway was meant to pressure the Government to resign and hold elections for a constituent assembly.

Other demands included the unconditional release of political prisoners, the return of exiles, the scrapping of all security legislation, a halt to political trials and an end to violence.

This stayaway was again a huge success — about 90 percent of the country's workforce stayed at home.

The 'only' national stayaway that had been organised by the ANC-led alliance took place on March 21 last year. It was called by Azapo to commemorate "Heroes' Day" — the day 69 people were killed in Sharpeville. It was supported only by the PAC students' wing, the Pan Africanist Students Organisation, which urged pupils not to go to school on the day. This stayaway went largely unheeded.

By far the biggest stayaway — which took place over two days — was the anti-VAT stayaway on November 4 and 5 1991. This one was supported by all extra-parliamentary organisations.

The organisers were the two labour federations: the pro-ANC Cosatu and the pro-PAC/Azapo National Council of Trade Unions.

Although tomorrow's stayaway does not have the support of Azapo and the PAC, it is safe to conclude it will still be a success by its organisers' standards — particularly because of the special reverence for June 16 in the black community. □

Kriel threatens tough response

Govt, ANC fear protests will be violent

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B/day 16/6/92

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE ANC last night joined government in warning that violence could mar the mass action programme starting today.

Both said any violence would be the other's responsibility.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC believed it had taken sufficient steps to ensure demonstrations were peaceful. However, government was "whipping up peoples' emotions and may provoke the outbreak of violence", Ramaphosa told a news conference at Codesa.

The ANC, he said, was worried about "agents provocateurs" causing violence at marches.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the NP and government yesterday issued veiled declarations of war against the campaign.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC was committed to peaceful protest, but was convinced that the security forces and Inkatha planned to provoke the organisation into violence.

The ANC had reason to believe that Inkatha was planning to commandeer taxis and force people to go to work.

President F W de Klerk said in a statement that the ANC and its allies were acting contrary to the declaration of intent they had bound themselves to at Codesa and were guilty of dishonest negotiation. The actions were also contrary to the peace accord.

The campaign was untimely, inappropriate and, in the present violent climate, irresponsible.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel issued a strong warning that government would not tolerate certain aspects of the ANC's mass action plans, threatening strong security force action.

The ANC would have to bear full responsibility for any violence arising from the action. "The ANC's planned mass action is nothing less than an attempt to exert pressure on the government to further their apparent objective of total power. Government will not give in to this pressure."

Government and the security forces were ready for any eventuality and would ensure the protection of those who opposed the mass action campaign and went to work or conducted other legal activities.

He said government was not opposed to peaceful legal protest, but was opposed to mass action and, given the current climate, it was irresponsible to exercise these democratic rights. It would lead to violence, intimidation and large-scale economic disruption.

In a statement NP provincial leaders said: "Mass action is now being used in order to achieve what they were incapable of doing through democratic process."

□ To Page 2

Protests

B/day 16/6/92

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers and Foreign Minister Pik Botha said ANC president Nelson Mandela acknowledged that the ANC was worried it would lose against the NP in an election. The true reasons for mass action was that the ANC was against, among others, the growing support for orderly negotiation, autonomous regionalism and federalism.

Inkatha spokesman Themba Khoza said the organisation would establish 24-hour communications with the national peace committee. He called for security force reinforcements at trouble spots.

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DP Codesa negotiator Ken Andrew also attacked the ANC for "political extravagance" by claiming people were prepared to pay the price of mass action. It was the poorest people who desperately needed their jobs who would have to pay and not the politicians, he said.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht warned the ANC that should they carry their demonstrations into white areas it would be accepted as a declaration of war. Employers should not give in to the ANC.

□ Five people were killed and nine injured when three men opened fire on a crowd at Daveyton station last night.

● See Page 4

□ From Page 1

Police 'informer' tells of death fear

PRETORIA — A witness told the Goldstone inquiry into alleged police hit-squad operations he agreed to spy on the ANC as he was afraid he would be killed if he refused.

25(274)
Mr Daniel Kolisang told the committee, chaired by Mr R Wise, SC, he had been taken to a "secret house" where he had been told to talk to Mr Tokyo Sexwale of the ANC to inquire about training at a base outside the country.

He had been taken to the house on January 2 by a man called "Oupa" and there met a man called Brian

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He had been instructed to do this and also to work with and get information from ANC and SACP members to pass on to Brian. He later found out that Brian was a policeman. A press report disclosed that Oupa was police Sergeant J K R Seago

Brian told him that he was aware of his (Mr Kolisang's) membership of the ANC Youth League and the SA Communist Party and questioned him about ANC and SACP members.

Mr Kolisang was told to report back to Brian on January 16. He told the commit-

tee he agreed to do this because he was afraid they would kill him had he refused.

Mr Kolisang said he told activists about the meeting and was told to meet Brian to find out what he wanted.

At his next meeting Brian suggested he do a three-week course in the Transkei in the use of firearms and explosives.

He was also told he would be given petrol bombs to use on houses belonging to officials of the ANC and the SACP.

Mr Kolisang said he was promised R5 000 if he proved his loyalty.

The sitting continues today. — Sapa

Police ²⁷⁴ 'can curb violence'

JOHANNESBURG. — The confiscation of weapons belonging to IFP supporters on their way to a rally in Soweto on Sunday demonstrated that the police had the ability to curb violence in the townships, the African National Congress said yesterday.

"If the police had acted as they did on Sunday from the beginning, the violence would not have escalated to present proportions," the ANC said.

The police action against IFP supporters was part of a propaganda build-up aimed at legitimising the war on peaceful mass action.

The mobilisation of white reservists had the potential to permanently damage race relations and whites should "refuse to be used by the Nationalist government in defence of apartheid", the ANC said.

Sapa

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New steps to combat violence

8/12/92 16/6/92

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Government has put forward drastic measures to combat violence and "intimidation" — with penalties for intimidation being increased to 25 years' imprisonment.

The Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill, tabled in Parliament yesterday, scraps certain sections of the Internal Security Act — but introduces detention without trial for interrogation periods administered by the courts rather than the police.

Under the Bill a magistrate could issue a warrant of arrest for any person he believed might know where weapons were hidden.

The suspect could be held for 48 hours before appearing before a magistrate. Thereafter the suspect would have to appear before a magistrate every 10 days, and could be held indefinitely in this way.

The legislation forms the basis of government's strategy against political intolerance, violence, intimidation and the formation of private armies.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee did not in any way refer to any organisation, including Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), while discussing the section on private armies in a statement, but the terms of the new legislation made it clear

that MK and the AWB would fall into its ambit by virtue of applying to individuals and leaders of organisations.

Any person involved in the control, training or administration of private armies would be severely dealt with and brought to book, unless acting in the pursuit of support for the SA Police or SADF.

Where the organisers were politically motivated they exposed themselves automatically to prosecution.

Security firms and neighbourhood watches would have to apply for exemption from these control measures and this would, in the normal course of events, be granted by the Minister.

The main focus of the measures was to combat intimidation and even shifted the onus of proof to someone suspected of committing the offence.

Where previously the act of intimidation had to have been committed before security forces could act, the new legislation proposed "that a crime had already been committed once fear was inculcated".

Further, other acts which could reasonably be interpreted to instil fear would be considered to be a crime of intimidation.

Most of these harsh sections, including detention without trial in terms of this Bill, carried a sunset clause of one year.

The aim is mainly to create conditions more attuned to conducting elections.

The President can, with the concurrence of Parliament, extend these provisions for a year at a time.

The legislation also specifically targets gun-running and aims to clamp down heavily on automatic weapons being brought into the country from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

It gives the security forces wide powers to arrest people suspected of knowing the whereabouts of arms caches or hidden weapons.

The Bill also proposes amendments to the Criminal Procedures Act whereby a certificate can be issued by the attorney-general declaring the crime a special crime in respect of crimes of violence and intimidation to speed up the process.

The prosecution and the defence have to have their case arguments ready for trial within 60 days or the court may rule insufficient evidence and set the accused free.

The suspect will not be allowed bail unless the attorney-general has issued written authorisation.

Millions stay home to launch mass action and remember

NO FATAL unrest incidents directly linked to the launch of the ANC's mass action campaign and Soweto Day ceremonies were reported by late yesterday.

However, nine people were shot and killed and two injured when unknown gunmen opened fire on residents in Jabulani, Soweto, last night.

Millions of workers stayed away from work yesterday, but absenteeism levels were not markedly different from those of previous years. Hundreds of thousands attended June 16 rallies.

A crowd of 30 000 heard ANC president

Nelson Mandela urge strict discipline during the mass action campaign and warn that attempts to spread unrest to white areas would be "a disaster of the first magnitude", Sapa reports.

The observance of Soweto Day yesterday coincided with the launch of the ANC's four-stage mass action campaign.

A survey of 515 major companies by the Labour Research Service found that 199 had agreed to give their workers June 16 as a paid public holiday.

In addition, many other companies had either swapped the day for Founders' Day

STEPHANE BOTHEMA and DIRK HARTFORD

or given it in lieu of leave, or agreed that the day be taken on a "no work, no pay" basis with no disciplinary consequences.

GERALD REILLY reports that the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut said that considering all these factors, the stayaway was less serious than expected.

Seifsa said the day was recognised as a paid holiday in the metal and engineering industries, but warned that employers would take action against workers who

stayed away as part of the mass action campaign. Sacob welcomed the fact that June 16 was relatively free of violence and intimidation and said this could have been related to the fact that it was recognised as a holiday by many businesses.

A Cosatu spokesman said most of its 1.5-million members had agreements allowing workers to stay away on June 16.

However this was not the case in the mining industry which employs 360 000 people and had a 98% labour turnout yesterday, the Chamber of Mines said.

In the retail industry, stores were

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stone in the Soweto suburb of Orlando in honour of Hector Petersen — the first victim of the 1976 Soweto student uprising.

At a rally later, he said ANC supporters should resist attempts by "agent provocateurs" to commit acts of violence during the mass action campaign.

Mandela said the ANC had to deal with some "disturbing" suggestions made by certain ANC supporters urging that the violence be carried into white neighbourhoods. These should be resisted.

In spite of the fact no unrest could be directly related to Soweto Day or mass action, police reported several deaths yesterday. Twenty-three deaths were reported on Monday night, Reuter reports.

In Sebokeng near Vereeniging, the neck-laced body of a woman was found yesterday. Police also found the bodies of two men in the township and teargassed a crowd who stoned a vehicle. Police vehicles were also stoned.

In Soweto, there were sporadic incidents of violence. A man and a woman were

stabbed before being burnt to death in Dube and another man was shot to death near the Merate hostel, a police spokesman confirmed.

Capt Piet van Deventer said a Sebokeng man was shot in the buttocks with birdshot before being arrested for stone-throwing.

In Sharpeville, policemen shot at a man who produced a firearm.

The gunman fled and it was not known whether he was wounded, Van Deventer said.

However, police generally described the Reef as quiet and no incidents of violence were reported in the Cape.

CP MP for Witbank Wynand van Wyk said the mass action campaign gave employers the chance get rid of disloyal employees and replace them with white workers who would not only take the pressure off, but would put joy and warmth in the hearts of their employers.

There was sufficient white labour, including pensioners, who would gratefully take the opportunity of employment.

Picture: Page 3

manned by casuals and clerical staff. Industries in which many workers have the right to stay home on June 16 include metal, auto, food, paper, textile, retail, chemical and transport.

The regional pattern of support was also similar to that of previous years.

Judging by public transport use, the Pretoria-Witwatersrand and F.E.-Border areas had about a 95% stayaway, Durban-Maritzburg about 50% and Cape Town and Bloemfontein 40%.

Mandela unveiled a memorial tomb-

To Page 2

The impact of protests will be on investment confidence, argues Joe Latakomo

Mass action brings danger



A South Africa emerges today from the launch of the ANC-led mass action campaign, and the dust from marches and toyi-toying begins to settle, debates over how much such campaigns cost the country will be revived once more.

There will be the usual pessimistic estimates of over R1 billion, and the more realistic view that yesterday, at least, will have cost industry no more than an ordinary holiday as most unionised companies have negotiated a June 16 holiday. The impact will, however, be felt more by workers employed in the under-ten category of employer, who would usually not be unionised. In the present economic climate, it is this category of employer who will use the opportunity to lay off workers without the liability of severance pay.

The greatest impact on the economy, however, is long-term, particularly in investment confidence. At the end of the ANC policy conference, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said his organisation was ready to govern, raising the question of whether the or-

ganisation was ready to make the transition from a liberation movement to a political party.

The economic policy from that conference still reflects a focus on redistribution, and emphasises a programme of systematic growth — creating a strong, dynamic and balanced economy which would, the document claims, eliminate poverty, democratise the economy and create employment opportunities.

The business confidence index declined somewhat following this conference, but it was the subsequent threat of mass action which shook confidence even further. Nelson Mandela said that nationalisation had to remain part of the ANC's policy, and suggested it was part of other Western countries' economic policies, naming Germany.

At the weekend, Mr Mandela reportedly said that while he realised the negative impact his organisation's campaign would have on the economy, it was the only way left for them to force the pace of negotiation as the Government had not responded to the ANC's compromises.

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Professor Charles Simkins, professor of political economy at Wits, once observed in a paper that for South Africa's economic growth rate to be improved, one of the requirements was a return of direct foreign investment.

"Signs of interest are appearing at present, but whether the policies to sustain it will emerge remains to be seen. The post-apartheid dividend will not materialise automatically," he said.

Another economist pointed out that investment interest in South Africa is at the moment only at the level of looking. Investors are bringing with them their notebooks, rather than their cheque books, he said.

When President de Klerk started his reform programme in February 1990, he seemed to have prised loose the rock of sanctions long held in place by the country's apartheid policy. The ANC lost the initiative on this issue. In response, they resorted to threats of reneging on debt repayments, and even action against investors who considered investing.

Conflicting signals kept on emerging from the organisation.

Recently, Thabo Mbeki restated the ANC's position that investors should stay out of the country until an interim government is in place. This presupposes that investors will be queuing up to put their money into South Africa.

Two factors seem likely to influence investors. The first is political, and the other is the violence that has wracked the country over the past four years.

Investors will be looking for areas where they can get the best possible return for their money, and, as we were told by a businessman during a visit to Austria by a group of South African journalists recently, South Africa is not an attractive investment proposition at all.

Austria has identified what it calls "focus countries", and we are not one of them. Other major Western countries hold similar views, in spite of what they may say to South African politicians who visit them.

One economist described the ANC's policy as "the kiss of death", and another added, referring to the forces which drive investment offshore: "These forces

are: potential returns on investment, certainty in both the political and economic environment, a proven history of macro-economic policies aimed at preserving the value of currency, and the ability of government to follow low economic policies which foster sustained economic growth."

The outcome of the referendum not only accelerated the removal of sanctions, it also gave domestic investment a boost. But whether this can be sustained in the light of the current campaign is doubtful.

An example of how easy it is to scare off investors is the recent decision by food giant Heinz, who reportedly because of ANC policies. The ANC, however, insist the lack of progress at Codesa 2.

Many other investors are holding back, ostensibly until an interim government is in place, but more likely until clarity emerges on a future government's economic policy once the leap from slow-growth to toyi-toying to government has been made.

The actual cost to South Africa

of mass action therefore goes beyond simple calculations based on production hours lost. How the Government reacts to the campaign will also be important. Already, the police have embarked on an advertising campaign to persuade South Africans that the security forces are not opposed to mass action per se, but would act if laws are not obeyed.

The intention seems to be to put the responsibility of acting peacefully with the ANC and its affiliates. Then there are those organisations who oppose the action — like the Inkatha Freedom Party who would no doubt assert its right not to participate in the action. While the PAC and Azapo oppose the action in principle, their followers are less likely to engage in confrontational acts.

The danger always remains that in any sustained programme of action, the chances of violent flare-up increases as tempers are frayed. The possibility of agents provocateurs sparking violence also remains a real danger. It is this violence that will be reported overseas and which will influence the decision-makers. □

My wife

Still none for

Mass action legitimate, not declaration of civil war

STAN 1716192

(274)

IT IS disturbing to see the Government, with the aid of some newspapers, equating mass action with violence.

The army has been called up. The police have launched an advertising campaign linking mass action with burning bodies. The Minister of Law and Order has warned of a crackdown. "ANC unveils battle plans", screamed one newspaper headline. "Battle order drawn up", yelled another. "Black Thursday" predicted a third.

This column is being written before the event, and I concede that the demonstrations planned for June 16 and after may well degenerate into some violent clashes.

Heaven knows there are enough wild elements both within the police and among young township "comrades" to make a breakdown of discipline possible.

But that does not justify claiming in advance that violence is the object of the exercise, or that launching a mass action campaign

amounts to declaring civil war on the Government. To do that is to risk creating an expectation of violence that can very easily become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The fact is that mass action, including acts of civil disobedience, is a perfectly legitimate political weapon with an honoured place in the Western political tradition. It was used by Mahatma Gandhi and it was used by the Rev Martin Luther King; we applauded when the people of eastern Europe used it to throw off the tyranny of communism, and when the Russian people used it to thwart the Ligachev coup last year.

Yes, it does sometimes lead to violence, as when troops opened fire on Gandhi's passive resisters at Amritsar, when Bull Connor ran riot against King's freedom marchers in Alabama, when the Chinese tanks rolled into Tiananmen Square — and at Sharpeville. But that is usually when the authorities lose their heads and it in no



Allister Sparks

way illegitimises such acts of public protest and defiance.

Nor is mass action legitimate only as a weapon of protest against tyranny. It is equally acceptable as a way of pressuring a negotiation. The strike is accepted throughout the democratic world as a legitimate action by trade unions to strengthen their hands in industrial disputes.

Strikers stop production in a factory to put pressure on the company to yield to their demands. And everyone knows the right to strike is the most effective weapon workers have.

Without it, they are powerless, and managements can ride roughshod over their demands and com-

plaints. With it, the strike threat hangs over every negotiation, and motivates the employers to listen and to make concessions. It puts effective pressure on them.

This is fundamental to the way our industrial relations operate. Everywhere in the democratic world the right to strike is regarded as fundamental; nowhere is it regarded as an illegitimate action or as a declaration of war against the company.

Well, if it is a legitimate weapon to use in an industrial dispute, why not in a political dispute? If you can mobilise mass action to put pressure on a wage negotiation, why not on a constitutional negotiation? Particularly if the community concerned has no vote and therefore no other way of asserting itself politically.

The point about this particular negotiation is that the Government has become obdurate. Ever since its big referendum victory — gained if you remember with

the help of thousands of non-Nationalists —, President de Klerk and his Ministers have toughened their stance at Codesa.

They took the referendum result quite unjustifiably to be an endorsement of the National Party's negotiating position and, feeling greatly strengthened and not a little arrogant, they decided to play hard ball with the black parties and manipulate the negotiations to their advantage.

What the National Party wants is delay. It wants time to organise and build up its strength in the black communities, particularly among the "coloureds" and Asians. And it wants time to destabilise the ANC further as its followers grow more disillusioned at the lack of any improvement in their daily lives and the continuing horrors of township violence.

Many Codesa participants now believe the Government deliberately struck an inflexible posture at Codesa 2 in order to stall the ne-

gotiations. It has certainly been in no hurry since then to get the process back on track: some Ministers have reportedly turned up three hours late for meetings. The word is that it would like things delayed for about six months.

For its part, the ANC sees these delaying tactics as strongly against its interests, and so it wants to pressure the Government into moving. Hence the mass action campaign.

What I fear is that the Government's war talk is aimed at setting the scene for aggressive police intervention which may well provoke violence and provide the pretext for declaring another state of emergency. That would give the Government the delay it wants and the opportunity to weaken its opponents further.

I hope I am wrong, for that would be a terribly dangerous game, but my suspicions born of long experience of this duplicitous regime are aroused. □

Buthelezi warns of Zulu violence

(274) ARG 17/6/92

Political Staff

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that he might be forced to resort to violence if Kwazulu was not allowed to take part in Codesa.

Speaking in the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said although he had always avoided bloodshed, he might be forced to lead his people in violence if Kwazulu and King Goodwill Zwelithini were not allowed to take part in Codesa.

"My heart is troubled for I have rejected violence throughout my political career of more than three decades. And I reject violence now.

"But if this position persists, I can foresee the possibility of my being forced by the circumstances to lead my people even through those dark waters. I shudder at the possibility. I am already outraged by the present levels of violence (and) I hope that this can still be avoided, even at this late hour. This is still within the realms of what is possible," he said.

The Kwazulu chief minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president, who also lambasted the ANC for its mass action, was welcoming President De Klerk to Ulundi where he had been invited to address the assembly on the question of King Zwelithini's participation in Codesa.

Chief Buthelezi has so far refused to attend Codesa deliberations, saying he would do so once the king and Kwazulu were allowed to send separate delegations in addition to the IFP delegation led by Dr Frank Mdlalose.

King and state seek Codesa spot

Chief Buthelezi said it was strange that Kwazulu, long ago involved in various forms of negotiations with government, was now being excluded.

He said there were people who viewed Kwazulu's and King Zwelithini's exclusion from Codesa as "a price that the government had to pay to achieve ANC co-operation".

He warned that Kwazulu, if excluded, would oppose the implementation of any agreements reached in Codesa and would refuse to take part in an interim government.

Options for the homeland — which he said was not a product of apartheid — would include resorting "to civil disobedience".

Chief Buthelezi said Kwazulu would seek the protection of the Supreme Court if its constitution was "put up for Codesa grabs".

In his address to the Assembly, President de Klerk — deviating from his prepared speech — called on Chief Buthelezi not to consider the option of violence, saying "the dark cloud" to which the Kwazulu Chief Minister had referred had to be removed "through wise counsel."

President de Klerk said he did not have to be convinced of the importance of the Zulu nation and the contribution it could make in South Africa.

Hospital strike: Doctors help out **Girls guilty of 3 murders**

ANC may be on the

wrong track

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The ANC must not bank on international sympathy for its programme of mass action, writes HUGH ROBERTON of the Washington Bureau.

MASS ACTION by the ANC would attract little or no international sympathy and probably would fail to advance the ANC's cause inside South Africa, according to Irish diplomat and political commentator Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien and his son Patrick, who have just returned to Washington after an extended visit to South Africa.

Their views were published this weekend in the *Atlantic Monthly*, a prestigious magazine devoted to politics, international affairs and the arts.

This is the O'Briens' second article on South Africa. Their first followed their controversial visit to the country in 1986 during which violence erupted at the University of Cape Town when Dr O'Brien attempted to deliver a lecture.

Suggesting that President de Klerk would be unlikely to go much further than he had done in proposing a transition to full democracy, the O'Briens ask "Can he be forced to concede the substance of the ANC's demands?" Their conclusion: "Probably not."

"ANC militants often threaten to 'make South Africa ungovernable' if their full demands are not met. The trouble is, those areas that the ANC might be able to make ungovernable — the black townships — already are ungovernable. Many of them are theatres of inter-black factional violence, most of it between ANC supporters and supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party, and all chronically suffer from large-scale criminal violence.

"An ANC summons to mass insurrection might make things even more violent in those areas, but the white community would not be sufficiently affected to force it to concede the ANC's demands.

"A sustained all-out miners' strike would indeed shake white South Africa, but such a strike seems unlikely. The miners did not undertake one when the apartheid code was still in force, although Winnie Mandela called on them to do so. Why should they impose upon themselves the miseries of a sustained general strike just because the ANC chose to reject the far-reaching programme of reform which has already swept away all the legal institutions of apartheid (with the exception, for the moment, only of the homelands)?"

The O'Briens predict: "Cosa-tu, the ably led black trade union movement, will declare solidarity with the ANC but will continue to look after the interests of its own members. The most the ANC can count on is some token strikes of limited duration."

The authors argue that although big strikes can be organised — they point to the two-day strike organised in the first week of last November — they are extremely hazardous and two-edged. The November strike ended in tragedy, with heavy fighting on the President Steyn gold mine between strikers and opponents of the strike.

"The greatest strike in South African history had done little damage to the mine owners, but its principal victims were the miners themselves. Failure on such a scale discredited the idea, fostered by the ANC, that the strike weapon will bring the

ANC to power in South Africa. The episode also provided further demonstration that the ethnic factor, dismissed by the ANC as a fiction of apartheid, is of growing significance in post-apartheid South Africa."

The O'Briens say the same hazards apply to the other political weapons at the ANC's disposal, including boycotts, and add: "Some ANC members — and all the groups to the Left of the party — seem to believe that by rejecting the proposals of the NP and agitating against it, they can regenerate international pressure on Pretoria and revive sanctions."

"This seems quite unlikely. The NP's September proposals are far-reaching enough, and democratic enough, to appeal to most Western governments. The variations they introduce to the one person, one vote system

by his principles and pursue his objectives. The ANC's rejection of his constitutional proposals was probably anticipated by him, and indications are that he expects a period of "prolonged wrangling" with the ANC.

"South Africa probably will get a new constitution sometime during this decade, and probably early in it, and that constitution will probably quite closely resemble De Klerk's proposals," they predict

□ Patrick Cruise O'Brien is black. He was adopted by Dr and Mrs O'Brien when he was a small child, and following an outstanding academic career has joined Dr O'Brien in many research projects around the world. They have jointly authored many articles on current events, including two on the changes in South Africa. □

have precedents in other democracies: Switzerland, Australia, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States.

"If the ANC rejects them in order to negotiate an improved version, its position will at least be understood internationally. But if it attempts to 'make South Africa ungovernable' it will attract little or no international sympathy. The ANC's initial denunciations of the De Klerk proposals are actually helpful to De Klerk, because they refute the more dangerous charges of his Conservative rivals: That he has given in to the ANC's demands."

The O'Briens describe President de Klerk as "a formidable and resourceful political leader" who has shown great personal courage in standing up to the far Right, and who has demonstrated his ability to stand

Helpful policeman ordered to hang up

WESTERN Cape police are not amused by a "helpful" policeman who referred public callers to the ANC offices for information on whether mass action presented any physical threat to them.

Steps have been taken to implement disciplinary action against the policeman.

ANC western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak is also not amused. He has condemned the policeman's action as a "disgraceful attempt to mislead the public. It is clearly aimed at giving the impression that the ANC is ... planning acts of violence and will know where such acts will take place."

Dr Boesak yesterday said ANC office staff were puzzled when they received a number of calls from people concerned about whether they would be safe travelling in and around

Cape Town.

"Eventually we asked one of the callers why they were phoning us, and we were informed that the SA Police at Caledon Square had referred them to us."

Pretending

"Willie Hofmeyr from our office then phoned the Caledon Square police station, pretending to be a member of the public wanting to know if it was safe to travel to the airport."

"He was told that he must telephone 488-4561 (the ANC's number). When he asked whose number it was, he was told that it was 'the number of the people who know where the trouble will be'."

A Sapa reporter also telephoned the Caledon Square charge office and asked whether it would be safe to travel from Cape Town to Kraaifon-

tein. He too was told to telephone the ANC regional office.

When asked, the policeman gave the reporter his name and rank. He also gave the number of the police regional operations room, saying staff there could advise on which routes to take.

Western Cape regional police commissioner Major-General Nick Acker commented on the matter yesterday afternoon, saying it had been investigated immediately and "found to have factual basis".

He said it had involved one member of the police force against whom departmental disciplinary action was immediately instituted. "I wish to assure the public that the SA Police will not tolerate any unprofessional conduct whatsoever from any of its members," General Acker said. — Sapa. □

Private armies: Parliament acts

Sowetan 17/6/92

LEADERS, members and supporters of organisations who train, equip and arm themselves to take over functions of the SAP or Defence Force may be prosecuted.

The Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill, tabled in Parliament on Monday, prohibits the organising, training, equipping and arming of such organisations.

It also provides for a fine or imprisonment of up to 10 years for anyone convicted of such activities.

The Bill also extends the Intimidation Act to include indirect forms of intimidation and to admit as witnesses in court proceedings observers other than the person who had been in-

timidated.

A memorandum to the legislation states that the objective is to combat indirect intimidation at bus stops, shopping centres and polling booths.

The problem of getting people who have been intimidated to testify, is also addressed.

Memo

Certain offences involving violence and intimidation - including murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances - may be designated as "special offences" in terms of a certificate issued by an Attorney-General and a simplified criminal procedure may be followed in such trials.

The objective, according to the memorandum, is to

demonstrate to the community that offenders are tried speedily and called to account for their deeds.

In terms of this provision, both the State and accused are obliged to present their cases within a reasonable time, being not more than 90 days.

Courts hearing such matters may sit on any day of the week, including Sundays.

The State is compelled to provide the accused with a summary of the facts on which it had based its case and the accused has to disclose his defence.

The Attorney-General's certificate provides that the accused may not be released on bail or warning for the duration of the trial. The Attorney-General may, however, at any time

withdraw the restriction on bail.

Magistrates are also empowered to order the detention of anyone who withholds information from the police regarding the unlawful possession of certain kinds of weaponry.

A detainee must be brought before a magistrate within 48 hours and thereafter every 10 days.

No court may pronounce on the validity of the detention.

The provisions in the Bill with regard to special offences and the unlawful possession of certain weapons will only remain in effect for one year.

But it may be extended by the State President with the concurrence of Parliament. - Sapa

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Cops under fire over arms

POLICE have created a "life-threatening situation" by returning weapons confiscated from Inkatha supporters to the organisation, the ANC said yesterday.

The perception engendered by the return of the weapons to the IFP offices on Monday was that their initial, highly publicised, confiscation on Sunday was simply a "massive propaganda exercise" the ANC's Gill Marcus said.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order,

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Captain Craig Kotze, said yesterday that no dangerous weapons were returned to Inkatha and that "only shields and certain sticks which are not classified as dangerous weapons" were returned.

Kotze said: "Quite frankly, if we say we've given only shields and certain sticks back, then we have. The police have no reason to lie."

He said it was illegal for the SAP to confiscate things which they were not empowered to by the law.

But Marcus said ordinary people in the street did not look at the finer points of the law and simply saw loads of traditional weapons being returned to Inkatha.

Eyewitnesses confirmed that more than just shields and sticks were delivered to the IFP offices.

One witness, who refused to be identified, said: "There were about seven or eight uniformed police. They offloaded traditional weapons - shields, spears, knobkerries."

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The secretary-general of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Don Nkandeng, said: "It is a very strange thing for police to return confiscated weapons."

"They should have destroyed them. But we know they did that to placate Buthelezi because they believe in times ahead their only friend will be Inkatha."

An IFP executive, Mr Themba Khoza, said only Zulu cowhide shields and knobkerries were returned.

It's a peaceful start

● From Page 1

porters that violence should be carried into white areas.

"This would be an error of the first magnitude. One cannot stop violence by killing innocent people," he warned.

Earlier, Mr Mandela unveiled a memorial to Hector Peterson, the first victim of the 1976 uprising. Thousands of Soweto residents converged at the memorial near Uncle Tom's Hall in Orlando West, after marching from various points with ANC leaders at their head.

In Daveyton, where unknown gunmen had opened fire on train commuters the night before, killing at least five and injuring 18, a singing and slogan-chanting crowd of about 1 000 ANC supporters gathered in the Sinaba Stadium.

Speakers condemned the killings and said the gunmen could have been arrested if police had reacted immediately.

● In the Pretoria area, rallies were held in Soshanguve and Atteridgeville.

● Central Durban was alive with freedom songs at midday as an estimated 10 000 ANC supporters marched peacefully through the city, their process-

ion strung out for five city blocks. Protesters sang, ululated and whistled wildly when two ANC flags were hoisted on flagpoles outside the City Hall.

The march began after a mass rally at Curries Fountain and ended at C R Swart Square, where police operations commander Lieutenant-Colonel Johan van Wyk accepted a memorandum. He said there had been no violence and was happy with proceedings.

The memorandum told the Government: "We are voting with our feet for your immediate dismissal."

● In East London, thousands marched 10 km to Fort Glamorgan prison to demand the release of political prisoners.

● In Port Elizabeth, more than 15 000 people packed the Dan Qeque Stadium to capacity.

Congress of South African Trade Unions representative Siphso Kobeta urged workers to demand that their employers cease deducting PAYE.

● In Paarl, in the Boland, 1 000 township residents took to the streets bearing placards proclaiming "FW stop the violence" and "To vote is a right. Why do we have to fight?"

1 D^a

Man tells of ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ CT 18/6/92 money to bomb

PRETORIA. — A witness to a Goldstone Commission committee yesterday said he was promised more than R5 000 if he petrol-bombed the homes of ANC, SACP and civic association members.

Mr Daniel Kolisang of Sebokeng told the one-man committee, chaired by Mr R Wise, SC, that on January 26 this year Sergeant J K R Seago had told him he should meet him at a place in Vanderbijl Park the following day to collect petrol bombs.

He was told that if he did not turn up he would be killed. He reported the matter to the ANC.

Earlier Mr Kolisang said Sgt Seago had on two occasions taken him to a secret house outside Vanderbijl Park to meet a white man who introduced himself as Brian, who later also turned out to be a policeman, and who instructed him to get names and addresses of anti-apartheid activists.

He was ordered to collect petrol bombs, but he did not and avoided his own home for a number of days.

Counsel for the police, Mr Phillip Hattingh, produced reports which he alleged were written by Mr Kolisang to Brian, but the witness denied it was his handwriting. — Sapa

ANC reacts to 'cynical link' to 17 deaths

Sowetan 18/6/92 (274)

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Government was manipulating the death of innocent black people by linking the violence in the country with the ANC's "non-violent" campaign of mass action.

This reaction came from ANC official Mr Ronnie Kasrils, to a remark by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel earlier yesterday, that the police were investigating a link between what he called the senseless murder of 17 people on Tuesday night to the ANC's passive resistance programme.

Kriel was "cynically manipulating" a situation which had existed for more than two years especially "because of a low-intensity terrorist campaign against the people that is being waged by the State," Kasrils said.

However, the deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delpert, yesterday said while the negotiation process was being jeopardised by mass action, the process could not continue without the ANC.

Bilateral discussions between the Government and the ANC were being planned, and Codesa's management committee would meet on June 29, a day before the ANC's deadline.

Old one-eye is hammered

Sowetan 18/6/92 (274)

By DON SEOKANE

THE Media Workers Association of South Africa yesterday made an impassioned plea to owners of TV sets to support the striking Mwasa members and stop "the rot" at SABC.

Mwasa secretary-general, Mr Sithembele Khala, was addressing a rally at the SABC offices in Pietersburg during a march by 1 000 employees of the corporation and sympathisers through the town's streets amid heavy police presence.

Khala said the SABC was "a one-eyed giant" and licence holders were in possession of the ammunition to deal with it.

He disclosed to *Sowetan*

that during negotiations last Thursday with SABC management the union had proposed a compromise of 11 percent now and the remaining 9 percent to be negotiated between now and the end of August.

However, the corporation refused and urged the union to review its position. Khala said the SABC has declared a "hefty" profit of R34 million and yet refuses to pay its workers.

The strike was left with 970 days to go and the union was not going to review its position to suit the whims of the SABC.

Govt must 'curb violence

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, on a one-day visit to Malawi, yesterday blamed the Government for the recent upsurge of violence in South Africa's black townships.

Addressing a Press conference prior to leaving Malawi, Mandela criticised the Government for failing to contain the violence.

He said the sad thing was that the victims were innocent people, including women and children.

The violent outbursts, the most serious of which was the random shooting of nine people in Soweto on Tuesday, coincided with an ANC mass action campaign to force the Government to speed up the pace of talks to install non-racial rule. - Sapa-Reuter.

Violence not linked to mass action

Staff Reporter and Sapa

South Africa returned to "normal" yesterday and began counting the cost of the first day of the ANC's mass action campaign and the Soweto Day commemorations.

Criticising media reports that June 16 had passed peacefully, an Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal organiser claimed "more than 70" people had been killed or injured in countrywide violence.

But the Human Rights Commission (HRC) recorded only 22 deaths on Tuesday. The police, in their countrywide unrest report for Tuesday, recorded 17 deaths on Tuesday and 20 on Monday, according to SAP spokesman Captain Nina Barkhuizen.

Few of Tuesday's violent outbreaks were directly linked by police to mass action or the June 16 rallies, and Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe said the mass action passed without

serious incidents of violence.

However, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday police were investigating a link between the ANC's mass action campaign and the "mindless" murder of at least 34 people in townships on the Reef since Monday.

Mr Kriel told the Government's weekly Codesa briefing in Cape Town it was indisputable that mass action created a climate for crimes of this sort and the Government remained opposed to it.

The HRC said in its weekly report that although 63 people had died in political violence over the past week (as opposed to 54 the previous week) few of the deaths could be attributed to the ANC's mass action campaign.

It said 10 of the 22 deaths recorded on June 16 — the day the ANC launched its campaign — were identified as ANC supporters, four as township residents. The affiliation of the remaining eight were

unknown.

The IFP spokesman said last night that IFP monitors had recorded "more than 40" deaths countrywide on June 16 and 36 injuries.

He described the violence as "a tragedy" and said he believed much of it was directly linked to the mass action campaign.

A team of top detectives headed by Soweto Murder and Robbery Squad chief Colonel Neville Toms have been appointed to investigate the massacre of nine people in Jabulani, Soweto, on Tuesday night by gunmen armed with automatic weapons.

Yesterday, two municipal policemen and a SAP member were shot and injured in PWV townships, and a traffic officer was shot dead outside a hostel, police reported.

Constable Vincent Kubheka (29), a municipal policeman, was injured when the car in which he and two colleagues were travelling in Evaton,

was fired on by a youth

Constable Kubheka was hit in the back of the head. He is in a satisfactory condition at the Sebokeng Hospital.

An SAP spokesman said a policeman stationed in Kagiso was shot in the nose by two armed men who stole both his and a colleague's shotgun before fleeing yesterday.

Constable A B Vezi and a colleague were on guard duty in Kagiso Drive when two armed men approached and started shooting at 11.40 am.

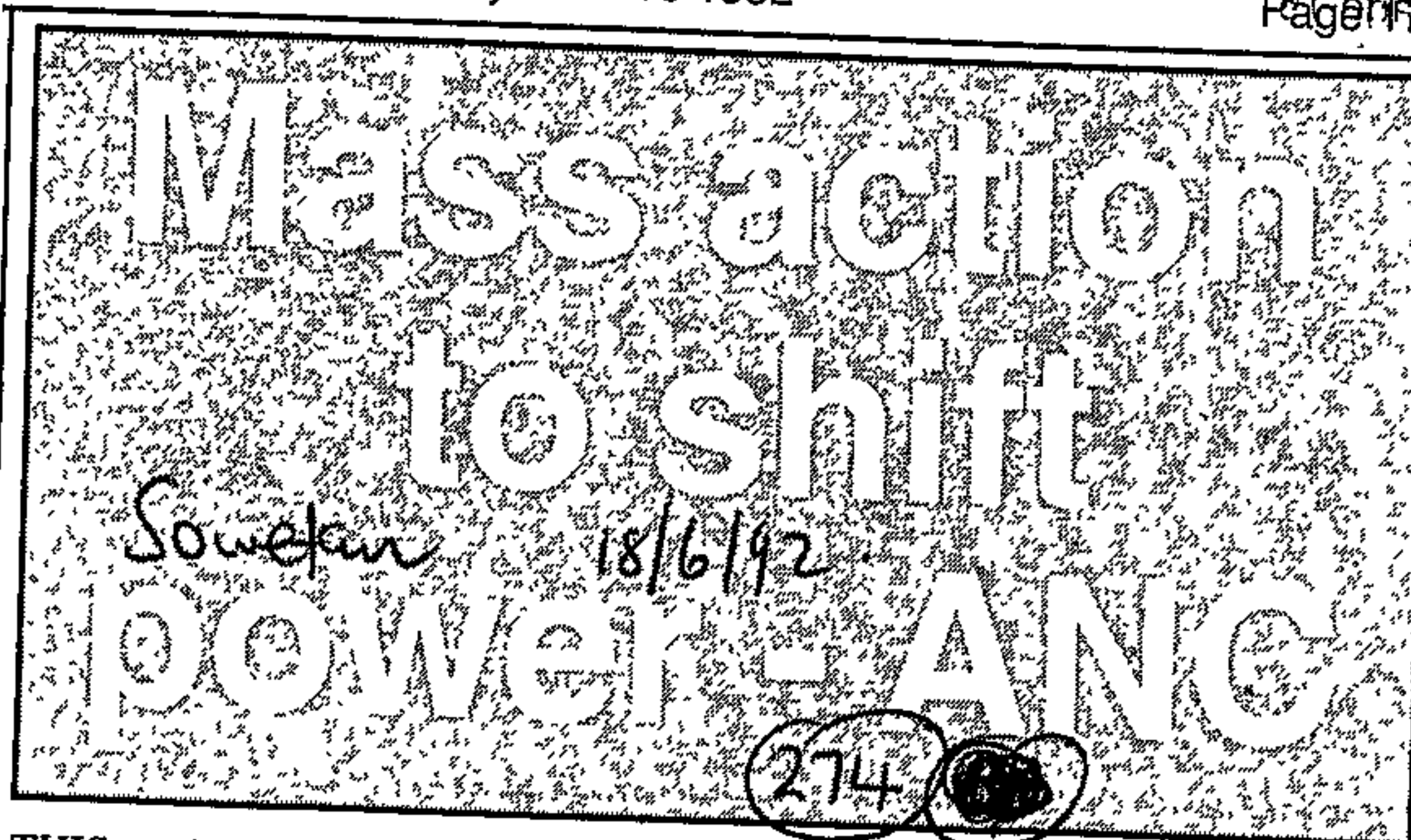
Constable Vezi is in a satisfactory condition at the Main Reef Hospital.

And in Soweto — where a few isolated incidents of violence were reported yesterday — a municipal policeman stationed at a clinic in Phomolong was fired on by three men armed with AK-47 rifles

A traffic policeman was shot dead outside Denver Hostel in Johannesburg in an apparent ambush at about 9 am yesterday.

STAR 18/6/92

(274)



THIS week's planned mass action was not to break the Codesa logjam but was aimed at the transfer of power, according to African National Congress PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa.

He said an ANC regional conference last Saturday had endorsed mass action plans and a decision had been taken to immediately consult various Mass Democratic Movement and Patriotic Front forces.

"This will take place shortly."

Speaking a day before the action was due to start, Azanian People's Organisation Transvaal vice-president Mr Victor Dhlamini said Azapo had not yet been consulted, but hoped the ANC would still come forward.

Dhlamini said reports thus far had given the impression that successful mass action, as far as the ANC was

concerned, would lead to a revived Codesa, a forum in which Azapo has taken no part.

"If the action is in line with Azapo's resolution to seize power, then we will support it. But if it is just meant to revive Codesa, the answer is no."

Clarifying Azapo's plans for June 16, Dhlamini said his organisation would be treating it as an official public holiday, and this was not to be confused with support for mass action. Asked to comment on Azapo's interpretation of the ANC's plans, Mamoepa said: "I think they were too hasty to comment. The action is not aimed at unlocking Codesa. It is aimed at the transfer of power."

The Pan Africanist Congress, the other key player in the ailing Patriotic Front, was not immediately available for comment. - Sapa

Govt dismisses stayaway

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The Government yesterday contemptuously dismissed this week's start of the nationwide mass action campaign, while the ANC declared it an unqualified success and a preview of more muscle-flexing to come.

The opposing views were aired as the country's two principal political players assessed the aftermath of June 16 commemorations.

In Cape Town yesterday, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said South Africa had returned to "normality" yesterday after Tuesday's start to the ANC alliance's mass action campaign.

He told a press briefing that the Government's Joint Oper-



Hernus Kriel . . . protests and strikes a futile exercise.

ations Centre in Pretoria, which was monitoring the campaign, had reported that everyone had returned to work and no further actions were taking place yesterday.

Mr Kriel said he did not believe the first day of mass action had succeeded: it was a "futile exercise in blackmail".

By contrast, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the first day of the four-phase pro-

gramme of protest action had gone "extremely well" and was "very disciplined".

She told The Star that the ANC had estimated a 90 to 95 percent response at the start of the campaign, linked to the commemoration of the 1976 student uprising in Soweto. This was a solid vote for the installation of an interim government, she said.

Mr Kriel disagreed, saying the ANC's success or failure should be judged by the number of people who attended mass action rallies — the police estimate was 80 000.

He said many people had stayed away from work for other reasons. These included the fact that many saw June 16 as a traditional holiday.

Mr Kriel thanked the public for the relatively low incidence of violence on Tuesday and praised security forces for their "timely seizure of weap-

ons and their impartiality".

However, he said, the day had been marred by the "mindless murder" of 18 people on the eve of the campaign and another 17 people on Tuesday night.

Mr Kriel said the Government remained opposed to mass action because negotiations were continuing.

Giving Cosatu's view of Tuesday's action, the union federation's assistant secretary-general Sam Shilowa said the campaign was just beginning. It was aimed at securing demands for the installation of an interim government by the end of this month, and elections for a constituent assembly in December.

The deadline for the alliance's demands was June 30, and if they were not met, the second phase — the national offensive — would start on July 1.

Police drop King leaflet after protest by widow

By Brian Sokutu
Crime Staff

274
SAP 18/6/92

The SA Police yesterday said they would cease the distribution in black townships of "peace pamphlets" with contrasting pictures of a necklace victim and that of the late United States civil rights leader, Dr Martin Luther King.

Reacting to a call by Dr King's widow, Coretta Scott King, that President de Klerk should order the SAP to "immediately cease" using her husband's name in its "propaganda", Captain Nina Barkhuizen, speaking from SAP headquarters in Pretoria, said the police were surprised by Mrs King's protests.

In her strong objection to the SAP using her husband's name and picture on the eve of the ANC's first phase of mass action which began on Tuesday, Mrs King described the police pamphlet as "perhaps the most offensive and outrageous abuse of my husband's name that I have ever seen".

Defending the police use of Dr King's picture in the pamphlet, Captain Barkhuizen said: "The SA Police are surprised by the reaction of Mrs King as the advertisement and pamphlets were aimed at preventing violence and possible death.

"This can in no way be described as propaganda. The photograph of her husband was used because in it he led a peaceful protest," Captain Barkhuizen said.

Asked by The Star whether police would continue distributing the pamphlets in the townships, Captain Barkhuizen said: "No, we won't distribute the pamphlet again. It was a one-day event."

'Govt took less than 2 weeks to table Goldstone report' 274

PARLIAMENT — The report of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the prevention of violence and intimidation had been tabled less than 14 days after he received it on May 14, President F W de Klerk, said yesterday. . .

He said the report had been given to the Department of Justice on April 29 this year.

The report had been read, translated and prepared for printing before being handed to him.

The department thought the report had been a formal interim report, and not ad hoc findings. *STAR 18/6/92*

There was no time stipulation for the report to have been tabled and its presentation within 14 days did not represent a delay by parliamentary standards.

The Government had no intention of causing any doubt or suspicion on the work or credibility of the commission. — Sapa.

ANC probes return of

IFP weapons

STAN 18/6/92
Pretoria Correspondent

The ANC is seeking legal advice with a view to bringing charges against the South African Police for the distribution of dangerous weapons.

This follows confirmation by the SAP yesterday that weapons seized from Inkatha supporters on Sunday were handed back to the organisation the next day.

Spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said traditional weapons were handed back to the IFP on the instructions of Soweto regional commissioner, Major-General Kobus Malan.

Indictment

In a statement issued yesterday, ANC PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said this was a violation of the National Peace Accord.

"This revelation is yet another indictment on the impartiality of the security forces."

Mr Mamoepa said the ANC PWV region was seeking legal advice with a view to laying charges against the police.

The weapons were seized from Inkatha supporters on their way to a rally at the Phomolong stadium in Soweto.

New Nation 19/6-25/6/92. (274)

THE WAY TO PEACE

The following action should be taken. Immediately.

- A team of international monitors, be invited to South Africa to continuously monitor the security forces.

- An international election monitoring team (to assist and observe in both the run-up to the elections themselves) be invited to South Africa, working with an electoral commission appointed by Codesa.

- Civilian, non-partisan administrators be introduced into the South African Police force at all levels.

- All policing, in both independent and self-governing homelands, should be brought under a unified command. Urgent and effective steps should be taken to educate and explain to all members of the police force the necessity of unbiased policing.

- All armies, including the South African Defence Force, Umkhonto we Sizwe and any others should be brought under a single command, to form the new army to serve a democratic state.

- A new detective agency should be established to investigate politically-motivated crime and to take over from the old riot squads.

It should have a civilian structure.

THE FIRST STEPS TO PEACE

- There must be a comprehensive ban on carrying all weapons, of whatever kind, to political meetings, rallies and in all public places.

- **Security forces should:**

- ensure effective searching at all stations before passengers board commuter trains
- search all hostels, confiscate weapons, and prevent anyone with arms from leaving the hostels
- prevent anyone being kept or taken by force into any hostel

- Hostels should be protected from any external attack.

- The government must withdraw all secret support for any political organisation.

- Known and notorious killers still at large must be prosecuted. Bail conditions for those arrested in connection with violence should be reassessed.

- Political organisations, religious bodies and organs of civil society must put maximum effort into promoting local peace accords and explaining the peace process at grassroots level.

- Every assistance (food, blankets, shelter) should be given to internal refugees, and non-partisan socio-economic reconstruction must receive urgent attention.

THE WAY TO PEACE JUSTICE & DEMOCRACY



VIOLENCE IS THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM FACING SOUTH AFRICA.

Random killing and political assassination have become the order of the day.

There are over one hundred thousand refugees within South Africa.

The very social fabric of society is disintegrating.

To end violence, strong measures are required.

One of the key answers lies in the establishment of an Interim Government of National Unity, representative of all South Africa's people.

The Goldstone Commission, Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists have made recommendations that warrant serious attention.

We place the following proposals before the people of South Africa so that we can demand with one voice, not one more death.

MASS ACTION & PEACE

Codesa II broke down over the National Party government's stubborn refusal to accept democracy. The army has been called up to deal with the people's peaceful expression. Instead of genuine negotiations, De Klerk threatens that they have well-laid contingency plans to deal with mass action aimed at facilitating the transition to democracy.

Yet we see no such plans or mobilisation when thousands of men march down the streets fully armed, leaving death and destruction in their wake.

We will hold De Klerk and the National Party government responsible for any loss of life resulting from failure to protect peaceful civil protest.

RESPONSIBILITY OF ORGANISATIONS

The Goldstone Commission, International Commission of Jurists, and Amnesty International have made observations about the misdeeds of members from various political parties. The ANC is determined to end all violence, including that which our members and supporters, in efforts to defend their communities, may have become involved in.

ANC'S MESSAGE TO MEMBERS & SUPPORTERS

- Our aim is to promote Peace at all times.
- Political tolerance must be shown towards all other groups.
- Mass action must be peaceful.
- All efforts must be made to strengthen the provisions of the National Peace Accord & its structures.

AGENDA FOR PEACE: REPORT BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS
"The Trust Feed Case proves conclusively that violence is being provoked by some elements in the security forces ... The evidence of senior police officers could not be accepted and official records were shown to be completely inaccurate ... It is difficult to believe that the cover up was not known to senior politicians..."



Issued by the ANC Peace Desk
 Box 61884 Marshalltown 2107. Tel: 330-7231

Culture

Political and Religious Attitudes in Poetry

We saw last week that poems can give us deeper insights into the problems and concerns of a particular society. We saw, as well, that a knowledge of the social context in which a poem is written can help us to interpret and understand what the poet is trying to say. But another very important factor helps to shape how a poem is written and that is the world-view of the poet himself.

Examine the following two extracts. What can you tell about the world-views of the two poets?

(...)
*No stone shall stand on top
 Of the other till eternity,
 Tell them - the borrowed
 Must be given back
 Tell them - the chained
 Must be chained no more*

- by Mi Hlatshwayo - from "The Black Mamba Rises"

from "The Dark Messengers", by Cesar Vallejo

*Life deals such fearful blows...I don't know!
 They seem to come from God's own hate, as
 though
 the flood of everything that's suffered in the world
 were dammed up in the soul...I don't know!*

*They're few; but they exist...They rip black holes
 in the most savage face and in the broadest back.
 Perhaps they're barbarous Attila's steeds -
 or Deaths dark messengers.*

(...)
*And man...poor...poor! He turns his gaze
 as one does when one's startled by a clap behind:
 he turns his mad gaze, and the whole of life
 is dammed up, like a lake of blame, in sudden
 eyes.*

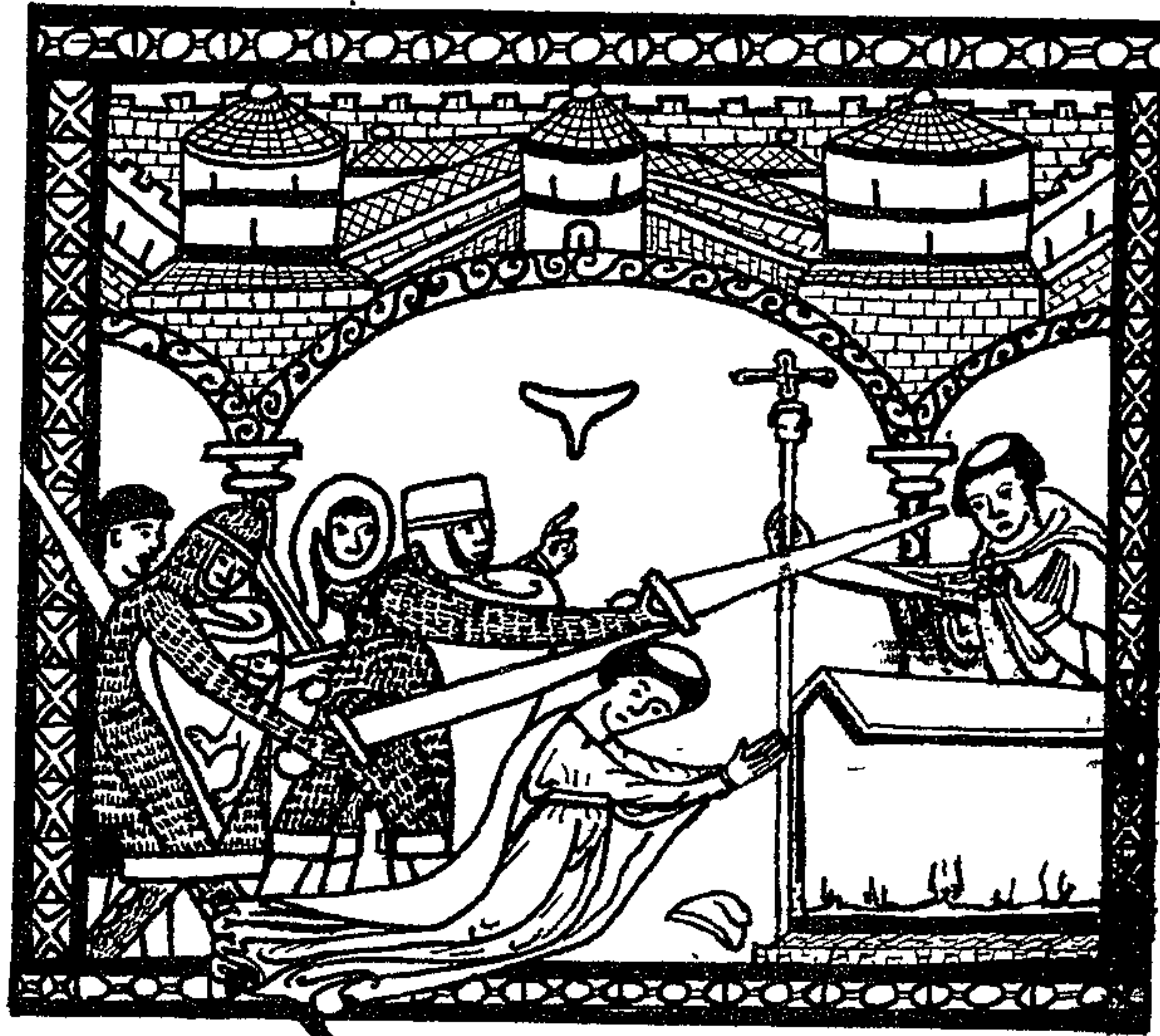
Life deals such fearful blows...I don't know!

The first poem shows a strong political world-view. We can place it firmly within the tradition of 'struggle poetry'. The tone of the poem is demanding - action must be taken, and action will be taken to address social inequality. The poem says that change is inevitable, and there WILL be justice.

What about the second poem? The second poem takes a very different attitude to human suffering. Suffering seems to be inevitable. The blows which we suffer seem to come out of nowhere - the poet can't tell us where to direct our anger. In fact there IS no anger in the poem, only despair and pain.

Cesar Vallejo was a Peruvian poet with peasant roots. His family was both intensely religious and poverty-stricken - trapped in employment at a Peruvian Tungsten mine. We see in his poem a different response to oppression from that of the first poem. The first poem is militant and political, while the second shows an almost religious resignation.

Social struggles are themselves often the subject matter for poetry. Look at the following extract describing the martyrdom of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury in England from 1162 to 1170. Becket was murdered at the instruction of King Henry the Second, for refusing to become an administrator under Henry's control. The extract is from the play "Murder in the Cathedral" by T.S. Eliot. T.S. Eliot is best known as a poet. His plays are a blend of drama and poetry. Look carefully at how he manages in this piece to resuscitate or bring to life the qualities of



The killing of Sir Thomas Becket

spiritual or religious leadership. T. S. Eliot himself was a 20th century English poet. He wrote at a time when religious belief was clearly beginning to be replaced by a 'modern' view of life in which man must look to himself rather than God for guidance. Eliot was concerned that in this transition to a modern world-view, essential spiritual and moral values would be lost. In writing about a long dead religious martyr, he tries to build our understanding of a world-view which we are no longer in close contact with.

PRIESTS

*Bar the door. Bar the door.
 The door is barred.
 We are safe. We are safe.
 They dare not break in.*

(...)

THOMAS

*Unbar the doors! throw open the doors!
 I will not have the house of prayer, the church of
 Christ,
 The sanctuary, turned into a fortress.*

(...)

*The church shall be open, even to our enemies.
 Open the
 door!*

FIRST PRIEST

*My Lord! (...)
 You would bar the door
 Against the lion, the leopard, the wolf or the boar,
 Why not more*

*Against beasts with the souls of damned men,
 against men*

*Who would damn themselves to beasts. My Lord!
 My Lord!*

THOMAS

*Unbar the door!
 You think me reckless, desperate and mad.
 You argue by results, as this world does,
 To settle if an act be good or bad.
 You defer to the fact. For every life and every act
 Consequences of good and evil can be shown.
 And as in time results of many deeds are blended
 So good and evil in the end become confounded.*

*It is not in time that my death shall be known;
 It is out of time that my decision is taken
 If you call that decision*

*To which my whole life gives entire consent.
 I give my life*

*To the Law of God above the Law of Man
 Open the door! I command it. OPEN THE
 DOOR!*

(...)

*[The door is opened. The KNIGHTS enter,
 slightly tipsy]*

(...)

KNIGHTS

*Where is Becket, the traitor to the King?
 Where is Becket, the meddling Priest?*

The knights proceed to kill Becket, who then becomes recognised as a religious martyr. It is a common concern of poets to pay tribute to the dead. Such writing even has a special name - it is called elegy. Here is a local example of elegiac writing - it comes from Mi Hlatshwayo's poem in tribute to a fallen trade unionist. (extracted from the book "Black Mamba Rising").

*Always
 Willing to march
 Against the forces
 Of exploitation
 Always
 Willing to defy
 The bosses' ultimatums
 Our Ho-Chi-Minh
 Armed with
 Wooden brooms
 Plastic-buckets
 And courage
 Of steel
 Cleaning the toilets
 Now he is no more
 Vanquished by a faction fight...*

We can see that whether it is pre-war London society or South Africa at the height of the workers' struggle, it is a similar commitment to humanity that inspires poets in their work.

In contrast to the T.S. Eliot extract, this poem talks of moral heroism in recent times. While T.S. Eliot's hero sacrifices himself, the trade union leader is killed purposelessly. But in both cases, the poets are writing about defiance and the human spirit.

• New Words •

Confounded	- mixed up
blended	- mixed together
consent	- agreement,
defer	- submit to, bow down to
martyrdom	- the act of giving up your life for a cause

MASS ACTION
FM 19/6/92

(274)

From haste and hunger

A number of deeply unfortunate consequences are likely to flow from the beginning of what the ANC described as its new "programme" of mass action this week. Above all, the potential for large-scale violence has again slouched into view — and that would do as much as anything else to postpone economic recovery and a renewal of constitutional negotiations. Ordinary people are going to be hurt.

Not since the unbanning of the ANC in February 1990 have we seen such an atmosphere of recrimination and self-destructiveness descend on the nation. So emphatic is the polarisation, that disinterested observers must ask whether the entire exercise of reasonableness and conciliation represented by Codesa was born in cynicism. As it is, Codesa is perforce in hibernation — unable to agree on simple technical matters — and one wonders whether it will be able to resume with the confidence of only a few months ago.

The blame for the breakdown does not belong solely with one side or the other. So swift has the response to impasse been that an impression is created that both government and the ANC had been looking forward to testing their relative strengths in the streets rather than at the polls. Pretoria wants to demonstrate that it can maintain law and order; the ANC wants to topple the State.

The retrogressive element in these events is marked — not just to the situation pre-F W de Klerk, but to the way of things in the mid-Eighties. Remember the collapse of the rand, sanctions, deserted factories and intensifying poverty? What has really changed? The ANC certainly has a point in accusing government of not wanting to yield power. But its failure is that it simply doesn't know how to operate as a legitimate political party.

Contemporary science has revealed that all events — the

weather, the direction of markets, the fall of a drop of water — are inherently unpredictable. They tend towards chaos. So too with political events. The calculations which the "sides" to our current conflict must be making (and which they believe favour them) will very likely all prove wrong. We are again left with uncertainty and it will show, not least in a further exodus of skills and capital.

Hope is only plausible if the conflict does not intensify. This requires immense restraint, since the mere calling of mass action unleashes forces and factions with little interest in stability. Well-meaning as the respective leaders of the ANC and the Nationalists may be — and there is no real reason to doubt this — they preside over elements with a propensity for violence. The toll of political deaths — almost 300 last month — is becoming insupportable.

Those on all sides responsible for this toll are indifferent to foreign perceptions. But those perceptions will determine whether SA is ever again considered a worthwhile recipient of investment, whoever inherits the ruins. Ruin is what we will get unless there is a reaffirmation of the principles of Codesa.

Those principles — as set forth in the Declaration of Intent which crowned Codesa 1 with success — were firm. They speak of working to "heal the divisions of the past, to secure the advancement of all and to establish a free and open society which is based on democratic values."

Once the fever has passed — as it will — the protagonists should discover that it is Codesa which represents the least costly way of achieving the aims of the Declaration. Perhaps the lesson is one of moderation — that it is futile to place a timetable on what needs painstaking and sympathetic negotiation. Haste and hunger led to this week's setbacks. ■

Call to hound out corrupt officials

Sowetan 19/6/92
MORE than 25 organisations yesterday threw their weight behind an ANC-initiated coalition against Government corruption, political assassinations and violence.

The organisations, which include Nafcoc, the South African Council of Churches, Cosatu, legal and human rights groups, adopted an "ANC briefing document on corruption and murder" at a day's summit in Johannesburg.

The ANC said Azapo, which had been invited but did not attend, had pledged support to the campaign. The PAC had also been invited but did not attend.

The document said "consideration should be given to drawing up a 'wanted list' of apartheid criminals, just as the United Nations did some time ago".

"The possibility should not be excluded

of future trials for those engaged in such crimes, particularly those who continue to perpetrate these atrocities post-February 1990.

The coalition is to campaign for the establishment of an independent commission of inquiry into corruption and State expenditure. The coalition said the commission should have "full access to all Government departments and records".

The coalition also intends to demand:

- The seizure of assets of those implicated in the theft of public funds,

- The dismissal and prosecution of all Ministers and officials implicated in the misappropriation, and murder,

- Full disclosure of all secret projects and covert operations and the disclosure of all minutes of the State Security Council.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE African National Congress alliance appears almost set to call a week-long national general strike in mid-August given the snail's pace of the moves to break the deadlock at Codesa.

ANC campaigns co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils told *The Weekly Mail* that the strike would be "massive and unprecedented".

The stayaway is phase three of the ANC's four-phase mass action plan. It is the only phase that will be reconsidered if the deadlock at Codesa is broken, according to Kasrils.

Unlike the rest of the campaign, which will roll on irrespective of the status of the talks, the strike is viewed as a deadlock-breaking mechanism. It is linked to the demand for agreement on an interim government of national

Phase three is the general strike

19/6 - 25/6/92

WJW and

of people.

(214)



ment and direction to our people to bring local issues out on the streets as well as bringing national issues locally".

The multi-party Codesa management committee which was mandated by Codesa II to consider how to break the deadlock in working group two will not meet again until June 29, and then only to decide on how the dispute should be dealt with.

Thus, the possibility of an settlement before the deadline at the end of this month has declined to almost zero.

Kasrils said that even if there was agreement, "rolling mass action" would continue.

He described phase one, which began with the marches and demonstrations on June 16, as "encourage-

After June 16, the next big days to watch are June 26 and June 27, when a symbolic people's parliament is set to convene at Kliptown in Soweto.

This is a build-up to phase two: the national co-ordination of protests and actions during July.

"With the strike and national co-ordination, we envisage new forms of mass action in phase four," he said.

Listed among these are a campaign of civil disobedience, the occupation of government and administration centres, and sit-ins in the cities by millions

of people. "All of this is aimed at making running the state extremely difficult," he said.

Other forms of actions that the ANC alliance is considering and will be announcing in the weeks ahead include:

● A co-ordinated campaign against state corruption and murder involving a wide range of organisations, including churches, the private sector, and human rights groups.

This would include targeting individual ministers and state officials implicated in corruption and death squads, such as Military Intelligence Chief CP van der Westhuizen and

State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

● Targeting the SABC, with marches and a planned boycott of products advertised on the airwaves.

● An anti-apartheid conference to be held in South Africa, to "kick-start" the ANC's international allies back into action.

"The whole campaign will be a build-up to phase four—the exit gate," said Kasrils. "It will come to a point where, we believe, if we do our work well, we'll transform the situation."

"In our deliberations we've had to remind ourselves that no ruling class in history has voluntarily handed over power. We are focusing on altering the balance of forces."

"We won't allow negotiations to create a fog so that people don't understand that we want them out on the streets."

Witness tells of 'spying' intrigues at ANC camps

(274) CT 19/6/92

PRETORIA. — A witness at a Goldstone Commission committee inquiry into alleged police underground operations to kill activists yesterday described how after he returned to South Africa from ANC prison camps, people tried to recruit him to spy on the ANC.

Mr Solly Mngomezulu told the committee he left South Africa in 1986 and went to Tanzania via Mozambique.

After suspicions arose that he was a spy, he was detained by the ANC in Angola, Uganda, Zambia and eventually Tanzania. He was sometimes in-

terrogated, sometimes kept in solitary confinement, and often beaten.

Mr Mngomezulu said he escaped from a prison camp at Morokoro to Dar es Salaam, where he arranged for his repatriation, and returned to South Africa on February 17 this year.

He said he was later introduced to a Mr Young, who asked him the names of people who had interrogated him in the ANC camps, saying he would be given training so that he could "get revenge". Mr Mngomezulu said he went to the ANC and told them about this

Massacre worst in 2 years

CT 19/6/92

(274)

JOHANNESBURG. — The massacre that left at least 34 people dead in a Boipatong squatter camp on Wednesday night is the worst attack since 1990 between alleged Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress supporters.

Here follows a list of the worst attacks:

March 1990: A total of 80 people killed in a raid by thousands of Inkatha supporters in Edendale and Imbali, two townships in

Maritzburg.

September 1990: 80 killed in two days in Phola Park squatter camp near Johannesburg. The raids were led by Inkatha members and, according to Amnesty International, by masked white men.

18 die in Natal

May 1991: 29 people killed in Swanieville squatter camp near Johannesburg.

December 1991: 18 killed in

Bruntville, Natal.

March 1992: 18 killed in "Uganda" squatter camp near Durban.

April 1992: 21 residents killed in Katilehong squatter camp, an Inkatha stronghold near Johannesburg.

Inkatha supporters reportedly carried out the May and December 1991, and March 1992 attacks, while the April raid was the work of Xhosas, allegedly sympathetic to the ANC. — Sapa-AFP

Good day for a carnival — but the mission's far from frivolous

W/Mail 19/6-25/6/92.

A CARNIVAL atmosphere reigned among the crowds wearing colourful African National Congress T-shirts, ribbons and headbands as they jiggled and danced in unison at various points around Soweto on Tuesday, marking the 16th anniversary of the Soweto uprising and the launch of the ANC's mass action campaign.

But for ANC leaders looking to a "Leipzig option" — a reference to the sustained popular upheavals which toppled East Germany's communist regime — the campaign's launch must have been a disappointment. Thousands of people joined marches and flocked to Orlando Stadium for a rally, but the turnout — about 45 000 people — was not on the scale of the heady Defiance Campaign marches that preceded President FW de Klerk's watershed February 1990 speech.

As on most national holidays, those seeking leisure outnumbered the politically active. Many residents stood outside their homes or gathered at street corners, watching the proceedings with detached interest.

But even those on the periphery responded to the mythical appeal of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Men, women and children grabbed each other in excitement and climbed on to fences and roofs, straining to catch a glimpse of Mandela as he and other ANC and South African Communist Party heavyweights led a march from Ikwezi Station near Dobsonville to the stadium.

Many employers granted workers the day off with full pay; other employees took it off anyway. More than 90 percent of workers on the Reef stayed away; in Durban, Cape Town and other cities, the stay-aways ranged from 50 to 90 percent. Bus and train services in most city centres ground to a virtual halt.

Repeated appeals for "discipline and order" were made throughout the day. At the Orlando Stadium, Mandela devoted a large part of his speech to issues of discipline, stressing that people should resist the attempts of agents provocateurs to draw them into violence.

"The people should observe absolute discipline and should also resist pressure for the armed struggle to be reinstated," he said. He cautioned against the desire of some supporters to take the struggle into white areas.

ANC marshals were obsessive in their attempts to restrain the marching crowds, but they needn't have both-

There was an air of gaiety on Soweto Day — but it did not detract from the significance of commemorations, or the seriousness of the mass action campaign.

By **PHILIPPA GARSON**

ered. Everyone was in the mood for peace — except for a few youths who hurled stones at an armoured police vehicle near the crowded site in Orlando West where a memorial stone for Hector Petersen, the first victim of the 1976 uprising, was unveiled by Mandela.

The rally, addressed by Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, was a festive event, with music, dancing and the smell of cooking food — giving the day an air of celebration rather than mourning. Outside the grounds, hawkers sold an array of wares, included "June 16" souvenirs, mugs bearing the famous picture of Petersen carried in the arms of a grieving youth, a weeping young woman running alongside.

The tuneless singing of a nervous woman who led the crowds through the verses of *Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika* caused ripples of mirth among ANC leaders on the podium, especially executive member Thabo Mbeki.

The highlight of the musical performances interspersing the speeches was provided by funky pop artist Spho "Hotstix" Mabuse and his

band, who inspired all the leaders, including Mandela, to join in the dancing. As people streamed out of the stadium, the stirring sounds of Abdullah Ibrahim's *Mannenberg* filled the air, a reminder of the sad memories of June 1976.

A jarring note was struck by large groups of more traditional-looking ANC supporters, many of them blanketed Xhosa-speaking shack-dwellers brandishing "cultural" weapons — a lethal array of axes, pangas, knives and spears. Were it not for their ANC headbands, they could have been mistaken for Inkatha supporters. After the rally, about 100 Pan Africanist Congress-supporting youths, some carrying wooden AK47s, spontaneously marched outside the stadium, chanting "one bullet, one bullet" and



Joy ... A child joins in the dancing at the ANC's rally in Orlando Stadium
Photo: KEVIN CARTER

aggressively firing imaginary machine guns at white photographers.

The *Weekly Mail* journalists were ordered to leave a low-key Inkatha meeting at Mzimhlope Hostel in Meadowlands, attended by a few hundred people. Speakers paid tribute to the victims of the Soweto uprising and slammed the ANC's mass action campaign.

The day was marred by an increased intensity of gun attacks and by isolated killings which left at least 30 people dead in the 24-hour period from Monday to Tuesday night. But most of the incidents, perpetrated by "unknown gunmen", could not be directly linked to the mass action campaign. These included:

- Nine people were killed in Soweto's Jabulani Flats, when about six men opened fire on pedestrians and commuters.

- Nine people were stabbed or shot in isolated incidents in Vaal and East Rand townships.

- Violence plagued commemorations in Vosloorus, where 10 people were killed at a gathering in a house fired on by men in a white minibus. Police had earlier dispersed marching Inkatha hostel-dwellers. Youths set a councillor's house alight and damaged several others.

The attacks were blots on an otherwise remarkably peaceful campaign launch, considering that thousands of people took to the streets nationwide.

None of the South African Defence Force troops on standby was deployed and Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe issued a statement thanking those who "made a contribution to the fact that it all occurred peacefully".



Nelson Mandela

MORE than 11 000 people have died in the past seven years since violence erupted at the beginning of September 1984.

According to reports from the Institute of Race Relations, by December last year the number of fatalities had reached a frightening 11 748.

Earlier this year a survey by the Human Rights Commission showed that the rate of political killings in the reform era of the 90s had risen five times as much as that of the repressive period of 1985 to 1989.

An unrest report from the Human Science Research Council showed that Inkatha supporters and hostel dwellers inflicted 90,5 percent of deaths and 80,3 percent of injuries, while the ANC supporters were responsible for 9,5 percent killings and 19,7 percent injuries.

The massacre that left at least 39 people dead in a Boipatong township on Wednesday night is the worst attack since 1990 between alleged Inkatha Freedom Party and African

11 000 people killed since 1984

Sowetan 19/6/92 (274)

By RUTH BHENGU

National Congress supporters.

Here is a list of the worst attacks in the past two years.

March 1990: A total of 80 people killed in a raid by thousands of Inkatha supporters in Edendale and Imbali, two townships in Maritzburg

September 1990: 80 killed in two days in Phola Park squatter camp near Johannesburg. The raids

were led by Inkatha members and, according to Amnesty International, by masked white men.

May 1991: 29 people killed in Swanenville squatter camp near Johannesburg. The death toll later rose to 50.

December 1991: 18 killed in Bruntville, Natal.

March 1992: 18 killed in "Uganda" squatter camp near Durban.

April 1992: 21 residents killed in Kaledhong squatter camp, an Inkatha stronghold.

Inkatha supporters reportedly carried out the May and December 1991, and March 1992 attacks, while the April raid was the work of Xhosas, allegedly sympathetic to the ANC.

February 10 1992: 18 people slaughtered and at least 28 injured in the Reef and Natal. In Meadowlands nine people die after three days of violence.

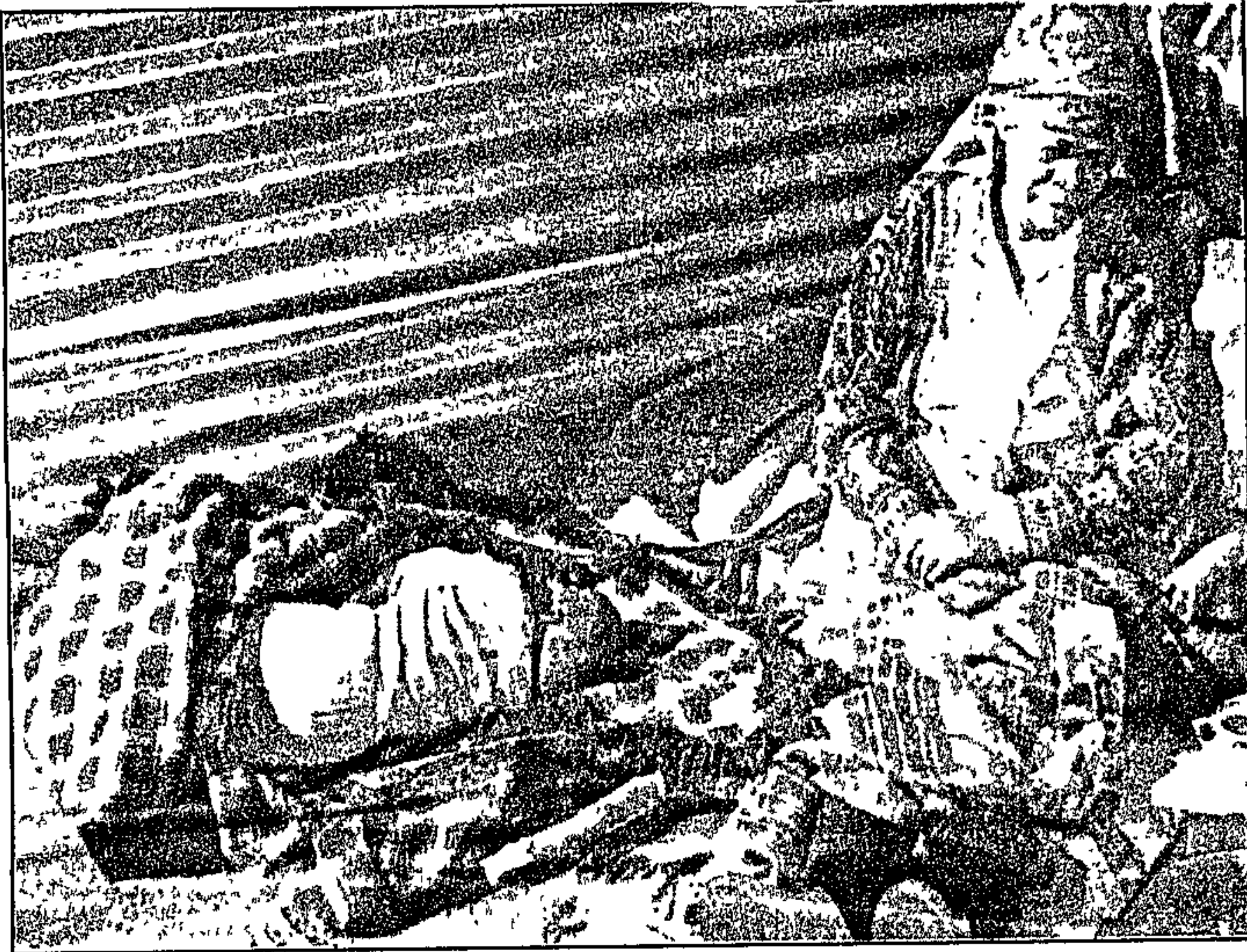
February 1992: Eight people killed, 14 injured and 12 houses set alight when hostel dwellers attacked residents in Meadowlands, Soweto.

February 1991: Kaledhong residents and hostel dwellers agree to lay down arms after 45 people are killed on the East Rand.

April 1992: 15 die and hundreds from Mandela and Holomisa camps flee their homes after attacks from near Kwesine hostel in Tokoza.

July 1991: More than 19 people killed and many wounded when people armed with AK-47 rifles ran amok at taverns in the Vaal triangle townships over a few months.

April 1992: 580 people killed since the outbreak of violence on March 7. 30 houses destroyed through fire. Number of people displaced — 685.



A NEIGHBOUR mourns next to the body of nine-month-old Aaron Mathopa who was one of the first victims of the attack in Boipatong township yesterday. Aaron's mother was also killed in the attack. Pic. AP

6 The latest murder spree means there is going to be more weeping, more night vigils and many more funerals. (274)

There will be more fatherless children, more motherless kids, more orphans, more widows and widowers.

This weekend more families will be gathered in a state of shock as the chill of this senseless act of madness sinks in. Sowetan 19/6/92.

These killings are no longer just tragic and outrageous. These acts of abomination fill us with horror and indignation.

Our impotence at these abominable acts of violence is exceeded only by our anger.

Black political leaders must by now be convinced that some "force" is abusing them by manipulating their plans and their members.

And while such political leadership should make one united stand of condemnation, we appeal to the ordinary man's sense of pride and decency to help us stamp out this scourge. 9

- By The Editor

Suffer little kids

Sowetan 19/6/92.

More reports
and pictures
on pages 2, 3,
4 and 6

TWO babies were among at least 38 people killed when hostel inmates went on the rampage at Boipatong in the Vaal late on Wednesday night.

This is the latest attack on township residents and raises the death toll since Monday night to more than 80.

On Monday five people were killed in Daveyton on the East Rand and nine in

Soweto on Tuesday night

The Boipatong attack came after a group of about 200 men armed with knives, pangas and guns, stabbed men, women and children at a squatter camp, Slovo Park. At least 11 people were injured, some seriously.

Vaal police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer said members of the police's Internal Stability Unit were patrolling the area, and that the situation was relatively quiet.

Residents said inmates of the KwaMadala hostel were responsible for the attack.

NOW

Absolutely THE LIGHTEST Satin Leaf



Now in 20's & 30's

» SATIN LEAF «
Absolute Lights

MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Don't know 19/6/92

(274)

THE WAY TO PEACE

The following action should be taken. Immediately.

A team of international monitors, be invited to South Africa to continuously monitor the security forces.

An international election monitoring team (to assist and observe in both the run-up to the elections themselves) be invited to South Africa, working with the electoral commission appointed by Codesa.

Civilian, non-partisan administrators be introduced into the South African Police force at all levels.

All policing, in both independent and self-governing homelands, should be brought under a unified command. Urgent and effective steps should be taken to educate and explain to all members of the police force the necessity of unbiased policing.

All armies, including the South African Defence Force, Umkhonto we Sizwe and any others should be brought under a single command, to form the new army to serve a democratic state.

■ A new detective agency should be established to investigate politically-motivated crime and to take over from the old riot squads. It should have a civilian structure.

THE FIRST STEPS TO PEACE

■ There must be a comprehensive ban on carrying all weapons, of whatever kind, to political meetings, rallies and in all public places.

■ Security forces should:

- ensure effective searching at all stations before passengers board commuter trains
- search all hostels, confiscate weapons, and prevent anyone with arms from leaving the hostels
- prevent anyone being kept or taken by force into any hostel

■ Hostels should be protected from any external attack.

■ The government must withdraw all secret support for any political organisation.

■ Known and notorious killers still at large must be prosecuted. Bail conditions for those arrested in connection with violence should be reassessed.

■ Political organisations, religious bodies and organs of civil society must put maximum effort into promoting local peace accords and explaining the peace process at grassroots level.

■ Every assistance (food, blankets, shelter) should be given to internal refugees, and non-partisan socio-economic reconstruction must receive urgent attention.

THE WAY TO PEACE JUSTICE & DEMOCRACY

MASS ACTION & PEACE

Codesa II broke down over the National Party government's stubborn refusal to accept democracy. The army has been called up to deal with the people's peaceful expression. Instead of genuine negotiations, De Klerk threatens that they have well-laid contingency plans to deal with mass action aimed at facilitating the transition to democracy.

Yet we see no such plans or mobilisation when thousands of men march down the streets fully armed, leaving death and destruction in their wake.

We will hold De Klerk and the National Party government responsible for any loss of life resulting from failure to protect peaceful civil protest.

RESPONSIBILITY OF ORGANISATIONS

The Goldstone Commission, International Commission of Jurists, and Amnesty International have made observations about the misdeeds of members from various political parties. The ANC is determined to end all violence, including that which our members and supporters, in efforts to defend their communities, may have become involved in.

ANC'S MESSAGE TO MEMBERS & SUPPORTERS

- Our aim is to promote Peace at all times.
- Political tolerance must be shown towards all other groups.
- Mass action must be peaceful
- All efforts must be made to strengthen the provisions of the National Peace Accord & its structures.

AGENDA FOR PEACE REFORMS

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS

"The Trust Feed Case proves conclusively that violence is being provoked by some elements in the security forces... The evidence on some police officers could not be accepted... official records were shown to be completely inaccurate... It is difficult to believe that the cover up was not done to senior politicians..."

VIOLENCE IS THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM FACING SOUTH AFRICA.

Random killing and political assassination have become the order of the day.

There are over one hundred thousand refugees within South Africa. The very social fabric of society is disintegrating.

To end violence, strong measures are required.

One of the key answers lies in the establishment of an Interim Government of National Unity, representative of all South Africa's people.

The Goldstone Commission, Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists have made recommendations that warrant serious attention.

We place the following proposals before the people of South Africa so that we can demand with one voice: not one more death!



Issued by the ANC Peace Desk
Box 61884 Marshalltown 2107. Tel: 330-7231

De Klerk gave little away at Ulundi, argues Political Reporter Kaizer Nyatumba

ANC-bashing — but no pacts

Star 19/6/92

KWAZULU Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi might not admit it readily, but he and his followers gained precious little from President de Klerk's controversial visit to the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi this week.

The visit — surprisingly scheduled on the 16th anniversary of the Soweto uprising — was ostensibly meant to afford the State President an opportunity to address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on the exclusion of KwaZulu and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Although Chief Buthelezi spent the second half of his speech on the "main issue" — the first half having been devoted to exhorting the ANC for its mass action and "total dishonesty" — Mr de Klerk barely mentioned it.

In a six-page speech, he devoted a mere paragraph to King Zwelithini's exclusion from Codesa. And when he did deviate from his speech to respond directly to Chief Buthelezi's emotional appeal, he stated that "the Zulu na-

tion", like other "nations" in South Africa, had an important role to play and had to be accommodated in a future dispensation.

Consummate politician he is, Mr de Klerk, who also used the platform to spell out his party's constitutional views once again, left his listeners feeling happy without actually giving them anything concrete to be happy about.

Much of the day's proceedings were taken up by an issue on which both sides did agree: the need to attack the ANC.

In his opening address to the assembly, meant to welcome the State President, Chief Buthelezi lambasted the ANC for its mass action, saying it was "totally irresponsible" of the organisation to call for mass action "which will be backed by harsh intimidation at this time when there is an upward spiralling of violence".

Chief Buthelezi said the National Party leader was "a man of integrity and political honour". He said it was "a hideous distortion of the negotiation process" to suggest that the Government was responsible for the deadlock in Codesa 2, and stoutly defended the NP team's performance there.

On these issues Chief Buthelezi and President de Klerk were speaking the same language, mutually patting each other's backs.

When he stood up to talk, President de Klerk thanked Chief Buthelezi for putting the Codesa deadlock "in its right perspective", called on all leaders to stand against violence, outlined the actions his Government had taken to deal with violence, and went on to extol regionalism/federalism.

But on the question of King Zwelithini, subtle differences began to emerge.

Chief Buthelezi had accused the Government of giving in to ANC demands far too easily, and said it had been naive in the bilateral discussions held with the ANC before Codesa 1 last year. He called on Mr de Klerk to "act as State President", and tell the ANC and other Codesa delegates that, willingly, KwaZulu, King Zwelithini and the IFP would be allowed to send three separate delegations to Codesa.

The Chief Minister alluded to a long-standing friendship between Zulus and Afrikaners, and referred to his own co-operation with the Government in the past

— at the risk of being called "a stooge". He expressed the wish that these good relations might yet again be revived.

Here he was merely giving expression to what many political observers had long believed would happen that the IFP and the NP would sooner or later enter into an alliance of some kind against the ANC-SACP-Cosatu axis. Mr de Klerk did not respond enthusiastically to this implied request, suggesting that — at least for now — the long-expected formal *toenda-denda* is not on the cards.

Mr de Klerk said the question of King Zwelithini's participation in Codesa would have to be addressed by the multi-party negotiating forum. He and his Government did not need to be convinced of the importance of Zulus, he said, nor of the contribution they could make. But just as Zulus and their king had to be involved in negotiations that affected them, so too did other "nations" and their traditional leaders.

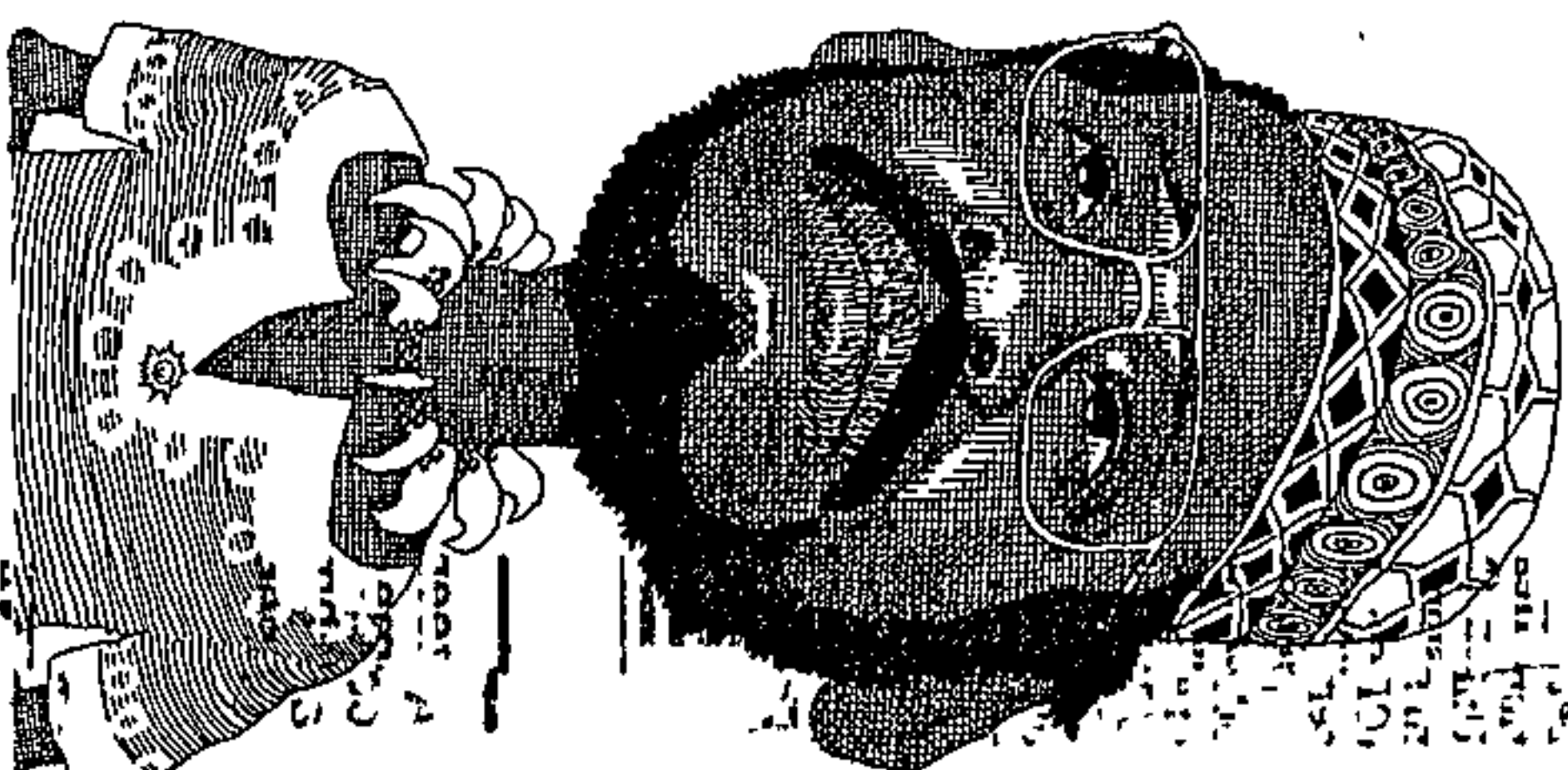
The President said "It is regrettable that Codesa was unable to reach agreement on the inclusion of His Majesty the King of the Zulus, and his own delegation,

as participants in their own right. "Notwithstanding all our efforts, including my own constructive involvement, the matter remains unresolved." The best he promised to do was to redouble his and his Government's efforts in working for King Zwelithini's inclusion.

This will not have been welcome news to Chief Buthelezi. But while the De Klerk visit did not have all the desired results, it demonstrated most lucidly — if such a demonstration were needed — the convergence of views between the NP and the IFP.

Moreover, many believe that for Chief Buthelezi to have scheduled a sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on June 16 — a day widely revered in the black community for its historical significance — is one thing, but for him to have chosen that day to invite President de Klerk to Ulundi, and for President de Klerk to have accepted, amount to little less than frightening callousness.

To make matters worse, not once did either man refer to the day, apart from observing that it had been chosen by the ANC-led alliance for the launch of its mass action campaign. □



Buthelezi... mass action "totally irresponsible"

drive to rebuild their village from rubble.

● Photograph: ANDREW BANNISTER

WOUNDED BY ZWARTAND.
Zwartand, nearly nine years

gives the people of Mogopa security on their own land."

Confusion over mass action's opening shots

Star 20/6/92

ESTHER WAUGH

Political Reporter

(274)

SHARPLY conflicting assessments have created confusion about the launch of the ANC mass action campaign to force the Government's resignation.

ANC campaigns organiser Ronnie Kasrils said mass action, launched at Soweto Day rallies on Tuesday, was not expected to take place on a daily basis.

The ANC has described the launch as successful and insisted that the mass action was not the cause of any violence.

The next landmark in the programme's first phase — the mobilisation period — will be June 26, the day the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955.

Law and Order Minister Herinus Kriel, however, said on Wednesday that no stayaways had occurred.

Kasrils said: "No actions were planned for June 17."

SACP leader Chris Hani told the Saturday Star that, in line with the first phase of mobilisation, the commemoration of the 1976 uprisings had been used to mobilise members and supporters for mass action.

He described the launch as a "roaring success", noting that the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance had not asked people to stay away — which would have happened in any event because of the commemoration — but to

attend marches and rallies. These had been well attended.

In an interview with Saturday Star this week, Cosatu assistant secretary-general Sam Shilowa said the tripartite alliance's demands for an interim government by the end of the month and elections for a constituent assembly in December were not new.

These demands, he said, were first made last December, and were outlined in the ANC's New Year speech and restated in April during Cosatu's Freedom Now campaign.

The first phase is set to run until the end of June and will focus on regional and local issues, such as the violence.

Demonstrations are planned for Monday by the Paper, Print, Wood and Allied Workers' Union against paper production giant Sappi. The National Union of Metalworkers' Transvaal region is also planning marches on that day.

The deadline for the alliance's demands is June 30, and if they have not been met, the second phase — the national offensive — will start on July 1.

Shilowa said Cosatu still thought it was possible for the Government to meet the de-

mands at this late stage, if it had the political will.

Should the demands not be met, "it means De Klerk has declared war on us".

The general-strike phase is set to start on August 1 and will include factory shut-downs, the occupation of factories and government buildings, marches, stayaways and the strategic occupation of city centres.

The start of the last phase — "Exitgate" — will depend on when the strike will be called off, Shilowa said.

Preparations for elections for a constituent assembly would be made during this phase if the demands had been met.

Police promise IFP weapons probe

DEPUTY Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers has promised to look into the issue of police returning dangerous weapons to the IFP this week. (274)

Public liaison officer for the National Peace Committee, Val Pauquet, said Scheepers had promised a departmental investigation into the matter. CIPRESS 21/6/92 -

The police were alleged to have returned the weapons to the IFP after they confiscated them from party supporters on Sunday. The police said only shields and sticks had been returned, though the ANC has disputed this claim.

Education holds key



In an open letter to South Africa's political leaders, **BOGIE MH MABOGOANE**, a well-known industrial chemist and honorary chairman of the community-based East Rand educational group, Educational Catalysts of SA, pleads for one education department in SA.

clp 10/21/6/92

274

DEAR leaders,
The anniversary of June 16 has

come and gone, but the picture of that tragic Wednesday in Soweto is still vivid in my mind.

I was on my sales round and fortunately I was using a sedan instead of the sign-written delivery van. It was impossible to get out but I was near a friend's place, Dr AJ Kgomo, which was two streets away from ANC president Nelson Mandela's former residence.

As everybody knows, that Wednesday was the a turning point in SA history. In the 80 years since our struggle was formalised in Bloemfontein the progress made in the last 16 years has been far greater than that achieved during the previous 64 years. Indeed, siyafika ePitoli - we are getting to Pretoria.

Soon after June 16 we ceased to be visitors in 87 percent of our country.

Better school premises were erected and the material conditions of services for our teachers improved.

There was some upward mobility in commerce and industry and Africans in the urban areas were again allowed to form business partnerships and companies.

You will agree, however, that those enjoying the fruits of the struggle today are the haves among our people.

Many of the 1976 students live in mkhukhus

(shacks) today because the government, at national and local levels, never fulfilled its obligation to provide low-income houses.

The worst deprivation for the majority of our people is in "the most important activity of modern man", namely education.

We seem to have forgotten that June 16 was precipitated by our children's demand to learn. They could not do so effectively in the language they least understood and which was also a problem to their teachers.

Those brave boys and girls went a step further. They rejected bantu education and later called for the liberation of their leaders. The latter has been achieved but an Education Department they have no confidence in is still in place.

When Mandela urged the pupils to return to school, the pupils said: "We cannot understand Mandela. We fought for his release to help us fight for a better education. Now he urges us to go to school to get the inferior education we do not want."

It was not only the idealistic students who were against bantu education. The young teachers, who were in the frontline in 1976, were against the present system and reluctant to teach it.

The union has it written in bold letters on their letterheads: "Forward to

one department of education."

Yes, we all know there is no bantu Newton's Laws, bantu Pythagoras theorem, or bantu Shakespeare, but it is extremely difficult to convince those idealistic and influential students and teachers, that today, there is no difference between African, Indian, coloured and white education.

I have tried but failed. In 1977 and 1985, parents and teachers in Kwa Thema asked me to liaise with student leaders to help resolve boycotts.

"We do not want bantu education," was the answer given by students.

It was difficult and the system made it even more difficult when they petrol-bombing our homes and those of student leaders.

Former British Prime Minister Lord Attlee said: "Wars are started in the minds of men and it is in the minds of men that peace must be settled."

Bantu education was in the minds of our children when they took up stones in 1976.

This must be removed from their minds for our schools to be effective.

In view of this, I appeal that you urge the present parliament to legislate this coming October for one education department.

Your failure to help these children from disadvantaged backgrounds will cause resentment in the future of children from better backgrounds.

SA's most wanted gun



ARMS FOR AFRICA . . . The AK-47, also known as the "Soweto cheque book", is the weapon most often used in crimes committed in SA.

Search ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ is on for AK-47s ⁽²⁾

Cipres 21/6/92

ITS barrel shone for the first time in the southern African sun in the hands of cadres who have attacked South African soldiers. Now these attacks are no longer needed and the gun has become one of the most deadly aids for criminals. In 1991 alone, the gun was used in more than 2 500 robberies.

This is the AK-47, also generally known as the "AK" or the "Soweto cheque book" - because people in Soweto supposedly believe you can write your own cheques if you own an AK-47.

But why is it called the "AK-47"? In fact, the choice of name was very simple.

The "A" refers to the Russian word "awtomat" which means automatic. The "K" is the first letter of the surname of the designer - the Russian Mikhael Kalashnikov.

Honoured

And the "47" has nothing to do with the barrel of the gun. It simply refers to the year in which Kalashnikov had presented his brainchild to the Soviet government.

Kalashnikov, who was honoured for his invention a few years ago by the then Soviet government, was a colonel in the Soviet armoured division during the Second World War. He was so seriously injured during one of these battles that he was declared medically unfit to pursue his career as a militarist.

Kalashnikov then concentrated full time on designing firearms.

The original gun was very heavy and unwieldy. Its tolerance was also extremely low with the result that it was very sensitive to dirt and dust. The gun was also not very reliable in battle conditions.

Kalashnikov then designed an improved model in 1952. The gun was much more reliable and the initial shortcomings were nearly eliminated. The frame was made of light steel, hence the gun was much lighter than the initial version.

The AK-47 was only accepted as an official battle gun in 1952 after a few adjustments were made to the proto-

The AK-47 rifle has already become a household name in SA. During the last months hardly any murder, robbery or other act of violence has been committed without the feared AK-47 being mentioned.

Ten of these guns were found on a train coach filled with weapons which the police confiscated from Inkatha supporters in Soweto last weekend. Our **SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT** traced the origin of the AK-47.

type.

Shortly afterwards Kalashnikov also designed the AKM and the AKMS. The latter was equipped with foldable butt, making it ideal for paratroopers.

The success story of the AK-47 soon became known outside the borders of the Soviet Union. This gun was used all over the world where the Soviets wanted to expand their influence.

Not only was the gun exported to communist-led countries, it was even manufactured there. It is generally known that the gun was manufactured in countries like Finland, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and the then Eastern Germany.

Today the gun's easy handling and reliability contributes to its popularity among criminals. It can also easily be hidden underground for a long time and remain in a good condition.

An instance is known of a group of infiltrators who crossed the border between Swaziland and SA with a number of AK-47s. The men were trapped and their guns confiscated.

Fired

A year later the investigating team returned to the scene and found another gun which was still hidden in the ground.

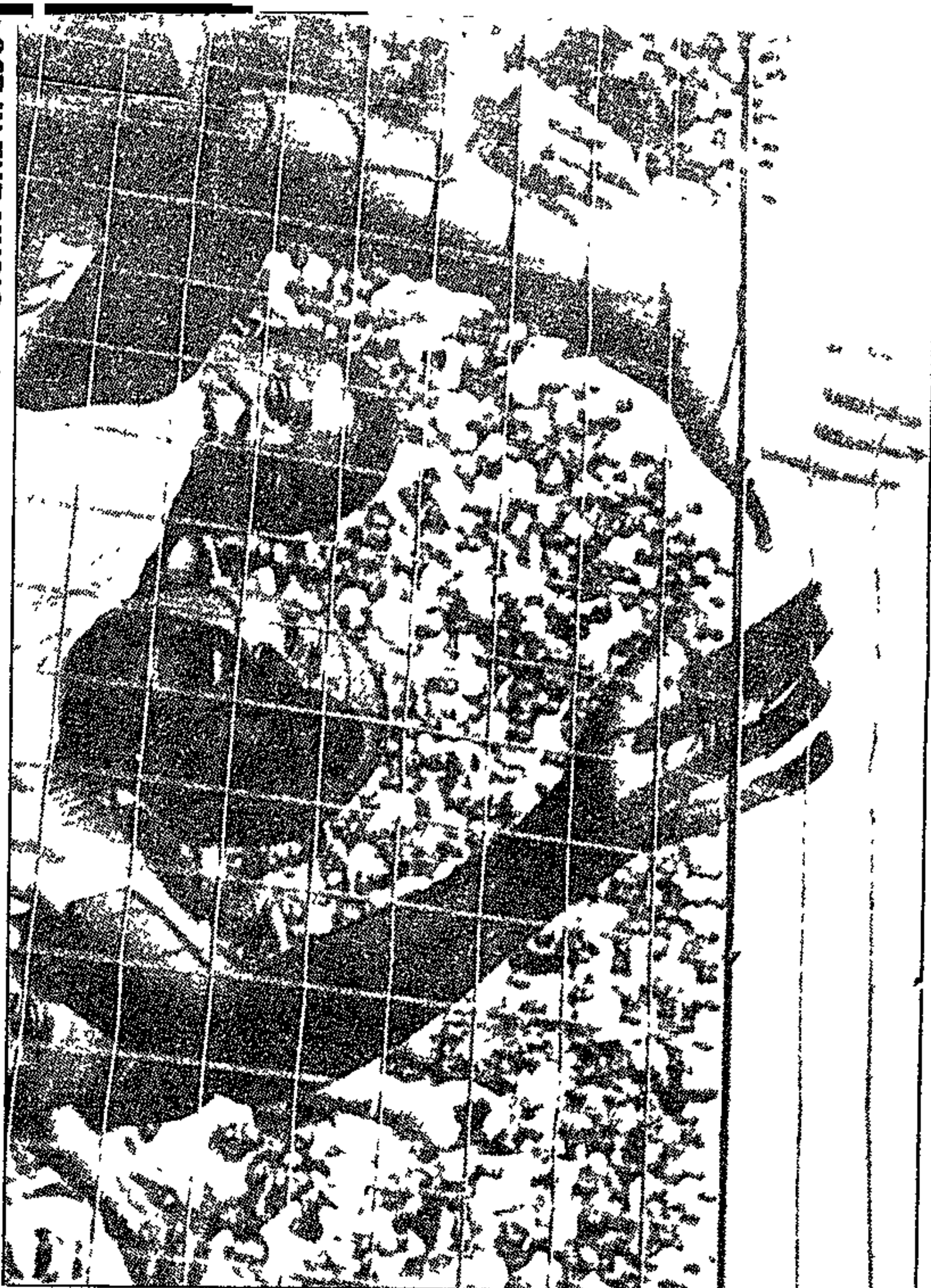
The gun was initially hidden in an ant heap. Rain had caused the soil to cave in and the gun was found as a result.

The investigating officer removed the soil from the barrel and fired a shot. To his surprise, the gun functioned perfectly.

The police launched an intensive campaign months ago in an endeavour to curtail the illegal distribution and possession of AK-47s. Since January this year a total of 238 AK-47s have been confiscated.

In the period January 1 to December 31 last year, AK-47s were used in more than 2 500 armed robberies, the SAP public relations division said. The robberies were especially aimed at institutions such as banks, building societies, post offices, shops and factories.

The police offers a reward of up to R6 000 for information which could lead to the confiscation of an AK-47.



LOST IN THE MUSIC... Youths bop to the good sounds at a June 16 rally at Orlando Stadium - but how much to do they know about Hector Peterson? ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

What's gone wrong?

So trivialised, even Nats might hold June 16 rally

By SEKOLA SELLO

JUNE 16 has come and gone. Next year, another round of commemoration services will be held countrywide.

Yet one cannot help feeling that something has gone terribly wrong with the event.

Fact is that it has been going wrong for some time now. The occasion is no longer the sombre affair it was in past years.

Then, one could feel a sense of oneness among blacks. There was a palpable bond of shared grief.

Today, June 16 has become a rather grotesque parade of party political flags. That mood of mourning, of oneness, it now seems, belongs to the past.

Instead, political egos are flying high. It's now become a question of who had more followers, who could bus them in ever-greater numbers, who attracted which celebrities and who had the purest line of them all.

No longer do we hear the names of Mandela, Biko and Sobukwe invoked jointly at a June 16 gathering. Rallies are now platforms to vilify opponents.

PAYING RESPECTS... ANC president Nelson Mandela greets Hector Petersen's mother, Dorothy. ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE



grown men cheapening their deaths like this.

Whereas in the past there was a mood of thunderous black defiance, today things are sadly different. Today the mood is trendy, pop and fickle.

Even the police no longer show the murderous aggro of a few years ago. There was nary a teargas canister fired in Soweto - perhaps De Klerk's reform measures have percolated down to the *manne* in blue.

This absence cannot go unremarked.

Adding to this sense of the unreal, the occasion is now being turned into a battle of the bands. They will bring in Bayette. So we will bring in Sakthle. And they, in turn will bring in the sounds of Lucky Dube or Miriam Makeba.

There is nothing wrong with these musicians performing at political rallies, but when the impression is created that they are the main attractions, then something is seriously amiss.

Some (unconvincing) voices say there is nothing unusual about this. Such divisions, it is said, are not peculiar to blacks. If anything, they show the logical development of our politics.

The argument goes that when the liberation movements were banned, it was only logical that they would be con-

CP/PAW 21/6/92

ducted under the banner of the Black Consciousness Movement, which was then the only political organisation not restricted.

It is said that when the political terrain was freed in a series of events leading up to February 1992, it was to be expected that the various strains would increasingly go their separate ways.

It is said that even the beleaguered Afrikaner are just as divided. Take a look at the Day of the Vow. The National Party commemorates this event separately from the Conservative Party. Even the rightwingers occasionally cannot agree to hold joint services.

Yet, one could argue, June 16 should inspire a greater sense of bringing blacks together. It is in death more than anything that our *Ubumu/Boho* emerges. It is when death has visited your family that neighbours who have not been talking to each other for years, come together, bury their differences and help each other to make light the burden of losing a beloved.

No one is hankering for political uniformity. The existence of Azapo, ANC, PAC and Inkatha are realities which cannot be wished away.

One may even argue that such diversity indicates political

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maturity. Uniformity can be stultifying to the mind. Political differences on the other hand are healthy. But petty political divisions should not be taken for diversity of thought.

In fact, there is something really sickening when Azapo, the ANC and PAC - all three generally regarded as custodians of the spirit of Hector Petersen and other martyrs - cannot come together even for just a few short hours.

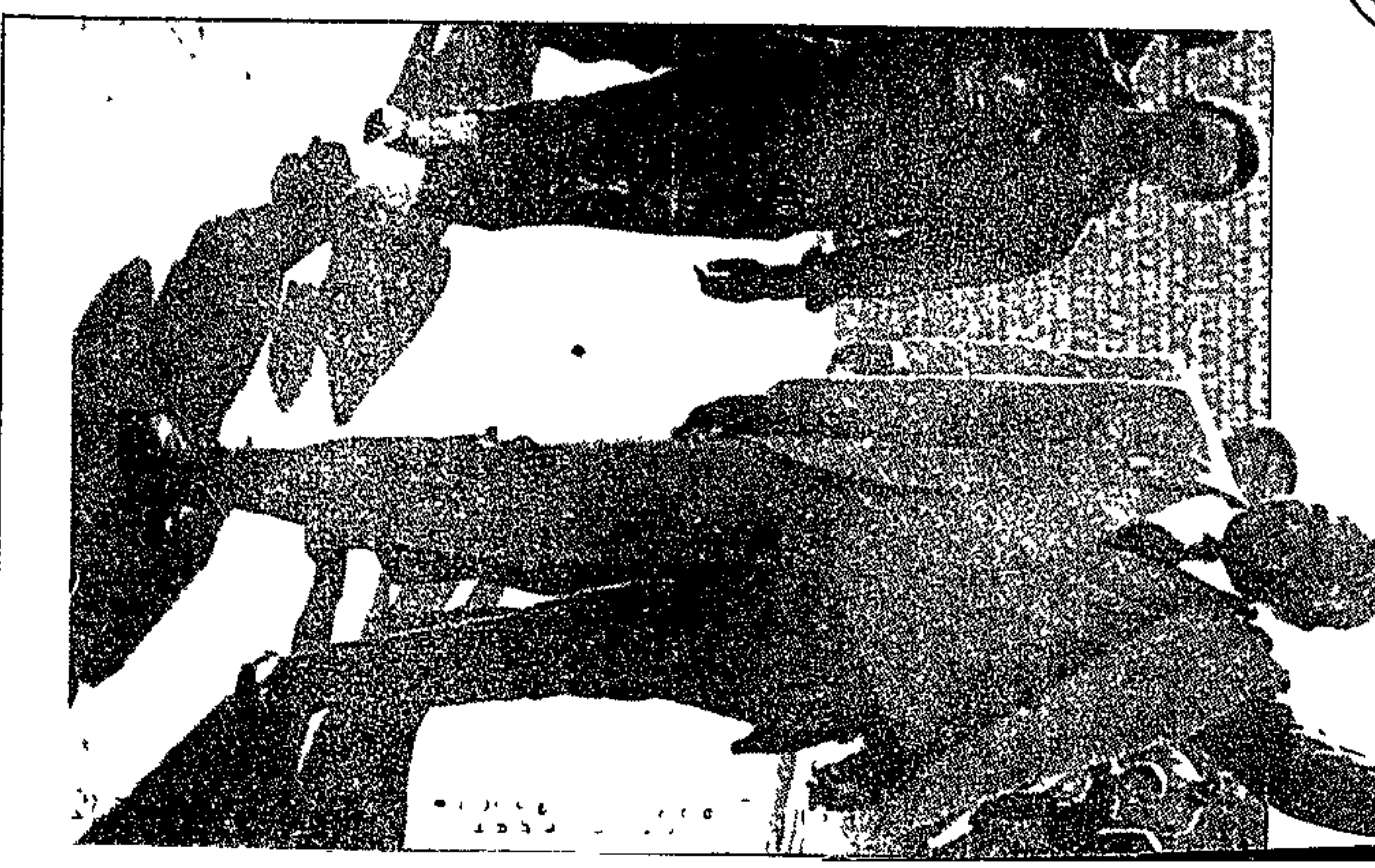
June 16 should be a unifying symbol. The fact that the day was spearheaded by the BC movement does not detract from the need for it to be a unifying factor. This holds true for Sharpeville (March 21).

If we go on the way we are, future generations will not know even basic things, such as the name of June 16's first casualty. Is it Petersen as it used to be spelt in the past or is it Peterson as to be found on his new headstone unveiled this week.

Some crylcs say the way things are going, what with everyone trying to pin the day to his party sleeve, the time is not far off when even the National Party will hold a June 16 rally. If June 16 and March 21 cannot be such symbols and join blacks even if momentarily, then, it seems, nothing will.



SOMBRE REFLECTION... A section of the crowd in attentive mood at a PAC-hosted rally. ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINENKA



CROWD APPEAL... PAC president Clarence Makwetu greets the crowd. ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINENKA

SOWETAN BUSINESS

POLITICAL organisations and trade unions have been challenged to involve black business in their campaigns aimed at liberating the oppressed masses.

They have also been called upon to involve black businessmen in their activities, including the mass action propagated by the ANC and its allies.

The two messages came up at the 22nd annual conference of the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce and Industries held at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn, near Johannesburg, last week.

The conference, whose theme was "Meeting the business challenges of the future South Africa", also addressed several issues such as the surging violence and crime, unemployment, poverty, a stuttering

Business throws down gauntlet

Sowetan 22/6/92

economy and a political impasse.

Leading the discussion on campaigns, business consultant Mrs Pam Ngulwa challenged, in particular the ANC and its allies partners, to involve and inform black business on their mass action campaigns.

She said: "Black business has never been informed about the mass action which has, in some instances, affected our operations in the townships.

"We are deeply concerned about the escalation of crime and violence

which are having devastating effects on township business."

Many business people in the PWV area have been killed, wounded and robbed of huge sums of money by isiZulu elements purporting to be comrades in the liberation struggle.

"We want to be informed about the stayaways and other actions so that we can decide to give support wherever possible," she said.

This call came amid reports from the Government and other sources that the mass action will promote

violence in the country and halt negotiations.

Ngulwa also charged that black businessmen were not well informed about the action of political and trade union movements and the impression created was that "we simply do not care".

"We are part of the black struggle against the system that has oppressed us for decades," she said, adding, "we do not have to be neglected".

Soutacoc president Mr Joe Hlongwane said the continued high level of political violence and crime,

strikes and marches caused concern among black business.

"All these events are occurring at a time when the most severe drought in living memory, combined with the consequences of failed political systems and recession, are causing untold civil strife, unemployment, poverty, hunger and misery across the sub-continent.

"Many of our people who are suffering from these events do not even understand the political issues and certainly cannot grasp the reason for the civil

warfare."

He called on black business to launch a campaign to hand out food parcels as a demonstration of the business community's concern at the high level of hunger and poverty.

These parcels would be given to the poor communities, especially in rural areas, from August this year so that "we can be seen to be playing a meaningful role towards uplifting our people".

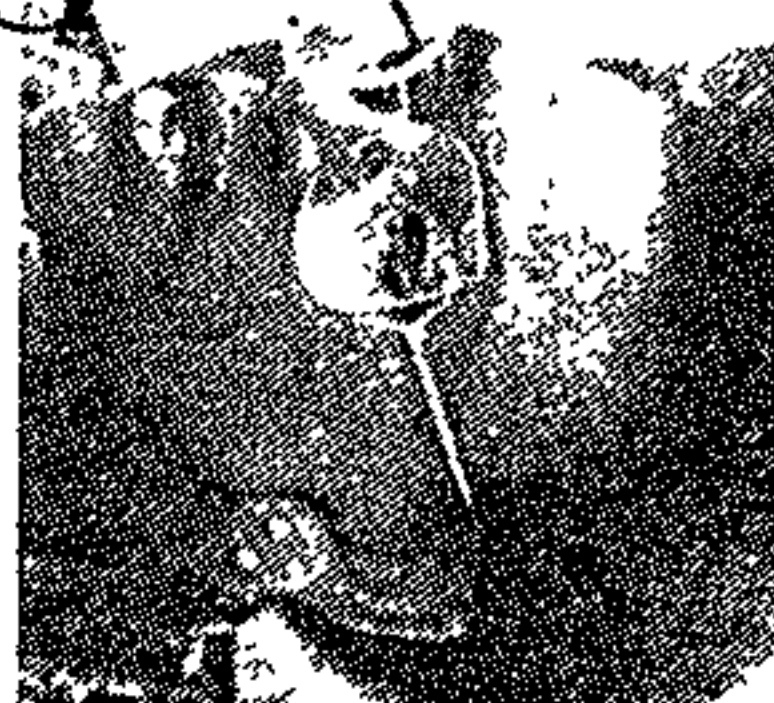
On the question of the stuttering economy, the Deputy-Director of the Department of Trade and In-

dustry, Mr G Beryl, said that South Africa could not afford to continue to run uneconomical plants because of severe marketing restraints.

He said a revitalised economy and a highly competitive economy would require a "strong partnership between Government and the private sector".

Regarding the development of small businesses in South Africa, Government and the private sector should together take up the challenge of cultivating a truly "entrepreneur-friendly" climate.

PAM NGULWA



Churches 'justify violence'

South Africa
LONDON - Sections of the South African Church, aided by overseas funding, had developed a theology which justifies violence, according to a new British study.

A summary of the study, Revolution or Reconciliation? The Struggle in the Church in South Africa by Ms Rachel Pringle, was released at the weekend by the London-based Christian Studies Centre.

It said Pringle had endorsed a statement by SA Institute of Race Relations executive-director Mr John Kane-Berman.

Kane-Berman said in 1990: "Black people in the townships are reaping a

whirlwind of violence that the churches have helped to sow."

Pringle had traced the origins of this development to the activities of the World Council of Churches and particularly its Programme to Combat Racism.

Her study listed all the grants made by the PCR in Africa, established over 20 years ago, and showed the WCC had given almost R14 million to liberation movements in Africa.

"Virtually all (of these liberation movements) have adopted the principles of Marxism-Leninism and have been prepared to use revolutionary violence in order to seize power," accord-

22/6/92

ing to the study.

The ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress had received a total of R3,64 million and R1,96 million respectively from the PCR.

Despite this funding, "neither the WCC itself, nor its member churches, appear to have shown any concern about the dismal economic and human rights record of the liberation movements assisted by the PCR once they have taken power."

"Furthermore... in order to justify a programme whose activities have been deeply at variance with the traditional work and beliefs of the Church, the WCC has encouraged the development of new forms of theology which support radical political action and undermine orthodox Christianity."

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The study showed that, by fusing radical North American Black Theology and Latin American liberation theology, progressive theologians had developed a specifically South African version of liberation theology - what former Cape Town Anglican Archbishop Bill Burnett called "counterfeit Christianity".

This was epitomised by the highly influential and widely-distributed Kairos Document, published in 1985 against a background of horrific black-on-black violence.

"This purportedly Christian document quite specifically rejected a moderating and peace-making role for the Church," charged Pringle. Quoting from the document, she said it suggested there was no alternative but to intensify the conflict.

"It argues that Christians should not be working for peace and reconciliation but, rather, should take part in the struggle for liberation and justice."

It advocated civil disobedience as a form of resistance against the Government, "ignoring the degree to which civil disobedience campaigns have frequently involved gross intimidation in order to be effective." - *Sapa*

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South Africa and its violence under UK Press spotlight Aug 22/6/92 (214)

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON.— Nelson Mandela's dramatic break with the "murdering" South African government has swept even the first day of Wimbledon off the front pages of the British Press.

Most serious newspapers make the abrupt halt to the peace talks their main news item, as have both radio and TV newscasts.

Several papers also carry leading articles trying to make sense of how

the dream of a "new" South Africa seems to have been killed off.

The *Boipatong* violence, too, has been extensively and soberly covered, with strong warnings that South Africa might be on the point of losing all the ground it has already made in its drive for a peaceful and democratic future. TV coverage has been particularly powerful and harrowing.

The *Times*, which carries three

reports, says an atmosphere now rules in South Africa in which "precise questions of evidence seem almost not to matter."

At the same time, an article by R W Johnson claims there is "absurdity" in blacks blaming whites every time violence breaks out in the townships. "Nobody has more to lose than De Klerk."

The *Independent's* leading article looks at the stresses within the ANC,

including conflict between the "comrades" of the townships and the leadership, and Winnie Mandela, who is "still a loose cannon".

The *Guardian*, hopeful that talks have only been suspended, calls on Mr De Klerk to "change course very fast."

In spite of his achievements, he is still not curbing "the enemy within" and the possibility of racial civil war has now become real.

Unrest 'inhibits rights bill'

One of the single most important factors inhibiting the operation of a bill of rights in South Africa is the culture of violence in the country, says the head of the Human Sciences Research Council's Centre for Constitutional Analysis, Dr Bertus de Villiers.

He is a co-compiler of the HSRC's latest publication, "Human Rights: Documents that Paved

the Way," which is said to contain reproductions of the most important human rights documents of the world. 274


If radical steps were not taken to develop a culture of tolerance in SA, a bill of rights would have scant chance of success, he said.

A legally enforceable bill of rights would put an end to the dominant

position of Parliament. The country's courts would be able to test all legislation and administrative actions of the authorities against the bill of rights, Dr de Villiers said.

Should such legislation or actions clash with the provisions of the bill, for the first time in SA's constitutional history the courts could declare them invalid. — Sapa.

Battalion not fit to keep the peace

Sowetan 22/4/92 (274) 
MEMBERS of the SA Defence Force's 32 Battalion should not be used for peace-keeping duties anywhere in South Africa.

This is what a committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation recommended in its report on the army unit's behaviour.

The report, signed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone on June 10, was released on Friday.

The committee also recommended that the Defence Force consider any steps necessary to ensure officers were made aware of their special role in peace-keeping duties.

The committee found 32 Battalion had failed to carry out the function it entered the area for, which was to look for injured people.

The battalion had acted in a manner completely inconsistent with the function of a peace-keeping force and, in fact, had become perpetrators of violence.

Violence curbs Bill of Rights

STAR 22/6/92
One of the single most important factors inhibiting the operation of a Bill of Rights in SA is the culture of violence in the country, says the head of the Human Sciences Research Council's Centre for Constitutional Analysis, Dr Bertus de Villiers. (274) ● Page 5

'SA may be isolated again'

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EDINBURGH — Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku said yesterday South Africa risked a return to international isolation if it failed to take action against township killers.

"The latest news of the horrific massacre of more than 39 innocent men, women and children in Boipatong has taken the violence in South Africa to new depths," Mr Anyaoku told a conference of Commonwealth press groups in the Scottish capital of Edinburgh yesterday.

He said unless "effective and impartial measures" were taken, especially by the

South African Government, to arrest the killers, "we will soon be witnessing not only the weakening of the negotiation process but a return to the days of full international ostracism of South Africa."

The ANC alleges that Government forces were involved in the massacre last week of at least 39 people in clashes between ANC supporters and the rival Inkatha Freedom Party at Boipatong.

The Commonwealth, an organisation of some 50 former British colonies and dependencies, includes black African states neighbouring South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

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SA should withdraw from Games Tutu

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CAPE TOWN — South Africa should either withdraw or be expelled from the Olympic Games if the Government did not accede to one of three demands to end the violence and achieve a political settlement in the country, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

"If we allow the situation to deteriorate further, we will end up with a Yugoslavian nightmare in which international observers will come too late to prevent outright civil war," he said at a service in St George's Cathedral in Cape Town.

Archbishop Tutu then outlined three methods of achieving peace.

"There must be inter-party agreement, either through the mechanisms of the National Peace Committee (NPC) or through Codesa, on the immediate constitution of an international monitoring force."

He also called for an end to the "bickering and power play" at Codesa and for politicians to stop trading insults and making political capital out of the violence, while he urged the Government to bring to justice those responsible for the Bolpa-tong massacre.

Another demand was that agreement, through the NPC or Codesa, had to be reached for multi-party control of the security forces.

"Pending the implementation of this agreement, F W de Klerk must take over personal responsibility for the security forces, particularly the functions of



Cry for peace . . . Archbishop Tutu wipes a tear from his eye during yesterday's service in Cape Town. Picture AP

Minister of Law and Order.

"If at least one of these demands is not met before the Olympic Games begin, then the SA team to the Olympic Games must withdraw."

He said that when South Africa returned to the Olympic Games it must be done in a spirit of celebration and unity. This could not be achieved while the country was in a na-

tional state of mourning for the dead and while caught up in a deepening political crisis.

Archbishop Tutu said that before embarking upon this course he intended to seek an interview with Mr de Klerk to discuss the violence with him and to warn him that "I intended returning to the international community if he does not act immediately". — Sapa.

United States grant for violence victims

THE American Embassy announced yesterday it was awarding a R700 000 grant to the International Committee of the Red Cross to assist victims of the violence in South Africa.

Some of this money will be used to help victims of last week's Boipatong massacre and their families, the United States Information Service said in a statement.

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Sowetan 23/6/92
The embassy condemned the Boipatong attack as well as the "cruel and senseless" violence in South Africa and called on all parties to redouble their efforts to control it.

"No reason could possibly justify the murder of innocent men, women and children in their homes."

The Boipatong incident emphasised the importance

of the Codesa process and the need for the parties to move without delay to resolve the outstanding issues blocking agreement on transitional government, it said.

Such an agreement was essential to efforts to address the underlying causes of the violence, the statement said. - SA Press Association.

Graham Linscott says if you want to know the score, know whom to ask

Our top 'grocer' a bold prophet

STAR 23/6/92

AS ANY foreign correspondent will tell you, if you want to find out what's going on in a country you ask a taxi driver.

He is likely to be able to tell you such things as: "No, the generalissimo will not launch his campaign against the revolutionaries this week because he has taken his mistress away to his holiday retreat for a reconciliation after the furious row they had two days ago after she smashed every piece of crockery in their love nest."

Or: "No, the dockworkers will not go on strike this week because their union leader has recovered from his stomach ache and is now in a very good temper."

Taxi drivers know what is going on, always. They have the basics.

Hotel concierges are pretty good also, but barmen are suspect. They can be carried away by having an audience and can also be in the pay of the secret police, there to pass on disinformation.

In South Africa, though, you ask a grocer if you want to know what's going on. All right, Raymond Ackerman is a pretty Big League Grocer, but a grocer nevertheless. And he says this mass action is all a lot of politicking — everything is still on track, Codesa hasn't failed and we'll have an interim government in six weeks.

This is fairly startling stuff and, were Mr Ackerman a professional political analyst and not a grocer, one might be sceptical. After all, the ANC and Cosatu spokesmen are talking about sit-ins, confrontation, a transfer of power — not about getting negotiations going again.

But then why has President de Klerk recalled Parliament for a special session in October? To transfer power to the street mobs? Unlikely.

It is a great puzzle, not least because mass action has so far been such a low-key affair. One always has to keep the fingers firmly crossed when writing such a thing, because all kinds of ugliness can and does blow out of absolutely nowhere as last week demonstrated, but so far mass action has been nothing near as angry and confrontational as many had feared or expected.

Police have been firm but low-

key. Protest marches have tended to be street theatre rather than anger. Without attempting to minimise the tragic deaths in the Vaal Triangle (apparently not directly related), the worst friction between the authorities and the mass activists so far has been verbal — foolish taunting by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel about the low turn-out for mass action and some equally school playground-like responses from the ANC.

Could it be that the African National Congress and its allies are going through a necessary process of blowing off steam before Codesa goes into its next phase? That the lower echelons of ANC leadership, who have been bottled up in frustration for two years now, have to be given the opportunity to show their strength — numbers — and toyi toyi in the main streets of the major cities.

If that is so, the ANC's top leadership surely deserves a little more sympathy and understanding from those who automatically oppose and condemn mass action as a political tactic, unpredictable and dangerous though it certainly is. They really have little else and they have little choice when lower leadership demands that the card be played.

If this argument is correct, a point must eventually be reached where boredom sets in or hunger takes over, as pay is shut off, or the whole thing begins to look futile as it becomes clear that the Government is not about to topple — or a combination of all three.

At this point, the percentage quibble over the majority needed to adopt a new constitution begins to be seen for what it is — a quibble. People start talking again.

That's the theory anyway — it could be wishful thinking and entirely wrong. Yet it does seem to be borne out by the predictions of an eminent grocer.

But an interim government within six weeks?

That does seem a tall order, especially as President de Klerk has called the special session of Parliament only for October.

Perhaps Mr Ackerman's prediction needs to be cross-checked with a taxi driver. As I explained, taxi drivers are infallible. □

Mandela asks UN chief to intervene in SA

By Mike Littlejohn
Star Bureau

START
23/6/92

NEW YORK — Nelson Mandela has asked the UN Security Council to intervene in "the deteriorating situation in South Africa", according to council president Paul Noterdame, the chief delegate of Belgium.

But no formal meeting is in prospect until Mr Mandela has

discussed the question with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Dakar.

Both men will shortly be attending the OAU summit session in the city.

Mr Noterdame said that the ANC chief telephoned the secretary-general yesterday morning to report on the events at Boipatong and the suspension of negotiations with the Govern-

ment.

He had asked Mr Boutros-Ghali and the council to "try to find ways and means to normalise the deteriorating situation in South Africa and try to resume the negotiations which have broken down," the ambassador added.

A UN spokesman confirmed the conversation had taken place but gave no details.

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Thus, it was unclear what Mr Mandela expected of the UN since it was the ANC that had pulled out of negotiations.

However, the events were seen at the UN as a sharp setback for the transition process and as a likely death blow to any hope that South Africa would be able to resume its General Assembly seat this year.

Day of mourning - ANC

The ANC last night also called on the "entire people" of South Africa, including the business community, to observe next Monday as a national day of mourning and solidarity with the victims of the Boipatong massacre.

The victims — now numbering 43 — will be buried on that day. *Star 24/6/92*

The call, made earlier yesterday by the PWV ANC region and which included a stayaway from work, was endorsed last night by the na-

tional executive committee.

The organisation also called on the international community to act in solidarity, and appealed in particular to workers throughout the world not to handle South African carriers and goods on June 29.

● Sapa reports that workers of at least eight Vaal Triangle companies yesterday continued to stay away from work in protest against the massacre at Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, last week.

London,
Washington
express

dismay **AKA 24/6/92**

Argus Foreign Service
in London and Washington

THE British government reacted with dismay to the decision by the ANC saying the process must continue for the sake of the South African people.

The Foreign Office said it was concerned at the ANC's decision and called on all to "to restore the confidence vital if constitutional settlement is to be achieved."

"We believe that the interests of the majority of South Africans are best served by concerted efforts to get the negotiations back on track as soon as possible," the Foreign Office said.

Earlier, Prime Minister John Major urged South African leaders to strive for a satisfactory conclusion.

In Washington, the chairman of the Senate's foreign relations committee, Senator Paul Simon, urged Pretoria to consider the role which the United Nations could play in helping.

In a resolution from the floor of the Senate today, he adopted a conciliatory attitude, saying that the United States still hoped that negotiations could resume.

He urged the government to "work to control elements that have not been constructive in the past in the peace process" and called for restraint.

Leading American newspapers called on the ANC not to abandon negotiations.

The Washington Post said the ANC's "hasty decision" to pull out of talks had been preceded by a hardening of attitudes on both sides and verbal hostility between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

"Both must show that at this critical juncture they are bigger than the audiences to which they are inclined to play," the newspaper said.

The newspaper said the government should be held accountable for controlling the violence, but added that the ANC "should not lose sight of the larger interest."

'Get help' clamour

Outside monitors of violence urged

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

PRESSURE is mounting on the government from all quarters today to get help from the international community in monitoring and curbing violence and, ultimately, to preserve the negotiation process.

As the Cabinet gathered for crisis talks today after the ANC's decision last night to pull out of the Codesa negotiations, one of the key items on the agenda will be the possibility of seeking international assistance — both to try to reduce the level of conflict and also to preserve the talks process.

Political tension has risen across the country and fears have been expressed from within the security forces that the ANC's tough stance may be interpreted in the townships as a return to a "war phase".

Against this background, politicians and others believe the time has come for the government seriously to consider help from abroad.

Apart from the ANC, calls for some form of international peacekeeping force, or monitoring mission, have so far come from Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer and the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine.

It has also emerged that various key figures in the National Peace Secretariat favour this option. In fact, the National Peace Executive meets in Johannesburg tomorrow to discuss the options for international assistance in curbing the violence.

In its comment, The New York Times said: "Unless justice is done, and as seen to be done, the hopes for democratic change inspired by President De Klerk could vanish."

"It is under consideration, but, of course, it needs to be accepted by everybody, including the government."

"I cannot say more until we know what everybody's attitude is."

Some in the National Peace Secretariat are known to be strongly in favour of credible international observers joining forces with existing peace structures.

One source said, "I believe it is an excellent idea. I think it could have a tremendous credibility."

Dr De Beer said, "I will support an international mission, depending, of course, on its terms and nature, but I think the time has come when we must look at this option."

"There are two reasons: the seriousness of the situation warrants it and, given the general relaxation of South Africa's international contacts, I think South Africans, even white ones, are now more willing to entertain the idea of respectable international visitors coming to help."

He said he had found the recent visit by the International Commission of Jurists "impressive and useful".

Dr De Beer said he believed the government was more inclined now than a year ago to consider international assistance or monitoring.

Dr Boraine suggested yesterday that President Mr Nelson Mandela should meet urgently to discuss the possible composition and terms of reference of an international mission "and an invitation should be extended without delay".

CRISIS GATHERING: Mr Oliver Tambo, from left, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa with some of the 90-strong ANC national executive committee during a picture session at their emergency meeting called after the Boipatong massacre.

Call for Security Council meeting

Argus Foreign Service
DAKAR. — The ANC and the PAC called here for African states to press for an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council on the situation in South Africa.

Organisation of African Unity (OAU) secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim told a closed-door meeting of OAU foreign ministers about the request late yesterday.

Mr Salim told delegates ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had informed him by telephone he wanted to address the Security Council.

Mr Salim also read to the African ministers a message from PAC leader Clarence Makwetu requesting a meeting of the Security Council.

In the message, Mr Makwetu said the PAC had always considered that Codesa was not a democratic forum.

The only way forward was to reconvene the United Patriotic Front

through concerted political and economic action and the armed struggle, Mr Makwetu said.

The current violence was the result of the early lifting of sanctions, he said.

Mr Salim assailed the South African Police for showing a "careless disregard for human life" in Boipatong.

He said there was a need to maintain the pressure for change in South Africa.

President De Klerk's warning that he might reimpose a state of emergency "threatens the process of change", Mr Salim said.

"The edifice of apartheid has been severely dented," he said, but stressed the need "to temper our optimism".

Eight Codesa-represented organisations support the ANC decision to pull out of Codesa.

Cosatu and the ANC-led Patriotic Front have endorsed the ANC's decision.

(274) **AKA 24/6/92**



Picture: AFP

THE KEY EVENTS

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress's decision to pull out of democracy negotiations has stopped a process that began early in 1990.

Following is a chronology of key events and meetings between the government and the ANC leading to the standoff:

AKA 24/6/92 1990

- February 2 — President De Klerk legalises the African National Congress and its armed wing, the SA Communist Party and other banned opposition groups in a prelude to all-party democracy negotiations.
- February 10 — Mr De Klerk meets ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at the Tynhuys presidential office in Cape Town and agrees to release him the next day from his 1964 life sentence.
- May 4 — The ANC and the government meet for the first time at Groote Schuur presidential residence in Cape Town and agree a framework for the release of political prisoners, indemnity for exiles and a joint commitment to end violence.
- August 6 — The two sides meet again in Pretoria. The government agrees to ease emergency rules and the ANC suspends its 30-year armed struggle against apartheid.

1991

- April 5 — Mr Mandela accuses Mr De Klerk in an open letter of not doing enough to end township violence and sets a one-month ultimatum for action on violence to ensure continuation of "talks about talks".
- April 9 — Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk resume talks in a five-hour crisis meeting that results in a ban on cultural weapons carried by the ANC's Zulu foe.
- September 14 — The ANC, anti-apartheid groups, political parties, the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party sign national peace accord to reduce tension and set up mechanisms to resolve disputes.
- November — The ANC, government, Inkatha and others agree to start power-sharing talks the following month. The right-wing Conservative Party and far-right groups boycott the talks and the radical Pan Africanist Congress walks out.
- December 20 — Nineteen parties attend the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at a plebiscite meeting dubbed Codesa 1, the first real attempt to negotiate a transition to democracy. The two-day conference ends with agreement to begin bargaining in March on a constitution giving blacks equal political rights.

1992

- May 16 — Codesa 2 fails to resolve differences between the government and the ANC over minority powers and protection in a democratic South Africa.
- June 16 — The ANC begins a mass action campaign of strikes, boycotts and rallies to force the government to speed up political reform.
- June 17 — At least 39 people are butchered in Boppatong, south of Johannesburg. Residents accuse supporters of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's conservative Inkatha Freedom Party.
- June 21 — Mr Mandela accuses Mr De Klerk and his government of complicity in the attack and orders ANC negotiators to suspend talks with the government.
- June 23 — ANC leaders meet in Johannesburg to review their role in talks about the dismantling of white rule and decide to pull out — Sape-Reader

STANDARD PRESS

STANDARD PRESS TO REACH THEM BY NO LATE

Sir

24/6/92

SAP and SADF deny claims

ADRIAN HADLAND

AN ANC claim that the NP was planning to provoke black-on-black violence to prevent the ANC coming to power was denied by SADF and SAP spokesmen yesterday.

The allegations, due to appear in the next issue of the ANC's publication Mayibuye, claim the NP has a "chilling two-pronged strategy" aimed at forcing the ANC into a coalition government.

Operation Thunderstorm, the first prong of the strategy allegedly conceived by the Department of Military Intelligence, was designed to weaken the ANC through violence and through the creation of a climate of uncertainty, an ANC statement said.

The statement suggested that Thunderstorm involved blaming the

ANC for violence. It also involved random shootings, the selective arrest of ANC members and the possible restriction of newspapers critical of the government.

The second prong, Operation Springbok, was designed to force the ANC into a coalition government with the NP, it said.

A senior ANC intelligence official said "every plan and action — particularly on the question of violence — is aimed at weakening the ANC so that it is eventually forced into a constitutional coalition".

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the police had no knowledge of the two

operations.

"We have no knowledge of any plan by the government or involving government agencies to commit widespread murder and mayhem and destabilisation, or to initiate violence and anarchy".

Kotze suggested the ANC should take its findings to the Goldstone commission of inquiry.

The ANC claimed the Northern Transvaal had been singled out as the area suitable for the first stages of Operation Thunderstorm.

"We can only surmise that the strength of the extreme right wing might have led to its selection as a pilot area," the ANC statement said.

A defence force spokesman said the SADF had no knowledge of the plans outlined by the ANC.



Pallo Jordan, Cyril Ramaphosa and Nelson Mandela at the ANC press conference last night. Picture: Jacobus Rykliff

Full text of ANC statement

The statement issued last night by the national executive committee of the African National Congress.

6 The National Party regime of F W de Klerk has brought our country to the brink of disaster. Riddled with corruption and mismanagement, the regime is determined to block any advance to democracy. It pursues a strategy which embraces negotiations, together with systematic covert actions, including murder, involving its security forces and surrogates.

This subversion of political processes to destroy the democratic movement in South Africa, led by the ANC, cannot be allowed to prevail any longer. We cannot tolerate a situation where the regime's control of State power allows it the space to deny and cover up its role in fostering and fomenting violence.

The Boipatong massacre is one of the most chilling instances of the consequences of the actions of the De Klerk regime. Before the people of South Africa and the Bar of international opinion, it cannot escape culpability.

What is at issue is more than the crisis of the negotiations process. The fundamental reason for the deadlock is

in the violence.

● Ensure that all repression in some of the self-governing states, and in the so-called independent states, is ended forthwith.

Our people are compelled to live in a perpetual state of fear — be it in their homes, on their way to work, in trains and taxis, at funerals and vigils, at their places of work and entertainment. This is the stark reality.

Between July 1990 and April 1992 there have been 261 attacks on township residents by hostel inmates, which led to 1 207 deaths and 3 697 injuries.

We further demand that the regime implements agreements on curbing violence reached with the ANC almost a year ago. In particular,

● The immediate implementation of the programme to phase out the hostels and convert them into family unit accommodation.

● Installation of fences around these establishments.

● Guarding of these hostels by security forces on a permanent basis, monitored by multilateral peace structures, and the expulsion of those who occupy the hostels illegally.

struggle remain the surest basis for realising peace and stability.

We call on the entire people of our country, including the business community, to join in observing June 29 as a national day of mourning and solidarity with the victims of the Boipatong massacre as the dead are buried.

Appeal to the international community:

The National Party regime is acting in contempt of the wishes of the international community for a speedy end to apartheid. Now, more than ever, the international community is required to compel the De Klerk regime to bring violence to an end and to commit itself to solutions based on internationally accepted democratic principles.

In consultation with sporting bodies, we shall be reviewing the forthcoming international sports engagements involving South Africa.

We appeal to the United Nations Security Council to convene as a matter of urgency to undertake measures which will help stop the violence.

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The Boipatong massacre is one of the most chilling instances of the consequences of the actions of the De Klerk regime. Before the people of South Africa and the Bar of international opinion, it cannot escape culpability.

What is at issue is more than the crisis of the negotiations process. The fundamental reason for the deadlock is whether there is to be democratic change, or white minority veto powers. There is only one way forward. It is a road which must unmistakably and unequivocally lead to the establishment of a democratic South Africa.

To this end it is necessary that the De Klerk regime agrees to:

- The creation of a democratically elected and sovereign constituent assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution.
- The establishment of an interim government of national unity, which is the only way all South Africans will recognise that the country shall have moved decisively to end white minority rule.

Demands on the regime:

- The regime must immediately end its campaign of terror against the people and the democratic movement. In this regard it must immediately carry out the following measures:
- Terminate all covert operations including hit-squad activity.
- Disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces as well as detachments made up of foreign nationals.
- Suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved

in their homes, on their way to work, in trains and taxis, at funerals and vigils, at their places of work and entertainment. This is the stark reality.

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- Installation of fences around these establishments.

- Guarding of these hostels by security forces on a permanent basis, monitored by multilateral peace structures, and the expulsion of those who occupy the hostels illegally.

- Regular searches of hostels with the participation of multilateral peace structures.

- Banning the carrying of all dangerous weapons in public on all occasions, including so-called cultural weapons.

We insist that the regime agree to:

- The implementation of the universal demand requiring at least the establishment of an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence as well as international monitoring of the violence.

- Release all political prisoners forthwith.

- Repeal all repressive legislation, including those laws which were so hastily passed during the last days of the recent session of Parliament.

Call to the people of South Africa:

The crisis caused by the regime constitutes a challenge to all South Africans to unite in a broad movement for democracy, peace and justice now. We all, black and white together, share the responsibility to stop the regime from plunging our country into chaos and anarchy.

The ANC shall consult all formations with a view to holding a summit to unite and mobilise our people against continued white minority rule and for democracy. Unity and disciplined

victims of the Boipatong massacre as the dead are buried.

Appeal to the international community:

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In consultation with sporting bodies, we shall be reviewing the forthcoming international sports engagements involving South Africa.

We appeal to the United Nations Security Council to convene as a matter of urgency to undertake measures which will help stop the violence and reinforce our efforts aimed at bringing about a democratic order.

We call on the international community to act in solidarity with our people on the day of the funeral for the victims of the Boipatong massacre. In particular we appeal to all workers throughout the world not to handle South African carriers and goods on this day.

On negotiations:

The ANC reaffirms its commitment to a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country which would bring about democracy, peace and justice. The refusal of the regime to accept such a settlement compelled the NEC to review the current negotiations process.

The ANC has no option but to break off bilateral and Codesa negotiations.

The NEC will be keeping the situation under continuous review. The response and practical steps taken by the De Klerk regime to these demands will play a critical role in determining the direction and speed with which bona fide negotiations can take place. The decisions taken today will be conveyed to the regime by ANC president Nelson Mandela as soon as possible.

Differing versions of violence

UNITED NATIONS — South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha and Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi telephoned the United Nations yesterday to give their respective versions of the violence in South Africa.

UN spokesman Francois Giuliani said the two had placed separate phone calls to Secretary-General Boutros Ghali and "both gave him their versions of the tragic events in South Africa

last week".

The calls followed one on Monday from ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who asked Mr Boutros-Ghali and the Security Council to find means of easing the crisis.

More than 120 blacks have died since Wednesday last week when 39 people were slaughtered in Boipatong.

Residents and the ANC accuse supporters of Mr Buthelezi's Zulu-based IFP of 'carrying out the slaughter in col-

lusion with white-led security forces.

Mr Boutros-Ghali has said he would not recommend any action until he conferred with Mr Mandela at an Organisation of African Unity summit which begins next Monday in Dakar, Senegal.

The violence prompted Mr Mandela's ANC to consider withdrawal from negotiations aimed at creating a non-racial democracy. — Sapa-Reuter.



Pik Botha . . . gave his version of what happened.

STAR 24/6/92

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Police deny claim of Govt 'mayhem plan'

CAPE TOWN — The police had no knowledge of any Government plan to initiate widespread violence in order to thwart the ANC. Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday. *SMC 24/6/92*

"We have no knowledge of any plan by the Government or involving Government agencies to commit widespread murder and mayhem and destabilisation, or to initiate violence and anarchy."

He was commenting on a claim, in an article to be published in the next edition of the ANC magazine Mayibuye,

The article says a security forces operation would wreak havoc in the country in order to force the ANC to accept an entrenched coalition with at least the NP. — Sapa.

Restore police credibility if there is to be any hope

Star, 24/6/92

AFTER Boipatong, one thing is certain. There will be no negotiated settlement unless something is done to restore the credibility of the police as a peace-keeping force.

Pik Botha is right when he says there is no alternative to negotiation. But what there is, if negotiation fails, is the appalling prospect of a slide into anarchy and ruin, of South Africa becoming another Lebanon.

That prospect now looms before us if President de Klerk continues to turn a blind eye to the fact that the credibility of the police is in a state of collapse.

I spent time in Boipatong last week talking to survivors of the massacre, and I was in the midst of the mini-Sharpeville that followed Mr de Klerk's visit to the township when the police opened fire at point-blank range, without orders and without warning, into a packed crowd of about 3 000 people, and I can only say that I despair for our country.

I despaired because every per-

son I spoke to in Boipatong told me quite categorically that they believed the police had escorted the attackers into their township and out again after the slaughter.

I despaired because I saw with my own eyes how inept the police are at handling the kind of volatile situation that arose after Mr de Klerk's ill-considered visit.

Why in God's name did they have to turn their Casspirs around and re-enter the township after the President had left and the angry crowd was starting to disperse?

Why did they have to follow the crowd, so aggressively and provocatively that a newly arrived foreign correspondent beside me blurted out in astonishment: "What the hell do they think they're doing? Are they looking for trouble?"

Why, in those explosive circumstances, did someone riding in police vehicle BHL 186 B have to shoot a man dead, creating a situation so explosive a greater tragedy became inevitable?

And what kind of training are



Allister Sparks

these men given that they carry no batons or riot shields and that they can open fire, not with tear-gas or rubber bullets, but with heavy-gauge shotguns into an unarmed crowd that was angry but never really threatening?

And keep up that fire for nearly half a minute as the people fled in terror, falling as they were shot in the back until there were two dead and 29 groaning on the ground — and only when the shooting stopped did the officer in charge leap up and scream at his men: "Who told you to shoot? I told you not to shoot without orders!"

And why, when it was all over, did the police not come to help the injured? It was left to the few press people there, and the black survivors, to do that.

I watched a young woman photographer cradle a man's shattered head as he gurgled and died. My wife, who accompanied me on the assignment and had to run for her life with the stampeding mob, turned back to drag a man who had been hit in the spine to safety behind a parked car. But the police stayed next to their parked Casspirs.

President de Klerk's decision to visit the scene of that atrocity is a measure of how out of touch he is with the mood of black South Africa in these dark days of frustration and fury.

Boipatong and its neighbouring townships were boiling with rage. Absolutely everyone there believes the police were involved in the Inkatha attack.

Nor is it only journalists who knew this. Pastor Ray McCauley of the Rhema Church, by no means a radical man, was also in Boipatong on Friday and he was shocked enough to send a message to Mr de Klerk saying he did not believe the allegations of police

collusion in the attack were wild propaganda.

"I visited Boipatong and spoke to many of the residents," Pastor McCauley wrote. "Having heard their first-hand accounts of what happened I am deeply disturbed because it appears the police failed in their primary duty of protecting innocent citizens."

"There is a growing perception among moderate whites and blacks that allegations of police/Inkatha collusion are not wild political propaganda, but are in fact true and the Government is, in fact, party to promoting violence."

Whatever the President and his Ministers may say, however much they may delude themselves and however many exculpatory statements the police public relations office may issue, the people on the receiving end of the pangas and pipe guns know who attacked them. You may bluff the whites in their remote suburbs, but you can't bluff the blacks who are there on the spot — and the more

you try the more yourself.

That is what I see in our police force. I myself by its deeds disingenuous explanation is seen not as a p as a feared and President de Klerk to believe that when it is put to true.

How can credibility be restored? Only by direct action. There must be a change in the command and security forces, and brought under the control of Codesa but broadly accepted such as Prof van Z Minister of Law and of that, an internal force to police the

Do that and we can restore faith in the police and get the peace process on track. Anything less is a yawning gap.

Core police credibility if there is to be any hope

Star 24/6/92

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you try the more you discredit yourself.

That is what has happened to our police force. It has discredited itself by its deeds and its cynically disingenuous explanations until it is seen not as a peace-keeper but as a feared and deadly enemy. President de Klerk does not want to believe that. He gets angry when it is put to him. But it is true.

How can credibility be restored? Only by drastic measures. There must be a complete change in the command structure of the security forces, and they must be brought under the multi-party control of Codesa with some tough but broadly acceptable person such as Prof van Zyl Slabbert as Minister of Law and Order. On top of that, an international monitoring force to police the police.

Do that and we may, with luck, restore faith in impartial policing and get the peace process back on track. Anything less and the abyss yawns. □

R56m damage to schools

Political Staff

CT 25/6/92
DAMAGE of more than R56 million had been caused to black schools outside the homelands over the past five years, the Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, revealed yesterday.

Replying in Parliament to Dr Francois Pauw (CP indirectly elected), he said that R9 649 588 of this damage was caused last year.

Mr De Beer said that in 1987 damage amounting to R11m was caused to school buildings and equipment at schools under the control of his department.

In 1988, R20,1m damage was caused, R3,5m in 1989 and R12,2m in 1990.

Business, labour move on deadlock

Monday 25/6/92

Business Day Reporters

ORGANISED business and labour have held talks on the possibility of joint efforts to address violence and revive the entire political negotiating process.

It is likely that Saccola and Cosatu will meet in the next few days to discuss a common approach to Monday's day of mourning for victims of the Boipatong massacre. This follows calls by Cosatu and the ANC to business to support campaigns to break the political deadlock, and a call by the ANC for business to join in observing the day of mourning.

Sacob yesterday spelled out its own plan of action to get Codesa back on track.

Saccola labour spokesman Bobby Godsell would yesterday only confirm "there have been some exploratory talks over whether business and labour can do something to break the political deadlock".

He said he hoped for further contact between Saccola and organised labour.

Godsell also said a response to the day of mourning call was being addressed in different industries.

Although the ANC's PWV region and Cosatu's Vaal region had called for the day to take the form of a work stayaway, neither organisation's national structure had

done so. A Cosatu spokesman said the union's regions would determine specific actions for Monday.

Affiliates of Saccola, which includes all the major employer organisations, are scheduled to meet today to attempt to develop a joint position on the issue. They may meet union representatives later.

It is understood that a number of employer organisations have received formal proposals from unions regarding Monday's events. The NUM asked, at yesterday's wage negotiating session, that the industry respond in an "appropriate way".

Last night, in his capacity as Chamber of Mines president, Godsell extended the chamber's sympathies to the relatives and friends of the victims and said Monday was a day "for dignity and respect, not one to be appropriated by any group."

"It requires South Africans to pause and remember not only those killed last Thursday but also the thousands of innocent victims of mindless violence" of the past few years, Godsell said.

He added that Monday should be a day of

□ To Page 2

Deadlock

"shared sorrow and shared commitment to bringing the killings to an end"

A chamber spokesman said any specific arrangements between management and the union for Monday would be made separately by mining groups

Sacob president Hennie Viljoen said inability to end the political impasse could lead to further business closures, loss of jobs, withdrawal of investment and the flight of capital and skilled manpower

He said Sacob hoped the ANC and government "in particular" would show the flexibility and realism needed to get Codesa negotiations back on track.

Viljoen said Sacob would assist by

□ Arranging early meetings between itself, President F W de Klerk, ANC presi-

dent Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi;

□ Exploring ways in which business might assist in breaking the political logjam,

□ Throwing its full weight behind national peace accord structures,

□ Ensuring that business participation continued in other forums, and

□ Working out a joint employer approach to planned stayaways and the proposed day of mourning

Sapa reports a complete review of the economic and political situation will be undertaken at Sacob's board of management meeting next week. If necessary, a "summit" of chambers of commerce and industry and leading businessmen would be convened next month, Viljoen said

□ From Page 1

Sacob tries to rekindle talks

By Sven Lünsche

STAR 25/6/92

The business sector has launched a major initiative to encourage the immediate resumption of Codesa negotiations.

In a six-point plan announced at a press conference yesterday, the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) called for independent monitoring of the policing of violence.

While Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons refused to be drawn on whether there should be international monitors, he said this should be considered as a viable option.

Sacob president Hennie Viljoen said Sacob would seek urgent meetings with the Government, ANC and IFP leaders and "offer its assistance in breaking the political logjam".

"The inability to overcome the current political impasse could lead to further closure of businesses, the withdrawal of investment, a flight of capital and skilled manpower, and further loss of job opportunities," Mr Viljoen said.

106 killed, 86 hurt in week of violence

STAR 25/6/92

(274)

The Human Rights Commission recorded 106 deaths and 86 injuries during the week which ended on Tuesday. It including the Boipatong massacre.

"The death toll is the highest recorded in a seven-day period since the 113 deaths recorded in the week leading up to the referendum in March," the HRC said in a statement yesterday.

"The increase in the death toll follows in the wake of strong reaction by both the Government and Inkatha to the ANC's announcement of a mass action campaign.

"However, contrary to the implications of these

parties' predictions, ANC supporters and innocent township residents have been the main victims of the violence, not the perpetrators."

Vigilante-related actions in the same week accounted for 92 deaths — "far higher than last week's figure of 50 deaths". Injuries dropped from 60 to 45.

A breakdown of deaths recorded in the PWV region were: 49 in the Vaal Triangle, 21 on the East Rand and 16 in Soweto.

"Yet again, reports on the (Boipatong) massacre strongly suggest security force collusion," the HRC said. — Sapa.

STAR 25/6/72

The political impasse remained unresolved last night when proposals put forward by President de Klerk were immediately rebuffed by the ANC.

Addressing a press conference in Pretoria, President de Klerk proposed a two-day summit between the Government and the ANC, and opened the door to international involvement in investigating political violence.

He was responding, after a Cabinet meeting, to the ANC's decision to pull out of all talks until its demands were met.

**More reports —
Pages 3, 6 and 20**

An ANC statement described the President's response as palty, and said the proposed summit would serve no purpose.

The ANC said it wanted a meeting with Mr de Klerk only to present its demands.

Mr de Klerk told the press conference the Government had asked for an international assessor to serve on the Goldstone Commission and international experts to evaluate police investigation of the Boipatong massacre.

He said the proposed summit would discuss 14 demands made by the ANC as well as obstacles which have been identified by the Government — mass action, violence, inflammatory rhetoric and defamatory and false accusations against political leaders.

"These talks should have as their purpose the resumption of negotiations to bring about a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, as soon as possible."

Responding to the ANC's demand for international involvement, Mr de Klerk sharply rejected "foreign in-

FW's reply

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

Shot down

terference in SA's affairs"

But he welcomed the international community's interest in developments in South Africa and said it was helpful for them "to acquaint themselves with the facts surrounding the violence, inter alia through fact-finding missions".

He had asked Mr Justice

Goldstone — chairman of the

commission of inquiry into political violence — to start his probe into the Boipatong massacre as soon as possible and to arrange at his discretion "for a suitably qualified person of international repute to join his commission as an assessor."

He said the SAP had asked

that "I should request Mr Justice Goldstone to invite one or more experts of international standing to evaluate police investigations of the Boipatong tragedy".

He said charges of Government complicity in the massacre "are without any foundation whatsoever and we find it reprehensible."

The ANC statement issued in response to his proposals

said the proposed summit "has only propaganda value and will serve no useful purpose. The starting point must be addressing the real issues placed before the regime, by the NEC of the ANC."

It said the Government's rejection of a meaningful role for the international community in monitoring the violence confirms that they have a lot to hide. Describing Mr de Klerk's response as "palty", the ANC said "we express our concern that this statement is a diversion from the real plans the Cabinet was hatching throughout the day."

CP calls for emergency to be imposed

PRETORIA — Government should declare a state of emergency and, with the CP and national leaders, create an alternative forum to Codesa for negotiation, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

He told a news conference in Pretoria the CP had warned government Codesa would end in deadlock, because of the way it had been constituted.

The CP rejected the notion of the ANC and the SACP determining whites' futures.

Thousands of blacks had died since government had unbanned the ANC and SACP, Treurnicht said. **619244 2516192 214**

"The ANC is organising the violence and the killing of people and then blames the police." The ANC and SACP aimed to make the country ungovernable, he said.

Treurnicht blamed the business world, the media and government, which should have known the ANC would demand a transfer of power.

The CP therefore demanded that government declare a state of emergency, for the sake of security and the protection of

the economy, and create a new forum for negotiation with the CP and leaders who rejected communism and who supported the concept of self-determination.

There were quite a large number of leaders who would participate, he said.

The CP will present a new confederacy model for ratification to a general congress in Pretoria on Saturday.

CP economic affairs spokesman Daan Nolte said the political chaos besetting SA and the low confidence in the country demanded immediate measures to counteract a slump in the economy.

"It is clear that the dream of political power-sharing with the ANC has been shattered," he said.

Unless government gave direction on both the political and economic front, unemployment, liquidations and insolvencies would increase and living conditions would deteriorate.

"Strong action" to maintain law and order would help to strengthen confidence in SA, Nolte said. — Sapa.

ANC action could spark civil war, says Buthelezi

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday that the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa and its mass action campaign could lead to civil war.

He called the ANC's actions "the worst kind of political tantrum" imaginable.

He said, in Ulundi, that Codesa was the "only show in town" and thwarting Codesa was akin to trying to thwart mainstream politics. He said the reconstruction of the negotiation process would take place only at tremendous national cost.

"This cost will have to be paid firstly in terms of a tragic loss of life in what could emerge as a civil war."

Enormous economic hardship would result from the ANC's actions which would also impair a future democracy, he said.

Codesa should continue its tasks and the management committee should not cancel its scheduled meeting. Inkatha would call for a plenary session to review what the convention stood for and how to proceed following the latest developments.

"If Codesa is so vulnerable that we cannot proceed without the ANC, then we must re-examine our options and re-commence negotiations on a different tack," said Buthelezi.

He accused the ANC of portraying the negotiation process as simply between itself and government, when in fact it was a multiparty affair.

Government, the DP and at least seven other parties will attend a Codesa management committee meeting on Monday.

Meanwhile, management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday the committee's fate was still to be decided on the basis of consultation with the various participants in Codesa.

He said the ANC's withdrawal was a serious blow to the negotiation process and every effort had to be made to resolve this impasse quickly.

DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday there was no question of the party withdrawing from Codesa. "If there is a management committee meeting, we're going."

Government sources also voiced their intention of attending the June 29 meeting, although they were doubtful whether there would be a quorum of two thirds of the 18-member committee.

De Beer said it seemed the ANC remained fully committed to negotiations.

He said in a statement the DP was deeply distressed to hear the ANC was withdrawing from Codesa. "However, this morning's media accounts put matters in a better perspective. It seems the ANC remains fully committed to negotiations, and has already been in touch with government for this purpose. This clearly means that all is not lost."

DP national council chairman David Gant said yesterday the party would hold talks with all political groups to get talks back on track.

He told a meeting in Somerset West the DP was determined to prevent a continuation of the unhealthy, antagonistic political rivalry between the ANC and the NP.

"The intransigent style of the Nationalist government at Codesa, its ramming of bad legislation through Parliament at the last minute, its indifferent attitude towards its accountability for corruption, and its apparent inability to deal with the perpetrators of violence, raise questions as to its competence to govern for another single day and its bona fides at Codesa," Gant said.

"The response by the ANC and the return to protest politics and mass action is short-sighted, dangerous and unconstructive. It may appeal to the masses today, but they will suffer the most from the consequences tomorrow." — Sapa.

Commonwealth ponders sending observers to SA

B/day 25/6/92

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Business Day Reporter

THE Commonwealth was considering sending an observer team to SA to help resolve the crisis in the republic, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said yesterday.

He said Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall recently had sounded out Commonwealth leaders on the possibility of sending such a team, Sapa-Reuter reports.

"This will be something that evolves over the next few days," said Evans, adding that McDougall was discussing the observer issue with Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has called for an international observer team and President F W de Klerk has indicated government might be prepared to accept foreign mediation of the dispute between it and the ANC.

Evans suggested that a team of about 150 people could be sent to sensitive areas to give an objective assessment of incidents.

Diplomats representing nine countries including Australia, Canada and Britain yesterday visited the scene of last week's Boipatong massacre, interviewing survivors and victims.

And the US embassy in Pretoria announced it would observe Mon-

day's day of mourning declared by the ANC and its allies for the victims of the massacre.

Meanwhile, the White House yesterday voiced regrets that the ANC had broken off negotiations, and urged it to return.

"We view the negotiating process as critical to SA's democratic future, so we see the ANC's latest move as regrettable," White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said.

Sweden said yesterday its intended removal of commercial sanctions could be delayed by the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa.

Postpone

"It can ... take longer before our sanctions are removed. We shall see," Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas told Swedish radio.

"It depends on how quickly a joint basis for negotiation can once again be found," Af Ugglas said.

Sapa-AFP reports that Dutch parliamentarians are pressing Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers to cancel or postpone his trip to SA in August.

Christian Democrat MP Harry Aarts told the chamber of deputies in a debate on Tuesday that the visit of

such a high-level delegation "would have no sense in the present context". Socialist deputies agreed.

SA's ambassador to the US Harry Schwarz told millions of TV viewers yesterday that the only way to solve SA's problems was by negotiation and it was serving no purpose to stop talking.

Appearing on the MacNeil/Lehrer news hour during evening prime time, Schwarz said. "The government wants peace. The government wants the negotiations to continue."

"Obviously the way to solve it is to be talking. There is not much point in saying we are not going to talk to each other (but) we're going to solve the problem. I think that is really the dilemma that the ANC has."

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement yesterday morning delivered a letter to Prime Minister John Major calling for a fundamental reappraisal of British policy towards SA.

Sapa reports the AAM said the letter criticised the British government for exhibiting "remarkable complacency and indifference to the threat which the intransigence of the NP and the escalating violence poses to the negotiation process".

The letter also attacked Major for trying to persuade Mandela not to pull out of talks.

THE SA Council of Churches yesterday joined the ANC-led campaign against government, issuing a July 15 ultimatum for steps to be taken against violence and a resumption of the negotiation process.

SACC general secretary Rev Frank Chikane was flanked at the Johannesburg news conference by the council's two honorary presidents, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Khoza Mgojo.

The SACC's four demands are the same as

SACC issues ultimatum on violence and Codesa

some of those of the ANC. Unless there was an "assuring response" from government to the demands by July 15, the SACC would embark on a three-pronged international and local campaign.

The campaign would consist of:

□ Calling on the SA Olympic team to pull out of the Olympic Games in Barcelo-

na, "failing which we will call on the world community to ensure that the team is expelled". The same applied to the planned All Black rugby tour in August; □ "We shall lead our people into acts of peaceful protest ... We shall also defy all repressive measures, even a state of emergency, which the state may be tempted to introduce"; and □ Calling on "all our part-

ners abroad" to demand their governments use all possible pressure to get the SA government to respond to the demands.

The SACC called on government to arrest and charge those responsible for the Boipatong and other killings, issue a statement of intent to co-operate with efforts to set up an international monitoring force, bring the security forces under multiparty control, and ensure a speedy convening of an elected constituent assembly. — Sapa.

Threat to grab homes

RESIDENTS of demolished hostels would simply occupy township homes, the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association said yesterday.

Saying the ANC had called for the demolition of hostels, association chairman Joseph Kubeke said his organisation found the demand disturbing.

"The hostels not only house bachelors but families as well. Two hostels, in some blocks, for example Meadowlands and KwaMasiza ... have been converted to family units."

Hostel closures would result in more chaos and conflict, he said. "The hostel inmates, should the hostels be destroyed, will simply walk into the location and occupy all those houses. The ANC will be responsible for that." — Sapa.

to that it is not there, but it is obvious.

Fitzwater said.

Sapa

Anti-apartheid lobby ready to flex muscles

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

STAR 25/6/92

LONDON — As South Africa rakes over the coals of Boipatong, the international anti-apartheid machine is getting ready to roll again.

MPs, politicians, European Community leaders, civil rights campaigners and veteran political opponents, whose long-running campaigns were moth-balled following the release of Nelson Mandela, are already marshalling their forces.

Their action could all too easily end in renewed sanctions on South Africa.

Even trusted and tried allies such as Britain's Conservative government are seeking to steer a more neutral course.

At the same time, though, British ministers are conducting urgent private talks with the Government and ANC in a bid to avert what looks like a suicidal plunge into bloodshed and chaos.

British Prime Minister John Major's message of encouragement to President de Klerk earlier this week was warm and cordial enough.

But senior Whitehall sources say he is becoming increasingly perturbed at what is seen as Pretoria's refusal to control security forces and move swiftly towards a democratic solution.

Already embarrassed by Britain's role in pressing the EC to lift economic and oil sanctions, Mr Major now lacks the passionate pro-South African-

ism of his predecessor Margaret Thatcher, and is unlikely to want to be seen to be piloting South Africa to a new, more refined state of white elitism.

Overseas Development Minister Baroness Lynda Chalker's recent offer of British assistance in "reintegrating" South Africa's police and military is a direct hint that even the Tory government believes that South Africa's forces must be swiftly purged.

And there can be no doubt as to where the blame is being laid for the troubles.

Where Mr de Klerk was regarded just a few months ago as a man of courage, determination and insight, he is now widely seen as manoeuvring to divide and defuse black resistance, placate international opinion and preserve white power.

Pretoria's approach to negotiation is now seen in many quarters as a thinly disguised bid to secure white interests at the cost of basic freedoms for blacks. Southern Africa expert Professor V L Allen says: "Negotiation is all about meeting white demands."

Meanwhile, as Pretoria strives to contain the damage in the face of growing internal disorder, plunging share prices, the threat of renewed political isolation and the shying away of serious foreign investors, elements ranging from the centre to the Left of European politics are starting to gather to discuss what action to take.

EC ministers will meet in Lisbon at the weekend, and the

issue of sanctions will not be far from their concerns. The opinion that Mr de Klerk must be told to hold full and free elections within six months, otherwise sanctions would be reimposed, is now being held in all but the most right-wing quarters.

And, while Australia and New Zealand have insisted publicly that the violence does not affect their South African tours, there is the barely concealed caveat "for the time being, anyway".

Sport, as Labour MP Peter Hain knows, remains South Africa's Achilles heel, and most efforts are likely to be focused on South Africa's expulsion from the Olympics. Mr Hain has already called for an international campaign to force South Africa out.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement, which a few months ago discussed what amounted to its dissolution, has moved quickly to mount a campaign in response to the crisis in South Africa.

This includes delivering to Mr Major a series of suggestions for action the British government could take, a national "call to action" over Boipatong, an emergency protest march and a mass picket of South Africa House in London.

Like blacks in South Africa, enemies and allies alike are waiting for a single sign that Mr de Klerk is indeed committed to positive change — and is prepared to act against even those closest to him who threaten to disrupt it.

Confident NP uses mass action to its own advantage

19/16-25/6/92

COMMENT

A sophisticated government strategy aims to pin blame for the violence on the ANC

A CONFIDENT National Party government has developed a sophisticated strategy to turn the African National Congress' mass action campaign against it — portraying the NP as the party of law and the ANC as the party of disorder.

The NP strategy, which has been largely successful, has been to pin the blame for any violence on the ANC, regardless of the ANC's involvement. Examples this week included:

● The government deliberately orchestrated a near-hysterical build-up to the threat of violence on June 16 by calling up soldiers it did not use or even need.

● Police immediately blamed yesterday's Boipatong massacre on the ANC's campaign, although initial evidence pointed to an attack launched

from an Inkatha-controlled hostel.

● Law and Order Minister Hennus Kriel, in the forefront of the anti-ANC campaign, claimed there were links between mysterious "hit-squad" attacks in Soweto on June 16 and the mass action campaign.

● The government tried to rush through parliament a series of tough law and order measures which recall the era of former state president P.W. Botha.

● The government unilaterally decided to reconvene parliament in October to consider interim government legislation, despite the deadlock in the negotiations process.

● The NP threw R300 000 and a top campaign manager into a minor House of Representatives by-election in

Kimberley in a bid to show that it has strong support in the coloured community (see PAGE 21).

● President F.W. de Klerk chose to spend June 16, the day the ANC launched its mass action campaign, addressing the Inkatha-controlled KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and giving assurances on the Inkatha Freedom Party's main concerns: regional government powers, the power of chiefs and an even spread of blame for violence.

● In a high-profile media show, journalists were last weekend taken along to watch police disarm Inkatha members on their way to a Soweto rally.

Most of these actions were marked by an unexpected self-confidence in the face of the mass action campaign and a cynicism seemingly out of step with the negotiations process.

For example, the laws the government tried to bulldoze through parliament — in what one opposition member called

"Nat krugadigheid (display of power) at its worst" — contradict the NP's professed support for a Bill of Rights. No attempt was made to gain the consensus of parliamentary parties, let alone the government's negotiating partners at Codesa.

And, after disarming the Inkatha members, the police returned their confiscated "traditional" weapons to the IFP's local headquarters. The police — and the media who had been invited to the performance — ignored another armed Inkatha group on the march nearby.

What is the government's motivation?

Sources close to the government indicate that its strategy is aimed partly at weakening the ANC's position at a time of deadlock in the negotiations process. And, in the long term, it is the beginning of a bid to win wider support for the NP — particularly among coloured, Indian and black moderates who are uncomfortable with mass action — with an eye on the first democratic elections.

By appearing to be the only party that can maintain law and order, especially in the townships, the NP aims to market itself as the safe option in a time of conflict and violence. On this ticket, it hopes to ensure that it will be a major party, or even — as Minister of Foreign Affairs P.W. Botha promised recently — the majority party in the "new" South

Africa.

Key NP strategists believe the party has the resources, know-how and machinery to peak at the right moment in an election campaign — and the mass action campaign presented an ideal opportunity for the party to lay the foundations for that crucially timed peak.

Political analyst Mark Swilling argues that the NP is "moving confidently forward with the belief that there is a sufficiently sizeable anti-ANC middle cut of the society upon which it can build a Christian Democratic alliance". This alliance would be made of the NP's traditional white base, remnants of the Democratic Party's base, a 20 percent minority in the black population and the conservative middle of the coloured and Indian communities.

"The NP believes that if it can put together this alliance and enter into elections during the first half of next year, it will have more than a good chance of building itself into a significant power position that will effectively give it a veto over the direction of the new state," Swilling argues.

The NP had blocked agreement at Codesa because it is not yet ready for an election, Swilling adds.

Some observers believe that the government has a "Plan B" in terms of which, if mass action succeeds, it will declare a State of Emergency and use it to act against the ANC, thereby pushing forward a political settlement against a weakened opposition.

They fear that an over-confident NP government may be considering the imposition of a political "settlement" even without ANC agreement. The concern is that the government, having rid itself of the albatross of the more outrageous apartheid laws and having survived the unbanning of the ANC, believes it can hang on to power without serious repercussions. This may tempt it to shrug off the ANC as a negotiating partner.

In calling a special second session of parliament later this year, De Klerk said that if Codesa had not made sufficient progress for parliament to consider legislation, "parliament must then have the opportunity to discuss the state of affairs and consider steps which the government may propose".

More likely, however, is that De Klerk, with his cunning sense of media image-building, did this to demonstrate that he was ready and eager to move forward. If Codesa is not ready by the time parliament reconvenes, he can score some points by letting MPs sit around for a few days blaming the ANC for the delay.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

DEATHS AND INJURIES

MORE than 100 people were killed in the Transvaal and Natal during the past week. According to the Human Rights Commission (HRC), 106 people died and 83 were injured. This figure includes the Boipatong massacre.

The death toll is the highest recorded in a seven-day period since the 113 deaths recorded in the week before the March referendum.

SECURITY FORCE ACTION

FIVE people were killed and 29 were injured in the PWV and eastern Cape, according to the HRC. Three of the deaths and all the injuries occurred in Boipatong on Saturday, when residents protested against President FW de Klerk's visit to the Vaal township.

Two people were shot dead by police on Monday on the Golden Highway, near Vanderbijlpark.

The HRC reports that 205 people were arrested between June 17 and June 23. Most were members of the striking National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union.

VIGILANTE-RELATED ACTIONS

IN THE PWV 86 people were killed and 42 were injured during the past week, according to the HRC. These figures include the 45 people killed and 30 injured during the Boipatong massacre on June 17.

Six people died and three were injured in Natal.

HIT SQUAD ACTIONS

FIVE African National Congress members were killed in Malukazi

and Umlazi, Natal, allegedly by a "death squad". One person was injured.

On June 19 Pityase Mnguni was gunned down in Malukazi, while in Umlazi Vusumuzi Mabaso, Thabani Memela and Mazwi Mdzze were shot dead.

On June 20 Pitso Mokoena was shot dead in U section, Umlazi.

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

ON June 19 Veresning was declared a special unrest area. This area includes the townships of Bophelong, Boipatong, Evaton and Sebokeng.

This brings to 15 the number of townships declared unrest areas, says the HRC. The others are: Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Triokozo, Kallahong, Vosloorus, Alexandra, Sharpeville and Emmerdale.

DETENTIONS

THE HRC reports that 30 people are presently in detention under Section 3 of the Public Safety Act. This number includes six residents from the kwaMadala Hostel, who were detained in connection with the Boipatong massacre.

PRISONERS

THERE are 490 prisoners currently being held on Robben Island, according to Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok.

In the past nine months 33 825 prisoners — from a total of 92 351 — have been released on parole. Vlok was responding to questions in parliament.

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View from the trenches

The campaign of mass action launched by the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party with a series of rallies on June 16 "is not linked directly to the Codesa deadlock." This was revealed by a senior Cosatu member at an ANC press briefing last Friday. He pointed out that when the ANC suspended its armed struggle, it insisted that mass action would not be incompatible with negotiations.

The admission seemed to bear out statements by government spokesmen who have slammed mass action as having nothing to do with the Codesa impasse. Related to the ANC's own mobilisation programme, it gives the branches something to do and serves as a dummy run for elections.

Asked if the objective of mass action is to drive President De Klerk from power or to induce him to be a more flexible negotiator, an SACP spokesman said it was to "involve and encapsulate people's demands for an interim government and elected constituent assembly." The Codesa deadlock has merely shaped the nature of the action, which was planned beforehand. The shape and direction of events will henceforth "also be determined by De Klerk reacting to us."

But would the ANC not have joint control of government and the security forces in an interim government? "We cannot at this stage board a train without knowing its destination," said the spokesman, referring to an ANC suspicion that government would like to drag out the life of an interim government while getting Codesa to draw up a new constitution.

Had the meetings between government and the ANC, before their suspension, made any progress?

No, said the alliance. There had been three such meetings. At the first, government criticised the mass action programme, while the ANC explained the responsibility it had to its people to move things along. Their second meeting merely set the agenda for the third — at which government again presented its case for a rotating executive, power-sharing, federalism, a veto for the senate and Codesa writing the new constitution.

"The government is seriously misreading the situation regarding commitment to democracy. What they want is the shell of democracy devoid of all its content."

Outlining the ANC-led four-phase mass action plan, it was stated that the alliance is

involved in a mobilisation campaign.

Its focus, firstly, is on day-to-day issues such as corruption, food prices, a living wage — various local issues related to the existence of apartheid that "needed to be brought out on to the streets." This was viewed as a "warm-up" phase. June 16 and 26 (Freedom Charter Day) were points around which the campaign must gravitate. There are to be



rallies on June 26 in the style of "people's assemblies." The ultimate aim was to speedily bring about an interim government.

July 1 will mark the second phase of the campaign. The leadership will consider a response to the failure to create an interim government by June 30 — the ANC's original deadline — and decide on the question of a strike and its duration. A "national offensive" is to be launched in July in which various local and regionally based disputes and protests would be pulled together in a national perspective. The intention is basically to raise the tempo of protest. The strike by hospital workers, it was explained, is not related to the campaign; they were on a go-slow strike before it began.

This phase seems to have gone off earlier than planned, with marches led by the metal workers (Numsa) in central Johannesburg on Monday and Tuesday — which raises the question of how much the ANC can control what it initiates.

August would mark the start of the third phase of mass action, "where we may have to go on a general strike." It was hoped by August to see "millions" engaged in action. This is referred to as "the Leipzig option," referring to the East German protests — "praised by De Klerk and the West" — that ushered in democratic governments in eastern Europe.

Business leaders are called upon to play the kind of role they played in support of a "yes" vote in the March referendum. Business will have to state publicly its position on:

- ☐ A government of national unity;
- ☐ A constitution-making body with sovereign powers over the drafting and acceptance of a new constitution, except for those princi-

ples agreed on at Codesa;

- ☐ Holding discussions with President De Klerk to urge him to move ahead; and
- ☐ Factory shutdown periods (to accommodate protest actions)

The fourth and final phase of this rather ambitious plan is dubbed the "exit gate" when "the government must go," though of course the NP can continue to exist.

Spokesmen rejected the charge by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Foreign Minister Pik Botha that mass action will lead to violence. They say the campaign is based on the universal right to protest and demonstrate peacefully — and mass action is based on a "very angry mood among our people who feel that apartheid still lives on." The idea of rolling mass action had emerged because turning the tap of protest on and off created problems in relation to negotiation. "We see this releasing of people's energies as being necessary."

Whether the economy can afford the diversion of people's energy into rolling mass action is a question that does not seem to have occurred to the alliance.

FEDERALISM FM 26/6/92

Not so fast

Peace, but not at any price: that seems to be the position of KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He is stepping up pressure for a new constitution embracing devolution and federalism.

In the presence of President F W de Klerk in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on June 16, Buthelezi warned that though he had been committed to peace throughout his 30 years in politics, he could see a "dark cloud on the horizon" and, if the position persisted, he could see himself "leading his people through those dark waters."

He accused the ANC of reducing delicate negotiations to mob politics. Those in the political know, he said, are aware that calls for strikes, stayaways and boycott action fail in SA unless accompanied by intimidation and disruption of public transport. He said it was totally irresponsible to call for mass action at a time of escalating violence.

While endorsing the right of the ANC and its allies to protest, Buthelezi added that "we also claim the right to protest and demonstrate our anger at political injustice... to this end, the Zulu nation will resort to every possible course of action to oppose Codesa decisions to which we are not party."

"We already have the complication that mobilisation of mass opinion in support of KwaZulu's participation (at Codesa) will

League from parliament today. On the pillar
the demonstrators.

'Boipatong Koevoets' at large — ANC

Political Staff

AT least 16 former Koevoet members, allegedly involved in the Boipatong massacre, are still at large, ANC lawyer Mathew Phosa said today.

The ANC uncovered information on Tuesday that pointed to the possible involvement by former Koevoet members in the massacre last week.

A special committee of the Goldstone Commission yesterday began hearing evidence of the alleged involvement of these former policemen in the violence.

Mr Phosa today told The Argus that ANC members, working at the Greenside Colliery near Witbank had informed the organisation of "suspicious people" stationed at the mine.

The ANC was told these people were insulated and other miners had no access to them.

They were allegedly fetched every evening at 6.30pm in Kombis. The men wore overalls and helmets on which "SAP" was written. They carried bundles of clothes and the ANC members could also see muzzles of guns sticking from under their clothes.

Mr Phosa said the ANC members eventually befriended some of the "suspicious people" and one of them told the ANC that he was "sick and tired of what was happening as they were expected to kill nine-month-old babies and mothers".

The unidentified man also told ANC members he sat in a kombi in Boipatong and they attacked "lots of people". He had also come under suspicion of being too friendly with South Africans, he said.

Mr Phosa said the man was "whisked" on Saturday.

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Koevoet killers at large, says ANC

From page 1

The ANC could not ignore this information and immediately contacted the Goldstone Commission, which launched a special investigation, he said.

According to the ANC's information, there were 42 ex-Koevoet members stationed at the mine.

One man on crutches told ANC lawyers he was hurt in Estcourt, Natal, while a white officer said the man was injured in Namibia.

A senior police officer attached to the Goldstone Commission, Colonel Henk Heslinga, withdrew himself from the investigation when he discovered the men were ex-Koevoet members.

Mr Phosa said it was "a real shock" to the ANC to find that "a man who was involved in Koevoet could have been put in such a sensitive position".

Police have denied that Koevoet members were involved in the Boipatong massacre.

Flip Hattingh, SC, acting for the Minister of Law and Order and the SAP, told the commission the ex-Koevoet members were working for the SAP, but denied their alleged involvement "in the planning or execution of any violence, including violence in Boipatong".

He said the ex-members were given temporary accommodation at the mine from where they were utilised to combat stock and copper theft in the eastern Transvaal.

Japan to help victims of violence

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The Japanese government, through its ambassador Masatoshi Ohta, is to donate R100 000 to victims of violence in South Africa, including the community of Boipatong.

The money will come from a donation of \$2,5 million (about R7 million) made by Japan to the Kagiso Trust.

● The Vaal branch of the South African Council of Churches, the Vaal Civic Association and several other community organisations have established the Boipatong Relief Fund to assist victims of the massacre.

Contributions can be deposited into the fund's Vereeniging Standard Bank account, number 021-712-662, and the SACC can be contacted at (016) 22-3005 or 22-0450.

● The South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare has established a fund to assist victims of violence, including those in Boipatong.

Donations can be sent to the council at Box 30990, Braamfontein 2017 or can be deposited into the council's Bree Street Trust Bank account, number 0124-10-11-02-91, using the reference "Fund-raising: Victims Violence". The organisation can be contacted on (011) 339-5741.

Striking while the mood is hot

W/mant 26/6 - 217/92.
By Ferial Haffajee and Linda Rulashe
THE tidal wave of protest by the country's workers is a reaction to depressed living standards — but it could be the driving force behind the push for political change.

In the past month, cities have been paralysed by huge marches. Strikes are crippling state health services around the country and the South African Broadcasting Corporation has been hit by a month-long strike. At Toyota in Durban, a strike has cost the company millions in turnover.

Disputes teetering on strike action have erupted in the clothing, metal, commercial and paper industries, potentially involving more than half a million workers. There is also rising militancy around pay talks in the strategic rail and municipal sectors.

The marches and the strikes are essentially a spontaneous popular reaction to economic slump, but they are steadily acquiring a political flavour.

At a "living wage" conference next week, the Congress of South African Trade Unions will attempt to integrate the economic demands of the various affiliates in a "systematic and co-ordinated way", said Cosatu's Neil Coleman.

"The mood is peaking so fast that it would be silly not to harness it," he said, adding that it was Cosatu's intention "to unseat the government" and force elections as soon as possible. "Only through mass action will the government be forced to relinquish power."

On July 3, Cosatu, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party will set a final date for a general strike. Cosatu has also set up an action committee to co-ordinate its "Campaign for Democracy" which is aimed at securing elections. Cosatu hopes to maintain the militancy on the ground by including bread and butter issues in this campaign.

During recent marches workers brandished traditional assegais and spears, makeshift AK47s and steel pipes. Posters called on President FW de Klerk to resign and accused senior ministers of being "cowboys and crooks".

On Monday, a march by more than 20 000 National Union of Metalworkers members disrupted Johannesburg when workers claimed entire streets and dared impatient motorists to cross their lines. On Wednesday, 15 000 railway workers marched in Johannesburg to Transnet offices. In the past weeks, 10 000 clothing workers, most of them women, have marched on employers' offices around the country and 50 000 conservative municipal workers have also staged protests in city centres.

Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union members will hold countrywide marches on Monday as a follow-up to weekly protests they have held since June 12. "We want to replace the old and decaying order which is disastrous to our economy and our people," said the union's Sipho Kubheka.

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

THE business fraternity has been challenged by the ANC to stop carping about mass action and demonstrate its commitment to peace and stability by campaigning actively against violence.

The challenge was delivered by the head of the ANC's economic department and former Cape activist, Mr Trevor Manuel, and the head of the movement's information and publicity department, Dr Pallo Jordan, at a briefing for about 300 Cape Town businessmen and women yesterday.

Both emphasised the importance of political stability in generating sustainable economic growth and investment.

For this reason, efforts to stop the violence and secure a short transition to a democratic dispensation were critical.

Business could not sit on the sidelines in this process.

Mr Manuel said: "The question is: why did we break off talks? It was not because it was a cool idea, or because Mr Mandela was running out of ideas.

"The fact is that unless we can compel the government to deal with violence, negotiations are not worth pursuing.

"My challenge is where are you as business people in respect of the campaign for an end to violence?"

The business community had generously supported President De Klerk's Yes vote campaign in the referendum, but unless it acted now to help end violence and compel the government to deal with violence, there would be no return on this investment.

"The return on the investment must come in the form of stability, peace and growth, but unless you have that in the short and medium term, you have thrown your money down the tubes," Mr Manuel told the gathering.

"The challenge is now ... you cannot sit on the sidelines."

Dr Jordan said once the ANC received "clear indications of the government's bona fides" it would be willing to review its position.

He said the ANC's commitment to a negotiated solution remained "unshaken ... our decision to withdraw from negotiations is aimed at rescuing the process, rather than wrecking it."

He said in response to a question that while the ANC would not claim it had done "everything" to end the violence, it had done its best to do so.

Say 'no' to violence

ANC 26/6/92

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Police 'cannot cope in townships without SADF'

Blodan 26/6/92
PRETORIA — Heightened crime and intimidation would result if the SADF withdrew its support from the SAP in townships, defence force planning expert Brig G P H Kruys said yesterday.

Speaking at a Security '92 Conference organised by Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, Kruys said until the endemic cycle of violence had been broken the support could not be withdrawn.

Against a background of increased numbers of destitute people, declining economic growth and worsening political intolerance, there was little chance the SAP would effectively discharge its duties without substantial assistance from the affected communities and state departments.

The maintenance of law and order was primarily the task of the SAP.

The involvement of the military over an extended period tended to politicise it. It would affect morale and combat readiness. "It should be called in only in exceptional circumstances and only for short periods."

On the future SADF, Kruys said a complete volunteer force was an ideal but it would probably not provide the numbers of junior ranks or the specialists needed in the reserve force.

A form of national service would

most likely be necessary to balance the force and some system of balloting might have to be devised.

There also had to be a commitment to non-discrimination coupled with uncompromising standards.

Sacob, security committee vice-chairman Gerald Heine said the increase in frauds and financial manoeuvring coincided with the deepening economic recession.

He said the increase in white collar crime was a great worry for organised business. In practically all cases of fraud lack of efficient controls was the root cause.

SA Eagle operations manager J McIntosh said the economic downturn had produced a boom in fraudulent arson claims, dodgy vehicle claims and doubtful burglary losses.

"Factories are being burned down merely to acquire liquidity, motor vehicles under credit agreement are being sold and taken out of the country and claims lodged for theft."

Recent statistics showed arson-related claims constituted the third largest cause of fires.

The SAP had established that many drivers were involved in the hijacking of vehicles and their loads.

GERALD REILLY

SA transfixed by a crisis of mistrust

CT 26/6/92
(274)

THE Boipatong crisis has placed on the De Klerk government the obligation of convincing the black majority of citizens and the international community that the NP is indeed committed to peace in a democratic South Africa.

The people who have suffered so horribly at the hands of marauders in Boipatong and elsewhere do not hesitate to blame the State. As the chief representative of the State which has failed so abysmally to protect them, the black masses hold the State President, Mr De Klerk, responsible.

Rightly or wrongly, this is their perception of the situation.

There is no call for us to believe the conspiracy theorists, however, and to accuse the Mr De Klerk of bad faith, as do ANC propagandists. Neither do we need to accept the word of the NP propagandists who place all the blame on the ANC and acquit the state of responsibility.



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

Security

With 7 000 people dead as a result of political violence in the past two years, and only a handful of convictions of the killers in a court of law, it is plain enough that something is very wrong in the system of law enforcement. The ANC and Inkatha must also shoulder their share of the blame.

As far as the security forces are concerned, let us leave aside conspiracy theories and rather note that the Goldstone Commission has found that there is a history over some years of State complicity in undercover activities which include criminal conduct. Such activities heighten the perception that the government or its agencies are actively responsible for the violence, says the commission.

And the NP government "has failed to take sufficiently firm steps" against criminal conduct by members of the security forces, says the report.

All this helps explain why blacks feel as they do. South Africa certainly does not have a "proud record" in dealing with transgressions of the law by the SADF and the police. Mr De Klerk's bold assertion in Spain to this effect is manifestly not true: the government has an appalling record in this area, in fact, with brazen cover-ups taking place at the highest

level of the SADF and the SAP. The perceptions of township dwellers are by no means groundless. There is a well-documented history of collusion in anti-ANC violence between Inkatha and sections of the security forces.

The ANC's concern about the security situation reflects a genuine conviction in the violence-stricken communities that they have been thrown to the wolves by the very people who should be protecting them.

The onus is on the NP to take practical steps to restore a working measure of mutual confidence. Mr De Klerk's positive announcements after his return from Spain indicate that he has taken the point, to some extent at least.

In retrospect it is plain that the negotiating course being pursued at Codesa II had become too complex and drawn-out to provide a viable way ahead. The key weakness was the situation it created in which the parties were simultaneously negotiating while going into all-out election mode and unleashing their propaganda machines at each other.

After his stunning referendum victory, and buoyed up by flattering receptions abroad, Mr De Klerk became over-confident, making one alarming miscalculation and mis-

judgement after another. He is also in danger of misreading the international climate, which could change rapidly for the worse.

The rhetoric flying back and forth on all sides is hampering any movement ahead, with the Ministry of Law and Order's liaison department, in particular, pouring out a brand of disinformation which is unblushing in its mischievous partisanship.

The problem is not the ANC's mass action, which has been well-disciplined, low-key and largely symbolic. The problem is the failure of the security forces to maintain law and order and to win the confidence and co-operation of the population.

The situation is dangerous and potentially catastrophic. The best way ahead would be to cut through the political posturing right away and cobble together an interim government of national unity, with the major parties agreeing on the composition of a multiparty executive. If the political will exists, an interim government could soon be in place, with Parliament being recalled to pass the required legislation.

Once there is real multiparty control of the security forces, which is the urgent priority, the problem of violence will recede, as confidence returns and elections can be held.

Before any headway can be made, however, the NP and the ANC will need to resolve their crisis of mistrust. South Africa may have to endure a few more rounds of muscle-flexing and point-scoring, sadly enough, as more lives are lost, before they are ready to talk.

Yet the formation of an interim government before the end of July could indeed be achieved, given resolute leadership.

It is not yet certain that such leadership will be forthcoming.

ANC calls soft talks but doors still open

Source 26/6/92

THE African National Congress walked out of constitutional negotiations with the Government on Tuesday. But it did not slam the door shut.

An emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee avoided issuing an ultimatum in a statement setting out its position in the light of what it perceives to be the Government's murderous double agenda.

Instead of the word "conditions", the statement used the more open-ended "demands". And, as ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told reporters, if the demands were "sufficiently met", the ANC would review its position on negotiations.

The door, then, is open to compromise, to the Government meeting the ANC half way.

That, a senior NEC member said on Wednesday, was the political rationale behind an otherwise heated document, which blamed



the "FW de Klerk regime" for the massacre in Boipatong township last week and for bringing South Africa "to the brink of disaster".

The problem, the ANC man acknowledged, would come in interpreting what is "sufficient".

De Klerk might be persuaded to agree to a phasing out of the squalid single men's hostels, so many of which the Inkatha Freedom Party have converted into de facto barracks.

Many attacks on township residents - such as the one in Boipatong - have been launched from these hostels.

A ban could be imposed on the carrying of dangerous weapons, a measure that would be aimed di-

rectly at Inkatha.

He might also entertain the possibility of international peace monitors or fact-finders. But this would be complicated as, first, the Government rejects any political intervention in its internal affairs and, second, it would not be easy to find a foreign personage or an organisation considered credible and independent by all sides.

The other ANC demands are the termination of all covert operations, including alleged security force hit squads; the disbanding of the army's Special Forces, South Africa's SAS units; the suspension and prosecution of officers involved in political violence; the release of all political prisoners; the repeal of repressive legislation.

For the Government to accede to these demands would amount to admitting that it has been conducting a duplicitous strategy of negotiations on the one hand and calculating mass murder (7 000 having died in political violence since

early 1990) on the other.

Compounding the difficulties in finding "sufficient" compromise is that after Boipatong political decisions can no longer be taken behind closed doors by men in suits. The political temperature outside is near boiling point and no insulation can stop the heat from penetrating the negotiating salons.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions, the ANC's most powerful ally, has been issuing statements this week significantly more hardline than its parent political organisation.

Pressures on the Government side not to compromise come, first, simply from its own political need not to be seen to be bowing to "the communists"; second, from its security forces, whose most powerful and sinister elements still pursue a policy of open season on the ANC; and, third, from its Inkatha allies, whom the Government cannot afford to antagonise unduly. - *The Independent, London.*



'SADF needed while violence rages'

A further deterioration in the high levels of crime and intimidation in black townships could be expected if the SADF was withdrawn from these areas in the foreseeable future, Defence Headquarters strategy director Brigadier George Kruys said yesterday.

According to a paper he presented at the Security 92 conference at the University of Pretoria, SADF resources deployed in support of the police could not readily be withdrawn until the endemic cycle of violence had been broken.

Brigadier Kruys said the

African National Congress's strategy of having avoided a bush war and simply giving armed struggle lip service with an occasional terrorist bomb exploding had had a tremendous advantage for the future.

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"There can be no hate between SADF personnel and ANC personnel as a leftover from operations," he said.

"MK and the SADF did not fight each other."

Brigadier Kruys said it was ludicrous to suggest the SADF

was strongly politicised.

"The South African military has inherited a strong apolitical culture.

"Its regular members may not even belong to a political party.

"They may attend political meetings in civilian clothes but they may ask no questions."

They were not allowed to vote in uniform.

"This culture is so ingrained that party-political discussions, which are banned as a topic in the mess, are virtually never discussed anywhere." — Sapa.

ANC and allies plot mass action

Sowetan 26/6/92

(scribble)

(274)

SUSTAINED mass action, which could become a permanent feature of South African life, will be mapped out by representatives of the African National Congress/Cosatu/South African Communist Party alliance at a "People's Assembly" in Durban tomorrow.

At a Press conference yesterday, spokesmen for the three organisations said that tomorrow's celebration of the anniversary of the signing of the Freedom Charter in 1955 would take the form of a "People's Assembly for Democracy" where representatives from democratic organisations would chart a programme of action.

In a statement, the tripartite alliance said that the "double-edged" strategy of the De Klerk regime of talking peace and negotiations with the ANC while at the same time allegedly unleashing systematic violence and murder had to stop.

Angry and tired

ANC Southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said that people were angry and tired of the violence and were refusing to negotiate with the Government.

"It is therefore imperative that the democratic movement harnesses and channels this anger and ensures that the confidence of the people is not undermined."

Radebe said that it was even more crucial that a pro-democracy front be created in this region "in order to defeat De Klerk's scheme of perpetuating white minority rule".

The alliance said that the People's Assembly, which will be held at the DLI Hall, Epsom Road, at noon, would galvanise the broadest range of anti-apartheid and pro-democracy forces into concerted action to effect the imme-

Sowetan Correspondent

diated installation of democracy in South Africa.

Tomorrow's meeting will determine whether the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation, which rallied to the ANC's side after the announcement that the ANC was withdrawing from negotiations with the Government, will be part of this broad front.

ANC Southern Natal secretary Sbu Ndebele said that it was unlikely that the Inkatha Freedom Party would be invited. Ndebele said the ANC should perhaps accept blame for pursuing negotiations and participation in structures like the Regional Dispute Resolution Committees without an accompanying mass action programme to press home the demands of the people for an end to violence.

"Most of the violence, corruption, shortage of housing, and so on have gone on because there has been no action on the ground," Ndebele said.

Radebe said that some actions being considered included a referendum of the people to coincide with the ANC's drafting of a Transition to Democracy Act aimed at exercising the will of the people.

Meanwhile, ANC members in Maritzburg will hold their own "people's assembly" in Churchill Square behind the city hall at noon tomorrow.

The programme includes a motorcade of local leaders to the Mountain Rise cemetery where wreaths will be laid at the graves of three leaders who were at the historic adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955.

People will then converge on Market Square where the programme will include mock "trials" of people like State President FW de Klerk, Inkatha Freedom Party president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and alleged warlords.

ANC sends FW list of demands

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CT 27/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday submitted a memorandum to President F W de Klerk setting out the conditions for the resumption of democracy talks.

The detailed 16-page document contained up to 14 demands, among which were that Mr De Klerk quickly act to stop township violence and that he prosecute security force personnel involved in the violence.

The memorandum also demanded the closure of migrant worker hostels and an international inquiry into the massacre in Boipatong.

The letter to Mr De Klerk said: "None of us can escape the gravity of the crisis facing our country.

"The point has been reached where your responses will be looked at by us to determine whether you are taking concrete measures to terminate forthwith the involvement of the National Party government, the state security forces and the police in the violence," it added.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the government would study the ANC memorandum and respond before the end of next week.

"The government does not want to cling to power, and therefore wishes to bring a transitional constitution

Codesa meeting cancelled

JOHANNESBURG. — A meeting of Codesa's management committee scheduled for Monday has been cancelled.

The announcement was made by the chairman of the committee, Mr Pravin Gordhan, in a one-sentence statement yesterday.

This follows the announcement on Tuesday night by the ANC and eight of its allies at Codesa that they were pulling out of the negotiation process in the wake of the Boipatong massacre.

The NP, the government and DP later indicated they were still planning to attend Monday's meeting. — Sapa

into being through peaceful negotiation as soon as possible," Mr Meyer said.

He said that besides the matters raised in the ANC's memorandum, there were also numerous obstacles that would be addressed from the government's side.

The memorandum, which was the ANC's response to Mr De Klerk's invitation to the ANC for a two-day summit, is apparently aimed at keeping the lines of communication open between the ANC and the government.

Quoting from a prison letter written to Mr De Klerk in 1989, Mr Mandela said: "Majority rule and internal peace are like two sides of a single coin. White South Africa simply has to accept that there will never be peace and stability in this country until the principle is fully applied."

Legal eagles to join Goldstone

PRETORIA.— Two international legal and criminal experts are expected in South Africa next Thursday to join the Goldstone commission of inquiry into violence.

President De Klerk's suggestion to invite a jurist of international repute to join the commission, and a police suggestion to include a criminal expert, were welcomed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

"The commission is honoured that Justice Bhagwati, the former Chief Justice of India, has agreed to accept this appointment. It is appreciated that he did so at very short notice," Mr Justice Goldstone said.

Reading University director of criminal justice studies Dr P A J Waddington has also agreed to make an evaluation of the police investigations into the Boipatong tragedy.

The commission will resume its sitting in the Pretoria Synod Centre on Thursday. — Sapa.

No arrests three months after 30 IFP

Johannesburg Bureau

POLICE have yet to make an arrest in connection with the April 3 massacre of between 23 and 30 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters in the Crossroad squatter camp on the East Rand.

Compared to Boipatong, the Crossroad massacre was largely ignored by churches and by the national and international media. Survivors blamed the ANC.

Women and babies were speared and burnt to death but unlike the 45 dead at Boipatong "no outcry was heard", Inkatha's Transvaal organiser Mr. Themba Khoza said yesterday.

With the ANC mustering the international spotlight on the Boipatong massacre, police mobilised a task force of 200 detectives, confined about 500 potential suspects to a hostel for four days, and detained six men for questioning.

A police spokesman said an investigating squad of only about 30 detectives was used on the Crossroad massacre. He said the investigation was as thorough as the one in Boipatong.

Police had recovered a number of AK-47 cartridges at the scene of the Crossroad massacre, but they would only help once police had recovered AK-47 rifles to match them to, the spokesman said.

Sapa-AP reported yesterday that no outcry was heard after 23 Inkatha members were shot and killed while marching through the Tokoza township last September.

ANC spokesman Dr. Palle Jordan blamed indifference to most attacks on a "deadening of senses" caused by violence in which 12 000 blacks had died since 1984.

Boipatong commanded attention because it occurred during a highly publicised ANC

campaign of anti-government protests, Dr Jordan said.

"I think the ANC is more skilled at media relations than Inkatha," said Mr Richard Steyn, editor of The Star newspaper.

Inkatha says about 250 of its officials have been assassinated in the past four years, and this is largely ignored, reported Mr John Kane-Berman, head of the Institute for Race Relations research group.

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To page 3

Goldstone names his men

PRETORIA. — Two international legal and criminal experts are expected in South Africa next Thursday to join the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence in South Africa. (274)

Mr Justice Goldstone said in a statement before leaving for London that Mr Justice Bhagwati, the former Chief Justice of India, has agreed to accept an appointment. He is joined by Reading University director of criminal justice studies Dr P A J Waddington, who will make an evaluation of the police investigation into Boipatong. — Sapa

GREAT DANE ... John ... game against Germany originally failed to qualify and win the European Cup and win the tournament drafted into the tour Yugoslavia. Match re

Automatic ban for

By IAN GAULT

SOUTH African rugby players who test positive for performance-enhancing substances will be automatically banned for two years.

Gold and white armbands, similar to the red and blue of England at the 1991 World Cup, are expected to be incorporated in the green jersey.

Government (274) hand in unrest, says Mandela

ESTHER WAUGH
Weekend Argus Political Staff

ANC 27/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has outlined several incidents which proved government collusion in the ongoing violence in a memorandum to President De Klerk.

A memorandum was delivered to Mr De Klerk's office in Pretoria yesterday after attempts to arrange a meeting between the two leaders collapsed.

Breaking off negotiations on Tuesday, the African National Congress stressed that the organisation would hand its demands to the government but not enter into any discussions.

South Africa was on the brink of disaster because of the crisis in the negotiation process and "the continuing direct and indirect involvement of the NP government, the State security forces and the police in the violence".

Mr Mandela said the Boipatong massacre was a tragic culmination of the government's practices and policies.

"Ministerial defences of the SAP and your government's failure to act against the KwaMadala hostel make government collusion an inescapable conclusion," he said.

The ANC leader said the government legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons and the majority of deaths had been caused by cultural weapons.

"In those few instances where security force personnel and police, or IFP members have been arrested, how do we explain the fact that inadequate police investigation is the basis for their acquittal, laughable light sentences and ridiculously low bail?"

Mr Mandela also noted the acquittal of seven accused in the Sebokeng trial and the evidence of the investigating officer in the Trust Feed massacre trial which showed extensive cover-up.

"The evidence shows that either the NP government, even at its top levels, sanctions such activities or that it is powerless to restrain the very force it created," he said.

ANC



demands:

■ The creation of a democratic, freely elected and sovereign constituent assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution.

■ The establishment of an Interim Government of National Unity which is the only way all South Africans will recognise that the country will have moved decisively to end white minority rule. *APR 25/1992*

Demands on the regime: The regime must immediately end its campaign of terror against the people and the democratic movement.

In this regard, it must immediately carry out the following measures:

■ Terminate all covert operations, including hit-squad activity;

■ Disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces as well as detachments made up of foreign nationals;

■ Suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence; and

■ Ensure that repression in some of the self-governing states and in the so-called independent states is ended.

Our people are compelled to live in a perpetual state of fear - be it in their homes, on their way to work, in trains and taxis, at funerals and vigils, at their places of work and entertainment.

This is the stark reality. Between July 1990 and April 1992 there have been 261 attacks on township residents by hostel inmates, which led to 120 deaths and 3 697 injuries.

We further demand that the regime implements agreements on curbing violence reached with the ANC almost a year ago, in particular:

■ The immediate implementation of the programme to phase out the hostels and convert them into family unit accommodation;

■ Installation of fences around these establishments;

■ Guarding of these hostels by security forces on a permanent basis, monitored by multilateral peace structures, and the expulsion of those who occupy the hostels illegally;

■ Regular searches of hostels with the participation of multilateral peace structures; and

■ Banning the carrying of all dangerous weapons in public on all occasions, including so-called cultural weapons.

We insist that the regime agree to:

■ The implementation of the universal demand for the establishment of an International Commission of Inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence, as well as international monitoring of the violence;

■ Release all political prisoners forthwith; and

■ Repeal all repressive legislation, including those laws which were so hastily passed during the last days of the recent session of parliament.

AND THE PATIENT MAN OF PEACE

THE essence of John Hall, national peace broker, can perhaps best be seen in the sports he enjoys — trout fishing, sailing and golf: they all require patience and an acute sense of timing.

His sailing abilities reveal his character: cautious, ready to batten down the hatches at approaching trouble.

Mr Hall, the 57-year-old chairman of the National Peace Accord, is described as a man without ego, a unique attribute in the corridors of power.

He dismisses the acclaim given to him for his role as chairman of the Peace Committee — "I don't do the work, I just chair the meetings," he said.

But his sense of responsibility and concern for the escalating crisis in the country was illustrated this week by his cancellation of a foreign business trip.

He felt he could not absent himself from the country at this time. Which does not mean Mr Hall feels his presence is crucial to peace.

This week he expressed his frustration at the continuing violence, the contraventions of the peace accord by all the political parties and the slowness of establishing effective peace structures.

Appearing on a television programme with representatives of the main political parties, Mr Hall had to hear each representative contravene the spirit and letter of the accord to which they were party.

At times he is tempted to walk away. What stops him is the negative message this might give to the country. But Mr Hall is a man who hates to admit defeat. His optimism and dogged determination to see a project succeed carries him through.

Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa says Mr Hall is "a person you can relate to".

A leading businessman with the SA Chamber of Business insists: "John can sometimes be a bit impulsive; deep down he is very emotional and sometimes arrives at conclusions without thinking them through."

Themba Khoza, Transvaal organiser for the Inkatha Freedom Party, agrees with Mr Shilowa's assessment of caution: "Like all businessmen, he does not want to step over to either the IFP or ANC side. He is a good man, but he can't get people to accept peace. He is a mere facilitator, but so far the IFP has had no objections to him."

John Hall: Resolute optimist who can't face up to defeat



DETERMINED peacebroker John Hall, who blasted President De Klerk for spending money on overseas trips that could have been better used here.

What all agree on — in a country where consensus is as elusive as a strong currency — is that, as Mr Shilowa puts it: John Hall is "trying his best to maintain his neutrality with the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance and the government and Inkatha".

Val Pauquet, who does media work for the Peace Secretariat, says that John Hall, "inspires confidence in people, he allows them to reach heights they did not believe they were capable of".

But this does not mean that the man who is also chairman of Rand Mines and an executive director at Barlow Rand is a push-over.

Sidney Matus, a former director of Spar who is now retired, was a vice-president with Mr Hall of Sacob after its formation in 1990.

He says: "He is very

charismatic and laid-back, but he can get tough when he has to."

One example is contained in the latest issue of Negotiation News where Mr Hall is quoted as saying: "No one will invest in SA while violence is underway, and while there is no political settlement. I'm just writing to the State President and everyone else."

"How dare he take the taxpayers' money and go overseas on jaunts to Tokyo, Russia and Singapore when that money should be applied at this time to solving problems at Codesa and in this country."

A native of Nottingham, England, Mr Hall came to SA with his parents in 1948, and attended his final years of school at Athlone High in Johannesburg.

DAKAR. — Mr Nelson Mandela ruled out further democracy talks with the South African government unless President De Klerk took effective action to stop township violence.

Arriving in Senegal for the annual Organisation of African Unity summit, Mr Mandela said a resumption of talks would depend on Mr De Klerk's response to ANC demands.

"If he responds effectively then there will be negotiations; if not, there is no prospect whatsoever for a continuation."

The ANC broke off negotiations in protest at alleged government complicity in the massacre of at least 41 people at Boipatong.

Mr Mandela, looking fit and relaxed, said he had had no contact with Mr De Klerk since the demands had been handed to the president. They include disarming and disbanding all special security forces, especially units with foreign nationals, and prosecuting security force members involved in violence.

The ANC says Namibians helped in the Boipatong killings as part of the special police unit, Koevoet.

Mr Mandela confirmed he would meet UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali today to discuss the South African crisis, but declined to give details.

Mr Boutros-Ghali, who arrived here earlier yesterday, will be involved in several meetings to try to get peace talks back on track.

He met Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Nigeria on Saturday. The ANC scotched reports by Nigerians, including President Ibrahim Babangida, that Mr Mandela would attend.

A spokesman for Mr Botha in Johannesburg said Mr Boutros-Ghali had agreed to visit South Africa, but gave no date.

Mr Mandela was given a warm welcome by a large crowd at Dakar's President Hotel, adjoining the conference centre.

Attending the summit as an observer, he was met with full honours at the airport by Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, including a cannon salute reserved for heads of state. He was narrowly preceded on the tarmac by Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasser Arafat.

The summit is to pass a resolution on South Africa's township violence, which has killed about 12 000 blacks in eight years.

A preliminary draft, subject to confirmation by heads of state, condemns the South African government for failure to stop the killings, but makes no mention of a tougher line on anti-apartheid sanctions.

Last year's OAU summit in Nigeria handed an olive branch to Pretoria, committing the organisation to review sanctions if the government took steps leading to the final destruction of apartheid.

Several African countries have strengthened trade and other links with South Africa since then. Ivory Coast restored diplomatic relations in April — only the second African country after Malawi to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria — and Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi recently visited South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mandela wants action

OAU to be told no SA peace t
s until De Klerk halts violence

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ARC 29/6/92

New ANC call on violence

THE ANC in the Western Cape at the weekend again called for an international and independent judicial commission to investigate all allegations of state complicity in the violence in the country. CT 29/6/92

The organisation also echoed its call for international monitoring and joint control of the security forces.

Their renewed demands follow reports that Prince Gobingca, who was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for attempting to overthrow the Transkei government, claimed to be a member of the National Intelligence Service. — Sapa

4-point peace strategy urged

CT 29/6/92
(274)

JOHANNESBURG. — A four-point strategy to reduce and eventual eliminate violence has been urged on all South African political leaders by the Urban Foundation.

In a weekend statement the foundation said steps to help the resumption of negotiations should include fostering the perception that the security forces are an instrument for peace and strengthening the process of justice in violence-torn areas so that perpetrators of violence are brought before the courts as rapidly as possible.

'Difficult times'

The foundation said there should be an inclusive approach in politics so that groups and individuals are not excluded from community problem-solving and a review of progress in the national peace initiative so that it can be strengthened.

The Urban Foundation's board of directors said: "Recognising these are extremely difficult times for political leaders involved in negotiations, every effort should be made by all institutions and their leadership, including the media, to avoid actions and comments that deepen the conflicts in our society, and to exhibit statemanship in the interests of all South Africans." — Sapa

Life becoming cheap - Gerwel

Sowetan 29/6/92
SOUTH Africans were in danger of becoming used to the senseless loss of human life.

Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector of the University of the Western Cape, said they were developing a national consciousness in which human life, and particularly the lives of black people, became cheap.

Gerwel was speaking at a winter graduation ceremony at UWC on Saturday.

"Boipatong is a national tragedy and it touches each of us," he said.

Boipatong is another tombstone in the bloodstained history of South Africa and stands in recent history with Sharpeville and with Soweto 1976.

"Let us commit ourselves and work for true democracy in our country. And for peace. And for justice. Let us in that way honour the dead of Boipatong," Gerwel said. - Sapa.

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Foreign investors waiting for an end to violence

B1 Day 29/6/92 274

INQUIRIES from offshore companies for space in the local market are on the increase, but the number of deals concluded is relatively small, dealers say.

Leadenhall MD Philip Vermeulen says that while there is some offshore interest and small investments have been made, most potential foreign investors are adopting a "wait-and-see" attitude.

"Until the continued violence is sorted out and something definite regarding an interim government materialises, there will be little concrete offshore investment locally," he says.

The local market is cheap relative to foreign markets and offers a sound alternative investment. When investment activity takes place, much of this will be directed towards the industrial market, as this is where manufacturing growth begins.

Logaro CE Gary Perlman says good foreign demand for space in the early '80s was killed off by then President P W Botha's Ru-

bicon speech and has not been repeated, despite the lifting of most sanctions.

"Foreign investors are reluctant to invest in what could become a Third World cesspool. We have run advertisements in foreign papers to see investor response to our market.

Proactive

"They are guarded and will not make a large investment until they see what economic policy a future government introduces. We need to be more proactive regarding our investment structures and tax benefits," he says.

Anglo American Property Services (Ampros) national leasing director Grahame Lindop says offshore activity seems to be concentrated around the opening of representative offices.

In '91, about 30 foreign missions opened offices in SA. The average mission took about 300m² of space, which accounted for about 9 000m² in total.

"This is not a huge amount of space and is equivalent to about five floors of the Carlton Centre or 8% of the total annual take-up of space as determined over a 10-year period," he says.

If this doubled this year, it would still only reflect about 18 000m² of space taken up or 16% of total annual take-up.

Economists have said it is unlikely foreign investment will flow through to SA's market until certain conditions are met.

These include the effective and protracted control of the escalating violence and the improvement of political negotiations.

A future government's economic policy and the way it is implemented is of vital importance for any foreign investor, an economist says.

An interim government would be a step in the right direction. But violence also needs to be controlled and alleviated as the return on the investment and the investment itself has to be sound, he adds.

International assessors will join Goldstone investigation this week

CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON — A British academic and a former Indian chief justice will fly to SA on Thursday to start overseeing investigations into the Boipatong massacre.

Judge Richard Goldstone said at the weekend that because of the urgency of the ANC's mass action campaign he hoped new rules for police and crowd behaviour could be put into effect within three weeks. He named the international assessor in the Boipatong massacre probe as former Indian chief justice Judge Bhagwati.

The man who would evaluate the police probe was Reading University criminal justice director Prof Peter Waddington.

Five other top experts from the US and Britain would join five top SA counterparts in the Goldstone commission subcommittee probe into mass public demonstrations, beginning in Cape Town on July 9, Goldstone said. Immediate input would come from lawyers, psychologists and other experts who were now considering submissions from the ANC, Cosatu, municipalities and police on mass demonstrations.

Goldstone said the commission would draft legislation, for submission to government, on aspects of conduct. On the current potential for violence with the ANC's mass action campaign, the judge said he hoped for rules and agreement between the parties within three weeks.

Goldstone arrived in London last week from France where he had been probing the "absolutely fascinating" French sys-

tem of judicial checks on the police. He said SA could learn from the system.

In London, he is scheduled to meet UK Constabulary chief inspector Sir John Woodcock, the UK police's quality and service division head, Peter Martin, and top appeal court judges and barristers.

He will also see senior Home Office officials, Amnesty International researchers, Aid and Development minister Lynda Chalker and a member of the recent International Commission of Jurists mission to SA, John MacDonald QC.

Goldstone said he had been in almost daily contact with his commission.

He welcomed the "highly unusual" request by the SAP to have their Boipatong massacre probe evaluated by an outsider.

The commission's most important function would be to act as a catalyst to bring about a new culture of policing in SA, he said.

Goldstone said that after hearing of the Boipatong massacre in France, he had felt "deep anguish, concern and horror" that it could happen when it seemed the option of peace in SA was a reality.

He said he now felt a tremendous sense of urgency about his probe.

He said there had been 10 500 demonstrations in SA in the 18 months since President FW de Klerk's February 2 speech, three of them "violent".

29/7/92
B. Dany

Strategy to end the violence

(274)

Sowetan

29/6/92

THE Urban Foundation has urged political leaders to adopt a four-point strategy to reduce and eventually eliminate violence in South Africa.

In a statement at the weekend, the foundation said steps to assist in the resumption of negotiations should include:

Fostering the perception that the security forces are an instrument of peace;

- Strengthening the process of justice in violence-torn areas so that perpetrators of violence are brought before the courts as rapidly as possible;

- An inclusive approach in politics so that groups and

individuals are not excluded from community problem-solving; and

- Reviewing progress in the national peace initiative so that it can be strengthened.

The Urban Foundation's board of directors said: "Recognising these are extremely difficult times for political leaders involved in negotiations, every effort should be made by all institutions and their leadership, including the media, to avoid actions and comments that deepen the conflicts in our society and to exhibit statesmanship in the interests of all South Africans." - Sapa

Political organisation in townships is well nigh impossible, argues Sheena Duncan

Instability indirectly benefits Govt

STAR 29/6/92

(214)

will keep them safe.

Proper organisation of branch structures by any political party is now well nigh impossible in the townships

Free and fair elections cannot take place without an end to violence and an international peace keeping and monitoring team.

The international community has been seduced into seeing "black on black" violence as just another indication that Africa is corrupt, savage and irredeemable and sympathises with Mr de Klerk as a strong, sincere free marketer who can lead South Africa into a secure future as the "power house" of southern Africa — to the profit of the industrialised north.

All this adds up to the fact that the National Party Government is undoubtedly benefiting from the destabilisation of its major political opponent.

President F W de Klerk has been reported as saying in Madrid that the Government has nothing to gain from instability.

This is an argument which has often been used by those who cannot bring themselves to believe that an evil, military-designed programme of "low intensity conflict" can possibly have been carried forward from the P W Botha era into the new South Africa.

The truth about the causes of our present tragic situation will no doubt be revealed in one way or another in the future.

Various pressures forced the Government to recognise that it could not continue with the ruthless imposition of apartheid, and that one-person-one-vote elections would have to be held in the foreseeable future. In such elections the National Party would not succeed in winning a majority and forming a new government if the elections

were truly democratic and fair.

Even a hold on the balance of power in a coalition would be unlikely because a majority party which failed to win overall support would be likely to look elsewhere among minority parties for a coalition partner.

The ANC, building on the strong base of the UDF structures — unions, civics, community and service organisations of various kinds, would have been able to organise itself into an efficient and grass-rooted electoral machine which would have brought people to the polls to vote resoundingly for its policies. It is undoubtedly the most powerful of all the National Party's political opponents.

But the violence has prevented the efficient organisation which is required for such a normal electoral process. The movement is riven with dissenting groups. The young (66 percent of the black

population is under the age of 27) are especially angry but so also are their parents who have to travel to and from work each day in terror of sudden attack.

Communities who do not feel themselves to be African seek protection from those they have been taught to fear in years of TV projection of an image of an enemy which almost always was black-skinned.

Some see Mr de Klerk as saviour and friend who is the only person strong enough to protect them. Some remain loyal to the ANC but are very critical of its inability to protect them.

Some are joining other parties who offer a more militant approach. Some are going underground into revolutionary structures. Some will "join" other groups and take party cards because they are forced by fear to do so and hope a new affiliation

Leaders to ask OAU to approve proposals on SA

By Barney Mthombathi
Star Africa Service

DAKAR — African leaders assembling in Dakar for today's 28th OAU summit will have three specific proposals to approve on South Africa.

These are that a so-called OAU fact-finding team of experts be dispatched to South Africa immediately, that the issue of violence in South Africa be referred to the UN Security Council and that the Patriotic Front be resuscitated.

These proposals have been agreed to by foreign ministers in their week-long meeting in Dakar and will be put to the summit today as recommendations. Only the summit can make them binding decisions, although it is expected to

approve them.

The foreign ministers have given the team of experts a maximum of two weeks to complete their fact-finding mission to South Africa. The team will be given firm instructions to be independent in all respects.

In condemning the SA Government for the violence in the country, the foreign ministers have also called for unity among anti-apartheid organisations. The PAC and ANC have therefore been urged to revive the Patriotic Front.

The PAC has already called for an early reconvening of the front. ANC president Nelson Mandela will address the summit today on behalf of the ANC and PAC.

● Africa surveys its tragedies — Page 15.

Tambo's

274

wife hits

STAR 29/6/92
at violence

Star Bureau

LONDON — Adelaide Tambo says Alan Paton was wrong — the time to cry for South Africa is now, not when he wrote his novel 44 years ago.

The wife of the ANC life president was in London to receive a Masters degree in social policy and gerontology from Keele University.

In an interview at the weekend, Mrs Tambo said she was nauseated by the violence, which she said was being planned by people loath to see an end to apartheid.

She said: "There must be someone who is orchestrating this violence, and it must be someone who does not want a settlement and who gains from the perpetuation of apartheid."

Big business De Klerk in talks on violence

STAR 29/6/92

Organised industry and trade meet President de Klerk in Pretoria today to discuss violence and the political situation.

There will also be talks soon with ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Meeting with Mr de Klerk will be senior representatives of the South African Chamber of Business, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation.

"The opportunity will be taken to have an exchange of views with the State President on the concerns which the business community have about current political circumstances and their impact on the economy," said a statement. — Sapa.

'Roo meat

SYDNEY - Australia's most populous state, New South Wales, will move this year to legalise the eating of kangaroo meat.

Australia's most famous wildlife symbol is already eaten in two other states - Tasmania and South Australia.

"It would not affect the number of kangaroos culled yearly but would mean that those shot could be sold for human consumption," a spokeswoman said.

Bomb kills

PESHAWAR (Pakistan) - Six Afghan refugee children were killed and three seriously injured on Sunday when an explosive device went off in a refugee camp near northwestern Peshawar.

Buddha

BEIJING - An eight-year-old Tibetan boy has become the first living Buddha to win approval of China's Communist government.

A living Buddha is a person who is holy enough to enter nirvana after death, but chooses to be reincarnated. The *China Daily* said the boy was chosen as the 17th reincarnation of the living Buddha of Karma Bkav Rgyud.

ANC predicts deaths if tour goes ahead

SYDNEY - South Africans will die if the Australian rugby union tour of the republic proceeds in six weeks' time, an African National Congress representative said in Sydney yesterday.

Thanzi Zokwe told an anti-apartheid rally people would be killed for demonstrating against the world champion Wallabies' tour in August.

It was part of the ANC's international day of mourning to coincide with the funeral of the Boipatong massacre victims.

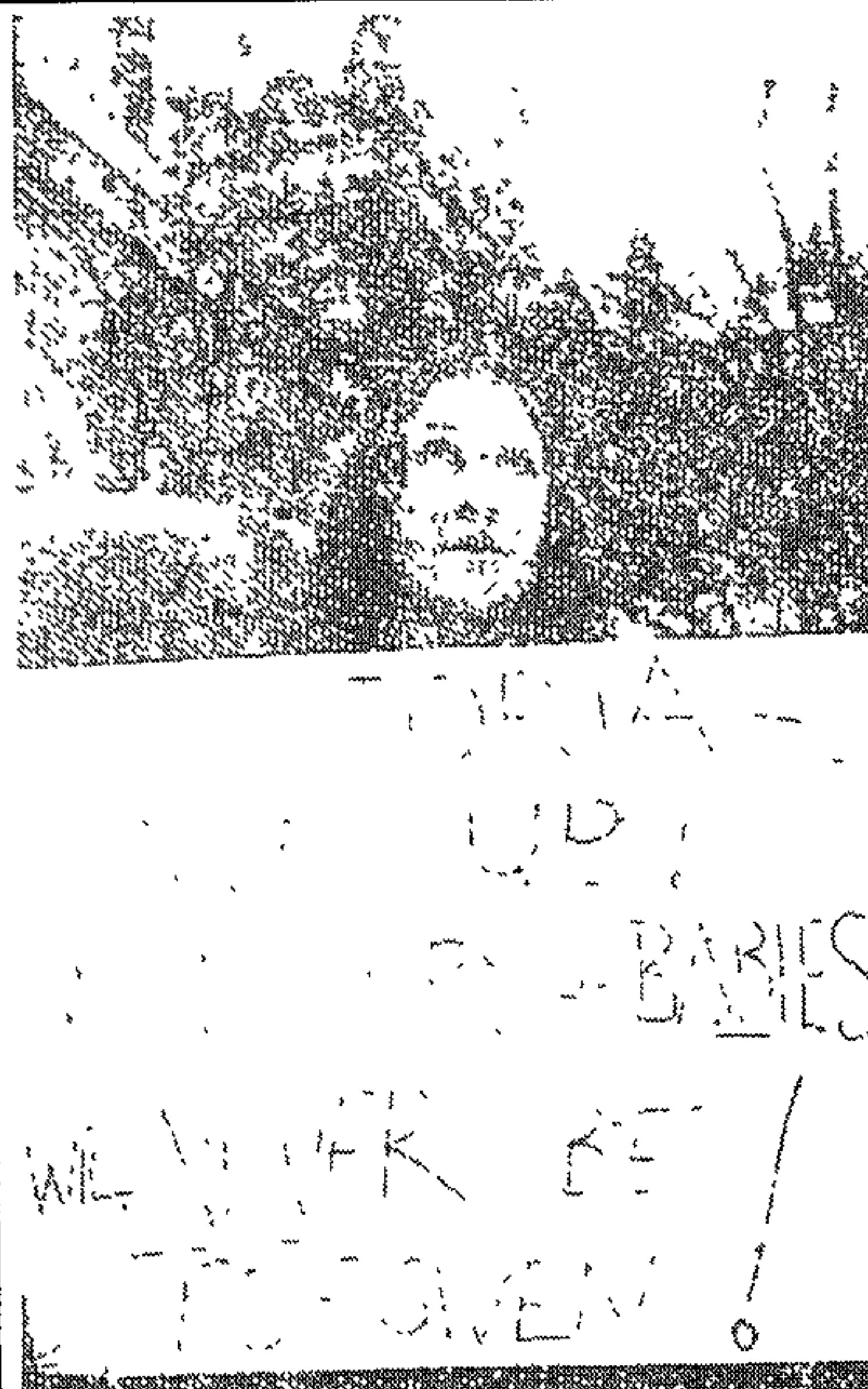
"Sport is an emotional issue which

serves the interests of certain groups in South Africa," said Zokwe.

"In South Africa, when people show disgust at what's happened, they've been killed. That is so characteristic of South African rule."

Chief representative of the ANC in Australia, Landla Vanqa, called on groups to put "human life before sporting glory" and that South Africa be banned from the Barcelona Olympics.

President of the Mandela Foundation Michael Raper said Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans had not done enough in offering to participate in an international monitoring group. - *Sapa-AFP*.



Sheilla Cox attends an anti-apartheid rally outside Sydney's Town Hall. The rally was organised by ANC supporters to coincide with the day of mourning for victims of Boipatong.

OAU head steps down

ABUJA - Nigeria's President Ibrahim Babangida steps down after a year as Organisation of African Unity chairman during which the organisation has made no major moves on crucial issues.

Babangida spent much of the year embroiled in domestic problems and countering religious and ethnic violence troubling his programme to restore civilian rule next January.

A soft-spoken man with a ready smile and a knack of wriggling out of tight corners, Babangida tacitly admits that his tenure as chairman of the 51-member OAU has not gone totally as he wanted.

"We set four objectives for the year - conflict resolution, processes of economic integration, democratisation and the South African question," he said.

He steps down at the end of the three-day Dakar summit which opened yesterday. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Ramos heads Philippines

MANILA - Fidel Ramos, who helped restore and defend the democracy he once destroyed, becomes president of the Philippines today in the country's first peaceful transfer of power in 26 years.

Ramos, a 64-year-old West Point graduate, will take his oath at noon and succeeds Mrs Corason Aquino, who supported the former

defence secretary in the seven-way presidential race he won on May 11.

Ramos has said his first priority will be to revive the nation's economy and improve the livelihood of the nearly 65 million Filipinos, half of whom live in poverty. He enters office with 23 percent of the vote. - *Sapa-AP*.

Serbian hold on to airport

SARAJEVO - Sarajevo airport was still under Serbian forces yesterday, the head of the United Nations Protection Force said.

General Lewis McKenzie said Serbian forces had in fact strengthened their positions after a sudden fire fight near the airport terminal.

This was when French President Mr Francois Mitterrand was pre-

paring to leave after his surprise six-hour visit on Sunday.

Serbian forces demand that the UN force the airport be used only for bringing in humanitarian aid for the beleaguered population.

McKenzie said UN peace keepers will only take over the airport when a Canadian battalion takes up positions. - *Sapa-AFP*.

Algerian leader gunned down

ALGIERS - Algerian President Mohammed Boudiaf was shot dead yesterday as he visited the eastern Mediterranean coast city of Annaba, officials said.

Witnesses said Boudiaf received two bursts of gunfire in the back as he arrived at the town's cultural centre.

"Total confusion reigned in the city, people were fleeing in all directions and traders closed their shops," the national APS news agency reported.

The High State Council, which Boudiaf had headed since being recalled from exile during a showdown between the authorities and Moslem fundamentalists in January, went into emergency session in Algiers. It declared seven days of national mourning.

Immediately

It was not immediately clear who carried out the attack.

The shooting came two days after the trial opened of seven top Islamic Salvation Front leaders facing the death sentence on armed insurrection charges.

The trial of FIS president Abassi Madani, his deputy Ali Belhadj and the five others, before a military court in Blida, south of Algiers, was adjourned until July 12. - *Sapa-AFP*.

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A helping hand - a mourner gets a 'lift' to the funeral service for Boipatong massacre victims.

has

Boipatong killings victims are buried

Goodyear plant. It continued to run, but production was described as "minimal".

In Port Elizabeth, Firestone workers turned up as normal but left again to attend a march. Most sections of the plant closed down.

In Cape Town, 10 ANC supporters were arrested after daubing the South African flag in red paint - a

cal Centre to mourn the victims of the Boipatong massacre. Hundreds more people gathered at Maritzburg's Market Square to attend a similar service.

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry reported that most Johannesburg employees turned up for work yesterday.

JCCI mass action monitors said workers who stayed away had applied for, and were granted leave.

The JCCI said workers and employers displayed sensitivity and some firms flew flags at half-mast.

Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose yesterday extended his party's condolences to the victims of the Boipatong massacre and said the Inkatha Freedom Party totally rejected violence.

In an apparent reference to blame being apportioned to Zulu hostel dwellers, Mdlalose said the IFP wished to remind individuals and groups who labelled and vilified people in ethnic terms that they were "adding fuel to the fires of conflict and are causing a legacy of bitterness that will take years to overcome" - Sapa

symbol of blood - in mourning for those killed in the Boipatong massacre.

One man was teargassed as he was led away by police.

Some ANC supporters had taken down the flag from in front of the magistrate's court, covered it in red paint and raised it again - at half mast.

A policeman arresting a suspect also had red paint poured on him.

About 150 people gathered at Durban's Ecumeni-



President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston (at microphone), one of the main speakers at the mass funeral at Boipatong yesterday, is flanked by AAM secretary Mr Mike Terry and Father S'mangaliso Mkhathshwa.

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PARAFFIN ROUND STOVE <p>13.99 was 17.99</p>	CANDLES (Pack of 6) <p>1.29 was 1.99</p>	70 cm ELEGANT NYLON SUITCASE <p>29.99 was 43.99</p>	5 LITRE ECONOMY WHITE ENAMEL PAINT <p>24.99 was 34.99</p>

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 PRETORIA: 285 Bloed Street

SUPER MART

OAU censures De Klerk

DAKAR - The honeymoon with black Africa seemed over yesterday when the Organisation of African Unity condemned Pretoria for violence against blacks and demanded an emergency United Nations Security Council meeting.

"Africa's concern is to see that the process of change in South Africa is not aborted," OAU secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim told a news conference after a week of meetings by African foreign ministers who set the agenda for the OAU summit opening in Dakar

yesterday.

The ministers urged the Security Council to put pressure on South Africa's white minority Government to end violence following the massacre of 49 people in a black squatter camp by hostel dwellers.

The bloodbath 12 days ago prompted the African National Congress to pull out of negotiations with the Government on a new democratic constitution.

The ANC, led by Mr Nelson Mandela, accused the security forces of involvement in the massacre in Boipatong township, south of Johannesburg.

The escalating violence in South Africa is expected to dominate the three-day summit, which Mandela will address.

South African Government representatives had been expected to make an unprecedented appearance on the sidelines of the meeting.

But the newly cordial relationship returned to more familiar ground as thousands of people observed a day of mourning in South Africa and the ministers here passed a resolution urging Pretoria to "end the carnage".

Mandela, who arrived here on Sunday, said negotiations would not be

resumed unless the Government of President Frederick de Klerk met ANC demands to stop the violence, free political prisoners and repeal remaining apartheid laws.

The foreign ministers also passed resolutions calling for the creation of an African peacekeeping force that could intervene in the many civil wars and conflicts draining the meagre resources of the poorest continent.

The force, comprised of units drawn from the armies of all OAU member states, would be formed as part of a new structure "for preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa".

The OAU summit will also discuss demands for compensation to be paid by Western countries for the slave trade.

The ministers called for closer links between Africa and blacks in the West. Black American leader Rev Jesse Jackson and Britain's first black member of parliament, Bernie Grant, will hold meetings here with African leaders during the summit.

The ministers appealed for an end to fighting in Somalia and urged the United Nations to pursue efforts to restore peace in the wake of a UN brokered ceasefire agreement - Sapa-AFP.

Khoza, Majola are April and May winners

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

THE *Sowetan*/Sanlam Entrepreneur of the Month Competition has shown great interest in black development when it announced two winners for April and May.

Our first winner was Mrs Lena Khoza, whose business is in Kwaggafontein, near Siyabuswa, in KwaNdebele.

Khoza, a dressmaker and fashion designer, was overcome with joy when she was announced the winner.

The second winner is Mr Buti Majola, who owns the Million Dollar Furniture Manufacturing Company in Soweto.

Major step

Both winners were delighted and praised the *Sowetan* and Sanlam for the contest which they said was a major step towards inculcating a spirit of entrepreneurship.

Khoza was judged against Mr Vusi Gumede of GM Glass Blowing Company of Soweto, Mr Geno de Fava, director of Phambili International, Mr Frans Malaka of Banana Boy Furniture manufacturing company.

Majola was judged against Mr Mabidi Thlapi, of MJ Thlapi's TV Aerial and Decoder Installations, Mr Twelve Dubeni and Mr Madoda Mabunu, who own the B&T Plumbers and Sanitary Engineering Company and Miss Rose Mabele, who owns the Siyakha Properties.

Five profiles

Our June winner will be announced soon.

Khoza and Majola will now wait to be judged against other contestants whose profiles we will publish monthly.

We will publish four or five profiles of entrepreneurs every month and choose a monthly winner.

If you know anybody who you think has a successful business please call the *Sowetan* and ask for Joshua Raboroko at (011)-474-0128 or Fax (011) 474-8834 or 474-0652.

SACC reviews clergy's role

Sowetan 30/6/92

THE South African Council of Churches will discuss the role of the church in politics at its annual conference at the Natal University in Durban.

The conference from July 5 to 10 will also focus on the peace process and solutions to the escalating violence in South Africa.

SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane, representatives of member churches and church organisations will lead the peace rally on the opening day.

Leaders of political parties, including the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress, are expected to speak at the rally.

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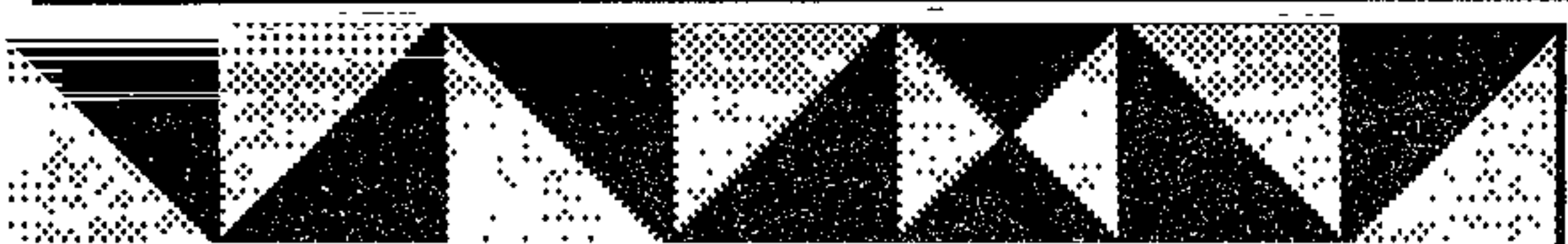
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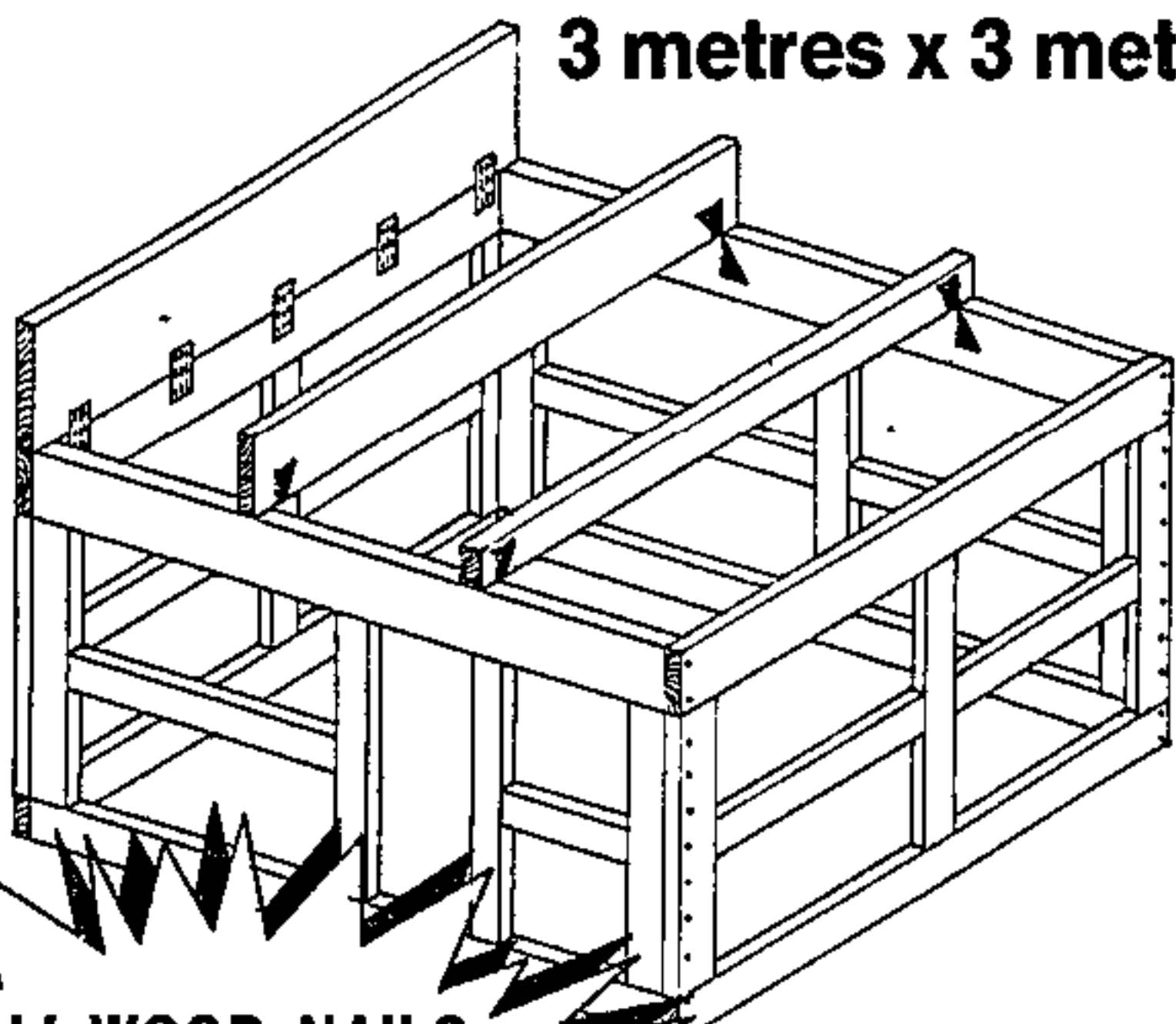


Under protest ... Riot police arrest a member of the ANC Women's League yesterday while breaking up an illegal demonstration in Cape Town over the Boipatong killings.



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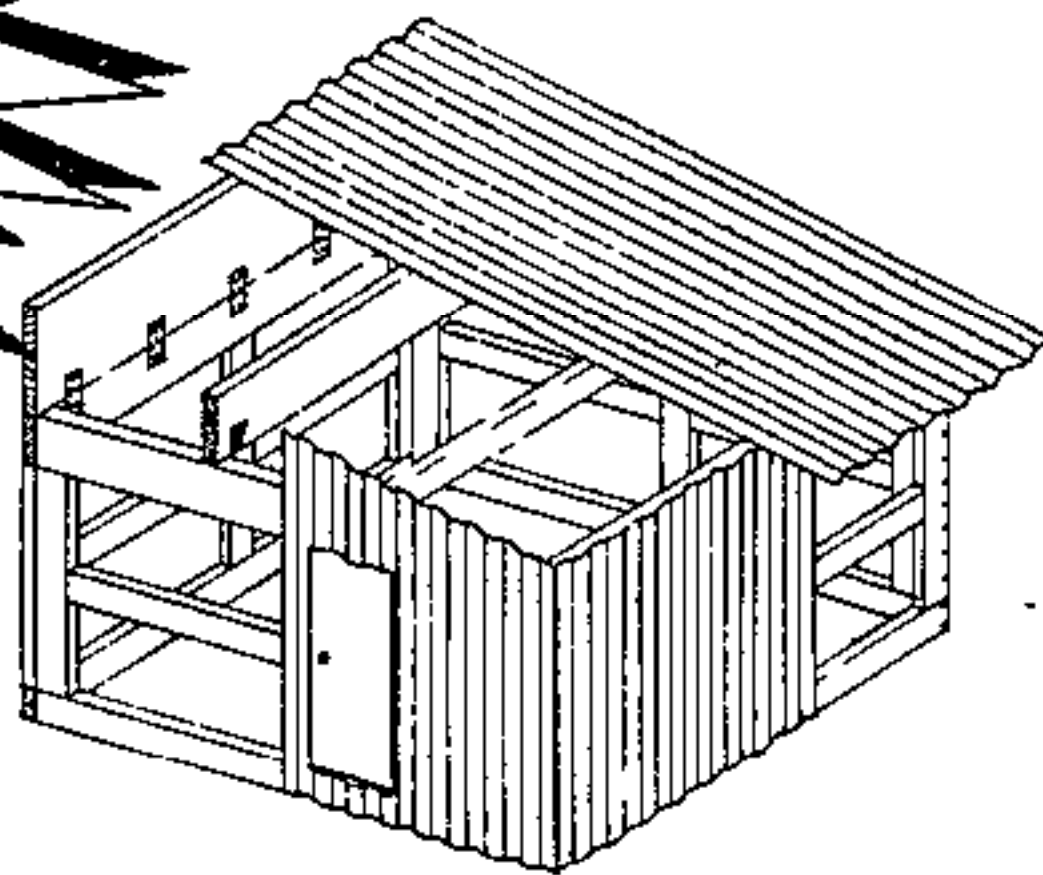
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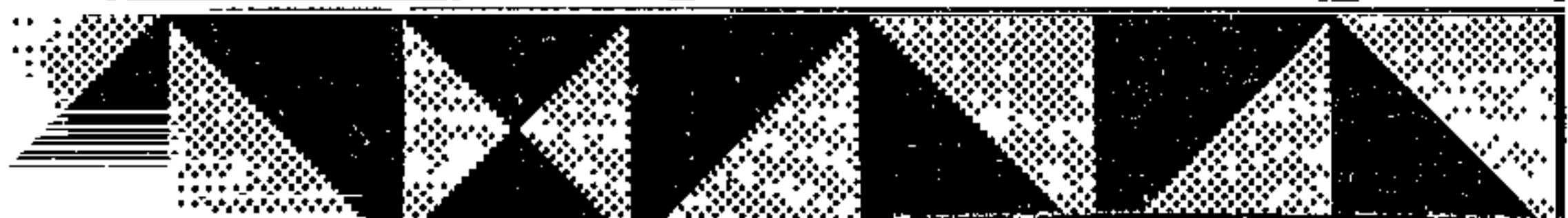
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man attending the
mass funeral of the
Boipatong massacre
victims.

Police spokesman Cap-
tain Piet van Deventer said
that during a routine inves-
tigation at 9.40am police
spotted the man among a
busload of mourners.

He was confronted and,
after mediation by SA
Communist Party chief Mx
Chris Hanu, the police took
possession of a
handgrenade.

Van Deventer said po-
lice had to intervene be-
cause, if the handgrenade
had exploded, people
would have been killed or
injured.

In the Eastern Cape three
major companies were hard
hit by stayaways yesterday.
Elsewhere, attendances
were reported to be good.

The three companies -
Volkswagen and Goodyear
(Uitenhage) and Firestone
(Port Elizabeth) - had al-
most 100 percent stayaway.

Volkswagen was forced
to close down yesterday
morning after only 30 per-
cent of its workforce turned
up.

Only about 28 workers
showed for work at the

AROUND THE WORLD

ANC predicts deaths if tour goes ahead

Sowetan 30/6/92

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serves the interests of certain groups in South Africa," said Zokwe.

"In South Africa, when people show disgust at what's happened, they've been killed. That is so characteristic of South African rule."

Chief representative of the ANC in Australia, Landla Vanga, called on groups to put "human life before sporting glory" and that South Africa be banned from the Barcelona Olympics.

President of the Mandela Foundation Michael Raper said Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans had not done enough in offering to participate in an international monitoring group. - *Sapa-AFP.*

Ramos heads Philipoines

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Corbin L-11



PRETORIA -
GIVE UP!
MURDERERS OF BABIES
WILL NEVER BE
FORGIVEN.

Sheila Cox attends an anti-apartheid rally outside Sydney's Town Hall. The rally was organised by ANC supporters to coincide with the day of mourning for victims of Boipalong.

Big business gives FW stern warning

By Michael Chester

Big business yesterday warned President de Klerk that both investor and overall business confidence had been rocked by the breakdown in the Codesa talks and the level of violence.

The stern message about the economic damage inflicted by the current political stalemate was handed over to Mr de Klerk at an hour-long meeting in Pretoria that emphasised the gloom of the business mood.

In dramatic new moves to seek a new peace settlement, organised business confirmed that it intended to convey similar warnings in meetings with ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the next few days.

The urgency of solutions is being impressed by a powerful team that has been joined by all three main business organisations — the SA Cham-

ber of Business (Sacob), the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa).

An insider said: "The series of meetings underscores the growing alarm about the damage inflicted on the levels of confidence among both local and overseas businessmen in the South African economic outlook as a result of evidence of political disarray and ... violence."

In a joint statement, the business leaders said: "In a constructive exchange of views, the employer organisations conveyed to the State President their deep concern about the human and economic costs of the ongoing violence as well as the negative impact of the breakdown in the Codesa talks on investor and business confidence."

"The business organisations indicated their strong desire to see negotiations resumed as soon as possible."

"Business remained willing to assist in whatever way possible to facilitate the ne-

gotiation process. There was an overwhelming need for confidence-building actions on the part of all concerned.

"In response, the State President reaffirmed the Government's firm commitment to trying to get the political negotiations back on track. The State President also restated the Government's strong support for the National Peace Accord and on the need to reduce the level of violence."

"The employer bodies in turn indicated they would throw their weight to an even greater extent behind the process and structures of the peace accord at both national and local levels."

"The discussions ... were an important part of a multi-level initiative by organised business to address the current political problems as they effect the economy."

The team was led by Sacob president Hennie Viljoen, AHI president Attie du Plessis and Seifsa executive director Brian Angus.

STAR 30/6/92

Pik puts Pretoria's case to the world

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government has proposed a three-year lifespan for an interim constitution.

In a letter sent to foreign missions on Friday, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said elections should be held within three years if an interim constitution had not been replaced by a final draft. A copy of the letter is in the possession of The Star.

Mr Botha denied accusations that the Government was aiming at a transitional government becoming a permanent one and thereby making it impossible to change the transitional constitution

Mr Botha provided foreign governments with detail of the Government's reaction to the obstacles which caused the breakdown of negotiations as well as the main elements of the disagreement.

The letter discusses the negotiations process, alleged Government complicity in violence, the Government's constitutional proposals and international involvement.

Mr Botha said accusations of Government involvement in the Boipatong massacre or other violence were without any substance.

"Not only are such actions totally reprehensible but they run counter to SA's urgent

need for investment, economic growth and job creation."

Mr Botha said President de Klerk had taken repeated initiatives to combat the violence, including attempts to arrange a joint meeting between himself, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"So far Mr Mandela has not found it possible to attend such a meeting"

After the tabling of the Goldstone Commission's interim report in Parliament in May, Mr Botha noted that R294,6 million had been budgeted for the 1992/3 financial year for the conversion and upgrading of hostels.

Mr Botha denied the Government was clinging to power. "While you may have reservations about some of the proposals for an interim constitution, I trust that you will agree that there can be no justification to claim that they constitute a desire to cling to power or to entrench a white veto."

The Government did not believe a valid basis existed for the UN Security Council to consider the SA situation.

However, if the Security Council felt it needed to be reliably informed on events, "it would be expected that all the members of Codesa would be invited to address (it)".

Man to testify in private sitting

PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission inquiry into the shootings in Thokoza in February decided yesterday to hear the evidence of a witness in private.

The decision was made to protect the man and his family.

Sapa (274) CT 30/6/74

De Klerk too complacent, says UK magazine. Garner Thomson reports

'Reform in South Africa is dead'

STAL 30/6/92

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BRITAIN'S influential **Economist** magazine has branded President de Klerk as virtually solely responsible for the collapse of the Codesa talks, the uncertain prospect of their resumption, and the continuation of the bloodshed.

A leading article last week paints a picture of Mr de Klerk as a yesterday's man, who began by "dazzling critic and colleague alike" with his vision and courage. "But the reform died," says *The Economist*, and Mr de Klerk "has used it to achieve nothing in the past three months".

It adds: "On the contrary, by refusing to compromise with the ANC over the size of the majority needed to approve parts of the constitution in the proposed constituent assembly, Mr de Klerk has let the talks founder... The blame for this lies with (him)." "Had South Africa been a

peaceful country where everyone had infinite patience, it might not have mattered. Unfortunately, it isn't.

"The brave and politically agile pre-referendum Mr de Klerk would have taken steps to ensure that the talks did not stay deadlocked for long in such circumstances. At a minimum he would have seen the need to get a grip on the security forces. He would have purged them of wild men and he would have made them forsake their old methods of policing — ever ready to shoot, ever tolerant of Zulus' traditional weapons — in favour of practices more appropriate to a country embracing democracy.

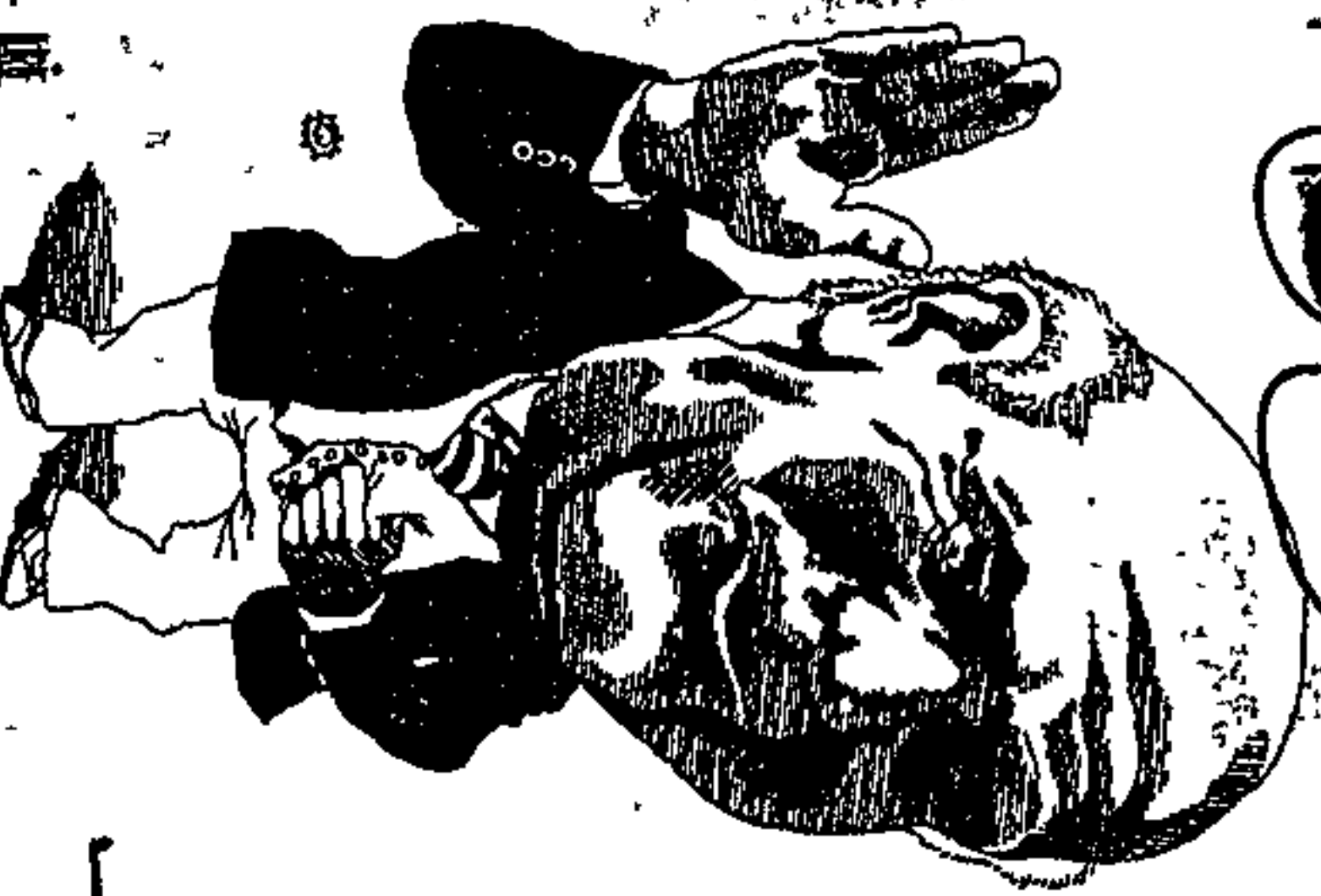
"But complacency set in, accompanied by thoughts of stretching out the transition to full majority rule for years rather than months during which no doubt Mr

de Klerk would pass the time with triumphant foreign tours.

"Trouble in the townships was happily blamed on the ANC-Inkatha struggle and on the ANC's desire for mass action."

The ANC's conditions for the resumption of talks are mostly reasonable, says the magazine. "The prosecution of police and other security men who have fomented violence is long overdue. An independent inquiry into Boipatong would go some way toward reassuring blacks that justice may yet be done."

"Although outside policing of the townships would not bring peace, it could give policemen 'cause to hesitate before they shoot — and at the same time expose the truth of the violence... Probably to the embarrassment of government, ANC and Inkatha alike." □



De Klerk... blamed

The 'sickening frequency' of massacres

STAR 11/7/92

MAJOR massacres have been taking place with "sickening frequency" since July 1990, according to Human Rights Commission findings.

In the past two years there have been 49 massacres resulting in 1 250 deaths — on average 25 deaths per massacre.

"However, it is important to note that our premise of 10 or more deaths qualifying an incident as a massacre does not take into account numerous other incidents encompassing over 6 000 deaths and 13 000 injuries during the period, which could also properly be described as massacres," the HRC said in a special briefing on massacres.

During this period, 38 of the massacres, costing the lives of 1 083 people, took place in the PWV area.

Eleven massacres, resulting in 167 deaths, occurred in Natal. These were, however, not the only massacres to have taken place in Natal and the HRC said a survey over the past five years would give a full picture of the region.

The HRC has identified the following points which have emerged on the nature of the massacres:

- The drive by Inkatha to establish political influence, membership and territory was the predominant theme.
- The tactics of extreme ter-

The Human Rights Commission's analysis of South African massacres in the last two years is discussed by Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH.

ror, used indiscriminately against township communities, to paralyse, immobilise and disorganise, was a complementary theme.

- The use of hostels as bases from which to plan and launch these activities.

- The persistent reports of security force complicity in these massacres, as well as involvement of unidentified whites.

- Retaliation which sometimes produced its own massacres.

An analysis of media and other reports, at times corroborated by legal evidence, had shown that IFP members and supporters were responsible for 34 massacres.

"Vigilantes of unspecified affiliation, but certainly aligned with the IFP," were responsible for three massacres; the security forces were "directly" responsible for six; and township residents and ANC supporters were responsible for six.

The HRC could find no clue as to the identity of attackers in 10 other massacres.

In eight massacres, responsibility was shared between two parties.

The HRC said the assessment of the identity or affiliation of victims was easier than in the case of the attackers.

Residents specifically identified as ANC supporters were victims in 10 massacres and IFP members and supporters were the victims in nine.

Repeated and persistent reports had emerged of collusion between the security forces — the SADF, SAP and the KwaZulu Police (KZP) — and vigilante groupings, "primarily elements within Inkatha", the HRC said.

Eyewitnesses also made frequent allegations of security force complicity in massacres.

Such allegations had been made in 19 massacres, "which is a frequency difficult to ignore".

The HRC also noted that allegations of the presence of unspecified or unidentified whites appeared in eight cases.

"Finally, it must be said that the abysmal record of the authorities in arresting and prosecuting the perpetrators provides further reason to believe they are part of the problem."

Massacres over the past two years had taken place at the rate of two a month.

"There can be little doubt that there is a design and purpose behind most of them that places them alongside the gas chambers of Nazi Germany in sheer cold-blooded cynicism and brutality," the HRC said. □

Mock trial: peace body to meet

STAR 11/7/92
Staff Reporter

The National Peace Executive will meet tomorrow to consider a "death sentence" handed down to SA Government and Inkatha members at an ANC mock trial in Maritzburg on Friday,

the National Peace Committee said yesterday.

The NPC said in a statement that the meeting was in response to Deputy Law and Order Minister Danie Schutte's request that the issue be addressed.

However, the meeting

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would be attended only by National Peace Executive delegates, and not all NPC signatories.

It is alleged President de Klerk, his Government, and IFP members were "sentenced to death" at a people's assembly on June 26.

Stanley Uys reports from London

How to call off the dogs of war

STAR 27/12

THE Independent published an intriguing report last week, which said that the special forces of the SA Defence Force which have been used as killing machines in black townships are terrified of a Nuremberg trial and are continuing to cause havoc as a way of delaying black rule.

So, suggested The Independent, why don't the Government, the ANC and everyone else declare a general amnesty, and in this way give the killers a way out — a chance to withdraw from the business of killing?

The Independent's diplomatic correspondent said this possible solution is being pondered by minds in Whitehall, but is far from HMG policy yet. Whitehall, in fact, is doing more than ponder the idea: It believes it has considerable merit. But, as I read its mind, it believes the amnesty must be across the board — it must also include all Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres still outside the country and those political prisoners not covered by the agreements reached so far between the government and the ANC.

What is revealing about The Independent's report is not only the idea of an amnesty, but the assumptions that are now being made in the West. The first is that there are up to 5 000 special forces personnel in the SADF (including ex-Koevoet and 32 Battalion) who can be drawn on to create mayhem in the townships. There is no pussyfooting in the The Independent's report about whether present members of the SADF are involved in the violence: It says, quite simply, that they are.

The second assumption is that the Government is aware of what is happening, and authorised it, at least at an earlier stage. Somewhere, there are papers with Ministers' signatures on them authorising the villainous murders of the past, wrote The Independent. If this is true, then the Pretoria Government is being blackmailed.

If this is the kind of talk that is doing the rounds of Western capitals, then the ANC no longer has a case to prove of security force involvement in the killings. It can rest its case, and concentrate its energies on getting the international community on its side.

This brings one to the question that is constantly asked, and seldom satisfactorily answered: Who are the beneficiaries of the violence? Inkatha, undoubtedly, because it has been given a political standing out of proportion to its following. But in the long run, when those queues form at the ballot boxes, what will this really avail the white man?

If the purpose of all the killings has been to strengthen the white laager and delay change, can it be said that a single point has been scored? Yes, the killings have helped to destabilise the ANC, disrupt its recruitment, and diminish the stature of its leaders with the rank-and-file, who ask why the organisation cannot protect them. But how has this helped the whites?

In the long run, (black) numbers will win the day, so the best hope for the whites surely would be to keep a moderate ANC leadership in business until (and after) a settlement has been reached. Instead, with every fresh massacre — for that is what they are — the radicals in the ANC are strengthened, and the whites' position at the negotiating table is weakened.

President de Klerk was doing very nicely until Boipatong came along. Doors were opening as fast as he could walk through them.

Then the massacre, and now not only has the pussyfooting stopped over whether the special forces are involved or not, but the pressure is on for "international monitoring" to begin — and who knows where that will lead to. Perhaps to some of those colonels (or generals or majors) who may have been orchestrating the violence?

So if the colonels think they can postpone the day of reckoning by keeping up the killings, they can think again. They are simply hastening their own end. As fast as President de Klerk persuades the world that the ANC does not have a monopoly of morality, so the unseen colonels reverse the achievement. This isn't buying time — it is squandering it.

If I were one of those colonels, and someone offered me an amnesty, I would grab it with both hands — and consider myself lucky to get it. □

Sowetan

Correspondent

UNITED Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali says all sides in South Africa favour some sort of United Nations presence in the country.

No doubt he is right. But the different parties probably have rather different views as to how the UN could and should be involved.

Some would want a peacekeeping force, blue helmets at the trouble spots to keep the factions apart, displace the South African security apparatus and hand things over pretty swiftly to an elected government (then, the cynics would say, withdraw before all hell breaks loose).

Others would want a UN observer group to monitor events in the country, reporting back to the international community on the horrible complexities of our society, telling them the issue is not a simple one of organising democratic elections then transferring power from an illegitimate minority regime to a legitimate majority one - possi-

Meddling not a new thing

Sowetan 2/7/92

bly giving an account of events here that is fairly sympathetic to the present Government.

For various reasons the first option is undesirable and unlikely.

Undesirable because the UN has a dreadful record in peace-keeping operations, whether in the Congo or the Middle East. It has been responsible for massacres (the Congo), but generally its forces refuse to become combatants.

Although they do show resolve in their current activities in the Balkans, they generally have withdrawn whenever the combat heated up. During the Namibian settlement process, Untag troops relied on South African units to put out the bush fires.

Unlikely because to in-

vite a UN peacekeeping force would be to surrender sovereignty altogether (Namibia was a direct UN responsibility), while member nations are not going to come up with the necessary money or commit their forces to running the gauntlet in South African townships.

However, the second option is an interesting one. It could introduce a degree of realism to the Codesa process and eliminate a great deal of posturing. A UN observer group would tell it as it is. It would also recognise that South Africa is a special case. It is a complex mix of First World and Third World, rich and poor, of Africa, Asia and Europe. The colonials have indigenous. South Africa is the world in microcosm.

It requires special solutions, probably more complex than simple Western democracy or federalism and the presence of a UN observer group would subtly underline this.

But what of national sovereignty? Why should meddling some foreign devils be invited in?

The truth is that sovereignty is very much a subjective notion. The sovereignty established by Verwoerd - the Boer republics writ large - was not the sovereignty of Smuts or Malan. Nor does it mean much to black South Africans.

Besides, outsiders have always meddled here. The Russians, the Germans, the French, the Dutch and the Irish felt strongly enough about it to become involved

in various ways in the Anglo-Boer War. It goes back a long way. Sanctions against South Africa and countless motions at the UN are another form of meddling, whether we like it or not.

South Africa's traditional reaction has been one of bristling anger, from the days of Eric Louw's tu quoque denunciations to our very own Pk in the time of Vorster then PW Botha.

But FW de Klerk is now said to favour an international involvement. There is talk of the Commonwealth playing a role as well. If the President's hands are clean and he believes in what he is doing, it could be an astute move. The heck with sovereignty.

PUSH UPS ... Bosnian soldiers train in Sarajevo in the continuing war with Serbs which has cost more than 7 000 lives. Bosnia has put its people on full alert and all men are eligible for army call-up.



UN force backed

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AR 2/7/92

Mandela discusses peacekeeping plan with Boutros-Ghali

largest daily new

DAKAR. — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has indicated he is in favour of a United Nations peacekeeping force being sent to South Africa.

"I have already made that call, but that was in my capacity as a member of the ANC," he said.

Mr Mandela, answering questions at a news conference at the end of the annual Organisation of African Unity summit, said the decision on the exact form of the UN presence was a matter for the Security Council.

"That is the specific task of the Security Council, it is a matter that will be decided by all the interested bodies but I have already made that call," he said.

Mr Mandela, whose organisation has observer status at the summit, welcomed a declaration by the 51-member pan-African body accusing Pretoria of fuelling township violence and calling for a UN Security Council meeting on the current crisis.

The ANC suspended reform talks with the government last week, accusing President De Klerk's security forces of complicity in escalating township violence including the recent massacre at Boipatong.

With pressure increasing on the UN

to take a role in defusing South Africa's worst political crisis in two years of apartheid reforms, Mr Mandela has lobbied hard all week for OAU backing for the ANC stand.

UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali met Mr Mandela at the summit and said there were increasing chances that the international body would soon step in.

The ANC has presented the government with a long list of demands, including the immediate establishment of an interim government and several measures to curb township violence, as a condition of resuming democracy talks.

It is also insisting on an international probe into the June 17 killings.

The ANC said in a statement released in Dakar that its National Executive Committee would meet today in Johannesburg in emergency session to consider Mr De Klerk's response.

"All these demands are specific, achievable and do not need any clarification," the statement said.

Mr Mandela told the news conference that calls for the resignation of President De Klerk made at the funeral of the Boipatong victims were not ANC policy but represented "the anger of the people". — Sapa-Reuter.

ANC to discuss future talks

Argus Africa News Service

DAKAR (Senegal). — The future of the negotiation process in South Africa will depend on the outcome of an urgent meeting of the ANC's national executive in Johannesburg today.

The ANC said in a statement released after the conclusion of the OAU summit here that its executive would consider the government's response to demands made last week.

These include among others, proper policing of hostels, the immediate and complete ban on the carrying of weapons in public, the repatriation of forces such as Koevoet, 32 Battalion, to their countries of origin and that all policemen implicated in the violence be charged.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela told reporters the negotiation process had reached a "make-or-break" situation which he blamed on the government for fomenting the violence and being intransigent at negotiations.

Earlier, Mr Mandela was emphatic that the negotiation process would not

resume unless the government gave in to the ANC's demands.

"If they meet our demands, then of course we will resume discussions and bilateral talks," he said.

"If they don't, then there's no question of us returning to Codesa."

Mr Mandela said Codesa was not the only means of bringing about democracy. "That's why we're embarking on mass mobilisation for democracy. It is because we feel that this is an effective method of bringing about a democratic South Africa."

The ANC also said it wanted to deny and denounce government attempts to spread rumours that talks between the two were continuing despite the breakdown in negotiations.

Asked whether he agreed with ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa's call for the resignation of President De Klerk, Mr Mandela said such a call "was an expression of anger" and was understandable in the light of innumerable misdeeds by the government.

STAR 217192

ANC call not to harass newsmen

For the first time since its unbanning more than two years ago, the ANC yesterday called on its members to desist from harassing journalists, saying they should be given "every assistance to do their difficult and important job".

The ANC said that in the light of attacks on journalists at the Boipatong funeral on Monday, it found it necessary to re-state that journalists had "the right to move freely throughout South Africa".

Although the ANC has always spoken in favour of freedom of the press, this is believed to be the first time the organisa-

tion has actually called on its members and supporters not to harass journalists.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai yesterday distanced his organisation from Monday's attacks, saying they were carried out by people wearing PAC T-shirts who wanted "to put our name into disrepute".

Azanian People's Organisation president Pandelani Nefolwe said that as a matter of principle Azapo did not believe it served any purpose "to attack or kill people". — Political Reporter.

Widow found strangled on East Rand

A 76-year-old Nigel widow, who lived alone, was found strangled in her Eeufes Street home early yesterday.

Police said Ruby May Hallenstredt was found by her daughter Ellen

Top Aussie sportsman on hunger strike

MELBOURNE — Australia's top-ranked male badminton player, Wei Yan, began a hunger strike yesterday outside the Olympic Committee offices in Sydney to protest at his omission from

Bush gets positive response from FW and Mandela

Continue

US bid to rescue SA's peace talks

ARC-2/7/92

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Sportsmen's joy and relief as ANC drops boycott call

The Argus Correspondents

SPORTS men and women, administrators and politicians have reacted with joy and relief to the ANC's withdrawal of a call for a new boycott, saving South Africa's return to world competition in extra time.

After considering proposals from the country's major sporting bodies, the ANC gave the go-ahead yesterday for planned soccer, rugby and cricket tours and participation in the Olympics, but slapped an effective moratorium on the arranging of further international sporting contacts.

This means arranged tours, including next week's one-off visit by the Cameroon national soccer team, are secure, but subject to several conditions.

Among the most controversial of these is that all sports men and women wear stickers or armbands reading "Peace and Democracy" at all sports events and functions. Nocsa president Sam Ramsamy said it would be "expected" of sports men and women to comply.

He would discuss with the International Olympic Committee and the Barcelona organising committee the possibility of South African athletes wearing the stickers during competition. This might not be possible, but Nocsa would insist on athletes wearing them during media interviews.

Another condition is that touring teams visit Boipatong to pay their respects to massacre victims.

Athletics chief Mr Justice Deon van Zyl said he was not too surprised at the decision, but was nevertheless overjoyed to hear it confirmed. "... I did not believe the ANC would reimpose the sports moratorium because they in particular, through Steve Tshwete, played a major role in uniting athletics."

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, while welcoming the news, said the ANC's qualified approval for international sport contacts had been given because the organisation realised it had no real support for reintroducing the moratorium. The ANC realised it had made a mistake.

Democratic Party spokesman on sport André de Wet said he was pleased the ANC had acknowledged the progress made towards non-racialism in South Africa through sporting bodies.

Gold medal hope Elana Meyer, preparing for a race in Stockholm last night, was overjoyed at the news. "Fantastic," she said. "It's taken a load off my mind and I can now concentrate on tonight's race and Barcelona."

High jump champion Charmaine Weaver, who is in the Barcelona team, said she was very pleased.

Referring to the wearing of a "Peace and Democracy" armband or sticker, she said: "I believe in peace and democracy. If that's what it takes to take part, I would gladly do so. If it goes with my outfit I have no problem with it."

But triathlon and Comrades champion Nick Bester said he would wear the armband only if it was not linked to any political party.

Transvaal rugby player Garth Wright said he would do anything for peace and democracy — including wearing an armband in all games.

"Any normal human being would do that. If it means I must wear a pink ballet dress and run through the Johannesburg streets, I would do it."

New Zealand Rugby Union chairman Eddie Tonks said the ANC had told his organisation the All Blacks tour would go ahead provided the players visited Boipatong to pay respects to the 41 people killed in the massacre last month.

"We've never been mixed in politics in our lives and this kind of thing is a departure from anything we've done in the past," Tonks said.

"We'll discuss it with team management in Sydney over the weekend, but at this stage I can't see any really major problem to the tour going ahead."

2/7/92

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Continued

Death leap as train blazes

Staff Reporter

A COMMUTER was killed when he leaped from a burning train which was torched between Pinelands and Langa after the Cosatu march through the city.

Mr Solomon McCarthy, 25, of Westridge, Mitchell's Plain, was taken to Groote Schuur Hospital yesterday but was dead on arrival.

The motor coach of the Mitchell's Plain-bound train went up in flames about 4.15pm.

The flames spread rapidly and set fire to the passenger coach behind the motor coach, causing damage of more than R1 million.

The Cape Town fire brigade put out the blaze.

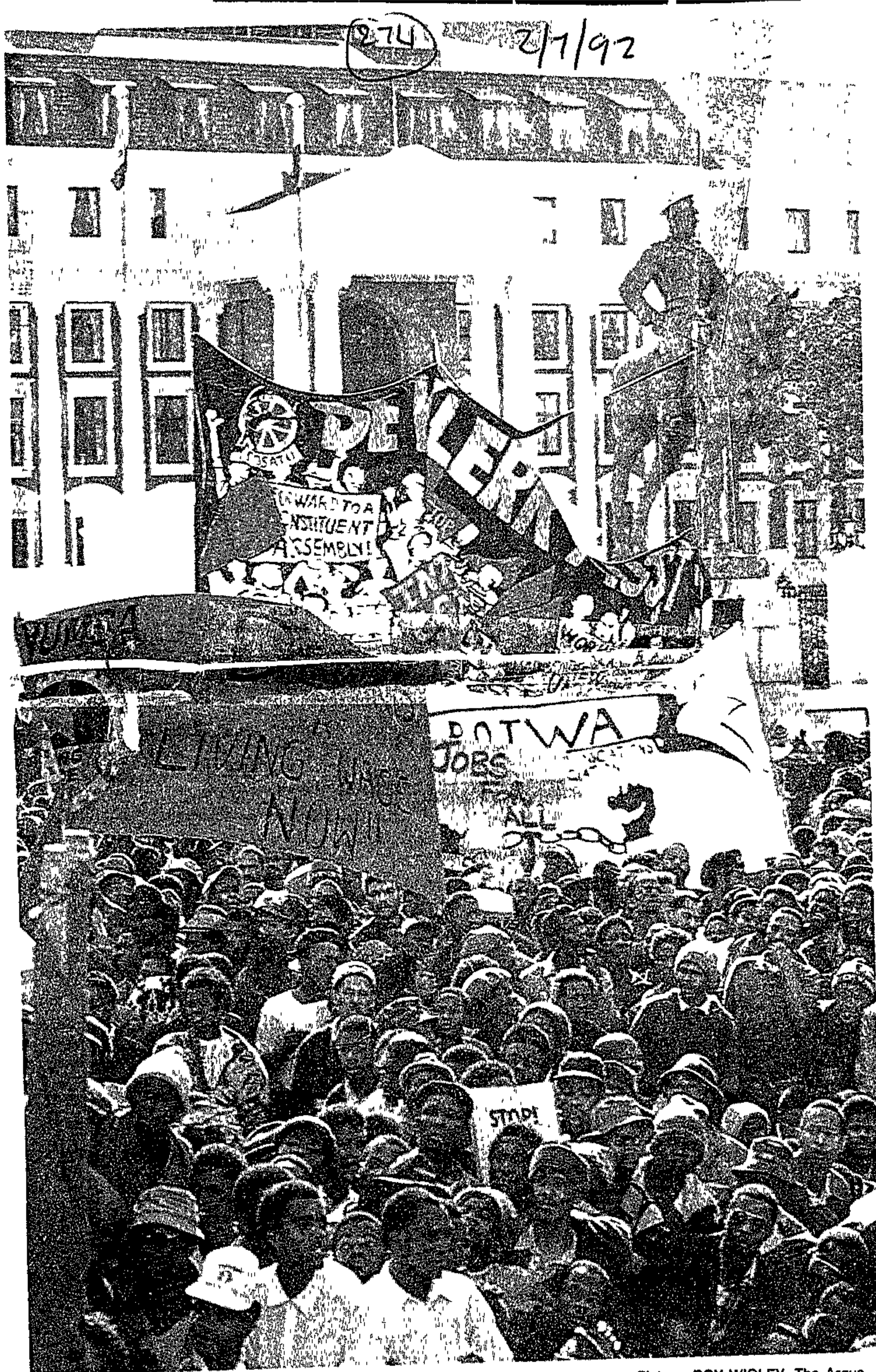
flicts.

But there is a recognition in Washington that because of the long and troubled relationship between the UN and the South African government, the UN might not be as effective in resolving the deadlock over the Codesa talks as it has been in resolving disputes elsewhere in the world.

One of the problems facing the UN in seeking to play a role in South Africa would be to provide enough assurance to the government that the international community would not become embroiled in the process on the side of only one of the parties to the talks — the ANC.

● It was decided yesterday at the OAU summit in Dakar, Senegal, to call for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to debate South Africa.

● See page 2



Picture: ROY WIGLEY, The Argus.

MESSAGE: The word of the workers was loud and clear as they filed past Tuynhuys in their thousands during the Cosatu march through the city centre yesterday. Police later clashed with protesters who refused to disperse after the march. on the Grand Parade. See page 25

HUGH ROBERTON

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — President Bush has sent messages to President De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela offering United States help in getting negotiations resumed — and he has received positive responses from both.

Disclosing this at a White House Press briefing, Secretary of State Mr James Baker said the US would "do everything in the world we can to support the prospect of the talks resuming."

He did not specify what assistance Mr Bush had offered or what the responses had been, but indicated the US and other Western countries were willing to play a role in getting the two sides together again.

"As we have said before, change is going to come to South Africa and it must either come through something like the Codesa process of peaceful negotiations or with a tremendous amount of bloodshed. That is obviously something we all want to avoid"

Great courage

Mr Baker said Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela had shown great courage in getting the negotiations started and "petting them as far as they had and that we regretted the termination of the talks."

"The president has sent messages to both of them offering our support and assistance. We have been sent messages back and they are very positive about that expression of support from the US"

Administration sources said US assistance could take several forms, but no detailed proposals have been put forward. They said one form of help might be the convening of a meeting between the two sides in Washington or somewhere else outside South Africa in order to remove the discussions from the tense political climate inside the country.

The ultimate objective would be to get Codesa on track again by finding solutions to the problems which caused the talks to end.

The US might also be willing to give its support to a peace-making effort by United Nations Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who has been in contact with the government and the ANC on the break-up of the talks.

A consistent pattern in the Bush administration's foreign policy has been to seek to shape an international consensus inside the UN to resolve international and regional con-

Graham Linscott discusses the two options involving a UN presence here

Peacekeepers 'No', observers 'Yes'

Star 31/1/72.

UNITED Nations Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali says all sides in South Africa favour some sort of UN presence in the country.

No doubt he is right. But the different parties probably have rather different views as to how the UN could and should be involved.

Some would want a peacekeeping force, blue helmets at the trouble spots to keep the factions apart, displace the South African security apparatus and hand things over pretty swiftly to an elected government. (Then, the cynics would say, withdraw before all hell breaks loose.)

Others would want a UN observer group to monitor events in the country, reporting back to the international community on the horrible complexities of our so-

ciety, telling them the issue is not a simple one — possibly giving an account of events here fairly sympathetic to the Government.

For various reasons the first option is undesirable and unlikely. Undesirable because the UN has a dreadful record in peacekeeping operations. Its forces generally have withdrawn whenever the combat heated up.

Unlike because to invite a UN peacekeeping force would be to altogether surrender sovereignty while member nations are not going to shell out the necessary cash or commit their forces to running the townships gauntlet.

However, the second option is an interesting one. It could introduce a degree of realism to the Codesa process and eliminate a great deal of posturing.

A UN observer group would tell it as it is. It would also recognise that South Africa is a special case. It is a complex mix of First World and Third World, rich and poor, of Africa, Asia and Europe. South Africa is the world in microcosm. It requires special solutions, probably more complex than simple Western democracy or federalism, and the presence of UN observers would underline this.

But what of national sovereignty? Why should meddling some foreign devils be invited in? The truth is that sovereignty is very much a subjective notion. The sovereignty established by Verwoerd — the Boer republics writ large — was not the sovereignty of Smuts or Malan. Nor does it mean much to blacks.

Besides, outsiders have always

meddled here. The Russians, the Germans, the French, the Dutch and the Irish felt strongly enough about it to become involved in various ways in the Anglo-Boer War. It goes back a long way.

Sanctions against South Africa and countless motions at the UN are another form of meddling, whether we like it or not.

South Africa's traditional reaction has been one of, bristling anger, from the days of Eric Louw to our very own P. W. Botha.

But F. W. de Klerk is now said to favour an international involvement. There is talk of the Commonwealth playing a role as well. If the President's hands are clean and he believes in what he is doing, it could be an astute move. The heck with sovereignty. □

INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION

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Beware the innocents

FM 3/7/92

International mediation — beginning with a monitoring commission to help end political violence and restore the credibility of the security forces — has been offered to SA as a means of restarting constitutional talks.

This follows contacts between government officials and foreign diplomats in Pretoria over the past week, and separate meetings in Nigeria between UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Boutros-Ghali is due to visit SA within the next few weeks, possibly to take the process further.

The ANC is insisting on international monitoring of the security forces. Government has tentatively agreed to foreign observers coming in to help end unrest, but refuses to accept that alleged security force misbehaviour or neglect of duty is the only cause of violence.

President FW de Klerk says foreign teams are welcome as long as they don't compromise SA's sovereignty.

If successful, the monitoring operation could lead to formal foreign mediation in Codesa or a similar body, a move that government has rejected up to now. However, with Codesa stalled and the country on the verge of slipping back into international isolation, it may have no choice.

International mediation, possibly including an independent foreign chairman, would also assist the ANC in holding on to its militant Left wing. The PAC has long insisted that constitutional talks take place at a neutral venue under an independent chairman. It blames the failure of Codesa partly on the ANC's refusal to accept these prerequisites. A compromise could save face for both the ANC and PAC.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer says monitoring may lead to mediation, which he believes is essential to help SA out of the current political impasse.

The Sowetan also says SA now needs international mediation to keep the reform process moving. "It is now required that our friends in the world give us a hefty push to the achievement of a peaceful and democratic society."

But analysts point out that unrest monitoring should not be seen as the solution to violence. It will have little effect unless poli-

tical groups honour commitments to work for peace and the SAP intensifies efforts to restore law and order.

Johan Olivier, Human Sciences Research Council authority on political violence, says he is not over-optimistic about the chances of a monitoring group being able to end the violence which is "clearly out of control. What we need is for all parties to remain committed to the terms of the Peace Accord. At the moment we even have Cabinet Ministers making irresponsible statements on violence. Political leaders are either naive or are simply using the violence to score political points."

Olivier says issues such as the size, financing and *modus operandi* of a monitoring group need to be carefully considered so that

ing on."

He says in a normal democracy a group like the SAP would be subject to scrutiny by a credible monitoring body, which would then report to a credible parliament. The Goldstone Commission is able partly to fill the role of a credible monitor but it is reporting to parliament that lacks credibility.

The co-opting of international participants by Goldstone — Reading University's criminal justice director Peter Waddington, and former Indian chief justice Prafulla Chandra Bhagwati — is a positive move, but Shearing believes international participation needs to be on a representative rather than an individual basis. "We need an internationally credible outside body to become involved in some way or other."

He says ideally a monitoring group should include international representatives, but be comprised mainly of an acceptable cross-section of South Africans. There are already a considerable number of individuals and organisations involved in unrest monitoring who could be brought in.

He sees government's concern that international monitors may compromise its sovereignty as a red herring. "Rather than interfere with its ability to govern, a monitoring group would compel it to govern in a climate where evidence of good governance is known."

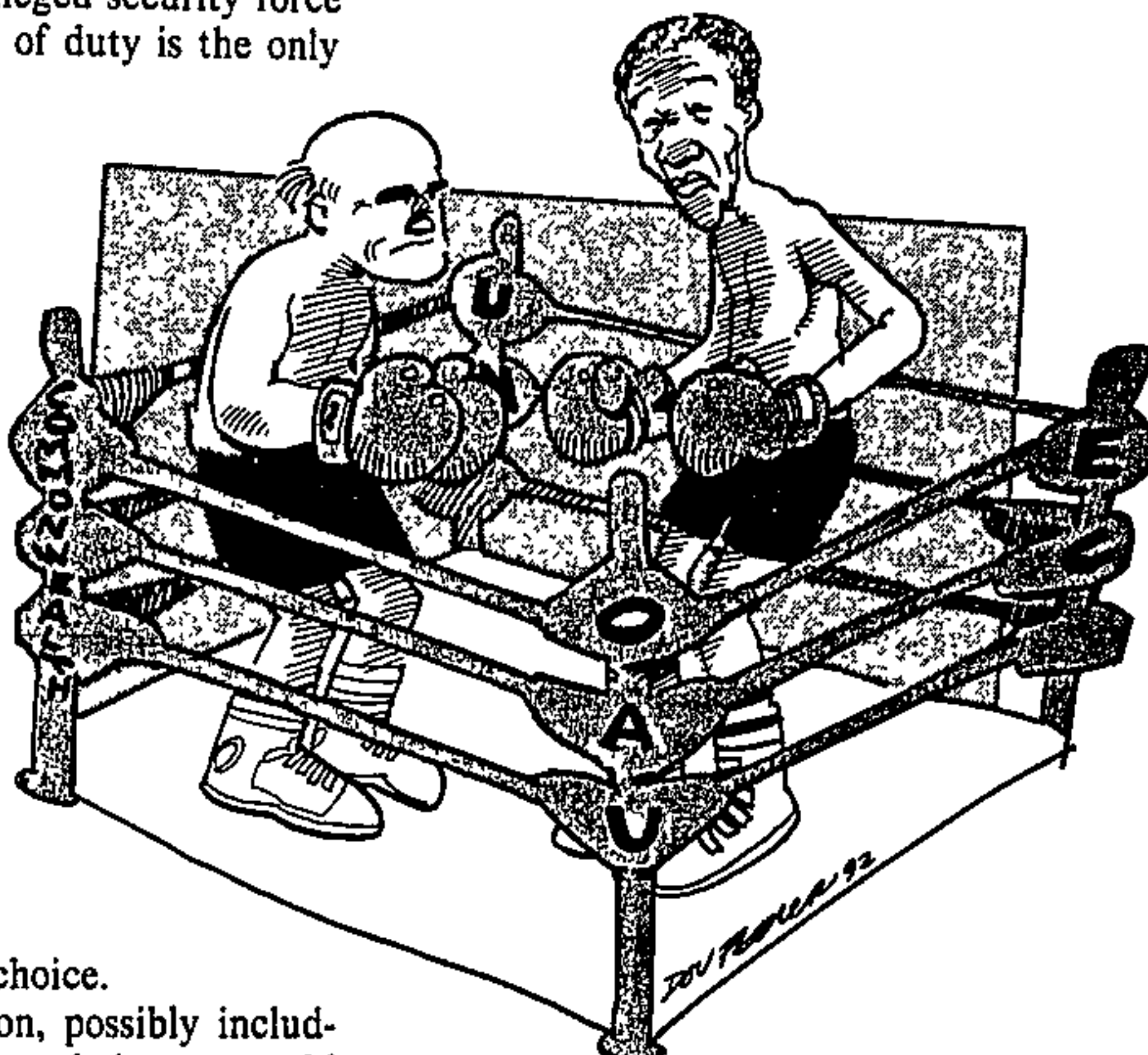
Rather than monitoring all political activity, he believes the monitors should concentrate on ensuring the correct behaviour of the SAP, which should in turn maintain law and order and ensure that political groups don't resort to violence. "The monitors should not take over the law and order role of the SAP, but simply ensure that the police do their job in an equitable and acceptable manner."

Both Shearing and Olivier say agreement on the composition of a monitoring group should not be a major obstacle as long as there is a common will to end the violence.

But there may be better reasons, other than protecting sovereignty, for government's reluctance.

The statements after a recent tour by an Amnesty International delegation showed how easy it is for foreigners to decide who the bad guys are before they get here. The National Party is, after all, the party which invented and applied apartheid; it is understandably concerned about the foreign tendency to reduce SA politics to a case of Hitler vs the Cosby family.

Then there is the question of what the monitors would actually do. Would they stand around with notebooks whenever police confront a raging mob? How would they decide what level of force is required to stop, say, a necklacing? Who would transport the



it is perceived as credible and impartial. For example, if it is financed by the State and travels with the security forces, it may be perceived as being compromised.

He says if the monitoring group wants to treat causes and not just symptoms, it will have to be both reactive and proactive, in the same way that the Peace Secretariat is and signatories to the Peace Accord should be (but often are not). At the same time there will have to be greater efforts to address economic, political and social issues that contribute to unrest.

Clifford Shearing, head of the University of the Western Cape's community law centre, says a major problem facing SA at present is the lack of a valid descriptive base for acts of violence. "Virtually every descriptive account is part of a political game, part of the struggle. There can be no accountability because nobody really knows what's go-

cont →

P.T.O.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

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monitors and protect them in dangerous areas? How would they be able to guarantee that they had been able to hear and see both sides of a dispute? Would they go to any place where unrest breaks out, or would they be selective? ~~SECRET~~

And if such monitors were kept away from the front line, then there would be no role for them beyond what has already been accepted by De Klerk: expert advisers to the Goldstone and other commissions.

When the monitors went home, what then? They would be forced to make a report, which will either be so vague as to be useless or so weighted that it will be rejected by at least one of the warring parties.

In the end we must sort out our own problems.

If we have not the will to do so, even a massive UN peace-keeping force could not help us. ■

[illegible]

Watch out FV, the crunch is coming

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Photo: GUY ADAMS

Commonwealth chief jets in unexpected

W/Week 317-917192

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SSA

Last night's urgent visit by the

Commonwealth's secretary

general underlines the

organisation's role as

primary peace-broker in the

South African conflict.

**By MARK GEVISSER
and ARTHUR GAVSHON**

THE frenzied round of negotiations between South African politicians and potential international mediators reached a new pitch last night when Commonwealth Secretary General Chief Emeka Anyaoku flew into Johannesburg for an urgent and unexpected meeting with President FW de Klerk.

At the meeting, held in Pretoria, Anyaoku offered the Commonwealth's services as monitors of the current violence, observers of peace initiatives and facilitators of the collapsed negotiations process.

Sources said that high on the agenda was likely to be a proposal — supported by the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the European Community — to resolve government-African National Congress differences over controlling the violence by giving foreign monitors a role in running South Africa's wobbly Peace Accord structures.

While the four international organisations favour a higher level of involvement, this proposal may be more acceptable to the government and would, at the very least, call for foreign lawyers and policemen to be incorporated into all peace-resolution committees throughout the country.

Despite De Klerk's open call for international fact-finding missions, his government is still highly sceptical

about inviting foreign observers and monitors, which is a primary demand of the ANC to be met before the resumption of negotiations.

The international community believes that despite official nervousness, the South African authorities have already accepted the principle of foreign monitoring.

De Klerk and Anyaoku have met twice already and relations between them are, according to sources from both sides, "cordial and close".

In the next few days, Anyaoku will also meet ANC officials, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and National Peace Accord chairman John Hall.

Anyaoku is en route from the OAU summit in Dakar, where he met ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

His rapidly arranged visit pre-empted the arrival of Boutros-Ghali, who is expected here soon, and demonstrates again the Commonwealth's desire to

be the primary peace-broker in the South African conflict. Commonwealth officials stress, however, that any initiatives will be made in conjunction with the other three international organisations interested in mediating.

Sources from all four organisations stress that most of the pressure is on De Klerk, who is being urged privately to go further than ever in creating conditions necessary for the resumption of negotiations. "Governments and not oppositions have the responsibility for maintaining law and order," commented one ambassador.

While Anyaoku consults local parties about what mode of mediation or observation would best suit them, South African human-rights lawyers are planning a conference, probably to be held in Durban, to examine and flesh out the bones of the proposal to incorporate foreign observers within the Peace Accord structures.

And Boutros-Ghali continues to drum up support abroad for the idea. He intends raising the issue in the UN's Security Council next week, and will also advise British Prime Minister John Major and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd on Thursday.

Both Major and United States President George Bush have sent messages to South Africa calling for the resumption of negotiations. Britain, in its current capacity as head of the EC, is also hastily arranging a long-delayed mission to South Africa by three EC foreign ministers.

"We have to time this mission carefully," a British official said. "It is like-

ly to be after Judge Goldstone completes his report on Boipatong, but before the planned general strike on August 3. We don't want the ministers to be caught up in any sort of violence or to be the targets of demonstrators."

Diplomats note that the South African government would prefer EC monitoring, while the ANC would be more supportive of the Commonwealth, which counts many African countries and most of the southern African region among its membership.

Unlike the UN, neither the Commonwealth nor the EC would be in a position to institute a Namibia UNTAG-style peacekeeping force — even if the government were, ultimately, to accept this. The Commonwealth would confine its involvement, in the words of one of its officials, "to observing and facilitating the process, perhaps through the Peace Accord structures".

The Commonwealth has generally taken the lead in South African policy, first with the imposition of sanctions and then, last October, by lifting "people-to-people" sanctions at its milestone summit in Harare.

Despite the organisation's history as a strident voice against the apartheid regime, it decided at the Harare summit to shift its emphasis away from one-sided support of the liberation movements and towards facilitation of the peace process.

Clearly, the Commonwealth's sense of urgency is motivated by the demands of its member countries. According to the Commonwealth schedule for the lifting of sanctions, trade sanctions may only be lifted once there is establishment of an interim government; already, there is a rift between those nations that are stringently observing this schedule, like Canada and Australia, and those that are effectively ignoring it, like Kenya and Nigeria.

THE WEEKLY MAIL

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'Faction fight' sparked attack on Durban train

Business 317192

DURBAN — Five people were killed and five others injured on Wednesday night in a shooting spree on a train travelling towards KwaMashu, police reported.

Police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi said the attack was part of a faction fight, and ruled out political motivation.

He said a group of men began firing at passengers at about 6.45pm as the train pulled out of Effingham station in Durban. Four people were shot dead and another was killed when thrown from the moving train.

Ngidi said a witness told police the attackers had spoken to him after the incident. This information had led police to believe the attack was the result of a faction fight.

The attackers had come from a rural area and had wanted to kill one of the passengers who lived in the same area, Ngidi said.

However, Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said all those killed were Inkatha members, although he could not supply their names, and said the attack was politically motivated.

Tillet said the deceased were all occupants of the KwaMashu men's hostel — an Inkatha stronghold.

Ngidi said, however, that one of the dead was a woman.

Meanwhile, police found a body and two injured men who had been thrown from moving trains on the Reef yesterday morning.

Police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Piek said the dead man was found between Kwe-sini and Pilot stations near Katlehong at 9.22am. Between Langlaagte and New Canada stations two men, not seriously injured, were found at 5.50am.

In their unrest report yesterday police reported that a man was found "brutally murdered by the necklace method" at Zamdela near Sasolburg.

It was also reported that three policemen were injured when attacked at Chicken Farm in Soweto during an investigation into drug-related charges. Their vehicle was "extensively damaged" during the attack, the report said.

It said the policemen would "most probably have been killed" had other members not arrived on the scene. One of the attackers was arrested. — Sapa.

Committee convenes a summit for peace

Business 317192

(274)

WILSON ZWANE

THE national peace committee will convene a summit of signatories to the national peace accord next Wednesday to try to boost the flagging peace process.

The signatories include President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Inkatha asked the committee to urgently call the summit to discuss a mock trial at which De Klerk, his government and 10 Inkatha leaders were allegedly sentenced to death.

The trial was allegedly held by ANC Natal Midlands leader Reggie Hadebe in Maritzburg last week.

Committee spokesman Val Pauquet said the incident was discussed by the peace committee's executive at a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday. It was agreed to convene a meeting of all the peace accord's signatories.

The ANC was asked to "examine all evidence" related to the mock trial and report back to the executive today.

On the agenda at next Wednesday's meeting will be the continuing violence, the ANC's alleged mock trial and political leaders' inflammatory statements, Pauquet said.

CHARLIE PRETZLIK reports that national peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys told a Johannesburg conference yesterday that police were improving their relations with the community.

He said the police were pushing hard to increase the public's confidence in them with a poster campaign and phone-in sessions on the radio.

The conference at Wits was organised by the International Association of Students Interested in Economics and Management.

To further the police's aim, Gildenhuys also called for relations between the police and the community to be monitored by regional dispute resolution committees.

He said "rogue" policemen ought to be brought to book by their colleagues.

Gildenhuys told the conference that violence could be partly attributed to the quest for building strongholds and the demarcation of territories by ethnic groups.

However, he also recognised the importance of third parties.

The territorial imperative, he said, had extended to commuter trains.

Depression in the taxi trade was also to blame for the violence, he said.

Such violence, together with insufficient commitment from political leaders and the lack of community confidence in the police, placed a strain on the peace accord.

Gildenhuys said he believed the establishment of an interim government was essential for securing a peaceful future for SA.

Inkatha members 'among Boipatong dead'

Business 317192

WILSON ZWANE

INKATHA yesterday accused the ANC of "expropriating" the bodies of eight of its supporters killed in the Boipatong massacre and burying them under the ANC flag.

Inkatha spokesman Sue Vos said she had proof that eight of the 37 people buried at the mass funeral in the Vaal triangle township were Inkatha members.

She said the ANC had refused to hand over the bodies to their families, who wanted no part of the ANC's "political funeral". They had not pressed the matter as they were frightened of reprisals.

ANC Vaal chairman Ernest Sotsu said Inkatha's claim was "devoid of all truth".

He said it was "absurd" for Inkatha to make

such a claim when the "killers of the Boipatong residents are known to be Inkatha-supporting KwaMadala Hostel inmates".

"We challenge Inkatha to come forward and substantiate its claim. But I tell you now that all the people we buried were ANC members."

Vos said Inkatha would not take the matter up with the ANC as it respected the wishes of the families to remain anonymous.

Sapa reports that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night at least 10 Inkatha members were among the 45 people killed at Boipatong, and six of them were buried as ANC supporters.

Meeting on death lists

3/7/92
Sowetan
THE National Peace Committee held an urgent meeting in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss a "death sentence" passed by alleged ANC members on Inkatha Freedom Party members in Maritzburg last week.

IFP spokesman Mrs Suzanne Vos said the NPC meeting, held at the request of the IFP and the Government, followed a "trial by a people's assembly" in Maritzburg last Friday, where IFP members were allegedly "sentenced" to death.

She said the IFP and the Government formally lodged a complaint to the committee and that the ANC had undertaken to investigate the complaint.

Vos said the ANC had promised to report back to the NPC today. - Sowetan Correspondent.

Tutu has doubts about mass action

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday he had reservations about mass action for democracy in SA's political climate and called on businessmen to lead campaigns for faster reform.

Tutu said the ANC had done all it could to promote peace, but warned violence could discredit its democracy campaign.

Speaking hesitantly about action such as Wednesday's mass march through Cape Town, which ended with police opening fire on demonstrators, he said: "I am worried ... having marched, what then? It's impressive, but, in a way, so what?"

"I am not entirely persuaded, myself, that the ANC and its allies would always be able to ensure that these demonstrations are peaceful," he said.

Referring to allegations that police agents sometimes provoked clashes with demonstrators, he said: "It would be very easy to discredit this strategy."

Tutu said it could be more effective to arrange smaller protests by well known public and civic leaders and businessmen. He was surprised there had not been more vigorous action on the part of business.

Rather than organise mass marches, the ANC might better use strikes to force businessmen to take sides. "You could try to enlist the support of the private sector, showing them that their best interests lie in support for the cause ... that if they don't do it voluntarily, they are going to be hit in the pocket," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See Page 2

Namibia slams Koevoet

Argus Africa News Service

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WINDHOEK. — The Namibian government has condemned the involvement of its nationals in the South African conflict following reports alleging the presence of members of the former Namibian police unit Koevoet in the Boipatong massacre.

"It is shameful that while we are enjoined to the international community by our concern to find a speedy solution to the South African deadlock, these elements, as citizens of Namibia, continue to drag Namibia's name into disrepute." **ARG**

The government statement said it was known that members of the Koevoet police unit left Namibia in the period prior to independence. Later, subsequent to March 21, 1990 more Koevoet members were recruited from Namibia. **3/7/92**

"As a matter of record, the Namibian government had at the time vainly tried to discourage these people from leaving for South Africa."

"As it is, these Koevoet functionaries seem to be at the centre stage of fuelling the already explosive political situation in South Africa."

'Peace workers target of attacks'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

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Members of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party serving in various National Peace Accord structures have been targets of an assortment of attacks and assassination attempts, the two organisations revealed yesterday.

The revelations follows the ANC's suspicion that the death in a car accident near Pietersburg on Wednesday of Floyd Mashele — head of its peace desk and its representative in the regional dispute resolution committee — may have been related to his peace activities.

Mr Mashele, who last week survived an assassination attempt when shots were fired at him in Soweto, died in a car crash after a tyre burst.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday told The Star the organisation was concerned that it appeared there was "a concerted effort" to attack ANC members involved in peace accord structures and "undermine

the efforts we make to get the peace accord to work".

He said there had been other instances involving bursting car tyres which last year led to ANC PWV regional secretary Barbara Hogan instructing ANC employees "to check car tyre pressures because on three occasions in sequence it had been found that wheels of cars had been dangerously over-inflated, something that could not happen spontaneously".

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said IFP members — "too many to enumerate" — had been attacked on their return from peace meetings. These included Winnington Sabelo, who was killed recently near Durban; and Bongani Phungula and Velaphi Ndlovu, who survived attempts on their lives.

The IFP's representatives in peace structures had been attacked not by "a third force", but by people who were members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, she said.

Ms Vos extended condolences to the ANC and Mr Mashele's family.

Committee calls meeting

Sowetan 3/7/92

(274)

THE National Peace Committee has called an urgent meeting of all signatories to the Peace Accord to try and resolve the crisis caused by the collapse of negotiations.

A spokesman for the committee yesterday said

all structures of the accord were more important than ever because Codesa was "in limbo" and the country was in a "despondent mood".

She said the committee met yesterday to discuss complaints by the Govern-

ment against the ANC.

These concerned ANC members in Maritzburg who allegedly held a mock trial of President FW de Klerk.

The ANC is expected to respond to these charges today.

Urgent peace accord meeting planned

Staff Reporters and Sape 274

The National Peace Committee (NPC) has called an emergency meeting of all National Peace Accord signatories on Wednesday to deal with the "volatile situation" in the country.

The NPC had earlier called for a July 30 meeting for all 29 signatories to the 10-month-old peace accord.

The NPC, which met last night, said it had received assurances from ANC representatives that the mock trial which took place at an ANC rally in Maritzburg and the subsequent "death sentences" of political leaders last week would receive "expedient attention".

Deputy Law and Order Minister Dane Schutte had requested that the mock trial, which took place last Friday, be ad-

ressed at last night's meeting.

An undertaking was accepted that an ANC response to the matter would be communicated to the NPE by noon today.

It was also announced that a team of lawyers from the Transvaal Law Society, enlisted by the NPC to investigate and categorise contraventions of the peace accord since May, had met.

Their findings have been submitted to political parties, regional dispute resolution committees, the SA Police and other parties involved.

Speaking before the announcement, National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antoine Gildenhuys said: last night that South Africa was in a Catch-22 situation and was slipping into a

new revolutionary era.

Dr Gildenhuys was addressing students at the Wits Graduate School of Business Administration. He said President F W de Klerk's February 1990 speech announcing the unbanning of the African National Congress had halted "a revolution in the making".

"It would seem it's starting up again if one can look at recent pronouncements by the ANC-Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance," he said.

"We are trying our very best to get all parties to the National Peace Accord to remain in the peace process. That is, at the moment, one of the strategies we still have — which accommodates everybody — that so far has not fallen down," he said.



Praying for peace... the Ven John Freeth, Archdeacon of Athlone, has started a 14-day vigil of fasting and prayer in St George's Cathedral, Cape Town, in response to the Bopatong massacre. Archdeacon Freeth, who is appealing to others to join him in prayer said: "Looking at our country, on one side there is a tremendous threat — the violence — but on the other there is enormous opportunity."

Picture: Andrew Ingram

New necklace murders, train attacks ⁽²⁷⁴⁾

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Ten people were killed — two of them by "necklacing" — in attacks in the past two days as a new wave of violence swept the Reef and Natal.

Police believe inflammatory statements and war talk by political leaders since the Boipatong massacre on June 17 have fanned the flames of violence.

A spokesman for the police public relations headquarters in Pretoria, Lieutenant-Colonel Reg Crewe, said yesterday police could contain the violence only if political lead-

ers worked to create tolerance among their followers

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu also spoke out against violence and the gruesome necklace murders.

In a statement, he reiterated his appeal, made at the Boipatong funeral on Monday, that the anti-apartheid cause should not be discredited by "undisciplined people who use methods which run counter to the justice we seek".

Two people were necklaced on Wednesday. One man was found burnt to death with a tyre around his body in Illion-

dale, Edenvale, on the East Rand and another was murdered in the same way in Zamdela, Sasolburg.

Human Rights Commission figures show that eight people have been necklaced in the Transvaal since May 20. Twenty-six have been necklaced in various parts of the country this year.

At least five people were killed and five seriously wounded as pandemonium broke out on a packed Kwamashu-bound train near Durban after a gunman on board opened fire.

One person was shot dead

and nine jumped from the train as it left Effingham station near Avoca just before 7pm.

ARC 3/7/92

On the Reef yesterday, a man was killed when he was attacked and thrown from a moving train between Kwe-sini and Pilot stations at 9.22am.

Two men were injured in a similar attack between Langlaagte and New Canada stations at 5.50am yesterday, police said.

Two people were killed and three injured in four attacks on Reef trains on Wednesday.

ANC shock after claims against cops

PRETORIA. — The ANC yesterday told the Goldstone Commission that it was having difficulty in getting witnesses to talk about the Boipatong massacre. **CT 31/92**

The ANC's PWV regional chairman, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, told the commission that it could produce no evidence linking police to the June 17 massacre. Initially the ANC accused the police of helping the killers.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and four assessors are hearing submissions in order to prepare terms of reference for a committee which will investigate allegations surrounding the massacre.

In his submission, Mr Sexwale said the important point was not "who pulled the trigger" but why the government had failed to prevent the massacre from happening.

He said there was a perception "in the community" that elements of the security forces were involved in the attack.

Asked by the commission's legal representative, Mr J.J. du Toit,

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● Inkatha members buried under ANC flag

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From page 1

whether the ANC would submit evidence in this regard, Mr Sexwale said he trusted that this evidence would emerge, but emphasised that people who had given evidence before the commission were in personal danger.

He said there was no official ANC policy or decision to instruct residents not to make statements to the police, but added that in the ANC's view there were sound reasons why members of the community were reluctant to talk to police.

Mistrust

"It is a direct result of the profound mistrust which the residents have of the police and security forces generally."

The ANC also will not overrule the decision by its Vaal branch to discourage Boipatong residents from helping the police.

On Wednesday ANC PWV spokesman, Mr Wally Mbele, said the decision to discourage residents from co-operating with police was taken by the Vaal branches of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance because of alleged police complicity in the massacre.

ANC national spokesman, Mr Carl Niehaus, said yesterday his organisation "understood and respected" the decision.

The ANC was encouraging residents to give statements to independent bodies.

In a submission on behalf of the Law and Order Minister and the Commissioner of the

SAP, Major Christo Davidson, said investigations to date revealed that about 200 to 300 residents of KwaMadala hostel attacked Boipatong houses and residents. **CT 31/92**

Unfounded

"The allegations that the security forces were involved in the attack and that they transported residents of the KwaMadala hostel to and from the township are totally unfounded," Major Davidson said.

No member of the security forces took part in the attack, the street lights were not switched off during the attack, police did not disperse residents with tear-smoke before the attack and police did not have prior knowledge of the attack, he said.

Police investigation indicated that on June 17, various vehicles of the SAP and SADF were present. They were patrolling the area or were sent to the scene as a result of reports of the attack, he said.

Hospital authorities were reluctant to allow the SAP to talk to the injured, but once they were allowed to do so none of the injured could identify their attackers. **CT 31/92**

Other injured people had refused to give statements to the SAP, he said, alleging that the ANC and the Red Cross had advised residents not to make statements.

"The primary cause of the attack can be found in a power struggle between supporters of the ANC and supporters of the IFP," Major Davidson said.

Citizen Force and Vaal Commando member Major Pieter van Wyk said he had interviewed all members of the Vaal Commando who were on duty on the night of the massacre and had found no evidence of SADF involvement.

Meanwhile, police have said they were looking for owners of goods they had recovered at KwaMadala hostel and in the reeds nearby.

The goods were allegedly looted by KwaMadala hostel residents. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

UN role in peace process will send 'right signal'

South 4/7-8/7/92

The international community will have to intervene to get talks back on track, Anand Sharma, an Indian envoy, told **REHANA ROSSOUW**.

THERE has been a sharp reversal in the international community's attitude towards President FW de Klerk's government following the Boipatong massacre, says Indian envoy Mr Anand Sharma.

The special envoy of the president of the Indian Congress Party says the South African government must now accept international monitoring of the peace process.

"The situation demands alert monitoring and a guarantee by the international community to secure negotiations.

"I believe this can only come about through the intervention of the United Nations and structures like the Commonwealth.

"The message we hear is that President De Klerk is keen to continue negotiations. If that is the case, he must accept international observers to come on a fact-finding mission. He must also respect their findings and recommendations and punish the guilty elements," says

Sharma.

South Africa was high on the UN agenda for 25 years and the South African government should accept the UN's intervention if it wants to prove that it has nothing to hide.

Failing this, the wrong signal will be sent to the world.

"India will definitely take up the issue of negotiations in South Africa at the UN Security Council. What will follow, depends on the decisions of the Security Council and the Commonwealth.

"This is not a question of Boipatong only. Boipatong symbolises a malaise in a brutalised and desensitised society.

"Boipatong is a watershed, where the people of South Africa have stood up and said 'Enough is enough'.

"It has shocked the world as well. What we saw on our television screens filled us with revulsion and horror.

"The international community might not discuss sanctions, but I can assure you that no-one who has money will want to invest in a country which is being torn apart by violence."

Sharma says the government embarked on a diplomatic campaign to explain to the international community that it has clean hands.

"For the last two-and-a-half years the international community believed in the integrity of the Pretoria regime. But as the violence escalated we began to keep an alert watch on South Africa.

"What the South African govern-



PEACE MISSION: Anand Sharma who is in South Africa

ment has not explained to us is why there has been a sharp increase in violence during the past two years."

Sharma says the government should maintain law and order and apprehend and prosecute those involved in the killings.

He was told that there were 30 hostels from which 230 attacks against township residents had been

launched.

"How many people are required to guard 30 hostels? How many months and years are needed to confiscate dangerous weapons?"

"The government must correct the signal we are picking up abroad, that it is unwilling to take responsibility for the situation."

Sharma fails to understand how

people with dangerous cultural weapons could move in full view of the police. South Africa could not claim to be civilised until laws were passed prohibiting such behaviour.

"How can this be overlooked in the name of culture? The spilling of blood is no cultural activity."

He says the South African government urgently needs to restore confidence among the international community, the parties represented at Codesa and citizens.

"India and the international community have been observing the violence with growing concern. We only hope that there will soon be an end to the ongoing carnage and that the forward movement towards a transition will be resumed.

"During my last visit (in July last year) I found a lot of hope. The people were cheerful and the leaders enthusiastic. But now I find that the leadership and people are dejected over what has happened."

Sharma will not meet government or National Party members as India does not have diplomatic links with South Africa. He has met the ANC leadership, including Mr Nelson Mandela.

Contact with the government can only be resumed when there is peace in South Africa.

Sharma says the Indian government believes it is important to resume negotiations and is committed to bringing about a peaceful transition in South Africa.

The "dangerous drift" which followed the Boipatong massacre has to be arrested soon, Sharma says.

Killings and the IFP: a sickening connection?

South Africa 417-817192
By Rehana Rossouw

SINCE the Inkatha Freedom Party became a political party in June 1990, massacres have occurred in South Africa with "sickening frequency", the Human Rights Commission (HRC) said in a briefing document this week.

The organisation said Inkatha's decision had far-reaching consequences in extending the five-year war beyond Natal borders, particularly to the PWV area.

HRC files show over 5 000 politically-related incidents monitored from media, police unrest reports and community structures. An incident is classified as a "massacre" when 10 or more people died.

"It should be noted that while most incidents occurred over a period of a few hours, some of them took days or even weeks to unfold," the HRC said.

"In the two years, there have been 49 massacres costing the lives of 1 250 people or, on the average, 25 deaths a massacre. In 15 cases, the death-toll was higher than 25.

"However, it is important to note that our premise of 10 or more deaths qualifying an incident as a massacre, does not take into account numerous other incidents encompassing over 6 000 deaths and 13 000 injuries during the period, which could also properly be described as massacres."

The organisation said a number of points emerged about the nature and objectives of the massacres.

Inkatha drive to establish political influence, membership and territory was the predominant theme.

The tactics of "extreme terror, used indiscriminately against township communities to paralyse, immobilise and disorganise, was a complementary theme.

Hostels were used to plan and launch these activities and there were persistent reports of security force complicity, as well as involvement of unidentified white people. Retaliation sometimes produced its own massacres.

In Natal over the last two years, 11 massacres costing 167 lives were



COMING OUT SHOOTING: Protesters marching through the centre of Johannesburg didn't mince their comments on leading figures in the government

recorded

"These have not been the only massacres experienced by the region, one must go back a further five years or so to grasp the full picture," the HRC said.

In the PWV area, 1 083 people

died in 38 massacres since July 1990

The HRC said in most cases, media and other reports on massacres referred to allegations about the identity of the attackers, often corroborated by legal evidence

An examination of their lists showed IFP members and supporters were responsible for 34 massacres — 69 percent of the total.

"Vigilantes" of unspecified affiliation, but aligned with the IFP, were responsible for three massacres

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The security forces — SAP, SADF and the KwaZulu Police — were responsible for four massacres. Township residents and ANC supporters were responsible for six massacres.

In 10 cases there were no clues about the identity of the attackers.

There was shared responsibility in eight massacres.

Township residents were victims in 36 massacres, while residents identified as ANC supporters were additionally victims in 10 massacres.

IFP members and supporters were victims in nine massacres, and in six massacres both opposing parties were assessed to be victims, and having a joint responsibility.

Funerals and vigils were attacked on three occasions, public recreation facilities twice and commuters on three occasions.

"Repeated and persistent reports have emerged, in Natal since the mid-eighties and in the PWV since July 1990, of collusion between the security forces and vigilante groups, primarily elements within Inkatha," the HRC commented.

"Allegations of security force complicity in massacres appear frequently in reports of eyewitnesses.

"Such allegations have been made in the cases of 19 massacres, which is a frequency difficult to ignore.

"Furthermore, allegations of the presence of whites in support of vigilante massacres appears in eight cases. Such reports are so persistent they cannot be discounted.

"Finally, it might be said the abysmal record of the authorities in arresting and prosecuting perpetrators provides more reason to believe they are part of the problem."

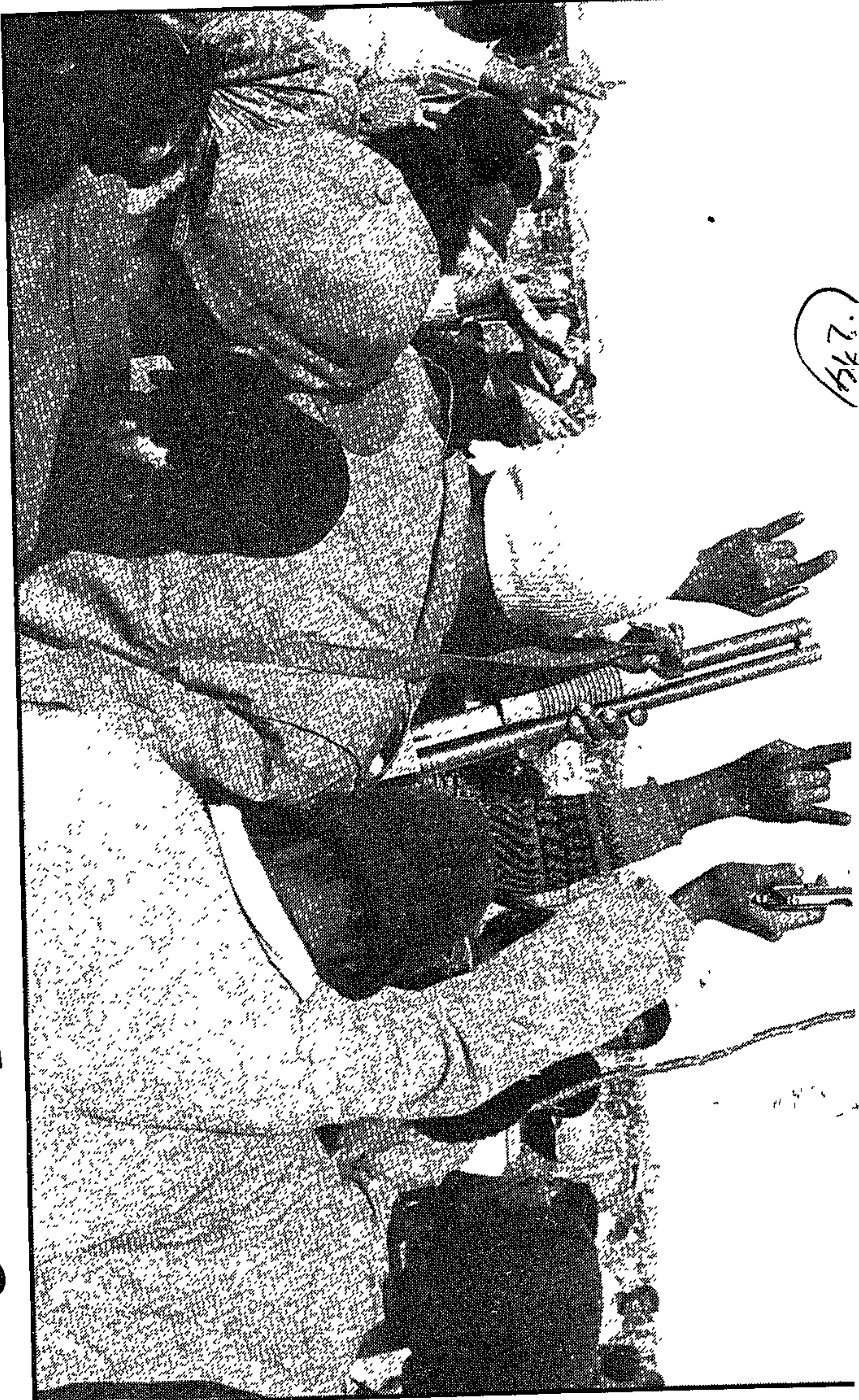
The HRC said massacres over the last two years have been happening at the rate of two a month.

"There is a design and purpose behind most massacres that places them alongside the gas chambers of Nazi Germany in sheer cold-blooded cynicism and brutality.

"The horrifying trail of massacre after massacre confirms the correctness of the declaration by the international community that the apartheid system is a crime against humanity," the HRC said

Continue

BOIPATONG, MONDAY: Among the more than 37 000 mourners at the burial service for 37 people killed in the June 17 massacre were pockets of militant youths armed with a variety of weapons, including this police-issue shotgun, one of several firearms taken by force from policemen in the Vaal Triangle. Picture: JIHAN KUNUS



TWO years ago, then Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hani said: "Violence will not stop until egos are buried."

Since then well over 4 000 people have died. Political egos have not.

As a result, the gruesome image of every major atrocity in South Africa soon sinks under the weight of the rhetoric that follows as all sides seek political mileage.

The Goldstone commission was appointed last year in the hope that violence and intimidation would decline "when investigated and when the background and reasons are understood". The picture

(274)

Turning a deaf ear to Goldstone

SITHI 517/92

The Goldstone commission was established to help end violence by pinpointing its causes, but its recommendations are going virtually unheeded. CHARLENE SMITH reports

5/7/92
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the 'National Peace Accord', of which the Goldstone commission is an integral part, all agreed that to be effective, the commission would have to be a credible instrument. Implicit in this was the acceptance that the parties concerned would act on the commission's findings.

This has not happened and now, ironically, the commission itself is coming in for criticism from the very people who have contributed to its lack of success.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who heads the commission, refuses to comment, but it is known that he and his staff are concerned by the lack of action on his commission's recommendations.

This week ANC P.W.V. chairman Tokyo Sexwale explained why, with the recommendations being ignored, Boipatong witnesses were refusing to give evidence to the police or to ANC lawyers. "We have horrific memories of people who have given information to the police, and some who have given information to this commission, who have subsequently been killed."

The commission, in its second interim report released early in June, called for "adequate means and procedures for offering protection to witnesses who testify before it or its committees". But President F.W. de Klerk, who receives the reports, has not yet facilitated this.

The commission, in its first interim report in January, noted optimistically that "the prompt establishment of, and action by, its committees may result in the decrease of violence".

It had yet to encounter political intransigence.

By January the commission had seven committees studying violence in Thokoza, taxi wars in the Cape, violence at President Steyn gold

mining, killings near Mooi River, allegations of SADF involvement in township unrest, the murder of a Schweizer-Reneke civic leader, and mass action.

The commission began its inquiry into the Boipatong massacre this week. Its report on train violence is expected next week when its first public hearings on mass action begin in Cape Town.

A key commission recommendation has focused on dangerous weapons being carried in public. Its frequent, strong protests have fallen on deaf ears, so much so that witnesses to some hearings have come bearing spears and pangas.

In one well-publicised incident a month ago, police at a railway station disarmed Inkatha imps, but most weapons were later returned.

A WEEK later 43 people were killed, mostly hacked and stabbed to death, at Boipatong. The SADF admitted at this week's hearing that it saw a crowd of "between 80 and 300 men" near Boipatong on the night in question, carrying such weapons, and did not disarm them.

The fact that commission recommendations are not always specific does create something of a problem. As an example, in its second report, the commission suggests that because hostels are "common to most of the worst areas of violence, (they) should immediately be adequately and securely fenced. A strong and efficient police presence should ensure that no arms are taken in or out of hostels (and) hostel dwellers (should be) protected from external attacks". But the report fails to say who should be accountable —

local authorities, the state or business groups with hostel inmates. Thus, nothing is done.

Even after an ultimatum to Iscor from Boipatong residents to demolish its Kwamadala hostel, the company is still considering whether to demolish it, convert it into family quarters or move the residents to Kwanasaza hostel (an ANC stronghold, which spokesman Neels Howard was unaware of).

After three years of violence around hostels on the Witwatersrand, inmates still live in squalor and are feared by township residents. Mr De Klerk's plan, announced in May last year, to "upgrade or convert hostels" in an attempt to combat violence has come to naught.

Two other significant Goldstone reports have also been ignored.

The commission investigated killings at Bruntville township, Mooi River, last December and noted: "The peace process will be seriously hampered if dangerous weapons continue to be flaunted in public."

The Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC have both refused to disarm members. Last week ANC leaders pointed privately to the display of arms by its members at two recent events as evidence of a new militancy.

This week Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel said charges had been withdrawn against those arrested in Bruntville, because of a lack of evidence.

In the second instance, the commission investigated violence in Phola Park on the East Rand in April. It recommended on June 10 that "32 Battalion should not again be used for peacekeeping duties anywhere in South Africa". It also asked the SADF to ensure that the attitude expressed by Captain Mark

Hermanson of 32 Battalion, that his unit was involved in "a war", was not prevalent in the officer corps.

However, the SADF continues to deploy 32 Battalion "in support of the SA Police on the East Rand". SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt said the outcome of police investigations was awaited. He said no action had been taken against Capt Hermanson. The SADF was "considering" whether the attitude the commission complained about was prevalent, "if (it existed) at all". And Defence Minister Gene Louw referred to this "proud unit" and its "excellent work".

Business has also been tarred. Cape Town's taxi war claimed 66 lives and resulted in property damage of R3.6-million. The commission's first interim report on the issue, released on June 10, examined a number of socio-economic problems, including the opportunities denied to black businessmen by apartheid.

IN part it blamed high rates charged by financial institutions for fuelling taxi industry tensions. It suggested that finance houses and oil and motor companies assist Sabta and others to upgrade training facilities.

Not a single institution canvassed by the Sunday Times either knew of the recommendations or was acting on them. Sabta did not respond to requests for comment.

Suzanne Vos of the IFP said of Boipatong: "The IFP did not orchestrate this attack. But the IFP cannot speak for individuals who may have been involved. We have no control over those individuals and their actions."

Inkatha is by no means the only organisation unable to exert control in townships.

That lack of control will only get worse unless the signatories to the Peace Accord implement the recommendations of the Goldstone commission.

It is, after all, an instrument they created, in the words of the preamble to the accord, "to signify our common purpose to bring an end to political violence."

Peace has become just another catchword.

ANC stands by coffin burning

(274)
SITING 517192
THE ANC has defended a mock trial at which a coffin bearing President FW de Klerk's name was burnt and an Inkatha leader sentenced to death.

Both Inkatha and the National Party have rejected the ANC's explanation for the mock trials and the IFP has asked the National Peace Executive to refer the dispute to arbitration.

In a letter to the National Peace Committee on Friday, the ANC said it believed its Midlands branch had not contravened the National Peace Accord with its June 26

By CHARIS PERKINS

actions in Maritzburg.

National executive committee member Sydney Mufamadi said the burning of the De Klerk coffin was "not done with a view to vilifying anybody".

"The action was intended to show their commitment to bury the system of apartheid and to replace the apartheid government at whose head stands FW de Klerk," he said.

Yesterday, IFP spokesman Sue Voss said the ANC's reply was "totally unacceptable".

'SA peace effort is being negated'

CPN 317192

THE chairman of the National Peace Secretariat said this week that SA was in a "Catch-22" situation and was slipping into a new revolutionary era.

Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, addressing students at the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Business Administration, said President FW de Klerk's February 2 speech in 1990 lifting the ban on the ANC had halted "a revolution in the making".

"It would seem it's starting up again if one can look at recent pronouncements by the ANC/Cosatu alliance," he said.

The ANC withdrew from Codesa last month in protest against the Boipatong massacre in which more than 40 people were

killed. At the funeral for the victims on Monday this week, activists called for De Klerk's resignation and the removal from power of his government.

"We are trying our very best to get all parties to the National Peace Accord to remain in the peace process. That is, at the moment, one of the strategies we still have which accommodates everybody that so far has not fallen down," Gildenhuys said.

The National Peace Committee has called a meeting on July 30 for all 29 signatories to the 10-month-old accord.

Gildenhuys said there was no magic recipe to stop political violence.

However, he said there was need for a full

democratic political dispensation, accommodation of minorities by maximum self-determination, a productive and fair economic dispensation, and a culture of nation-building.

He warned if these pre-requisites could not be met, violence would continue unstrained.

"This is a 'Catch-22' situation," Dr Gildenhuys said.

He admitted the National Peace Accord had not achieved many of its goals, citing lack of resources and authority, lack of commitment by certain members of dispute resolution committees, and the failure of some "to leave their politics at the door".

Sapa

Peace meeting off (274)

A MEETING of all signatories to the National Peace Accord scheduled for tomorrow has been called off to allow for more consultation, National Peace Committee spokesman Ms Val Pauquet said.

Dwight 6/7/92
A meeting of all signatories is scheduled for July 30 and would be attended by State President Mr FW de Klerk, African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela, and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

ic members gin training

WILSON ZWANE

Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) is preparing its memorandum for a new constitutional dispensation by having them trained in government. **8/04/92**
Official Mzwanele is leaving for the US for two weeks for study at the New Ratt Institute. **6/17/92**
At the weekend it was five civic leaders knew that government worked. **6/17/92**
During his stay in the US so would talk to educationists about establishing a national local government training programme for ACO members. Foreign governments would be coached for funds. **6/17/92**
It is that in spite of its membership received training in government, the organisation should not contest future local government elections. But individuals would be free to contest elections under party banners. **6/17/92**
In the new SA there will be a strong, independent movement to ensure councillors deliver the goods to their constituencies." **6/17/92**

SADF 'will not allow chaos'

PRETORIA — The SADF would not permit forces of chaos and violence to take over and destroy the country, Defence Minister Gene Louw said in Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

He told a Defence Day parade the SADF had the experience and expertise to deal with revolutionary tactics. It was ready to support the SAP in safeguarding SA from anarchy.

Louw said he would not speculate about the control of a future defence force. The force was alert, however, to all possibilities and aware of certain groupings' aim to seize power.

Should the ANC and its allies decide to turn their backs finally on negotiations, and opt instead for aggression and conflict to force its will

274 GERALD REILLY **274**

on the country, appropriate action would have to be taken, Louw said.

He said the defence force was a bulwark of stability and security in the current climate.

The system of national service and volunteer service, as well as the citizen force and commando systems, could not be changed overnight.

Control over the defence force would be negotiated when a transitional constitution came into being. The armed struggle would have to be abandoned and clarity reached on so-called private armies.

Louw said a democratic country could only have one defence force.

Zimbabwe cabinet reshuffle 'too little'

HARARE — President Robert Mugabe's budget-cutting Cabinet shuffle came under criticism on Saturday, with one opposition leader calling it "too little, too late".

Mugabe trimmed his Cabinet from 55 ministers to 46 on Friday as part of prescribed economic reforms.

Cuts in government spending have been recommended by donor nations to revive Zimbabwe's ailing economy and encourage foreign aid and investment. The cost of government consumes half of the national income.

The Zimbabwe Human Rights Association said the reshuffle fell far short of expectations of businessmen, academics, labour movements, peasants and the unemployed.

Zimbabwe Industries Federation president Bill Moore said the shake-up seemed pointless as the Cabinet remained too big.

Opposition leader Edgar Tekere, who accuses Mugabe of giving unnecessary posts to loyalists, said: "Once again we have half measures. It's too little, too late." — Sapa-AP.

Summit on peace postponed

THE national peace committee had postponed this week's meeting of all signatories to the peace accord for a few days, chairman John Hall said yesterday.

Hall said the meeting scheduled on Wednesday had been postponed after some delegates asked for more time to prepare.

"The delay is for a few days and the alternative date will be decided on on Wednesday," Hall said.

Sapa reports peace committee spokesman Val Pauquet said at the weekend a committee meeting on July 30 was still to be attended by President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Inkatha also called for the committee to discuss "mock trials" allegedly

held by the ANC Midlands region where government and Inkatha leaders were sentenced to death.

Both Inkatha and the NP rejected the ANC's explanation on the mock trials, said Pauquet.

The complaint had been referred for investigation to a legal task group who had agreed to assist the peace committee with alleged contraventions of the peace accord.

Chapter Nine of the accord makes provision for complaints regarding transgressions of the code of conduct for political parties and organisations to be referred to the committee or for arbitration.

Hall said: "This is the peace accord in action. Complaints of this nature

are serious and test the fabric of the accord. This allegation will now be addressed."

Earlier, Inkatha said the mock trials meant the party would continue to refuse to participate in local dispute resolution committees in the Natal Midlands.

Inkatha spokesman Kim Hodgson said the trials, presided over by ANC official Reggie Hadebe, had issued instructions to ANC supporters to report any sightings of 12 Inkatha leaders to Umkhonto we Sizwe, whose members would carry out the death sentence.

In a letter to the peace committee on Friday, the ANC defended the actions of its Midlands branch, saying the trials had not been conducted with a view to vilifying anybody.

Boutros-Ghali to report at UN on SA meetings

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SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is expected to deliver an informal report to the Security Council tomorrow on his meetings last week with ANC president Nelson Mandela and Foreign Minister Pik Botha. *Monday 7/7/92*

It remains unclear if or when the council will hold a full session on the Boipatong killings and related violence, although Madagascar has officially requested one on behalf of the OAU and the ANC.

Boutros-Ghali is to brief the council and outline possible options for the UN in helping the SA parties return to the negotiating table.

It appears likely that he will favour a limited UN role which will enable the ANC and its supporters to let off some steam but which will not involve the UN directly in the negotiations or assignment of blame for the violence.

Meanwhile, in Johannesburg, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the ANC was calling its national executive committee together to formulate a detailed response to President F W de Klerk's memorandum on an interim constitution.

ANC sources have indicated that De Klerk's proposals offer room for compromise. However, the organisation was opposed to the powers regional governments would be given under the proposals.

State cleared of direct role

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CT 7/7/92

G'stone deplores lack of action on policing

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission has found no evidence of direct state complicity in the violence and has described such allegations as "unwise, unfair and dangerous."

At the same time the commission criticised the government yesterday for ignoring some of its most urgent recommendations to prevent further outbreaks of violence.

The chairman, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, said in view of the climate of violence and political volatility, the commission had decided to make public its views on a number of issues.

These included allegations of responsibility for violence, lack of co-operation with police, the ignoring of



WELCOME... Cameron soccer player Alexander Diamo (centre) meets Bopapong residents during his team's visit to the township yesterday. ● Cameron stars visit Bopapong — Page 5 Pretoria AP

commission recommendations and mass action.

Mr Justice Goldstone said no evidence had been submitted to the commission which in any way justified allegations of any direct complicity in or planning of current violence by the State President, any cabinet minister or any highly-placed officer in the SAP or SADF. These allegations were dangerous, particularly because they were likely to exacerbate the climate of violence and frustrate and retard attempts to curb violence.

Evidence in support of allegations of government and security force involvement in the violence had been received by the commission, which would be investigated, as well as evidence of violence instigated by ANC and Inkatha supporters.

The government had to demonstrate that it had full control of the security forces, which had to secure the lives and homes of the population. This could not be achieved without the co-operation of the security forces, the vast majority of South

African citizens and their political representatives.

"How to bring about such a state of affairs is the most urgent and daunting task of the commission."

Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission was distressed that some of its considered and urgent recommendations had been ignored.

In particular, he pointed to recommendations about hostels, which the commission had reported should be immediately and securely fenced and effectively policed.

The commission's recommendations on policing in Mooi River had been ignored, with no reasons provided.

"The commission's recommendations concerning the deployment of 32 Battalion in peace-keeping operations were met with what can generously be described as an unhelpful response from a senior member of the SADF," he said.

The commission referred to the Transvaal attorney-general's prima facie case of police involvement in an unsuccessful conspiracy to murder an ANC leader in Schweizer-Reneke. Notwithstanding constant inquiries by the commission, the police investigation had taken an unacceptably long time.

"The commission by no means expects that recommendation made by it should necessarily be accepted or implemented. It does expect, however, that they will not be ignored."

Experts

The commission said it hoped its international panel of experts would assist in making recommendations to the State President on the rules and procedures which should apply to public demonstrations, marches and picketing. That panel will report in public in Cape Town on Thursday.

Concerning lack of co-operation with the police, the commission said it had already set out several reasons for the distrust and mistrust of the SAP.

"The government and the security forces should therefore understand and appreciate the anger and frustration of so many South Africans."

"Whether or not groups of former Koeriet members employed by the SAP are involved in incidents of violence, the infamous reputation of Koeriet is such that the very existence of such a group in South Africa in 1992 is calculated to cause yet further distrust and suspicion of the security forces. The wisdom of employing

To page 2

ing such a group or groups must be open to serious question." CT 7/7/92 (274)

Meanwhile, the commission has framed terms of reference for the inquiry into the Boipatong massacre, which includes actions of members of the SADF in the vicinity of KwaMadala Hostel. The commission will also investigate whether the SAP could or should have taken steps to prevent the massacre.

The investigating committee will consist of Mr Justice Goldstone as chairman and two advocates, Mr D J Roussouw and Mr M N Sithole. The former Chief Justice of India, Mr Justice P N Bhagwati, will assist the committee as an assessor.

The ANC said in reaction to Mr Justice Goldstone's comments on violence that it acknowledged the important role played by the commission in the effort to put an end to the violence plaguing South Africa.

"The lack of resources and the terms of reference of the commission have restricted its ability to get to the bottom of a number of violent incidents not to mention those it has not even been able to investigate."

"The constraints imposed on the Goldstone Commission have convinced the ANC of the need for both international monitoring and investigation as set out in the statement of the ANC NEC dated 23 June, 1992.

"The commission has, unfortunately, narrowed the issue of state culpability to 'direct complicity in or planning of the violence'. This misses the point. Culpability extends to acts of commission and omission. We find it odd that the commission can make so conclusive a determination without evidence being laid before it."

Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe was paying urgent attention to policing issues raised by Mr Justice Goldstone, the Law and Order Ministry said, reports Sapa.

Spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the Goldstone statement that no evidence had been received which justified allegations of direct complicity in or planning of current violence by the State President, any cabinet minister or any highly-placed officer in the SADF or SAP was welcomed.

General Van der Merwe said he had "noted with appreciation that no evidence has been laid before the commission that the SAP was involved in the massacre, but that any evidence in this regard would be thoroughly investigated".

He said police had given attention to the recommendations on policing at Mooi River and would contact the commission as a matter of urgency about this. There was a lack of clarity about the commission's statements on the Schweizer-Reneke matter.

The NP said last night that the ANC leadership owed the State President, the cabinet and the security forces an apology.

The finding was damning for the ANC, which had spread propaganda, said NP spokesman Mr Piet Coetzer.

"(ANC President) Mr (Nelson) Mandela and (ANC secretary-general) Mr (Cyril) Ramaphosa, who are particularly responsible for such allegations, will put the record straight in this regard if they wish to behave honourably."

Witch-burning link propaganda - ANC

By Zingisa Mkhuma

STAL 17/7/92

The ANC has labelled as "unscientific propaganda" a recent report by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) that linked the release of its president, Nelson Mandela, to an upsurge in witch-burning in the country.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the organisation was "most upset" by this document and intended to take up the matter with the HSRC.

The study, undertaken by the council's Centre for Conflict Analysis, was released this week.

The study said there had been an upsurge in witchcraft cases since the mid-1980s, mainly for political reasons.

After the release of Mr Mandela, the report said, many youths apparently felt the time had come to root out all traditional beliefs and there was a consequent rise in witch-burning.

Mr Macozoma said it was an undisputed fact

that the burning of witches and ritual killings had increased.

However, he said, there was no scientific link between what the people were doing and the release of Mr Mandela or other political leaders.

"We are most upset about this report. These scientists must go and do a proper study," Mr Macozoma said.

The study also revealed that the number of killings involving alleged witches had increased in Lebowa and Gazankulu.

After the death of Venda president Patrick Mphephu there had been a marked rise in the number of witch burnings and ritual killings reported in that area.

However, indications were that no political organisations were involved in the incidents, although people taking part in the witch-hunts used political slogans, sang freedom songs and sometimes waved ANC or SACP flags.

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Health Workers' Union
strike when the com-
age agreement with five
unions — effectively
agreement applicable to

posts tomorrow. Van Niekerk said the union
had created a wrong impression by saying
the deadline would be extended.

Meanwhile, the Natal Provincial
Administration reported yesterday the
began last

Boutros-Ghali to report at UN on SA meetings

274

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is expected to deliver an informal report to the Security Council tomorrow on his meetings last week with ANC president Nelson Mandela and Foreign Minister Pik Botha. *Friday 7/7/92*

It remains unclear if or when the council will hold a full session on the Boipatong killings and related violence, although Madagascar has officially requested one on behalf of the OAU and the ANC.

Boutros-Ghali is to brief the council and outline possible options for the UN in helping the SA parties return to the negotiating table.

It appears likely that he will favour a limited UN role which will enable the ANC and its supporters to let off some steam but which will not involve the UN directly in the negotiations or assignment of blame for the violence.

Meanwhile, in Johannesburg, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the ANC was calling its national executive committee together to formulate a detailed response to President F W de Klerk's memorandum on an interim constitution.

ANC sources have indicated that De Klerk's proposals offer room for compromise. However, the organisation was opposed to the powers regional governments would be given under the proposals.

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Work out the details.
convince them.

Govt considers ban on carrying weapons 274

GOVERNMENT is to give consideration to the carrying of weapons in public and new regulations are being formulated to enable a total ban on the carrying of weapons in unrest areas, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers said yesterday.

Scheepers said Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe had been asked to investigate the feasibility of a recommendation by Goldstone commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone that a compre-

hensive ban be placed on carrying weapons in public. *Blom 8/7/92*

Reacting to Goldstone's statement on Monday in which the judge said the commission's recommendations concerning the bearing of weapons in public had not been implemented properly, Scheepers said government and the SAP were as concerned as the commission about the issue — Sapa.

● Comment Page 6

UN chief suggests goodwill mission

By Hugh Robertson 274
Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The United Nations Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has proposed sending a "goodwill mission" to South Africa to establish what role the UN might play either in reducing the violence or in getting negotiations started again.

He made the proposal yesterday during a closed meeting of the Security Council where he reported on his consultations with the South African Government and the African National Congress in recent days, following the ANC's request for a UN role in resolving the deadlock in negotiations.

His consultations, he said, had been inconclusive since it was not clear to him what specific role was envisaged for the UN. Proposals varied widely from sending observers to monitor the handling of political violence to direct mediation in the negotiating process, and the UN needed clarity before it could proceed.

Earlier, Dr Boutros-Ghali spoke by telephone to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, P. Botha, and ANC president Nelson Mandela to inform them of his proposal and to invite their comments. Both have undertaken to get back to him once they have had a chance to review the proposal.

He also suggested the "good-

will mission" be headed by a diplomat of international repute such as Cyrus Vance, a former United States Secretary of State who has served as a UN envoy in Yugoslavia and other countries.

Mr Vance was not available for comment yesterday, but UN officials said his name had been proposed by Dr Boutros-Ghali "merely to indicate the stature of the person he has in mind for the job."

● The UN Security Council will meet in an emergency session next Wednesday to discuss the violence and breakdown of peace talks in South Africa, Sapa-AP reports.

Council president Jose Luis Jesus, the ambassador of Cape

Verde, told reporters after closed consultations yesterday that the 15-nation council agreed to the request from the Organisation for African Unity for a meeting. The OAU was to send a delegation.

He did not know whether African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela would attend.

Mr Jesus said only that the meeting would be held to hear views on the deteriorating situation. He refused to say what action, if any, the council might take.

On Monday, African nations called for an urgent council session to help end the violence and create conditions for peace talks.

Political death toll 34 pc up on 1991

STAR 8/7/92

The third highest number of deaths related to political violence in two years was recorded last month with 373, bringing the year's figure to 1 806 — 34 percent more than this time last year — according to the Human Rights Commission's monthly human rights update.

The two higher months were March this year, with 437, and August 1990, with 709.

Two hundred and eighty-one deaths occurred in the PWV region last month, while Natal's death toll remained constant with 82 deaths.

The remainder occurred in other areas.

Responsible

Vigilante-related actions were responsible for 290 deaths, and security forces and "hit squads" accounted for the others.

Thirty-six percent of those killed were women and children.

The report said there was one death in police custody last month.

According to the HRC, 118 people were detained without trial last month, mostly in connection with the Boipatong massacre.

Political arrests for the month were the highest in the past two years, with 1 433.

In May 1990, 2 574 people were arrested. — Sapa.

for the same goal
He said the church should
not take party political
sides but could not be neu-
tral when it came to justice

Churches plan peace talks ⁽²⁷⁴⁾

WILSON ZWANE

CHURCH leaders planned
to convene a second sum-
mit of 18 black political or-
ganisations soon to discuss
the violence raging in SA,
an SA Council of Churches
(SACC) spokesman said
yesterday. *6/10/81 8/17/82*

The meeting of national
peace accord signatories,
planned for today, had been
cancelled because the
national peace committee
"could not get everybody
together in time".

Instead, the committee
executive would meet this
morning to discuss, among
other things, the ANC's re-
action to a mock trial —
held by an ANC Natal
branch, it is alleged — at
which President F W de
Klerk, his government and
10 Inkatha leaders were
sentenced to death, com-
mittee spokesman Val Pau-
quet said yesterday.

I am sure by now that all will agree that the Codesa 2 deadlock has become the litmus test of whether the Government has come to terms with the consequences of a democratic process ...

The Rev Frank Chikane



Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches

SACC man warns over the ongoing violence

Sowetan Correspondent

■ Demands must be met or attempts to force it out and withdraw the Olympics' team starts:

A MAJOR clash between the church and the State is looming on a number of issues including the ongoing violence, the deadlock in negotiations and "illegal murders that the apartheid State has been involved in".

This became clear yesterday on the second day of the annual conference of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) in Durban.

In his report, SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane proposed that "in the case of both Government corruption and murders, a broad-based campaign" be launched to force the Government to address these matters effectively or resign.

He said a deadline given by churchmen to the Government to do certain things towards curbing violence by July 15 was threatened.

If the Government failed to meet the organisation's demands, church leaders would be sent to a number of key countries to campaign for pressure to be brought on it.

The SACC would also call on the South African team to withdraw from the Olympics, failing which a call

would be made on the world community to ensure the team is expelled. This applied to the planned international rugby as well.

Chikane said the country faced one of its worst crises. But it was offered the opportunity by local and international societies to ensure that a just democracy was achieved.

Democratic process

"I am sure by now that all will agree that the Codesa 2 deadlock has become the litmus test of whether or not the De Klerk Government has come to terms with the consequences of allowing a democratic process to take its course," he said.

He said the Government's pronounced determination to deal with the threat of mass action with an iron fist showed it was prepared to let the country slide into a civil war rather than let democracy take its course.

Chikane said the country had been rocked by exposures of large-scale Government involvement in corruption and murders in the past year.

"The reports of the Pickard Com-

mission on Corruption in the Department of Development Aid and the latest report of the Melamet Commission on the running of the Motor Vehicle Accident Fund are just the tip of the iceberg of theft and corruption in virtually every arm of Government and the 'independent' homelands," he said.

"...We as churches have a moral obligation to condemn such acts of corruption and question whether or not a racist and an illegitimate Government should be entrusted with taxpayers' money, especially when it redistributes it in a discriminatory way."

The revelations of Inkatha-Uwusa secret funding and of the Goniwe murders showed how the Government resorted to criminal activity when expedient.

On the issue of violence, he said he would ask the SACC national conference delegates to consider, for appropriate action, a statement sent to the Government setting the July 15 deadline.

The conference ends on Friday.

Sowetan 8/7/92

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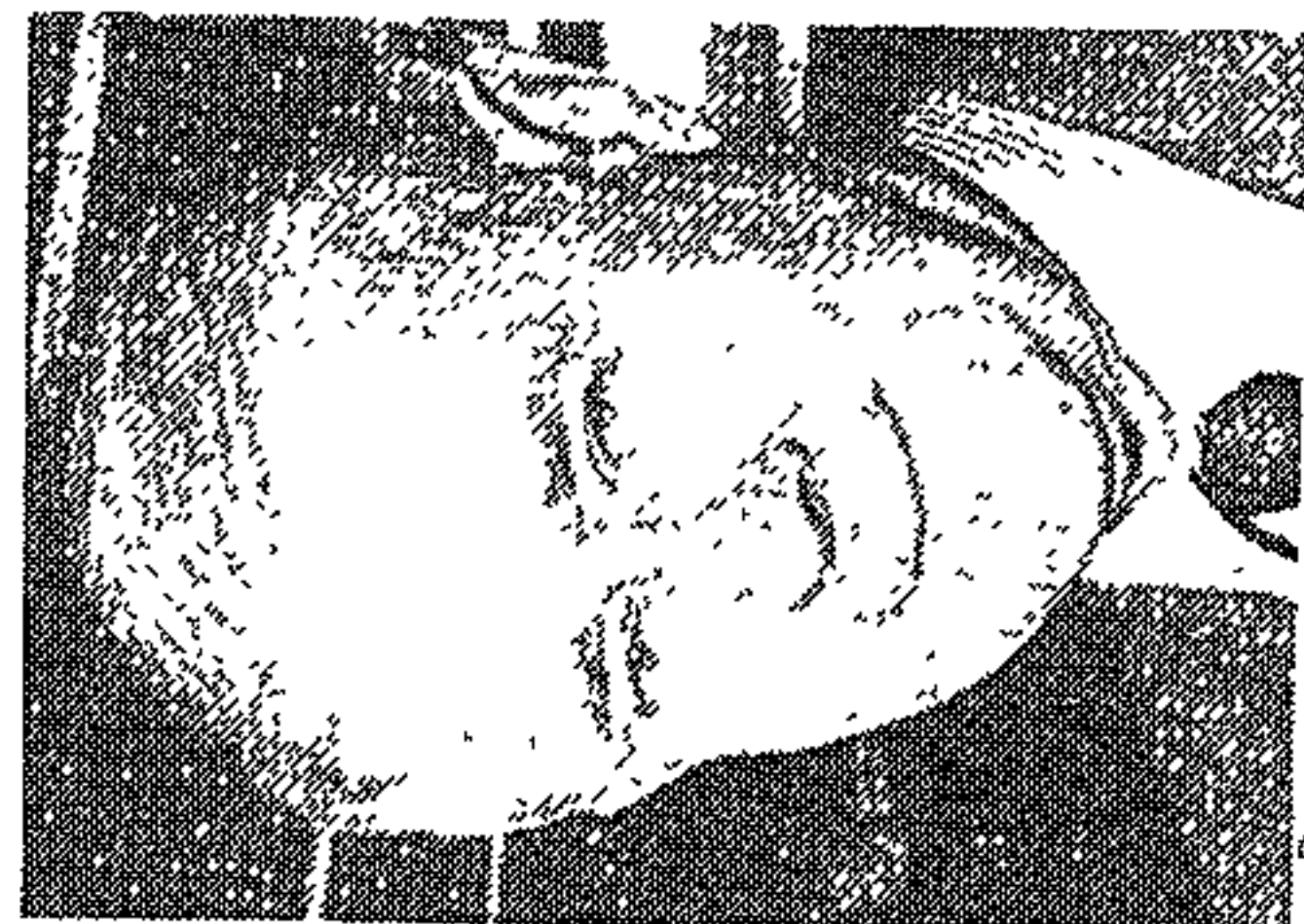
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Security Council proposes 'goodwill mission' in bid to end the crisis in SA

UN peace drive

ARC 8/7/92

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OFF TO SA? Diplomat
Cyrus Vance

HUGH ROBERTON, The Argus Foreign Service
NEW YORK. — The United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has proposed sending a "goodwill mission" to South Africa to establish what role the UN might play either in reducing the violence or in getting negotiations reopened.

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He also suggested the "goodwill mission" be headed by a diplomat of international repute such as Mr Cyrus Vance, a former United States Secretary of State who has served as a UN envoy in Yugoslavia and in other countries.

At the meeting, the 15-nation council agreed to convene a formal open meeting to discuss the situation in South Africa. A tentative date of July 15 was set, and it was likely the government and the ANC would both speak during the debate.

UN officials said it was "altogether unthinkable" that the UN would return to a state of confrontation with the South African government, and that Mr Boutros-Ghali was "absolutely determined" to be even-handed.

They emphasised he had chosen "goodwill mission" to characterise his proposal, deliberately avoiding terminology that might suggest the world body had allied itself to any of the parties.

It is thought likely that if the "goodwill mission" proposal is accepted, the mission would move before the tentative July 15 date for the full Security Council meeting.

The outcome of such a mission might shape the resolution to the full council on July 15.

● ANC spokesman Ms Jill Marcus said today that the ANC demand had been for a Security Council meeting to discuss the situation in South Africa. This was now scheduled for next Wednesday. This request had been put to the UN through the OAU.

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Call for impartial investigator

ET 8/7/92

DURBAN. — The South African Council of Churches believes the Goldstone Commission into public violence needs the help of an independent investigator to look into allegations of security force complicity. (274)

Speaking to reporters at the SACC's national conference here yesterday, the council's secretary-general, the Rev Frank Chikane, said the SACC did not know how Mr Justice Richard Goldstone could determine that the

security forces were not implicated in violence when he had not had access to information on their covert operations

Access was needed to this and other information on the State Security Council because the investigations into police complicity in violence were being carried out by the police themselves.

"We need an independent investigating mechanism — not only the (Goldstone) Commission — which can also investigate

mechanisms to deal with these allegations."

Mr Chikane added, however, that he had not studied Mr Justice Goldstone's report on the issue in detail.

In Johannesburg an SACC spokesman said yesterday that church leaders hoped to convene a second summit of 18 black political organisations soon to discuss the violence. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Pik welcomes 'goodwill visit'

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR
917192

It was of the utmost importance that negotiations were resumed and that all political leaders jointly accepted responsibility for further steps to curb the violence, Foreign Minister Pik Botha told United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday.

Welcoming a planned UN "goodwill visit" led by former US politician Cyrus Vance, the Government suggested the visit took place "as a matter of urgency" before the meeting of the UN Security Council next week.

In a letter to Mr Boutros Ghali, Mr Botha said the Government had made the suggestion for the following reasons:

- "After their return, the mission can apprise you of their observations and the factual situation in South Africa.

- "You will be in a better position to advise the Security Council.

- "Your report will facilitate a better-informed discussion in the council."

"Should a visit by the goodwill mission not be feasible before the Security Council meets in open ses-

sion, my Government would support a council meeting to authorise the secretary-general to send a goodwill mission which will report to you and to council as soon as possible," Mr Botha said.

He reiterated a proposal made during a meeting with Mr Boutros-Ghali in Abuja, Nigeria, last month that all Codesa participants should be heard by the Security Council.

"In my opinion the council will not be in a position to conduct a balanced debate on the situation in South Africa unless it has all the facts and points of view before it," Mr Botha said.

Mbeki remarks could boost Govt hopes

Violence curb is 'key factor'

STAR
91792

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By Esther Waugh
and Helen Grange

If steps are taken to curb violence in South Africa, "everyone could be quite keen to go back (to negotiations)", senior ANC official Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

His remarks — which will fuel optimism in Government circles that Codesa may yet be salvaged — came as the ANC's 22-member national working committee met to draft its long-awaited formal response to last week's letter from President de Klerk to ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

It is widely expected that the ANC will refuse to rejoin negotiations in the short term, but there are hopes that possible ways out of the impasse may be suggested.

Publication of the ANC's detailed response to the Government memorandum was expected yesterday, but an official said no firm date had been decided upon.

Addressing the South African branch of the International Executive Service Corps in Johannesburg, Mr Mbeki, the ANC's head of international affairs, said constitutional talks had been broken off by the ANC because of the Boipatong massacre and it was impossible for the ANC to resume negotiations until the Government had taken several steps to curb the violence.

But, he said, if these steps were taken, "everyone could be quite keen to go back".

He appealed to all South Africans to explore ways of ending the violence. The Government should be sending out a clear message that one of its responsibilities was to end the violence.

Mr Mbeki said some of the violence came from ANC members and that the ANC

had an obligation to ensure its members did not take part in the violence.

He said the Government's current response to the ANC's demands was to suggest "discussing them" — but the ANC saw no need for talks on issues that had been agreed to long ago. He referred specifically to the disarming of people carrying weapons in public.

The ANC had believed there was a common assumption at the start of the Codesa process that all delegates broadly saw the ultimate outcome of the negotiations as the creation of a nonracial democracy. But, he said, the organisation had discovered at Codesa that views on democracy differed widely.

The Government wanted the majority party to govern with the consensus of the minority parties, while the ANC wanted minority parties to become the opposition. He said it was not a matter of protection of minorities, but the protection of a minority party.

At a briefing in Pretoria yesterday, senior Government negotiator Dr Tertius Delpont said the Government's revised constitutional proposals — contained in the letter to Mr Mandela — were an attempt to persuade the ANC to resume negotiations.

Dr Delpont said the Government's compromises on three key constitutional issues which led to the breakdown of Codesa 2 were "indicative of the flexibility of our approach and of the fact that we are saying: Let's get back to the negotiating table".

He accused the ANC of "running away" from the compromises regarding an interim government that it had agreed to at Codesa.

Killing and culpability

STAR 13/6/92

IT'S not just that the jury is still out — but that the jury, in many cases, never got a chance to sit. That is the biggest problem in trying to understand the causes of violence in South Africa, writes Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.

AS EVEN the most casual tennis player will know, it's not too difficult to put away a smash when your opponent's lob is dropped a bit short.

So it was no surprise this week when Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel — through his mouthpiece in the ministry, Captain Craig Kotze — took a confident swipe at an Amnesty International report released this week which charged the police with complicity in attacks on African National Congress supporters.

"A one-dimensional view and a critical lack of balance," Kotze thundered, "a complete whitewash of the ANC." The report, compiled after a visit to South Africa in December by researchers from the London-based human rights organisation, alludes to violent conduct by ANC members but does not detail it.

It virtually ignores the Inkatha casualties and the mounting toll in the police ranks. Most important, it fails to point out that some of the casualties, caught as they were in a crossfire, cannot simply be blamed in a party-political bag.

In one sense, then, Kriel and Kotze had a point. But putting a smash and scoring a goal is one thing — clinching a set and match is another, by skimming over undeniable aspects of the violence. It left some sizeable holes in the police, Inkatha and the ANC.

Even so, the document is still an important chronicle of business that is both bloody and unbalanced. A record of conflict must inevitably act as a catalyst for more of the same as long as the wounds reopen.

How one allocates blame for the 1991 like the Swartville massacre — when 1000 hostel dwellers attacked a western-owned squatter camp in Johannesburg, leaving 29 dead — or grinding civil war in Natal not the immediate point. The question is there are scores of incidents involving murder and that have not yet been investigated. It isn't that the jury is still out — jury, in many cases, never got a chance to sit.

This suggestion could prompt Kriel and Kotze



MR JUSTICE GOLDSTONE: His commission this week incisively dissected police conduct.

into another flurry of words. But one can't help wondering if they might measure their reactions just a little if they had sat in on this week's proceedings at the Goldstone Commission.

The commission has been investigating a massacre two years ago in Wessels town, near Ermelo, where two men were shot dead and others wounded after clashes between the ANC and Inkatha. Both organisations were that day holding funerals for members killed in a previous round of clashes. The focus of the commission's attention this week was on the police investigation into the incident, and why it produced nothing.

The Amnesty International report details other investigations which came to nought. In Mphahlele, Natal, for instance, an inquest found nine men responsible for the abduction and murder of three trade unionists, but the Attorney-General declined to prosecute. Six years later, a Natal court heard that one of those nine men had killed again.

THAT at least was a case that came to court. But many of the other incidents dealt with by the Amnesty report have had to be pieced together from affidavits gathered by human rights monitoring groups, from lawyers, newspaper investigations and eyewitness accounts. Most of this material never got a chance to be tested in the full glare of a judicial process. Does this undermine the credibility of the report? Or is it an indictment of the process of law and order and its unwillingness to settle this unfinished business, one way or another?

The Goldstone Commission, by contrast, this week used blades of great sharpness to dissect police conduct in Wessels and assess whether they had in fact taken sides. For perhaps the first time ever, advocates and commissioners had access to the dockets that po-

lice opened after the shootings — dockets, normally, are protected by privilege.

Now before Kriel and Kotze jump in and say — as both have frequently done — that this, and the very existence of the commission, is proof of police openness, one point should be made. These dockets were handed over with great reluctance, and probably because refusing to do so in open court would have been more embarrassing in the long term.

Armed with this kind of cutting edge, the hearing was able to probe deep into what happened in the months that followed the Wessels shootings. Advocate for the commission J J du Toit, Judge Richard Goldstone himself and advocate David Soggott — acting



KOTZE: 'A complete whitewash of the ANC'

for The Weekly Mail, the ANC and others — could not have delved so far without the raw material from the policemen's own files.

This process revealed a number of things. An investigation into the shootings was opened soon after they occurred, but within a couple of months it had been closed. Pressure on the Government at high level forced a reopening of the case in July 1991, after ANC complaints that police were protecting Inkatha people involved in the shootings.

When the case was again put before the prosecutor for a decision, three crucial pieces of evidence from the first investigation were left out. The first was the *ondersoek dagboek* (investigation diary) of Sergeant Anton Botha, who had conducted the initial inquiries. The second was a warrant for the arrest of two men, both

KwaZulu policemen, which had never been carried out.

The third was a statement about the incident by Amos Mthungwa, a KwaZulu MP who had come to Wessels that day to attend the Inkatha funeral. Mthungwa, under oath, said four members of the KwaZulu security branch would be in Wessels to ensure his safety. During the funeral he heard shooting, he says, and saw two of the four, Constable Zwell Dlamini and Warrant Officer Nhlambhla Khawula, run into the street. "They began shooting back at the ANC members who were also holding a funeral," Mthungwa testified. It was for Dlamini and Khawula that warrants of arrest were issued.

When the investigation was reopened nearly a year later,

statements were only taken from four — Mthungwa, a member of the Black Cats, who were the ANC's foe in Wessels, an ANC official from Witbank who said he was at the back of the procession, and a woman who was injured while running away.

On the night of the shooting, police found hand grenades, pistols and an Uzi machine-gun in a house occupied by members of the Black Cats. Sergeant Botha said fingerprinting was done, but there were no records of this in either docket.

Also found in the house was Dlamini's police ID. Yet Captain Andre Marais and two senior officers went to Ulundi with the warrants and returned to Ermelo without the suspects. Marais said they were told the men could not be traced as there were "so many Dlaminis" in the town.

That, at least, was Marais's version. Goldstone sent Louis Visser, counsel for Inkatha in the hearing, to phone General Jac Buchner, head of KwaZulu Police, to ask him what he had to say. Buchner denied saying that the men could not be found. He says one of them was actually brought in and questioned at length. It took five more visits to the KwaZulu capital and nearly a year before Dlamini and Khawula were eventually brought to Ermelo for questioning.

This entire investigation was under the command of Major Patrick John Otto, then district head of criminal investigation in Ermelo. He has since been promoted to colonel.

This particular commission hearing resumes in August. If Judge Goldstone finally recommends that steps be taken against anyone, he is unlikely to tolerate any dragging of heels. This week he issued what was, in effect, a public reproach to the police for failing to act more promptly on evidence regarding the murder of an ANC official in the western Transvaal.

Last December, the commis-

sion heard evidence "relating to an alleged conspiracy to murder the chairman of the civic association in Schweizer-Reneke". The commission, Goldstone said, had found prima facie evidence that members of the SAP had been involved in the conspiracy. It had, however, become "concerned at the time which it was taking to report progress in the ensuing police investigation". The investigating officer was this week brought before the commission to explain.

This, and the evidence the commission heard this week, may well add weight to the claims that the police are soft on certain kinds of violence. But the value of these disclosures goes much further than just the settling of arguments and the allocation of blame. The violence has become a vicious circle, and attacks on policemen and Inkatha members are undeniably part of it. But that circle has to be broken somewhere, and the wider implications of Goldstone's work is that restoring respect for the processes of law is a good place to start.

TWO examples reinforce that belief. Earlier this month, a Sebokeng police constable, Skuta Marumo, was necklaced. Marumo was accused of shooting a young Vaal Triangle activist, and soon afterwards a key witness to that shooting was himself murdered. Repeated requests for the suspension of Marumo, pending settlement of the case, were refused. Someone decided to take the law into his own hands.

And this week in the Goldstone hearings, one of the Ermelo officers was asked why he hadn't tried to get statements straight after the shootings occurred. It was impossible, he said. "Soon after we got there, the crowd drove us back with a shower of stones." As he spoke, it was hard not to think that he too was a victim of all this unfinished business.

ANC rejects reports of Star 9/7/92 274 bids to assassinate police

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Reporter

The ANC yesterday hit out at reports in Afrikaans newspapers that the organisation had marked senior policemen for assassination.

The reports emerged after Brandon Samson, who had allegedly been trained by the ANC and ordered to assassinate policemen, was arrested in Piet Retief on June 28 for being in illegal possession of a firearm.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the eastern Transvaal

branch of the organisation could not confirm that Mr Samson was a member of the ANC.

According to the reports, Mr Samson left SA in 1986 and received military training in Angola and Zambia.

He reportedly came back to South Africa and joined the ANC.

It was reported he was given instructions from top ANC officials to eliminate a certain policeman in Piet Retief.

The policeman's name was one of several on a list of police to be assassinated, the reports said.

Mr Niehaus yesterday said the newspapers carrying the reports were guilty of conducting a trial in the media.

He said the story must have originated from the SAP and was an attempt to discredit the ANC.

Eastern Transvaal police spokesman Lieutenant Thuys du Bruyn yesterday said the SAP knew nothing of the allegations about the ANC's alleged assassination plots.

Mr Samson is due to appear in court in Piet Retief on Monday.

Mandela, Pik to address council

Govt backs UN mission to revive talks

6/Day 7/7/92
GOVERNMENT yesterday agreed that a UN-sponsored mission could visit SA to help get stalled constitutional negotiations back on track.

The visit is one aspect of an attempt at international mediation in the SA conflict. The attempt will get under way in earnest next week when the UN Security Council meets in New York to hear views on the violence and the breakdown in talks.

The session — the result of weeks of diplomatic activity initiated by the ANC, the PAC and the OAU — will likely be addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and PAC president Clarence Makwetu, among others. The Security Council also traditionally affords an opportunity for behind-doors discussion among protagonists.

It will hear views on violence, the negotiations breakdown and suggested forms of a UN presence which range from government's support for UN observers to the PAC's call for a UN peacekeeping force.

The security council debate was initially opposed by the SA government, which favoured a UN mission and even UN involvement in violence monitoring activities, a diplomatic source said.

Botha informed UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday of government's decision to accept a UN good-

PATRICK BULGER

will mission headed by former US secretary of state, Cyrus Vance. Botha said the visit had been proposed by Boutros-Ghali and urged that it take place before the Security Council convenes on Wednesday.

"I assume that the mission will consult all relevant parties, organisations and experts during its visit. It was my understanding from our telephone conversation that this was also your view," Botha told Boutros-Ghali in a letter released last night.

Botha said government "considers it of the utmost importance that the negotiations should be resumed urgently and that the leaders of the major parties should jointly accept responsibility for further steps to curb violence".

President F W de Klerk opened the way for international involvement in reviving talks when he said in reply to the ANC's breakoff of talks that government was prepared to allow an international presence on a joint violence monitoring mission. The concession went some way towards meeting ANC demands for international involvement in violence monitoring.

Government's view was relayed at a meeting at Abuja, Nigeria last month to

□ To Page 2

UN mission

Boutros-Ghali who subsequently canvassed the views of other parties, including the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha.

Diplomatic sources said SA received support for its opposition to a Security Council debate from at least one permanent member. The five permanent members are UK, US, Russia, France and China, any one of which may veto the passage of a binding resolution on SA.

ANC leaders were last night locked in discussion with local diplomats on what form UN intervention in SA could take.

TIM COHEN reports that Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpoort said government was open to any reasonable proposal for the resumption of negotiations but accused the ANC of backing off from its Codesa commitments.

Delpoort said government was open to businessmen playing a mediatory role, to a reconstituted Codesa and to international

monitoring of the process.

However, he accused the ANC of wanting a simple majority to have the full and final say over a new constitution. Government believed it was imperative that substantial minorities should have guaranteed participation so that they cannot be ignored. To describe this as a "minority veto" was a gross simplification.

RAY HARTLEY reports that ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said yesterday the ANC was "very keen" to restart negotiations once the government had taken steps to curb violence.

It would be "the simplest of things" for the government to end the violence he told the AGM of the International Executive Service Corps in Johannesburg.

Mbeki hinted talks would resume if government fenced off hostels and guarded their entrances; prosecuted those involved in killings; and removed special forces like Koevoet from unrest duty.

□ From Page 1

Red Cross given access to jails

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Government signed an agreement with the International Committee of the Red Cross yesterday which will allow the committee to interview political prisoners privately to monitor their treatment.

The agreement was signed by Correctional Services Minister Adrian Vlok and head of the Red Cross in SA Tony Pfanner. *B1W2*

In terms of the agreement, Red Cross representatives will be allowed to visit prisoners who have been convicted of common law crimes linked to internal tension or of offences against state security, unsentenced prisoners in the same categories, and foreign nationals. *9/7/92*

The committee may interview prisoners privately, and will have access to every part of prisons they visit. It will report on each visit and discuss its findings with the Department and Minister of Correctional Services, the agreement says. Focus will be on the treatment of prisoners and conditions in prisons.

Correctional Services Commissioner Lt-Gen Willie Willemse said in a statement yesterday: "The fact that the Red Cross is allowed access to SA prisons must be seen as evidence of the sincerity with which the department has been striving towards meeting internationally acceptable standards for the treatment of prisoners..."

Whites warned of danger in Sebokeng

WILSON ZWANE

LAWLESSNESS and anti-white sentiment had reached unprecedented levels in the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng, police said this week.

Police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said yesterday law and order in Sebokeng had deteriorated to such an extent that only "intensified" policing could restore normality. Crime and violence in the township surpassed that in other Reef townships, and Opperman warned whites against venturing into it.

There have been numerous incidents of white people being attacked and harassed in the area and scores of vehicles have been ambushed and set alight while travelling along the Golden Highway which borders Sebokeng.

At the weekend a human rights lawyer, in the township to defend an ANC member at a court hearing, was stoned and forced to flee from a mob.

Opperman said that until recently the township had been as bad as the East Rand's Phola Park squatter camp and Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg. Now Sebokeng was the worst, he said.

He said the intensification of police anti-crime operations in Phola Park and Alexandra early last month had resulted in fewer unrest incidents in those areas.

Police were convinced that political

leaders in the Vaal Triangle were unable to stop their supporters committing acts of lawlessness, such as the searching of motorists at makeshift roadblocks.

"And to make law and order prevail in the township, police need the co-operation of the people — which is not forthcoming because the people who give information to the police are assaulted," he said.

Recently, Business Day journalists travelling in the township were stopped by comrades at a roadblock. The car was searched for firearms.

One of the "comrades" told the journalists whites were not welcome in Sebokeng and would be targets for necklacing.

RAY HARTLEY reports that four people, including a police constable, died in unrest-related incidents yesterday.

The constable was killed instantly and his colleague seriously wounded in an AK-47 attack in Katlehong, Opperman said.

The bodies of a man and a woman who had been burnt after a bus was set alight by thugs were found at Vosloorus.

In another incident, a man was shot dead in Alexandra by unknown attackers. Spent AK-47 and .22 cartridges were found there.

Police have appealed to the public to assist in locating the weapons used in the Katlehong attack.

Repairs for violence-torn areas

WILSON ZWANE

THE national peace committee will ask local and regional dispute resolution committees to identify projects for reconstruction and development in violence-torn areas.

Major funding agencies have put their weight behind an initiative aimed at reconstruction and development in unrest flashpoints, committee spokesman Val Pauquet said yesterday.

The committees would be asked to identify projects for reconstruction and development, and be invited to apply for funds for the projects.

It could not be established yesterday how much money the peace committee had allocated to socio-economic projects. Pauquet said permanent sub-commit-

tees of the national peace accord, to be called socio-economic reconstruction and development committees, would soon be set up in SA's trouble-torn areas.

These committees would initially be chaired by the chairmen of regional dispute resolution committees.

This week three development agencies — the Independent Development Trust (IDT), the Development Bank of SA and the Kagiso Trust — said they had had discussions with the peace committee about helping violence victims.

IDT trustees had approved a "substantial" amount of money for reconstruction, spokesman Jolyon Nuttal said.

Mock trial dispute may be arbitrated

WILSON ZWANE

THE national peace committee has asked lawyers to arbitrate in a dispute between government and Inkatha, and the ANC.

The dispute was declared by Inkatha and government yesterday at a meeting of the committee executive. It arose from a mock trial held by an ANC official in Maritzburg on June 26.

President F W de Klerk, his government and 10 Inkatha leaders were alleged to be sentenced to death at that trial. *9/7/92*

Yesterday's meeting of the committee executive had been convened to — discuss the ANC's response to the trial. The ANC communicated its response to the committee last Friday.

Sources at the meeting said the committee failed to resolve the matter, which they described as a serious infraction of the national peace accord, and referred it to arbitration. A team of lawyers from the Transvaal Law Society, whom the national peace committee had recently enlisted to investigate infractions of the accord, had been asked to arbitrate "as a matter of urgency".

ANC 'trial': Arbitration

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —
The National Peace
Committee has asked
lawyers to arbitrate in a
dispute between the
government, Inkatha,
and the ANC. (274)

The dispute was de-
clared by Inkatha and
the government yester-
day at an executive
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an ANC official held in
Maritzburg on June 26.

President F W de
Klerk, his government
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tenced to death at the
"trial". C.F. 9/7/92

Sources at the meeting
said the committee had
failed to resolve the mat-
ter and had referred it to
arbitration.

Curb security forces — EC

STRASBOURG (France) — The European Parliament yesterday called on South Africa to exercise more control over its security forces amid the mounting violence in the country.

The European Community assembly also appealed for a resumption of peace talks under Codesa, saying it was the forum most likely to lead to a genuine democratic, nonracial government.

The European Parliament said elements of the South African security forces appeared to be collaborating with violent extremists.

EC countries should help train South African police to respect human rights, it said.

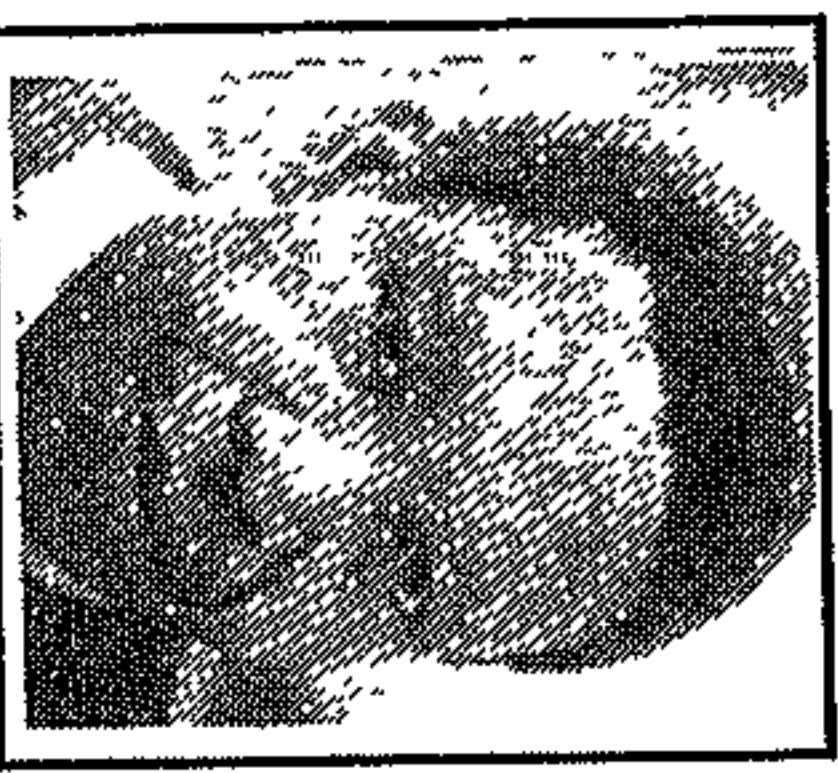
But EC Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan told the assembly that such a move would breach a 1985 Community ban on contacts with South African security forces. — Sapa-Reuter.

PEOPLE'S LIVES *Our greatest need: effective detective work and policing*

ON WHAT short memories we have. If we cared to remember, we would have known that whenever the National Party is embarrassed by the excesses of its security forces and its policies, it has had a standard response: appoint a commission of inquiry.

After the Sharpeville massacre on March 21 1960 when the police killed 69 people and injured hundreds, a commission of inquiry was appointed. After the Langa massacre in Uitenhage on March 21 1985 when the police killed 20 people and injured scores, there was a commission of inquiry.

There have been many more but the above come to mind immediately. The Government appoints the commission and gives it terms of reference that sidestep the real issues. Now it has an ongoing one, the Goldstone Commission, that it can use as a receptacle for any problems it has with the violence. We should have known that it was not going to solve the nation's current crisis. The Commission was flawed right



Joe Thlooe's Perspective

NP tactics: hiding behind commissions

from conception. Nobody is prepared to say that now that the Commission is up and running, the vague feelings of unease that some politicians, particularly those in the liberation movements, have about it are quickly suppressed as people thrash around to beef up the work of the Commission.

Confusion is heaped on confusion. Accusations fly; you owe us an apology because the Commission has cleared our name... of the Commission had no business making a statement before all the evidence was in. It's become a travelling show interesting only to politicians. And this happens when men, women and chil-

dren are being slaughtered in our streets.

Train violence? The Goldstone Commission. Tokoza? The Goldstone Commission. Boipatong? The Goldstone Commission. Mass action? The Goldstone Commission. Dangerous weapons or cultural ones? The Goldstone Commission.

Toss everything into it. When you realise that it is not helping stop the violence, you beef it up by getting a judge from abroad to continue and join it as an assessor.

What difference is he going to make to the work of the Commission except give it dubious credibility?

Let's be clear about some things. I don't for a minute doubt Mr Justice Goldstone's abilities as an impartial judge nor am I saying he is not doing his work well.

I have met him and spoken to him and find him a man concerned about his country.

The problem he faces however is that he still depends on the investigations of other people: the police and other institutions like human rights organisations - for effectiveness.

Goldstone has already complained that his recommendations are ignored

And there is the rub. What is needed is efficient and effective police work. The volumes that the Commission has produced already and the volumes it will still produce will not replace effective detective work and policing.

Goldstone himself has already complained that the recommendations he made on policing have, up to now, been ignored. The irony is that most of his recommendations on policing should have come from the police themselves if they were serious about stopping the carnage in the townships. Sadly, more people have died since he made the recommendations.

Frontline

274 seeks UN

probe of

violence

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Frontline states will propose at next week's United Nations Security Council meeting that it is the South African Government's responsibility to take steps to end violence.

A draft resolution, a copy of which is in the possession of The Star, expresses concern that the violence in South Africa and its consequences for peaceful negotiations could constitute a threat to peace and security in the region.

The Frontline proposal runs counter to the Government's view, expressed in a letter to foreign governments a week ago. Foreign Minister Pik Botha said then that, in terms of the UN Charter, no valid basis existed for the Security Council to consider the situation in South Africa.

The Security Council is set to meet on Wednesday after a call by the ANC for such a meeting to discuss the violence.

The draft resolution requests UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to urgently appoint a special representative to investigate the underlying causes of the violence, and urges the international community to maintain punitive measures imposed on South Africa "for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid".

ANC director of international relations Thabo Mbeki last night disclosed that the ANC had asked Mr. Boutros-Ghali, and he had agreed, not to send a "goodwill mission" to South Africa until after Wednesday's meeting.

In a letter to Mr. Boutros-Ghali earlier this week, Mr. Botha asked him to urgently send the mission, led by former US secretary of state Cyrus Vance, before Wednesday's meeting.

● ANC president Nelson Mandela is expected to attend the Security Council meeting, reports Sapa-AP.

Panel moots new protest laws

CAPE TOWN — New legislation to regulate demonstrations, which would include severe limitations on the use of force by the police, should be promulgated urgently, an international and local panel of experts appointed by the Goldstone commission has recommended.

Legal enactment of the panel's recommendations would bring SA practice into line with international procedures, the panel said. The panel's report on the lawful control of mass demonstrations was released yesterday.

Judge Richard Goldstone, in opening the presentation on the report, said the commission would consider setting up other multinational panels to investigate matters such as police training and the public accountability of the police.

He said the panel would hold three days of talks with the legal representatives of the ANC, Cosatu and the Inkatha Freedom Party, and after submissions from the public next week the final recommendations and draft legislation would be submitted to State President F W de Klerk.

The report strongly recommended that demonstrators be universally prohibited from carrying weapons or replicas of weapons. Police should have special powers to

confiscate weapons carried at demonstrations, said the panel, which has sat under the chairmanship of Harvard Law School Centre for Criminal Justice director Prof Philip Heymann.

The fundamental principles of the report were that peaceful demonstration should be entrenched as a democratic right in SA and one of the central responsibilities of the police should be to facilitate the exercise of this right.

Lethal force could only be justified when delay in its use, and the use of anything less, would subject the police or others to severe risk of death.

"Our message to the SA police force is to avoid situations where self-defence or defence of others is necessary by planning, equipping and training," Heymann said. The panel believed shotguns firing bird-shot should be regarded as lethal weapons.

The panel recommended that the use of non-lethal force must be proportionate to the need, reasonable in the circumstances and minimal to accomplish what was required. It suggested arrest as the preferable form of action.

The report urged that the police force be properly organised, trained and equipped

to handle demonstrations without force. This new approach would mean the police would need skills in peacefully interacting with crowds, in negotiation and in human relations. To achieve this, police training would have to be reviewed.

The panel said respect for the right to demonstrate was especially needed in SA — despite its politically inflammatory conditions — as the majority of the population lacked voting rights. However, it noted that the police also had an obligation to prevent violent mass actions.

The panel believed those organising demonstrations, local authorities and the police all had a responsibility to ensure demonstrations were held without violence.

The Supreme Court should have wide powers to review local authority decisions.

The report acknowledged many demonstrations in SA occurred spontaneously.

The panel accepted an ANC recommendation that a commission be available to provide independent monitors of police conduct on request at demonstrations and said this could be an extension of the Goldstone commission. The report said a post-incident, independent review of police action would exert a powerful influence on police behaviour.

Three policemen die in East Rand unrest

THREE policemen had been shot dead in unrest-related incidents in Katlehong on the East Rand since Tuesday, police reported yesterday.

Police reservist Matli Mthale was shot dead and his firearm stolen by unknown attackers yesterday. Police are investigating.

Two other policemen were killed in Katlehong on Wednesday by a group of men armed with AK-47 rifles.

Police said yesterday they would investigate claims made this week by the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) that it had attacked and killed policemen.

In another incident, two men were killed when ANC and Inkatha supporters clashed using firearms and other weapons near Estcourt in Natal yesterday. — Sapa.

Vaal business feels the boycott

BUSINESS in the Vaal Triangle is beginning to feel the consumer boycott launched by the Broad Forum, but has vowed not to be brought to its knees.

Business leaders in the area have hinted at retaliation for a boycott they view as senseless as it hits "apolitical business people and innocent consumers".

The Broad Forum, an alliance of community groups and political organisations, this week announced the intensification of the boycott against white business in Vereeniging, Vanderbijlpark, Meyerton and Sasolburg. The boycott was launched after the Boipatong massacre to support demands which included the demolition of the KwaMadala Hostel, arrest and prosecution of all people involved in the violence, withdrawal of security forces from Vaal townships and compensation by Iscor for Boipatong residents.

Vereeniging Sakekamer chairman Henrie Olberts said smaller businesses were the worst hit. But the boycotters were also

suffering.

"The boycott won't bring business to its knees. Blacks are suffering too, and it's time unions and political leaders saw what they were doing to themselves."

He said the business community was thinking of ways to "boycott the boycotters", like refusing township deliveries.

The Vanderbijlpark Sakekamer said it had dropped the word "Afrikaanse" from its name to accommodate other language groups.

"We opened our hand to them and we warn that if we close it they won't be able to get in again."

"They must be warned."

Broad Forum spokesman Paul Sithole said he had had "confidential approaches" from some companies asking what to do. "I suggested they lobby big business to come and address the issue."

He said it was too early to say how effective the boycott was.

said he would be
City was not incl

denis picket outside
Johannesburg earlier this week, would not

Here, FW, is the case against the state

Wait and see as KZP gets control

By LENA SLACHMUIJDER

NATAL unrest monitors have reacted with alarm to moves which will increase the role of the kwaZulu Police (KZP) in countering unrest.

From July 1, the South African Police stopped using Internal Stability Unit (ISU) members in kwaZulu unless specifically called in by the KZP district commissioner. 10/7-16/7/92

The chairman of the Natal kwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee, MC Pretorius, said the move was a matter of "restructuring command".

Pretorius said that as the KZP held the major responsibility for areas under its jurisdiction, it would feel compelled to act in a more responsible manner. "Unfortunately, we'll only be able to tell if it doesn't work by counting the deaths," he said.

The ANC representative on the Umlazi dispute resolution committee, Felix Dlamini, and local unrest monitors doubted that the KZP could be trusted to act more responsibly if given freer rein.

Complaining that the decision had not been canvassed with local peace structures, Dlamini said it had put the brakes on progress towards joint SAP-KZP policing in Umlazi. SAP patrols around troubled shack settlements in Umlazi had fostered a climate of peace, while joint patrols in the township over the Easter weekend had greatly improved residents' perceptions of the security forces.

"The decision is discouraging in the face of increasing violence," said Democratic Party unrest monitor Roy Ainslie. "We have used the ISU to a great extent, and have been very impressed with them recently."

The move follows the release of an updated report by the Legal Resources Centre and Human Rights Commission, which paints a picture of deteriorating KZP conduct and distrust of the force by communities over the past six months.

Despite protestations of innocence by FW de Klerk and cabinet members, persistent doubts linger about state involvement in the violence. By PHILIPPA GARSON

THE government had taken "numerous concrete steps" to stop political violence, had given the police more money and more men, had backed the National Peace Committee and launched the Goldstone Commission and was "irrevocably committed" to a peaceful solution of South Africa's problems, President FW de Klerk told the nation last week.

Just how credible is his posture of hurt innocence? How are South Africans to view the claims — made repeatedly over the months — of the government's clean record on the violence and a determination to eradicate it?

In an interim report on the Boipatong massacre last week, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said he had found no evidence that the government and high-ranking members in the security forces had been directly implicated in political violence.

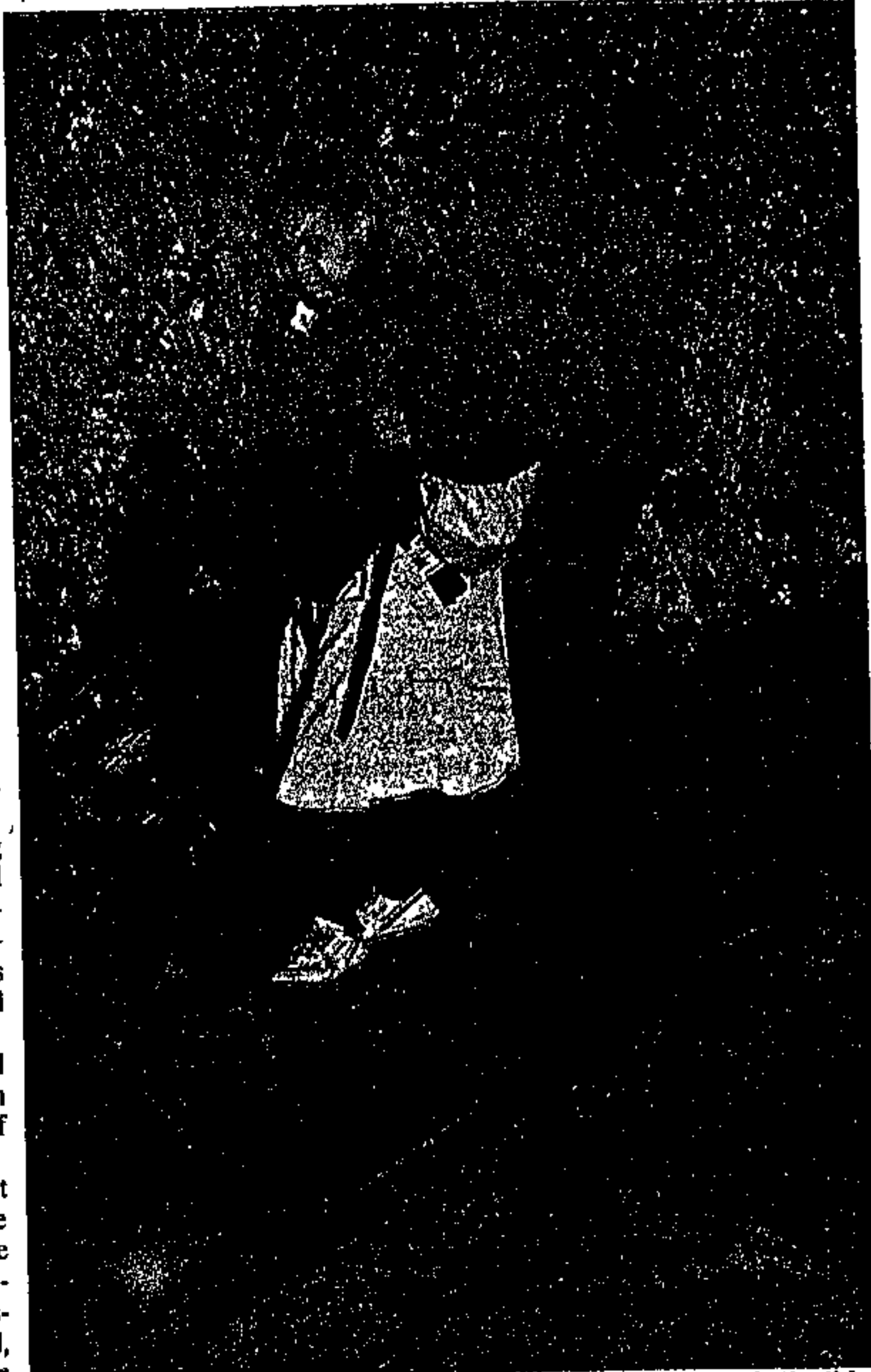
But the issue, as the African National Congress pointed out, is broader than this. "Culpability extends to acts of commission and omission," it said.

Judge Goldstone himself hints at official foot-dragging. In his report he complains of several instances where the authorities have ignored his recommendations, among them that the hotels be secured, policed and upgraded, and that 32 Battalion should not be deployed in a peacekeeping role.

Both the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International have blamed the government for not taking sufficient steps, with the latter noting a "failure to bring to justice all but a tiny proportion of those involved in human rights violations."

However justified it may be, the strong impression is created that the government and its security arms are more concerned with trying to wriggle off the hook than to get to the bottom of claims of their complicity in or inaction on violence.

Lack of action is only part of the problem. Active steps taken by the government, such as legislative amend-



Blood on the tracks... Train attacks have claimed many lives in the tide of violence sweeping South Africa. Photo: PETER NKOMO

ments on the carrying of cultural weapons and, more recently, giving more powers to the homeland police, have, in the opinion of many, served to fuel the violence.

To judge by government rhetoric, the National Party under De Klerk is a different party from that of PW Botha, and has no responsibility for the latter's systematic use of violence as an instrument of policy. How can De Klerk — and half his cabinet, including General Magnus Malan, Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and Adnaan Vlok, who also served under Botha — so glibly dissociate himself from the Civil Co-operations Bureau (CCB) and police hit squads based at Vlakplaas?

The refusal to disband the special forces, the insistence on using controversial forces such as former members of Koevoet, and the continuation of covert operations only reinforces public suspicion.

Commenting on the police deployment of ex-Koevoet fighters, Judge Goldstone said that whether or not they were involved in violence, their "infamous reputation" could only cause further distrust and suspicion of the security forces.

In assessing the government's

record, the following must be taken into account:

● Not a single person has been convicted in connection with the 49 massacres which have occurred over the past two years in the Transvaal (See accompanying story.)

Ironically, the Trust Feeds massacre of December 1988 stands out as the major instance where the convictions have been secured. Those convicted were policemen.

● A secret document released by Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa in May this year directly implicates the State Security Council (SSC) and South African Defence Force in the murder in 1985 of four Eastern Cape activists, including Mathew Goniwe. The document is a message from SADF Military Intelligence Chief General CP van der Westhuizen (then a brigadier) proposing to the SSC the "urgent removal from society" of Goniwe. De Klerk, denying the cabinet or the SSC ever planned or sanctioned murder, ordered the reopening of the inquest. No move has been made to suspend Van der Westhuizen from his position.

● No move has been made to suspend head of the SAP forensic laboratories, General Lothar Neethling, after a supreme court civil case finding in January last year that his involvement in the poisoning of activists was, on the balance of probabilities, true.

● Despite a Harms Commission finding implicating several CCB members in political violence, none has been charged. At least 20 CCB members, and probably many more, remain on the SADF payroll.

● In February *The Weekly Mail* published allegations made by "Black Cat" vigilantes in Wessleton that local white policemen based at nearby Ermelo police station had encouraged and actively helped them destabilise the community. To *The Weekly Mail's* knowledge, the policemen concerned have not been suspended. The Goldstone Commission is currently hearing evidence on these allegations.

● In an official operation in 1986, the SADF gave military training in Namibia to 200 Inkatha men, who were later absorbed into the kwaZulu Police (KZP). In sworn affidavits, several of the trainees claimed to have been trained in offensive warfare. Some of the trainees have subsequently been implicated in the Natal violence.

● No action has been taken to rein in the KZP, which is indicted in a lengthy Legal Resources Centre (LRC) and Human Rights Commission report, backed by legal documents, listing incidences of KZP partiality in the Natal violence and citing the KZP as an obstacle to peace in Natal.

The powers of the KZP in unrest situations have in fact been strengthened. In terms of a July 1 policy decision, the police's Internal Stability Unit will only act on unrest in kwaZulu if called on to do so by the KZP district commissioner.

● Government amendments to the Dangerous Weapons Act, the Natal Code on Zulu Law and other by-laws have generated extensive confusion and made weapons bans almost unenforceable, say human rights organisations.

● A *Weekly Mail* investigation this year revealed the use of extra-legal methods — including systematic use of false vehicle registration plates, some belonging to bona fide individuals and companies — to cover a police operation in the Vaal.

The network has also been linked in affidavits to the orchestration of violence, although these allegations are still under investigation by the Goldstone Commission.

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No convictions on carnage

Weekly Mail Reporter

NOBODY has been convicted in connection with the more than 40 massacres on the Reef over the past two years, in which at least 1 200 people have died.

"Massacre" has been defined according to the Human Rights Commission's criterion of a mass killing claiming the lives of at least 10 people. This definition excludes the conviction of a man involved in the 1991 Braamfontein train attack, in which two people died.

Prior to the Boipatong massacre, 45 arrests had been made in connection with five massacres, according to police figures. Trials of some of these suspects are still in progress.

Last week John Zakwe, one of five men accused of slaughtering 13 mourners at an Alexandra night vigil in March 1991, was acquitted on grounds of insufficient evidence.

This came hard on the heels of the acquittal of seven alleged Inkatha Freedom Party men on murder charges in connection with the Sebokeng night vigil massacre of January last year, in which 38 people died.

Delivering his judgment in that trial, Judge W Schultz dealt the South African Police a tongue-lashing, saying they "should have tried harder" to find incriminating evidence.

The SAP's credibility crisis in the townships had led to a situation where lawyers had

to take over the job of the police, ensuring that witnesses went to court, providing them with "safe houses" and persuading them to testify, commented a lawyer representing one of the families affected by the Sebokeng slaughter.

But SAP media liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman has accused the media and political organisations of hindering police investigations.

Media allegations about the Boipatong massacre, for example, had made potential witnesses "confused, angry and even more emotionally charged," he said, stressing that the African National Congress had instructed residents not to communicate with the police.

Giving further details of progress made in investigating the massacres on the Reef, a police spokesman said:

● The attorney general had temporarily withdrawn charges against five people arrested in connection with a Johannesburg train attack two years ago which claimed the lives of 15 people.

● Twelve people arrested in connection with the May 1990 Swanepoort massacre — in which 28 people died — had all been released on bail.

● Twelve people had appeared in court in connection with the deaths of 11 people at the Chamdor coal yard, on the West Rand, on August 21 last year.

Experts suggest new ways to prevent demo violence

W/Mail 10/7-16/7/92

274

SWEEPING changes to laws and regulations governing demonstrations — entrenching the democratic right of people to demonstrate and stressing the need for radical change in policing — have been recommended by a panel of local and foreign experts appointed by the Goldstone Commission to investigate the issue.

Contained in a 79-page report, the panel's recommendations spell out a new set of principles relating to demonstrations and a different concept of how they should be managed — requiring "a departure from the role the SAP may have been expected to play in managing demonstrations in the past".

The panel's "most important" recommendation was that "every effort" be made to plan, equip and train police so that a life-threatening situation, the only instance where it felt use of lethal force might be warranted, not be allowed to arise.

Police monitoring ordinary demonstrations should not be armed with any lethal weapon other than holstered pistols, the panel recommended. Where demonstrators were expected to vastly outnumber police and likely to cause police grave injury if not stopped, special units armed with lethal weapons should be deployed, but maintain a low profile until needed.

Lethal force should not be used to prevent demonstrators reaching a location where they were likely to destroy public property but not lives, nor when they threatened to overrun a police blockade.

Police authorities should define "with greater precision" situations in which lethal force might be necessary — and a new set of rules governing the use of "somewhat dangerous devices" such as rubber bullets and teargas should be estab-

Police need to learn new techniques and new attitudes to handling demonstrations, a Goldstone-appointed panel of experts has found.

GAYE DAVIS looks at their recommendations

lished.

The SAP should also consider introducing systems of command and control to ensure use of any level of force was properly authorised. "In the highly charged conditions of a disorderly or violent demonstration a decision by an individual say, to open fire, can trigger a massive escalation," the report states. The more forceful the tactics necessary, the higher should be the rank.

Organisational and training implications for the SAP included a comprehensive review of police training if the panel's recommendations were accepted with a new emphasis on techniques and tactics.

Central to this was the concept that responsibility for ensuring peaceful and effective demonstrations was shared by organisers (who had the greatest moral authority over demonstrators), local authorities and police.

Instead of seeking permission for demonstrations, organisers should be able to give notice of their intentions to a local authority, rather than police or a magistrate, within six working days of a demonstration by more than 15 people.

Right of appeal to a supreme court judge should be enjoyed by both organisers and the police and penalties should be imposed where organisers violated agreements.

The recommendations carry far-reaching implications for police training and chains of command to facilitate co-operation with organisers to defuse situations of potential conflict.

Human relations training — covering topics such as racism, communication skills and awareness of other cultures — should be central, the panel recommended.

At a broader level, effort was needed "to reduce the paramilitary quality of present thinking". The panel recommended that outside experts' help be sought to help the SAP develop new attitudes to public order policing.

New legislation incorporating principles and procedures dealt with in the report should be drafted as matter of urgency — preferably with a single Act replacing existing laws, panel chairman Professor Philip Heymann, director of Harvard Law School's Centre for Criminal Justice, said yesterday.

Speaking during the first public hearing of the committee, Heymann said the panel's members were agreed that the right to demonstrate was as important a political right as the right to run for office — something to be "valued, encouraged and facilitated by all the arms of government, including the police".

However, the panel had proposed new rules without proposing new referees — the structures to enforce them.

"We are acutely aware that if the people of South Africa are to have confidence in those whom we have recommended be responsible for planning and policing demonstrations they will have to be assured that the police and others will act in accord with the approach we advocate," Heymann said.

focus on the Media

Sowetan 10/7/92

RENEWED tension in South Africa's townships, particularly after the Boipatong massacre, has been accompanied by renewed harassment of journalists from two sources as they attempt to report on the bloodshed.

Journalists face severe intimidation from township youths.

Recently, newspapers have run numerous articles about youths assaulting journalists in the townships, or accusing them of being "State killers", "Gatsha's soldiers", or just simply "policemen" - a frightening allegation which could create a life-threatening situation if acted on by an angry crowd.

Not surprisingly, journalists are becoming increasingly reluctant to go into the townships.

The unfortunate but obvious result is that an accurate picture of just what is happening is not adequately reflected in the newspapers - and it's not the journalists who are solely to blame.

Journalists are also up against their old adversary - the security forces, who have powers in terms of unrest regulations to effectively prevent journalists from witnessing township strife.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel has declared seven "unrest areas", including the country's most volatile townships Boipatong, Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Tokoza, Soweto and Alexandra.

In these "unrest areas", the security forces - members of the police, defence force and prisons service - can order journalists to stop what they are doing and to get out of the area under certain circumstances.

Any member of the force, no matter how low his rank, can issue the order if he's of the opinion that the presence or behaviour of the journalists could cause various forms of unrest such as public violence, disorder or riots.

He can also order journalists out of the area if he feels it's necessary to prevent a situation becoming violent.

Journalists have to obey the command immediately, otherwise they can be arrested. The security forces can use as much force as they feel is necessary to get the journalists out.

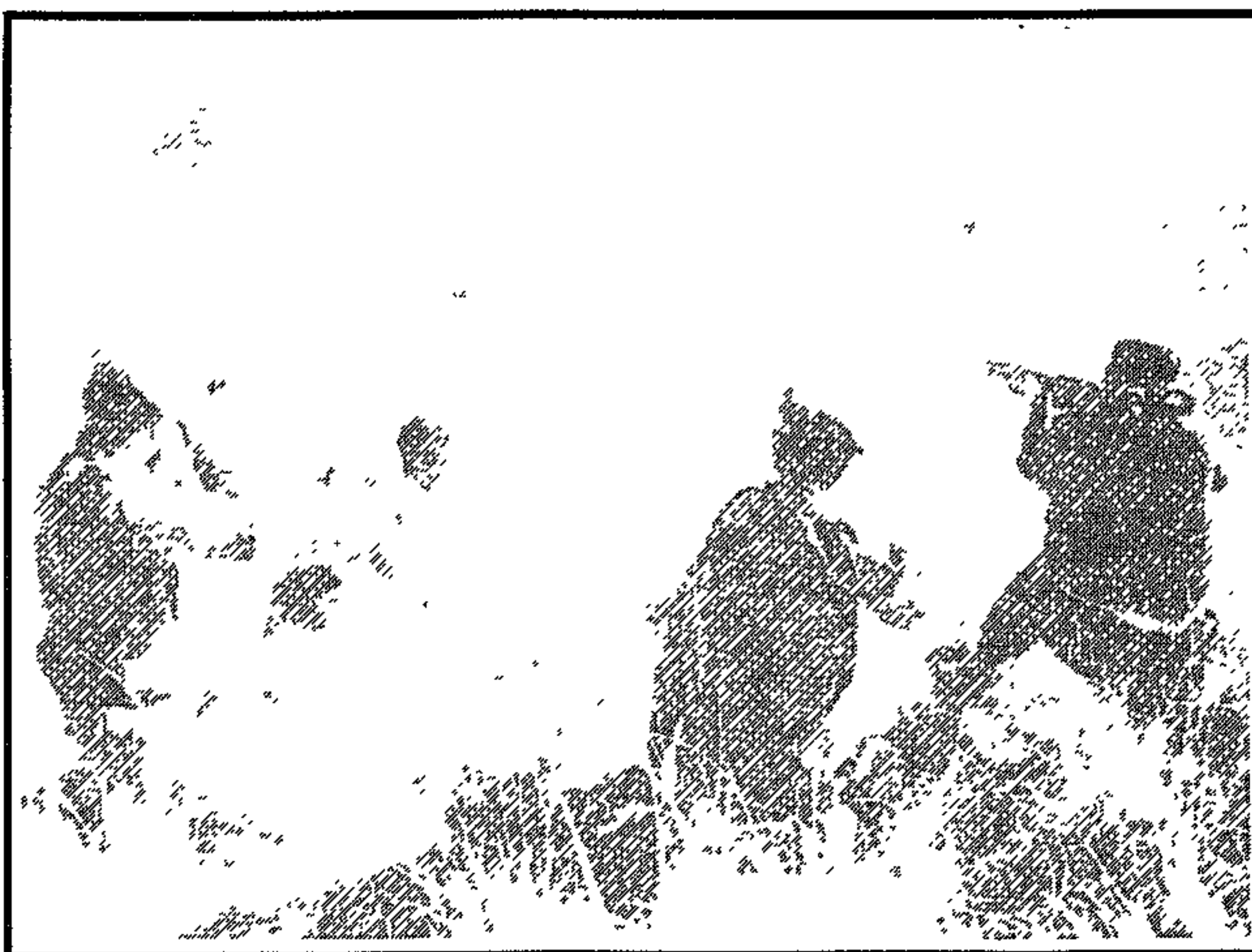
The security force member's word is final, the correctness of his decision cannot be questioned. Even if journalists feel he has over-reacted or has sized up the potential dangers incorrectly, they have to obey the order.

Any journalist worth his salt will try anything to get back into an unrest area if a big story is brewing. The question is, how long does such an order remain in force?

Obviously it doesn't operate indefinitely, so when can journalists go back into an unrest area?

This question was debated at length during an appeal by World-wide Television News sound man, Brian Green, against a conviction for

The harassment of journalists is taking on new forms every day. In this article Webber Wentzel lawyer, **David O'Sullivan**, looks at some forms of censorship and intimidation of the media from police and the public in general.



FLASHBACK... Police firing on fleeing protesters after President FW De Klerk's visit was aborted when angry mobs forced him out of Boipatong township.

refusing to obey an order to leave Vosloorus - an unrest area.

Mr Justice Petrus Schabert (a Codesa co-chairman) agreed with Mr Justice Peter Schutz that the unrest must be over before the journalists can flock back in.

They were strict in deciding precisely when the situation is back to normal. People milling around in what Green called the "regular kind of post, kind of feeling" was still unrest according to the judges and therefore a no-go area.

The judges decided that journalists would have to make appropriate inquiries to decide if unrest was over. Since the security forces are given the power to decide when unrest occurs, they presumably will be the ones to decide when it's over.

Appropriate inquiries, no doubt, will have to be directed their way.

Yet that's what journalists must do when deciding if they can re-enter a trouble zone.

Journalists are up against many obstacles in unrest areas: they face arrest without a warrant, detention for up to 30 days, their cars being searched without a warrant. Their refusal to obey the security forces could result in a fine of up to R20 000 or 10 years in jail, or a jail term without the option of a fine.

Critics of the media are quick to point a finger and accuse them of not accurately reflecting what is going on in the townships. But given the constraints under which journalists operate, it's surprising that anything is published at all.

Intimidation from township youths and unrest regulations imposed by the security forces stymie a journalist's work and result in vital information about the state of the nation being kept under wraps.

Dramatic move as ANC-government struggle goes abroad

UN CHIEF FOR SAIPJAO VISIT

STW 28/6/92
Sunday Times Reporters

UN CHIEF Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday accepted an invitation from South African Foreign Minister P. W. Botha to visit South Africa.

The decision followed nearly three hours of talks between the two men in Abuja, Nigeria, about the political crisis in South Africa caused by the rupture between the government and the ANC.

Mr Botha went to brief the UN secretary-general about the situation in the country and ask that Codesa parties be allowed to take part in any UN Security Council meeting on South Africa.

It will be the UN secretary-general's first visit to South Africa. No official statement has yet been made about his itinerary or the timing of his visit, but it is understood he will consult all major parties to acquaint himself with the current crisis.

Mr Botha also met Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida and the country's foreign minister. The meetings between Mr Botha and the Nigerians were immediately slammed by the ANC's director of external affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

"We don't understand why his meeting should take place in Nigeria," said Mr Mbeki. "Presumably the Nigerians will explain."

Jockeying

Mr Boutros-Ghali, meanwhile, is also due to meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Dakar, Senegal, today where the heads of African states are gathering for the annual Organisation of African Unity summit. Mr Mandela will tell Mr Boutros-Ghali that he wants the UN Security Council to approve the sending of an international peacekeeping force to South Africa.

A delegation of top Inkatha officials, headed by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, also arrived in Abuja yesterday for talks with Mr Boutros-Ghali.

The jockeying for international support

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State's complicity in violence 'undeniable'

STAR 10/11/92

(274)

By Political Reporter
ESTHER WAUGH.

When the ANC attacks the Government, it usually leaves Inkatha out of the matter. But not this time round, reports Political Editor
SHAUN JOHNSON.

ATTACHED to the letter Nelson Mandela sent to President de Klerk yesterday are three detailed annexures dealing with the controversial claims of Government complicity in the violence; the alleged involvement of the security forces in fomenting and escalating violence; and the Government's support for the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The document, titled "Government complicity in violence", argues that security force complicity in the violence is "undeniable" and accuses the Government of failing to control the situation.

It accuses the Government of not allowing proper investigations and failing to prosecute those involved in the violence.

"The acts of omission and commission by the Government in numerous cases can only be explained in terms of direct complicity in the violence in order to make party political gains at great cost in black lives and economic damage to our country," the ANC says.

The organisation says

the Government's complicity was evident from its failure to:

- Reorientate and retrain security forces.
- Authorise independent investigations.
- Protect witnesses.
- Act against members of the security forces.
- Demobilise Koevoet and 32 Battalion.
- And its use of censorship to prevent publication of evidence of security force involvement in violence.

No programme had been implemented to retrain the security forces after they had been trained to defend apartheid and wage war against the ANC. It was therefore "naïve" to believe Mr de Klerk's wretched speech on February 2 1990 was sufficient to reorientate the security forces.

Despite court cases where police officers had admitted they were continuing the war against the ANC, the Government continued to insist that investigations of police complicity be conducted by the police

themselves. The ANC illustrates this with the Trust Feed case where the judge suggested a judicial commission of inquiry into the police cover-up.

Although the General Bar Council called for a full public investigation chaired by a Supreme Court judge, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel appointed "Broederbond" and ex-magistrate Willem Krugel to conduct the inquiry.

In the Trust Feed trial, Mr Justice Andrew Wilson named Captain Andre Kritzinger of the Soweto Crime Intelligence Service as "one of the police officers who tried to interrupt the investigations into the Trust Feed killings".

Captain Kritzinger had subsequently been appointed as the investigating officer into an alleged police conspiracy and had been appointed to investigate the assassination of lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

In its second interim report, the Goldstone Commission expressed

concern for the safety of potential witnesses and requested adequate protection for them.

The ANC says the concern was illustrated by the following cases:

- Saul Tsotetsi, who had consistently drawn the SAP's attention to the fact that the Kwamadala hostel was the base from which attacks were launched against Boipatong, Bopelong, Sebokeng and Sharpeville, was killed two days before he was due to testify before the Goldstone Commission.

- A witness to the assassination of Chief Maphumulo was killed the day before the inquest.

- During an inquest into the deaths caused by the activities of the "Black Cats" gang in Wesselsburg, the gang leader and the mother of a renegade member were killed.

The ANC says police officers involved in violence and cover-ups have been identified by commissions of inquiry and in court judgments, but the Government has failed to take action.

Examples included:

- No prosecutions followed the findings of the Harms Commission, which uncovered evidence of murder, poisoning, kidnapping, arson, perjury and destruction of evidence by members of the SADF and SAP.

- SAP Deputy Commissioner General Lothar Neethling was suspended after it was found he had deliberately lied to the court and the Harms Commission.

- "Though there is prima facie evidence of the involvement of Lieutenant-General van der Westhuizen in the assassination of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkontlo and Sicela Mhlauli, he remains Chief of Staff Intelligence (during) investigations".

- "No action has been taken against Brigadier Floris Mostert who refused to open his files to the Harms Commission and was accused of perjury by the commission."

The Government had failed to demobilise Koevoet and 32 Battalion "which were 'among the special forces that have been implicated in many cases of violence'."

Expect more violence, warn police

By Carina le Grange (274)

The escalation of violence in South Africa could be expected to increase in the next three to six months, Major-General L C A Pruis said at a media briefing in Pretoria yesterday.

General Pruis ascribed the expected increase to mass action, political intolerance and criminal elements manipulating the political instability.

Earlier, Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe said that the 97 000 active members of the police force were dealing with ever-increasing crime and violence.

Serious crimes over the first four months this year increased by more than 6 percent to 35 158 cases — or 8 789 cases a month.

STAR 10/7/92
In all, the police dealt with 145 080 serious "A" crimes a month.

During April 1992 there were five more rapes a day (61) than in April 1991; armed robbery of passenger vehicles had increased by 54,44 percent and that of trucks by 30 percent; and there were 120 more murder cases a month (8,5 percent more).

The total value of cases of fraud being investigated by the Johannesburg commercial crime unit was an "astronomic" R371 billion.

During April 1992 the police solved 2,2 percent more of "selected" serious crimes than during April 1991, but the figure for solving other serious crimes increased by 10,37 percent.

The number of people arrested during the first six months of this year increased by 5,8 percent compared to last year.

General Pruis said the high mortality rate in the violence of the past few months could be related to an increase in the use of firearms. In the first six months of this year, 205 people died from hack and stab wounds and 779 of gunshot wounds.

General Pruis warned that the prominence given to unrest-related deaths gave the impression that the high murder rate could be ascribed to politically related violence.

Data proved the opposite. In 1991, 2 240 people died in unrest-related violence, while 14 693 people were murdered.

During June 1992 there were 269 attacks with unknown firearms, 57 with AK-47s and 23 with hand grenades on members of the security forces on the Witwatersrand. Last year, 137 policemen were killed in political violence, while 96 members had been killed from January 1 to June 30 this year.

The general said it would be "alarmist" to use the high mortality rate to create the impression the whole country was in the grip of violence. Only two regions were mainly responsible for the high mortality rate: Natal and the PWV area.

The violence was not an exclusively ANC-Inkatha conflict — there were indications that a "variety" of groups were involved.

Amnesty defends 'biased' report

ARG

10/1/92

(274)

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON — Amnesty International has rejected suggestions that its latest annual report is biased because of its failure to report ANC attacks on Inkatha.

The international human rights organisation this week castigated South African authorities over alleged security forces' involvement in — or their failure to prevent — acts of murder and violence against supporters of the ANC.

It also claimed Inkatha was acting against its political opponents with the tacit approval of the security forces.

However, a spokeswoman yesterday rejected a suggestion that the report was flawed. She said: "The focus this year was on killings and violence directly linked to governments or their agencies.

"There has been some confusion in reporting the report where the State link has been overlooked.

"This is not to say we are not aware of alleged ANC attacks on Inkatha supporters or of Young Comrades on police. We receive information from a network of informants, and this has been part of that.

"It is simply that we have no evidence whatsoever of any ANC attacks which were carried out in collusion with state security forces."

Panel agrees on right to demonstrate

STAR 10/7/92

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — An international panel of experts has agreed that the right to demonstrate was fundamental in a democracy, but a democratic public had an equal right to insist upon demonstrations and protests being carried out peacefully and without violence.

The responsibility for that was shared by three parties: the organisers, local or State authorities, and the police.

The panel, which considered lawful control of demonstrations in South Africa, has given its findings to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation. The findings were released at a public meeting in Cape Town yesterday.

The panel said new legislation was needed to give effect to the principles in their report, and that existing legislation should be repealed.

The relevant resources in managing peaceful and effective demonstrations included first aid stations, toilets, speaker systems and platforms, and assistance with traffic.

Where there were disagree-

ments over the way in which a demonstration should be planned, the dispute should be resolved by a higher authority which, in South Africa, the panel believed, should be a judge of the Supreme Court.

Great restraint, the panel said, had to be used in applying "very vague statutes" on breach of the peace or unlawful assembly to arrest non-violent demonstrators.

Police should be formed in well-disciplined and specialised units and have a wide range of non-lethal resources available to them.

They also required skills in peacefully interacting with crowds, negotiation in situations of potential conflict, and human relations.

"Minimal necessary force is the widely agreed upon rule for acting against either individuals or the demonstration.

"That requires something more than disobedience by the demonstrators.

"Lethal force can only be justified when delay in its use would subject police, or others, to a severe risk of death," the panel said.

Panel members were drawn from South Africa, the US, Canada and Europe.

SOUTH Africa faces a threat of civil war if current levels of violence and fear are not defused, a top research specialist has warned.

Dr Chris de Kock, of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), said an initiative was urgently needed from black leaders to restore trust in the police.

He also called for effective action to curb the activities of private armies.

In an interview with Weekend Argus, he warned that fear was an important factor in the violence. The rise and growth of private armies — unless effectively checked — could easily lead to a Lebanon- or Yugoslav-type situation.

As the HSRC's chief research specialist for socio-political monitoring and analysis, Dr De Kock is studying the tensions and problems behind the current violence to make recommendations on how best to defuse it.

He is one of the expert witnesses who has testified at committee hearings of the Goldstone Commission.

His warnings come at a time when the death toll in political violence this year has soared above 1 800 — 34 percent more than at this time last year.

Dr De Kock said South Africa was trapped in a "Catch-22" situation. On the one hand, rapid socio-economic development was needed to bring about reforms; on the other, such development was hampered by violence.

A MAJOR obstacle was the hangover of revolutionary strategies and activities of the "total onslaught" era of the 1980s.

This included the strategy of making the country ungovernable; the development of alternative structures like street committees, civic associations, people's courts, and a total alternative society alongside "apartheid South Africa".

Also included were mass action and mass mobilisation, still regarded by the African National Congress and others as important political instruments.

Dr De Kock said: "The revolution existing before 1990 survives to this day to a greater or lesser extent in the hearts and minds of many South Africans. It creates friction and conflict and may even manifest itself directly in public violence."

He pinpointed the following factors as directly promoting violence after February 1990:

- Competition for political power, which easily lapsed into violence if definite game rules (political codes of conduct) and legitimate umpires did not exist. Unfortunately, Dr De Kock said, the national peace accord and its accompanying structures were hampered by several shortcomings;

- A climate for protest and violence was created by repeated cycles of rising expectations and their non-realisation, which aroused frustration and aggression;

- A lack of democratic values and a firmly-entrenched culture of violence. Here, Dr De Kock warned that leaders, especially those of organisations that signed the national peace accord of September 14 1991, did not denounce violence strongly enough.

"Some may endorse violence deliberately in their statements, whereas others may unwittingly do so by supporting coercive politics."

- Feelings of insecurity and fear, stimulated by political instability, violence and uncertainty. This, in turn, led to a lack of trust in the ability of central control mechanisms (particularly the security forces) to maintain law and order. Fear also led to self-arming, the creation and growth of private armies and to the activation of ethnic nationalisms; and

■ Ordinary common-law crime flourished in conditions of political instability since the attention of the agents of law and order (especially the police) was divided. Criminals could operate even under the banners of political parties and rationalise their deeds on political grounds.

Dr De Kock also pinpointed factors which

■ As this year's death toll in political violence soars towards 2 000, a top research specialist analyses the causes and offers possible remedies. **FRANS ESTERHUYSE** reports ...

could trigger physical violence by activating underlying tensions in society. These included rumours like "The hostel dwellers will attack tonight." and conspiracy theories like those about a "third force".

A key factor in Dr De Kock's danger list was mass protest behaviour that got out of control. Crowd behaviour not organised beforehand, or incorrectly handled, could easily degenerate into violence. Once violence had begun, it could be perpetuated or even escalate.

Dr De Kock's recommendations for breaking the cycle of violence included:

- The code of conduct for political parties and organisations, contained in the national peace accord, should be rewritten to eliminate shortcomings. The present code was not comprehensive enough and, in many cases, was vague and ambiguous. There also should be an umpire(s) to administer the code;

- Open infringements of the national peace accord should stop. The visible commitment of leaders to the principles and codes of the accord did not come through prominently enough. For example, President De Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi did not appear together on television or at mass gatherings to confirm the accord unanimously

(with the exception of the Easter rally at Moria on April 19);

- Constant attempts should be made to involve more outsiders in the peace process. There were too many interest groups and parties (AWB, HNP, CP, Azapo, PAC and others) that had not signed the peace accord. In terms of political stability, they were just as important as larger players like the ANC, the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party;

- Leaders, particularly black ones, should be "extremely cautious" in their pronouncements of what their followers could expect in the new South Africa and how long it would take to attain them. Some major organisations were still too inclined to making vague and unrealistic promises;

- High levels of visible, constant policing in all areas, but particularly in areas where violence had become endemic, should be ensured;

- Rumours should be monitored and controlled by rumour-control centres;

- Every political interest group, including the government, should ensure that none of its followers or officials were party to conspiracies against the process of change;

- Control of firearms and explosive devices should be tightened, and

- The provisions of paragraph 3.7 of the national peace accord should be stringently enforced and extended. This would mean that all private armies formed on a party-political basis should be disbanded immediately.

Violence now 'way of life'

CAPE T. 11/11/92 (274)

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 1 100 people have been killed in political violence this year and police have warned that with violence "becoming a way of life" unrest will increase in the next three to six months.

Major-General L C A Pruis told a conference of senior media representatives in Pretoria this week: "The ongoing violence has become a way of life in some of our communities, an acceptable means of obtaining specific goals and objectives and of settling disputes."

Although incidents of political violence had decreased since 1987, the number of people killed showed signs of reaching record highs this year, apparently because more use was being made of firearms.

Most victims shot

In 1988 5 027 incidents resulted in 653 deaths; in 1990 2 674 people were killed in 17 088 incidents, and in 1991 8 815 incidents resulted in 2 240 deaths. Up to the end of June this year 1 181 people were killed in 4 489 incidents.

The number of policemen killed in political violence had increased from 67 in 1987 to 137 last year. So far this year 100 policemen had been killed.

Contrary to common perception, most victims of political violence were shot and not hacked or stabbed, General Pruis said.

Necklace murders were again on the increase. From a peak of 306 in 1986 necklace killings dropped to five in 1988. They increased to 48 in 1990, dropped to 24 last year, and so far this year 23 people had been necklaced. — Sapa

BRIEFING

The Star We

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Date	Place	Deaths	Alleged Attackers	Victims	Alleged Collusion	Remarks
PWV — East Rand						
12-15/08/90	Tokoza	150	IFP/Hostel Dwellers	Residents	SAP/IFP	Forced expulsion of non-IFP from hostels & attacks on Phola Park squatter camp
14/08/90	Katlehong	24	IFP	Residents	SAP/IFP	Pre-dawn attacks on Crossroads squatter camp
01-02/09/90	Tokoza, Tembisa, Vosloorus	44	IFP	Residents	—	Attacks on townships from hostels
15-19/11/90	Katlehong	34	IFP	Residents	Whites/IFP	IFP takeover of Zonkezizwe squatter camp
26/11/90	Katlehong	11	Vigilantes	Residents	Whites/Vigilantes	Night attack on Mandela View squatter camp
02/12/90	Tokoza	30	IFP	Residents	—	Night attack on township
03-08/12/90	Tokoza	33	IFP/Residents	IFP/Residents	—	Ongoing actions and reactions
11/12/90	Tokoza	52	IFP/Residents	IFP/Residents	SAP	Large scale attacks and counter-attacks
24/03/91	Daveyton	12	SAP	ANC supporters	—	Police dispersed "illegal" gathering
08/09/91	Tokoza	23	Unknown	IFP supporters	—	Three gunmen fired on an IFP march
10/09/91	Katlehong	10	IFP	Commuters	—	Train attack
07/10/91	Katlehong	20	Unknown	Mourners	SAP	Gunmen opened fire on mourners at Sam Ntuli's funeral
10/10/91	Katlehong	10	Unknown	Commuters	—	Bus occupants shot, stabbed & fire-bombed
03/04/92	Katlehong	23	Unknown	IFP residents	—	Night attack on Crossroads camp (IFP)
PWV — Alexandra						
08-10/03/91	Alexandra	45	IFP	Residents	—	Large scale attacks and counter-attacks
17/03/91	Alexandra	10	IFP/Residents	IFP/Residents	—	Clash arising from IFP rally
27/03/91	Alexandra	15	Unknown	Mourners	SAP	Gun attack on a funeral vigil
11/08/91	Alexandra	19	IFP	Residents	Whites	Attacks from Madala hostel
PWV — Jo'burg						
13/09/90	Jeppe Station	21	IFP	Commuters	—	Attack on train passengers
PWV — Vaal						
22/07/90	Sebokeng/Evaton	19	IFP	Residents	SAP/IFP	IFP launch in Sebokeng Stadium
23-25/07/90	Sebokeng/Evaton	30	IFP/Residents	IFP/Residents	SAP/IFP	Retaliatory actions
01-11/08/90	Sebokeng	13	IFP/Residents	IFP/Residents	SAP/IFP	Continuing actions
04/09/90	Sebokeng	19	IFP/Vigilantes	Hostel residents	Whites/IFP	Attack aimed at hostel takeover
04/09/90	Sebokeng	11	SADF	Hostel residents	—	SADF opened fire on negotiators
12/01/91	Sebokeng	45	Unknown	ANC mourners	—	Attack on funeral vigil for ANC member
23/05/91	Sebokeng	13	Unknown	Residents	Whites (?)	Attack on beerhall
17/06/92	Boipatong	46	IFP	Residents	SAP/Whites/IFP	Night attack on residents
PWV — Soweto						
05-23/08/90	Soweto	122	IFP	Residents	SAP/IFP	Sustained widespread attacks
08-09/09/90	Tladi	26	Vigilantes	Residents	Whites	Night attack on residents
28/10/90	Naledi	16	IFP	Residents	—	Thought to be revenge attack for death of IFP member
26/11/90	Dobsonville	13	Vigilantes	Hostel residents	—	Attack on hostel housing civic association members
03/03/91	Meadowlands	24	IFP	Xhosa speakers	—	IFP takeover of Mzimhlope hostel
14/04/91	Nancefield	11	IFP/ANC	IFP/ANC	SAP/IFP	Clash between Nancefield hostel and Power Park squatter camp
28/04/91	Meadowlands	10	IFP mourners	Residents	SAP/IFP	Attack after service for assassinated IFP leader
08/09/91	Mofolo	13	IFP	Residents	—	Circumstances unclear
13/10/91	Mapetla	10	Unknown	Residents	—	Gun attack on tavern
PWV — West Rand						
05-23/08/90	Kagiso	30	IFP	ANC supporters	SAP/IFP	Attacks aimed at takeover of Kagiso hostel
12/05/91	Swanville	27	IFP	Residents	SAP/Whites/IFP	Sustained attack on squatter camp
Natal — Midlands						
08/11/90	Bruntville	16	IFP	Residents	SAP/IFP	Attack by hostel dwellers & bussed-in IFP
10/02/91	Taylor's Halt	18	Unknown	IFP supporters	—	Ambush attack on buses
21-23/06/91	Richmond	16	IFP	ANC supporters	SAP/IFP	Attack days before planned peace talks
03/12/91	Bruntville	18	IFP	ANC supporters	SAP/IFP	Retaliation for protest against cultural weapons
19/12/91	Mpumalanga	11	Unknown	Residents	—	Attack by gunmen
Natal — North Coast						
21/11/91	Applebosch	10	IFP	ANC supporters	—	Attack on launch of ANC branch
16/02/92	Esikhaweni	12	IFP/SADF	ANC supporters	SAP/SADF/IFP	Attack on houses & hostels
11/04/92	Esikhaweni	11	IFP	Residents	—	Attack after return from funeral
Natal — South Coast						
04/01/91	Umgababa	27	IFP	ANC supporters	—	Large scale attack on Emagcino area
14/04/91	Gamalakhe	10	IFP	ANC supporters	—	Attack on gathering
Natal — Durban						
13/03/92	Umlazi	18	IFP/KZP	Residents	SAP/KZP/IFP	Attack on Uganda squatter camp

Society must mobilise for peace

STW 12/192.

(274)

PETER WRIGHTON, chairman of the Premier Group, argues that politicians alone cannot decide South Africa's future

ALL South Africans are deeply concerned about the deadlock in negotiations, the rise in violence and the possible repercussions of mass action. There is concern that South Africa may revert to an era of confrontation and conflict.

This is too serious to leave to political leaders alone to solve; society and, in particular, business have a crucial role to play in supporting the process of establishing a non-racial democracy through negotiations.

We at Premier would support that role. We believe the fundamental issue remains what is right, rather than who is right.

Business mobilised to ensure a "yes" vote for a negotiated settlement to achieve lasting peace and prosperity. The breakdown in negotiations is preventing the settlement which is so desperately needed to ensure a speedy and successful transition to a peaceful and democratic South Africa.

An urgent solution is necessary before further disruptive measures are taken which could preclude all hope of an early settlement. At the heart of the dead-

lock lie two different concepts of democracy. The legacy of apartheid has made it difficult for political leaders to overcome the decades of mistrust. This, combined with the inability of political parties to emerge with a unifying concept of democracy, has led to the impasse.

Violence has compounded the problem, but it is ultimately only through a political solution that lasting peace and security can be achieved. Long-term political stability requires the concern of a broad range of people to be considered.

Democracy is universally accepted to mean that both the will of the majority prevails and that minorities are able to participate effectively. Furthermore, individual rights with checks and balances are entrenched in a bill of rights and in a democratic constitution.

We are all, I am sure, anxious to see rapid progress towards stability, peace, security, prosperity, growth and democracy. As soon as possible, we wish to be able to participate in a democratic election for a constitutional making body and a joint gov-

ernment authority to oversee this transition.

It appears to be vital that a body which enjoys credibility and legitimacy draws up a constitution, applying universally accepted democratic principles and procedures.

We all have a profound desire for peace. Accordingly, the Peace Accord needs to be respected and strengthened.

The urgent steps necessary to bring about an end to the violence include:

- All political parties and the government heeding the recommendations of the second interim report of the Goldstone commission;

- Government acting responsibly to correct the crisis of confidence in the ability of the security forces to prevent violence and to provide protection to citizens. It should also accept responsibility for preventing human rights abuses by the security forces and ensuring the perpetrators of violence are effectively dealt with;

- Fulfilling the provisions of the Peace Accord and implementing its structures and public funding;
- Monitoring parties to the

violence, including international monitors working in conjunction with the network of credible, independent South Africans.

- The responsibility of political leaders to act to create a positive climate for peace and democracy.

South Africans should come together to discuss what peace and democracy are all about and to plan a programme to achieve this.

Constructive initiatives, including meaningful participation in the Peace Accord's structures, are also necessary. The opportunity to display support for peace and democracy by way of responsible and peaceful public actions should be considered.

We believe in this course of action to enable an effective and lasting solution to be arrived at. If a negotiated settlement is not urgently achieved, it is likely that a cycle of protests, stayaways, repression and bloodshed will follow and the economy could be irreversibly damaged.

We appeal to all South Africans to co-operate in bringing about an equitable transition to a democratic society.

Violence stops flights

By CHARIS PERKINS

S. Times 12-17-92
AN international airline this week cancelled one of its twice weekly flights to South Africa because of a drop in passengers caused by political violence.

The move by China Air, Taiwan's national airline, signals the end of the mini-boom in the tourism industry which began after the ANC was unbanned.

Tourism organisations this week confirmed that hundreds of people had cancelled visits to SA and said there had been a slump in the number of advance bookings.

Satour executive director Spencer Thomas said: "We are doing our best to assure visitors that the violence is localised but, since the Boipatong massacre, people believe there is mayhem in the streets." *12/17/92*

Trend

The managing director of the Holiday Holdings Group, Mr Ian Cook, said: "We get calls daily asking us if it is safe to send travellers here."

Mr Laurie Wilkinson, president of the Association of Southern African Travel Agents said the trend was tragic.

● On Friday, SAA slashed return fares from Johannesburg to London to 1986 prices on its new weekly daytime flight. From August 29 until December 1, 1992, and from January 21 to February 28, 1993, all economy seats on the daylight flight will cost R1 990.

PROTEST GUIDELINES WILL TEST POLITICAL MATURITY

Sunday Times 12/7/92

"The right to demonstrate is as important a political right as the right to campaign for office — it is nothing to be repressed, despised or feared."

This is the nub of the most recent Goldstone commission report, on "Lawful Control of Demonstrations" in South Africa.

Demonstrations, it says, are "something to be valued and facilitated by government, including the police... who should be prepared to stand and be hit by stones, bottles and petrol bombs and not use lethal force as a response."

The 10-man panel, chaired by Professor Philip Heymann, head of Harvard's Centre for Criminal Justice, spells out the need for restraint and civility in South Africa.

The panel, with its four international contributors, began working on the report in late April. On Thursday the final pages were typed, 12 hours before they were due to be delivered at the new Breakwater campus of the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business.

Counsel for the police, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC, Cosatu, the SA Communist Party and Saccola praised the work that went into the 79-page report. Whether their clients have the "political maturity", as one lawyer put it, to accept its provisions will be debated behind closed doors in

SA is experiencing a wave of strikes and demonstrations. In a dramatic report this week, the Goldstone commission emphasised the right to demonstrate and called for police restraint. **CHARLENE SMITH** reports

All the legal teams will debate the report with the commission until Tuesday next week. From Wednesday, the commission will hear evidence from the public.

Professor Heymann, delivering the report, said: "Respect for peace should be shared by demonstrators, local authorities and police. Agreement and co-ordinated plans or activities are the central guarantee of an effective and peaceful demonstration."

However, "violation of the conditions and restrictions imposed" were not grounds for dispersing a demonstration. "It is simply a sign that the co-operation which should benefit

tions training "to equip the officer with the knowledge and skills for working with persons different from himself... Topics such as prejudice, hate, racism, discrimination and bias should be included." Listening skills should be stressed.

The report noted: "For the organisers of a demonstration to want to negotiate in good faith, they must see advantages. More predictable and tolerant policing is one such advantage. "There is no more important resource for the police than their relations with the local community. There is no resource that is more in doubt in SA."

The panel made the "strong recommendation" that demonstrators no longer apply for permission to demonstrate, but "give six working days' notice", similar to the system in several US cities, Northern Ireland and as recommended in the National Peace Accord.

Spontaneous gatherings should not

be dispersed, as long as the protest was non-violent.

It recommended a "universal prohibition on any demonstrators carrying weapons or replicas of weapons, without exception".

The panel members were "almost unanimous" that "guarantees of damage could not be demanded from organisers". Demonstrations were "the political tactic of the poor and the powerless"; imposing financial liabilities would remove this right.

Professor Heymann said that while demonstrators expressing "hate or disdain or discrimination would be allowed in the US, we believe it is too dangerous in South Africa. The need for reconciliation is too important. Hatred runs too deep."

The report suggested police wear helmets and shields during confrontations. If a sniper was in a crowd, the police should not fire on the crowd, but use a SWAT team to isolate the sniper.

It concluded: "History teaches us that democratic politics, including peaceful demonstrations and restrained and trusted police involvement in protecting democratic values, depends upon a society not being at war with itself, politically or otherwise. There is no restraint in war and democracy without mutual restraint."

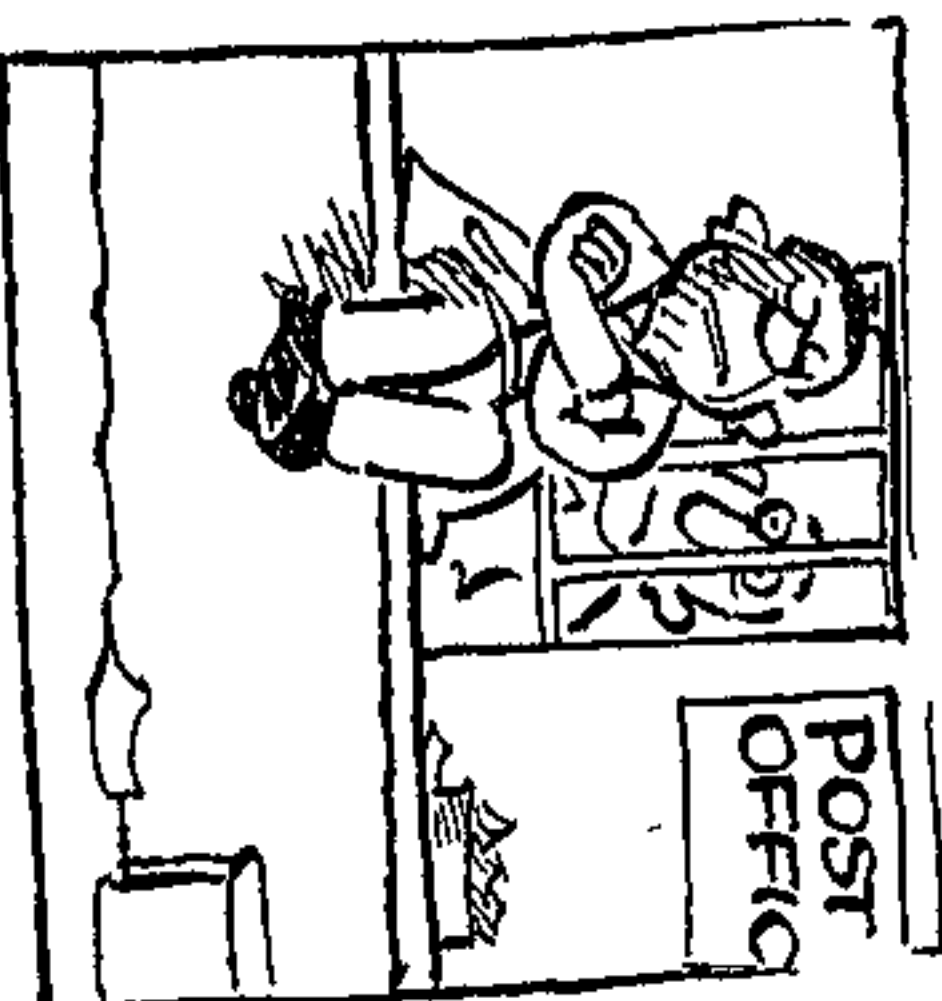
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SUNDAY TIMES, July 12 1992 21

REVEALED: STEP BY STEP, HOW THE ANC THINKS IT CAN DEFEAT DE KLERK



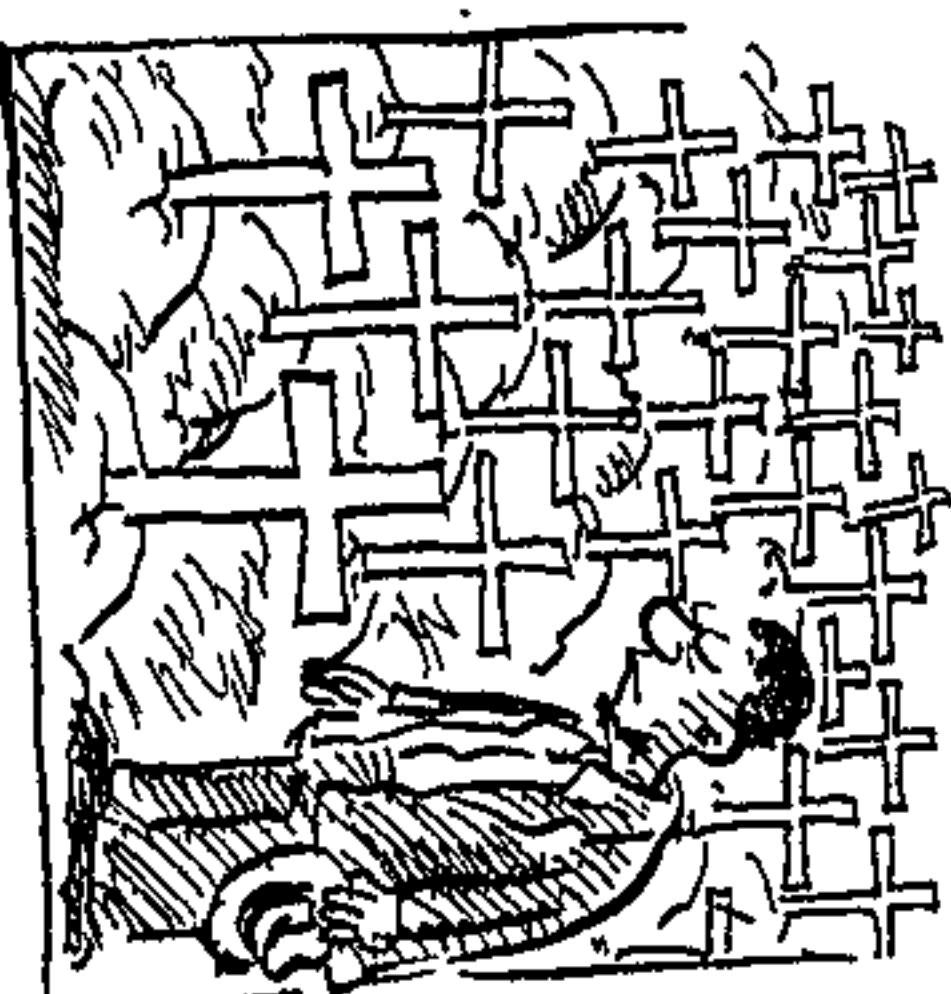
JULY 1-15: 'Agitational' period — now happening



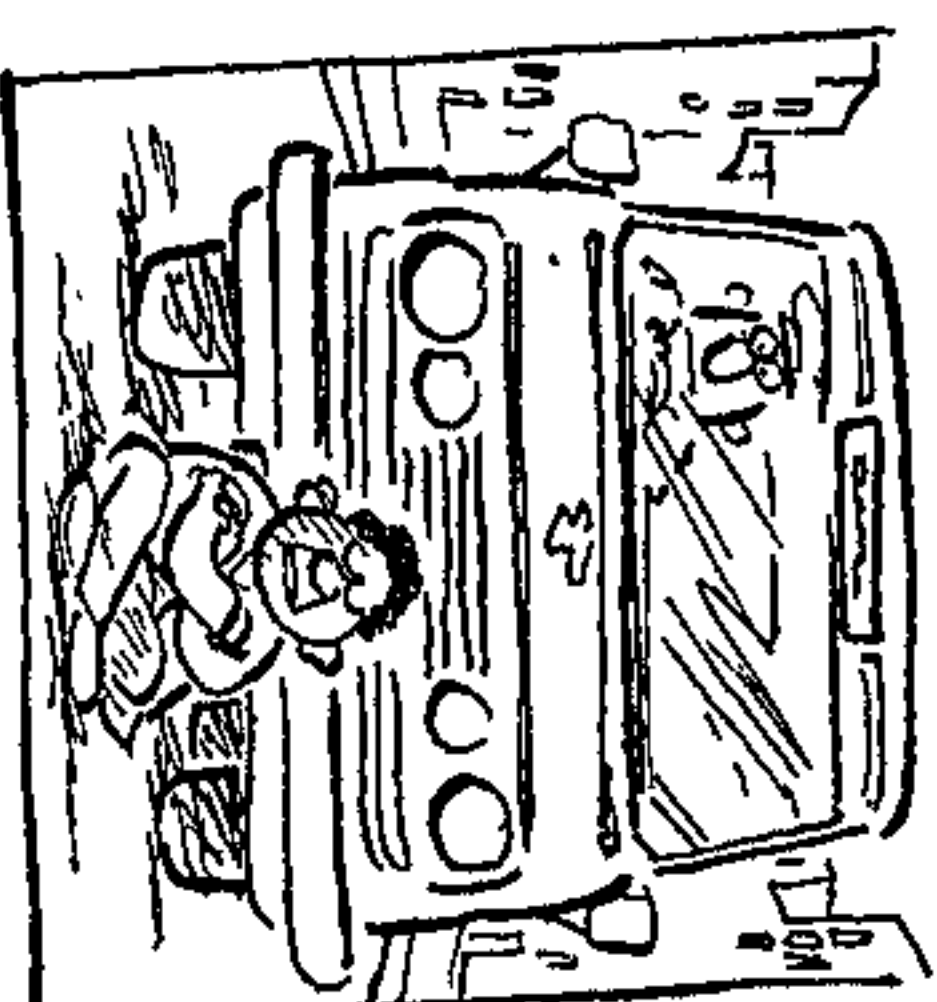
JULY 15: 'Occupation' of government buildings



JULY 18: 'Focus' on the Bantustans



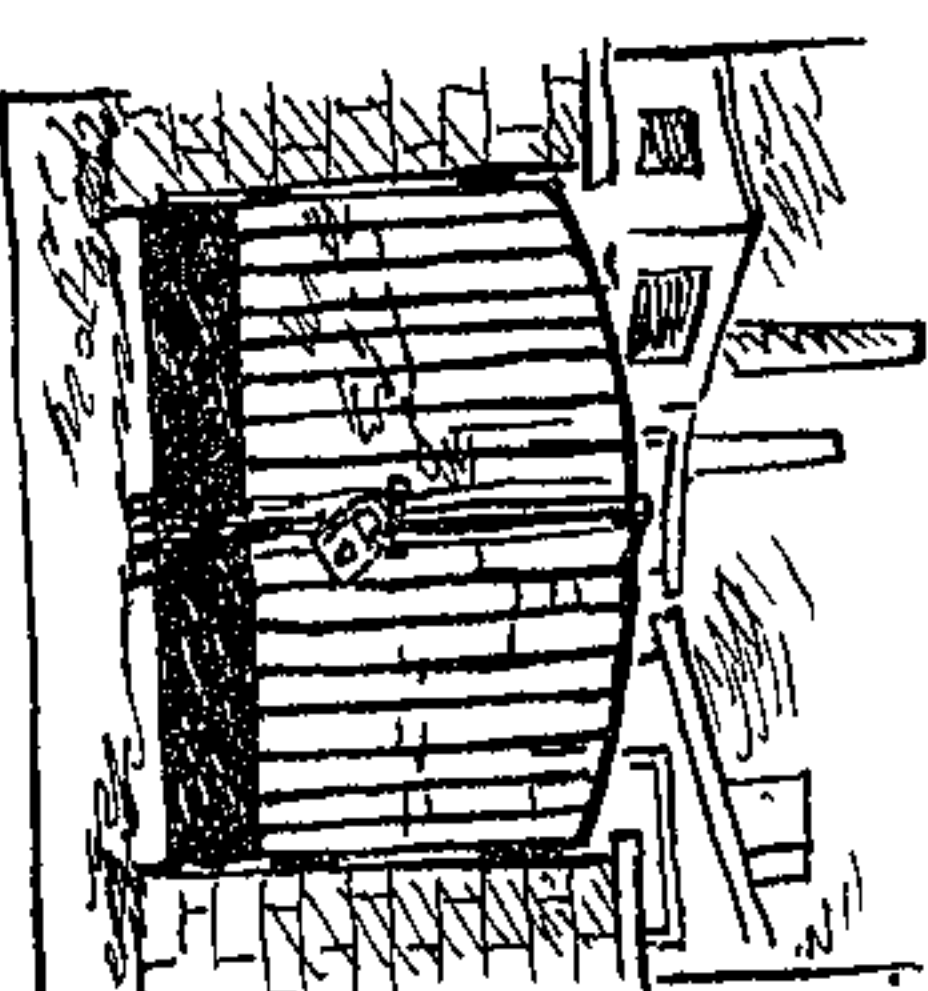
JULY 22: 'Focus' on violence nationally



JULY 25: 'Occupation' of city centres



JULY 31: Campaign for SABC 'democratisation'



AUGUST 3-9: Implementation of 'general strike'

1. Introduction

THE meeting's agenda included reports on phase 1, a brainstorm on our political perspective on mass action and three commissions on rolling action, the general strike and building coalitions. This report needs to be discussed in the constitutional structures of the Tripartite Alliance and a programme finalised as soon as possible.

COUNTDOWN TO CHAOS

establishment of a Fund for a Democratic South Africa.
3.4.3 A code of conduct for comrades who participate in defiance actions.

4. General strike

4.1.1 The main demands of the strike should be for the democratisation of our country or for the transfer of power to the people.

4.1.2 However, we should conceptualise the general strike within the context of the programme.

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continue

2. 'Our political perspective on mass action'

2.1 We are striving through our programme of action to politically defeat De Klerk. When we return to the negotiating table, it should be to discuss the transfer of power to the people.

2.2 However, our mass action needs to continue so that:

- The hand of those at the negotiating table should be strengthened.

- People are part of the process of deciding their own futures.

2.3 Our programme of action should include building a broad pro-democracy movement.

2.4 We need to consider returning to the strategy of politically and administratively establishing organs of people power.

2.5 We should bear in mind the objective of preparing for elections.

2.6 We need to avoid getting trapped into long and protracted negotiations.

2.7 We want a reconstituted negotiations forum where the holding of free and fair elections by December 1992 is discussed.

WHILE political leaders trade laying their plans for massive of a recent meeting of the trip the barrelling protest South

STimes

12/7/92

3. Rolling mass action

3.1 Our rolling mass action should be planned with the following in mind:

3.1.1 The need to build and consolidate our own organisations as well as the Alliance and our relationships with the broadest possible range of organisations who support our demands.

3.1.2 Activities should be co-ordinated across the Alliance, for example, the ANC should join marches against retrenchments.

3.1.3 We need to empower our people to take action into their own hands.

3.1.4 The leadership needs to provide the lead by engaging in defiant actions.

3.1.5 We need to have a tactical approach to paying bail.

We may at some points in time decide to all refuse bail — especially where prominent comrades are involved. However, we need to be careful not to be seen to be involving our people in action; and then deserting them when they are caught.

3.2 Possible activities which could form part of the rolling action include:

- Naming of people's squares in communities.

- Marches.

- Actions directed at those implicated in the violence, eg marches to policemen's homes in the suburbs.

3.3 Timetable of actions. Guideline dates were suggested:

3.3.1 July 1-15: Agitational period.

memoranda, the ANC, SACP and Cosatu are civil action. These extracts from the minutes of the alliance spell out, in deceptively bland terms, what Africa may expect to see in the coming weeks 12/7/92

a) This should include spreading the message to our members through meetings and mass media as well as tactics such as painting police stations red, nailing Freedom Charters on government buildings, etc.

b) Mass meetings in communities should be arranged to explain the programme of action and work out how different local areas can contribute to the programme and link to local issues, eg evictions, no pension payouts, lack of housing, etc.

c) We should also consider creating a culture of street meetings and impromptu meetings in the city centre using megaphones.

3.3.2 From July 15: Occupations of government buildings.

a) This should continue beyond the general strike. While this phase of the campaign should be publicly announced, it should be left to the discretion of sectors and regions to decide on exactly which date they would occupy which buildings.

b) We would need to consider also radio stations to make demands about the SABC and local municipalities to protest unilateral restructuring of these institutions.

3.3.3 July 18: Focus on Bantustans.

a) The Alliance together with our Patriotic Front allies needs to plan a focus on our demand for the restoration of citizenship and reincorporation of Bantustans.

3.3.4 July 22: National focus on violence.

a) This is the second anniversary of the Sebokeng massacre. We need to use this day to highlight our demands to end the violence. Dramatic actions should be planned.

3.3.5 July 25: Occupation of city centres.

3.3.6 July 31: Campaign for democratisation of the SABC.

We need to urgently make a call for the democratisation of the SABC and for major advertisers to come out clearly on their position. If they do not do so by July 31, we need to call for a boycott of products advertised on TV.

3.4 The Alliance Campaign's Committee to follow up:

3.4.1 The establishment of a mass action fund which could be used for bail monies and other such expenses.

3.4.2 PAYE campaign and

also use it to focus on:

- An end to poverty.
- Living wage demands.
- The unilateral restructuring of the economy, so that transfer of power is not empty.

- An end to violence.

- End of Bantustans.

4.2.2 It said the strike should be a minimum of seven days which should involve the following forms of action.

August 3, 4 and 5: Local activities, eg marches and rallies, student activities, occupation of local municipal offices.

August 6 and 7: Regional marches and occupation of city centres.

August 8: Assessment day. A national forum of the alliance should be held.

August 9: Church activities including interdenominational services where priests address issues of relevance to our POA.

4.3 Other points include:

4.3.1 The need to put pressure on employers not to victimise and dismiss workers. Political organisations must also be part of taking up the consequences of mass action, eg ANC to meet Chamber of Mines if there are mass dismissals.

4.3.2 Wage strikes should overlap with the general strike.

4.3.3 The education sector is considering their form of action during the strike.

4.3.4 Cosatu is debating factory occupations.

5. Building broad coalitions

The Commission considered the following initiatives:

5.1 On June 18, 35 organisations discussed the establishment of a broad front opposed to corruption and murder. An ad hoc committee of about 12 organisations is preparing for a second summit.

5.2 Cosatu reported on an initiative between Cosatu, the churches and business to establish a "Charter and Programme for Peace and Democracy".

5.3 Reviving the Patriotic Front.

5.4 The Tripartite Alliance

To guard against sending the wrong or mixed signals to people, on the one hand, and attempts to divide the ANC from its allies, and the SACP and Cosatu in particular, we need to have a consistent, collective and common approach to issues. This was stressed in relation to the sports issue.

Joint action plan as townships slide into new anarchy

BOSSIES IN BID TO HAITI START

Beauties walk on the wild side



Wife's murder:

Top CP

MP is

quizzed

Sunday Times Reporter
CONSERVATIVE Party
MP for Ventersdorp Fanie
van Vuuren was questioned
this week in connection
with his wife's murder on
April 24.

Police also quizzed a
young woman, believed to
be a good friend of Mr Van
Vuuren's who was recently
divorced from a lecturer at
Potchefstroom University.
They also spoke to several
other people.

A spokesman for the
SAP said yesterday the
investigation was "at an
extremely sensitive stage"
and a murder docket would
probably be handed to the
attorney-general this
week.

Primary school teacher
Mrs Hermina van Vuuren,
40, was shot once behind
the ear in the bedroom of
the family home on a
smallholding near Carle-
tonville at about 1am.

Mr Van Vuuren — a
cousin of AFB leader
Eugene Terre Blanche —

TOP businessmen and unionists are engaged in desperate last-minute talks to avert a drawn-out general strike and halt the drift of black townships into the anarchy of the mid-80s. Already comrades in several Reef townships are resurrecting the old block committee system as a first step to seizing control of the townships. They also intend marching on the homes of black policemen.

This week, with neither the ANC nor the government showing any sign of backing down, the ANC's protest campaign moves into a new phase: the occupation of government buildings. But even as the rhetoric of civil protest against the government mounts, the business community and unionists are involved in delicate talks which could seize the initiative from the deadlocked politicians.

The SA Co-ordinating
Committee on Labour
Affairs, a body repre-
senting 10 major em-
ployers and Cosatu, the
trade union federation
sponsoring the protest
actions, is considering
joint worker-boss action
to pressure political
leaders to speed up
moves towards a demo-
cratic settlement.

A day of joint business-
union action on August 3
— the proposed launch
date for a seven-day gen-
eral strike — is now be-
ing considered.

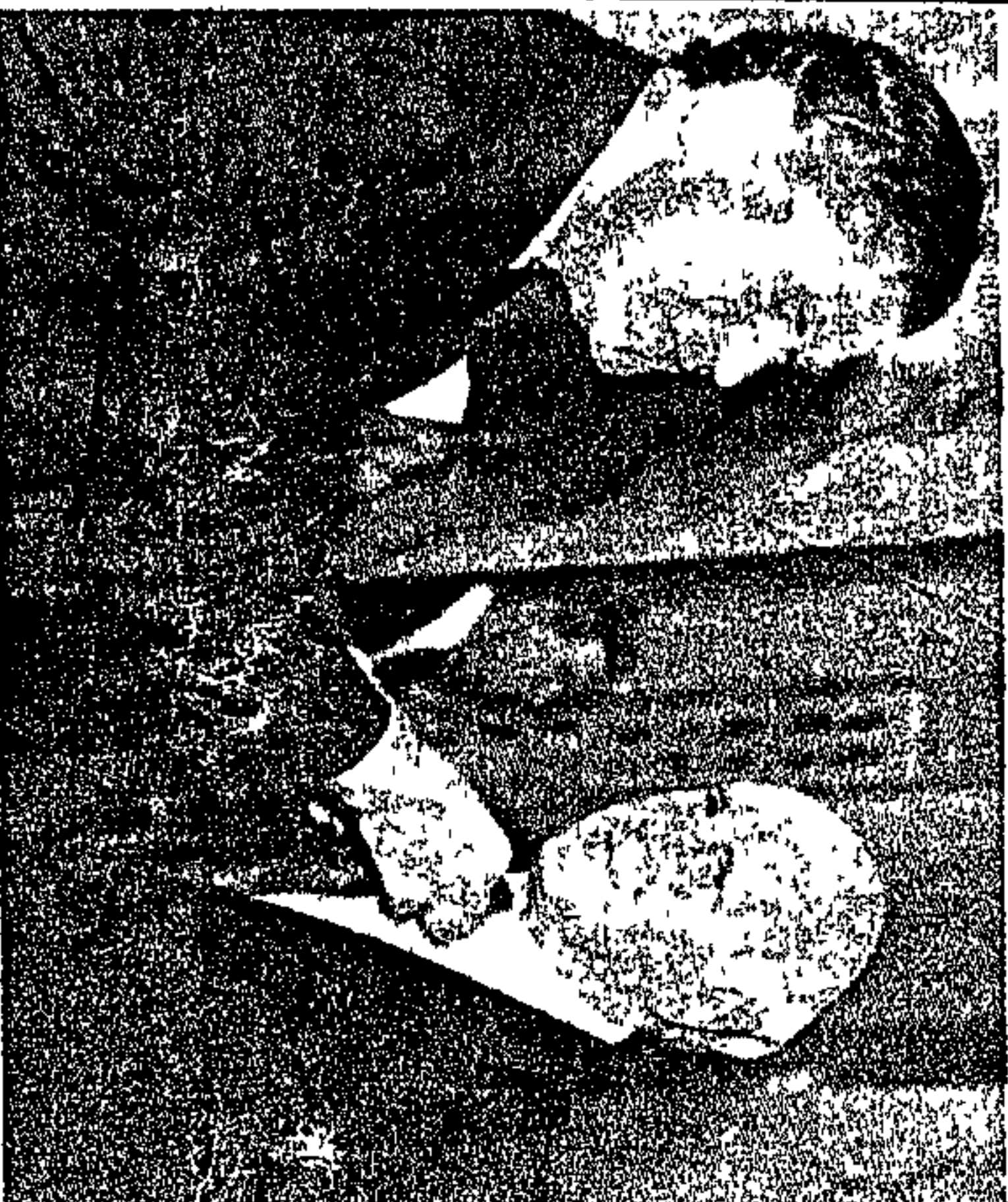
Representatives of
Cosatu and Saccola
agreed on Tuesday to a
draft set of proposals on
joint action to achieve de-
mocracy. The proposals
were endorsed on Thurs-
day at a full executive
meeting of Saccola and
are to be finalised with
Cosatu this week.

Swift

Saccola vice-chairman
Johann Liebenberg said
the objective was to
avoid a national strike
and to find ways to urge
politicians to negotiate.

The draft proposal en-
dorses swift transition to
an interim government
and the holding of demo-
cratic elections for a con-

Now then, what dummy tied your tie?



JUST CHECKING: Kent Durr with a waxen president Picture: ROGAN COLES

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO

London

PRESIDENT FW de
Klerk's wax likeness was
unveiled at Madame Tus-
saud's yesterday. As London

A special friendship. A special kind of friendship.

joint action to achieve democracy. The proposals were endorsed on Thursday at a full executive meeting of Saccola and are to be finalised with Cosatu this week.

Swift

Saccola vice-chairman Johann Liebenberg said the objective was to avoid a national strike and to find ways to urge politicians to negotiate.

The draft proposal endorses swift transition to an interim government and the holding of democratic elections for a constitution-making body.

Key personalities in this initiative are Saccola chairman Bokkie Botha, Chamber of Mines president Bobby Godsell, Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo and Cosatu deputy secretary-general Sam Shilowa.

A leading Cosatu official said joint action by business and the unions was bound to make an impact on resolving the impasse in political negotiations.

But the ANC alliance's bottom line for resuming talks and averting the general strike remained that the government accept majority rule, he said.

On Friday, Cosatu's central executive committee decided on a seven-day national strike beginning on August 3.

Rallies

The first two days would consist of a stayaway from work. On August 5, workers would occupy the major cities with the intention of bringing city life to a standstill.

The next two days would involve workers' occupation of factories and other workplaces while the last two days would consist of rallies and meetings.

Already, however, events on the ground appear to be overtaking the leaders.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba confirmed this week that the intention was to take the townships back to the era of "ungovernability" of the mid-80s.

"As part of our mass action we are going to identify and march towards the homes of police who killed our people during riots," he said. "We are going to harass their families so that they know that they are stay-

□ To Page 2

Bid to end strife

From Page 1

ing with killers in their families.

"We are going to return to the 1985 period with the establishment of street and block committees and people's courts. Residents are going to take their town-

ships away from the government and run them as they please. After all, that is better than living in fear of being attacked by state agents who kill them in their sleep," Mr Mokaba said.

A new slogan has emerged among firebrands in the more radical Pan Africanist Congress in Transvaal townships: "Kill a cop a day".

From East Rand townships, meanwhile, come reports of a hardening of anti-white sentiment. ANC, PAC and Azapo youth have also apparently buried their difference and declared themselves ready to support the protest actions.

The government is also showing few signs of compromise.

"There is too much fight left on both sides," was how a senior cabinet minister summed up the situation this week. "The ANC believes it is on a winning streak while the government believes it is too strong to succumb."

South Africa's domestic crisis will also take the international stage this week.

Effort

At least six Codesa participants will be at the United Nations in New York on Wednesday when the Security Council begins its hearing on South Africa.

Among those addressing the council will be Foreign Minister Pik Botha, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and homeland leaders Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and General Bantu Holomisa of

Transkei. In an effort to position itself before the hearing, the South African government has again made clear that it would be willing to accept a greater role for the international community within the country.

Yesterday National Party secretary-general Stofel van der Merwe called for an independent team of international experts to be asked to investigate, evaluate and report on the extent to which the ANC alliance has honoured its agreements with the government — particularly on the control of weapons and its armed wing.

Crisis

In effect he was asking for international involvement in monitoring compliance with the Peace Accord and the Groote Schuur, Pretoria and DF Malan minutes. A monitoring role for the international community is a key ANC demand.

President F.W. de Klerk's diplomatic initiatives and the absence of the Soviet Union convince the government that it will have a more favourable reception at the Security Council.

Whatever the outcome of the council meeting, however, government ministers are already preparing themselves for a greatly changed climate after mass action.

"When we return (from the current crisis) it is likely to be a very different negotiating table," said one who is intimately involved in the negotiations. "If it does involve the same players and format you can be sure that the issues will be different."

'Uniforms are proof of a third force' (274)

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Another member of the African National Congress has been found in possession of a South African Defence Force uniform, the third such incident in four days.

Police arrested a man yesterday as he made his way to an ANC meeting at the Glebelands hostel in Umlazi.

When he was confronted by

members of the Montclair Firearm Unit the man said he had been given the uniform by a friend.

On Thursday police arrested two prominent members of the ANC and took possession of two army uniforms and a gun. The next day police found a pair of army trousers in a caravan at Umlazi.

Police spokesman Captain

Bala Naidoo said today: "Allegations were often levelled against the security forces for attacks carried out by members of the security forces, particularly in areas where no record existed of any security force activity."

"This latest arrest is proof of the existence of the so-called third force that is not connected to the SAP and security forces," said Captain Naidoo.

1125 13/7/92

**Aggrey
Klaaste's**



**On the
LINE**

Help repair damage to the black nation

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Soweto 13/7/92

It is with a chilling feeling of *dejavu* that I recollect what I said about violence in my first Nation Building speech.

For the record, though, let me remind you of what I said when Nation Building was launched at Shareworld, on Friday October 21 1988.

I told the story of March 21 1960 in Sharpeville; of June 16 1976 in Soweto; and of September 3 1984 in the Vaal.

After Sharpeville 1960, the first paradigm towards the phenomenon I have been able to identify happened. We were outraged by crowds shot in the back, a chorus picked up by the international community. Sharpeville became a place and date to remember.

White South Africa was made to believe the cause behind that first revolution came from a few radicals.

Soweto 1976 also became part of the calendar, part of the festering

wound. White business launched the Urban Foundation, among other conscience-salving things.

Then the "necklace" hit the townships in the early '80s.

This is what I said: "There is therefore a holding of the angry breath in the black community. It is probably unconscious, but I can feel it in my bones. There is a silent preparation by blacks for the next inevitable explosion."

If anybody then had predicted the chilling scenes like Swanniesville, Boipatong, the spray of bullets in taxis and the killings in the trains, I would have called them crazy.

After 1988 we wrote about Nation Building and got involved intimately with the communities we serve.

I said then all South Africans should be involved in repairing the damage done to the black nation. It applies even more now.

SA 292	Johannesburg Saturday 10 00	London Saturday 20 30
FLIGHT	DEPARTS	ARRIVES

FTSE	100	Index	Low	High	Open
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BUSINESS DAY, Monday, July 13 1992

SAP reports sharp rise in attacks on policemen

MORE than 100 policemen have died in unrest-related incidents this year, 30% less than the number killed in the whole of last year.

SA Police spokesman Capt Burger van Rooyen said at the weekend that 103 police officers had died of gunshot and stab wounds, mainly in the PWV and Natal. Many were killed while off duty.

At least three more policemen died in incidents last week, bringing the total to 106. The figure is fast approaching the 137 policemen killed in the whole of last year.

Van Rooyen said it was difficult to say why the killings had increased despite the use of bullet-proof vests and armoured vehicles.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus described the growing number of police deaths as "a sad situation".

He said police were victims of

apartheid because they had been used by government in a political role in addition to normal policing duties.

Niehaus said police were often "victims of violence that results from their own actions."

"The ANC has issued consistent calls (to its supporters) not to become involved in violence against police even in the face of provocation."

Human Rights Commission spokesman Safoora Sadek said security force training methods needed to be revamped.

"They were trained to see opponents of apartheid as the enemy and this hasn't changed."

Sapa reports at least four people died in unrest-related incidents at the weekend.

Two people were killed and six wounded in an ambush at Kranskop near Greytown in the Natal Midlands

early on Saturday morning.

SA Police spokesman Capt Henry Budhram said a family of six and some friends were attacked by a group armed with AK-47 rifles and 9mm pistols.

Police found the body of a man with bullet wounds in Alexandra township. Four men have been arrested.

A man was also killed in Dube, Soweto, after being attacked by an unknown group.

The PAC said one of its members, Dan Marokane, was killed in Tembisa near Johannesburg on Saturday night. No further details were given.

In other incidents a police vehicle was damaged after shots were fired at a patrol in Maokeng near Kroonstad. In Mapethla, Soweto, a house was extensively damaged in a petrol bomb attack.

RAY HARTLEY

B/PAY 13/7/92

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Dates huge worth D 2 Qm

Call to prosecute govt for 'violence'

CF 14/7/92
JOHANNESBURG. — The Coalition Against State Murder and Corruption (Casmac) — a 49-member group — met yesterday to declare they had "had enough" and to pinpoint ways of gathering proof and ensuring prosecution of these charges against the government.

Speaking at a press conference after the meeting here, Lawyers for Human Rights representative Mr Brian Currin said the conference had taken as its premise the assertion that the government was guilty of violence.

Mr Currin said the fight by groups such as LHR had until now focused on individual cases of government-sponsored violence.

Pressure would continue for the prosecution of those government structures or personnel who had already been identified, he said. — Sapa

Court hears ANC ordered cop killings

PIET RETIEF. — A former exile and self-confessed ANC member yesterday told the Regional Court here he and two others were instructed by the ANC to murder certain policemen in the town.

Kgatso Branden Samson, 35, said they were told by ANC executive committee member and the head of security, Mr Joe Nhlanhla, to commit the murders "to clear the way for mass action by the ANC in July and August".

Samson was found guilty on charges of possessing a firearm and ammunition without a licence, but was acquitted of pointing a firearm at a policeman.

He said Mr Nhlanhla showed him a map with key points like the police station, court building and Defence Force buildings, which he had to destroy.

Samson said the ANC regarded the local security police as "extremely effective" and they were costing the organisation "a lot of money".

He said he was revealing this as it was the ANC's practice to later kill people who had executed an order. — Sapa

2742 722 CT 14/7/92

Mass action worries Tutu

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Sowetan 14/7/92

■ 'Negotiation the only way'

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu yesterday expressed concern about mass action and whether it could be peaceful.

He indicated that the church would also try to play a facilitating role, including in negotiations because they were the only way for the country.

In a telephone interview from Windhoek, the archbishop said he had positive responses from President FW De Klerk to a petition sent to him after the Boipatoing memorial service in Cape Town.

Breakdown

Tutu said church leaders contacted Codesa officials about the breakdown in negotiations and would continue a facilitating role.

Mass action could be understandable in the case of the disenfranchised masses who wanted to express their concern.

"The first protest march in Cape Town had shown how disciplined a huge crowd could be," he said.

"On the other hand a recent protest march had shown how things can get out of hand and how hangers-on can misuse such an occasion."

Patrick Laurence reflects on the violence which has claimed 7 000 lives in two years

Looking at the bigger picture

STAR 14/1/92

(274)

PROFESSOR Lawrence Schlemmer, a man who usually chooses his words carefully, has characterised South Africa as the most violent society on Earth.

If there is an element of hyperbole in his startling statement, it is understandable: since President de Klerk launched his bid for a negotiated settlement on February 2 1990, more than 7 000 people have been shot, hacked, stabbed and burnt to death in apparently endless political violence.

Direct political violence, however, is but a small part of the greater violence that threatens to tear South Africa apart. For every person who dies in political violence, another eight are murdered in straight criminal violence.

The banality of murder creates an atmosphere that nurtures murderous zealotry by making life cheap.

The boundary between political and criminal violence is porous. Former guerrillas, tired of waiting for an opportunity to lead a normal life, turn to crime; gangsters armed with AK-47s, a weapon associated with armed struggle but easily available on the black mar-

ket, rob banks and hijack cars.

The violence, generating fear and anger, leads to polemical dispute in which the main political organisations castigate one another. Tendentious pronouncements add to the accretions of hatred and fuel further violence.

It is in the context of these developments that the Boipatong massacre of June 17 became the 49th massacre in which 10 or more people were murdered since July 1990, according to Human Rights Commission records.

Within hours of the massacre the ANC issued a statement blaming Mr de Klerk for the killings and accusing the police of direct complicity.

Referring to the De Klerk administration — which has won world acclaim for its reformist policies since Mr de Klerk came to power in September 1990, the ANC said: "The death toll of black people during its brief period of office exceeds that of 40 years of National Party rule".

It cited a 1990 amendment to the Natal Native Code, decreed by Mr de Klerk, contending that it "legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons" and that he had

therefore created the opportunity for "slaughter".

The unspoken assumptions in the ANC statement were that Mr de Klerk had made it legal for Zulu supporters of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to carry sticks, spears and shields, to use them to kill ANC members and sympathisers, and to terrorise blacks generally into shunning the ANC.

The statement should be seen in the context of the disclosure last year that Mr de Klerk's administration had secretly helped to finance IFP rallies and continued surreptitious payments to the IFP's trade union arm, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa), after Mr de Klerk acceded to the presidency.

The implications of the ANC statement — that Mr de Klerk had armed and financed black "surrogates" or "mercenaries" to destabilise the ANC by killing its followers — reverberated in the aftermath of the Boipatong massacre.

The prime suspects were Zulu-speaking men from the nearby KwaMadala Hostél, an IFP stronghold in an area generally

dominated by the ANC; they were alleged to have carried out the massacre with the assistance of policemen who purportedly ferried them there in Casspirs.

The case for the ANC accusers seems indisputable. Yet a closer look at the situation shows that it is not as simple as that.

The August 1990 amendment to the Natal Native Code of 1887 did allow Zulus to carry dangerous weapons, including assegais or spears, sharpened sticks, sticks shod with iron and battle axes, under specified conditions. As some of these conditions applied under the original code, the amendment did not create an entirely new situation.

What the amendment did do was to widen the scope for carrying these weapons — ie make it easier to carry them — by adding a new condition: Zulus could carry these weapons if they could prove that they were carrying them for bona fide purposes according to Zulu custom and tradition.

The ANC alleged that the purpose of the amendment was to legitimise the refusal of police to disarm IFP men.

The legal section of the Min-

istry of Law and Order — which drafted the amendment — denies that was its intention, the motive, it insists, was to bring the Natal Native Code in line with the Dangerous Weapons Act, which authorises the carrying of dangerous weapons provided the person concerned can prove that he/she has no intention of using the weapon for unlawful purposes, including, obviously, murder or assault.

Last December the Supreme Court declared the amendment null and void because of its vagueness. It made the debate over the intention of law makers largely academic.

It was superseded by the agreement of the De Klerk administration, when it signed the National Peace Accord last September, to ban the possession or display of dangerous weapons by people attending political meetings or participating in political marches.

It fulfilled its commitment in February 1992 by amending the Dangerous Weapons Act accordingly. Prohibited weapons included spears. A month later the prohibition was extended to trains and stations in a bid to curb the killing of people on trains.

At present, Mr de Klerk's legal draftsmen are preparing regulations to prohibit the possession of dangerous weapons in any public place.

Soon after the signing of the National Peace Accord, Mr de Klerk appointed a permanent judicial commission to investigate political violence, including allegations of State complicity.

It was headed by Mr Justice R J Goldstone, the same who delivering a withering indictment of the police in his inquiry into the shooting of black civilians by policemen in March 1990.

Seen in the context of Mr Goldstone's finding that no evidence has been submitted so far to justify allegations that Mr de Klerk, his Cabinet Ministers or his senior security force officers were involved in the Boipatong massacre, these events modify — at the very least — the ANC's one-dimensional view of the violence as the product of conspiracy against it.

They recall the words of the Greek poet, Archilochus, in the 7th century BC: "The fox knows many things. The hedgehog knows only one big thing." South Africa needs more foxes □

Breakthrough imminent

Soweto 14/7/92

(4012) 274 (182) (100)

■ Cosatu and business leaders on the brink of agreeing on a document to speed up transition:

BUSINESS and trade union chiefs are on the brink of agreeing on a joint document which could speed up the stalled political transition and ensure that if next month's general strike does take place, its effects on the economy will be limited.

Top labour and business leaders met in Johannesburg yesterday to try to hammer out a final version of the document, which proposes practical steps to combat violence and poverty - and commits the signatories to mobilising support for a transition to interim government and an elected constitution-making body by this year.

It is understood that Cosatu is consulting a wide range of organisations, including churches, to see if there is support for the approach set out in the document.

Sources say they hope it will be finalised and made public by the end of the week.

Members of the SA Co-ordinating Committee on Labour Affairs and Cosatu are the key players in the negotiations.

Saccola spokesman Mr Bokkie Botha yesterday confirmed that meetings had taken place and said another was scheduled for later this week.

The discussions had been "constructive", he said, but would not comment further.

The labour/business negotiators are also considering proposals that:

Assemblies "for peace, economic reconstruction and progress to democracy" be jointly convened by participants on August 3 - the day the strike is scheduled to start.

The document be presented to "a broadly representative meeting or convention" to be held before the end of this month.

Observers believe that if the joint business/labour initiative comes off, it will offer clear benefits to both sides.

SA political rift shifts

■ **CODESA IMPASSE** Political leaders go to

Security Council to present views on how to

resolve the negotiations deadlock at Codesa:

By **Themba Molefe**

Political Reporter

LEADERS of the ANC, PAC, Azapo and the Inkatha Freedom Party left for New York last night for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council tomorrow.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope and Ciskeian leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo left for the same meeting on Sunday.

Addressing journalists at Jan Smuts Airport before their departure, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the purpose of the special session of the Security Council was to solicit a resolution which would make for the appointment of a UN representative to monitor violence and report directly to the UN.

He said the UN would be asked to strengthen the Goldstone Commission in its investigations and findings. Mandela praised Mr Justice Richard Goldstone for his efforts so far.

Mandela, however, warned that the ANC's mass action programme would not necessarily be suspended.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leading a three-man delegation, said he would present an 88-page document detailing attacks against IFP members since the signing of the National Peace Accord last September.

He said Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu had a case to present to the UN following what he termed an ANC's plan to destabilise those territories.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said his delegation would tell the session that the violence was orchestrated from outside the townships and was not just a black-on-black faction

fighting Sowetan 14/7/92.

He said an external solution was long overdue and was even more urgent now. PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke will also take part in the UN debate.

Mandela said the fact that an external solution was being sought was an indictment on South African leaders to find solutions.

He said this was regrettable.

Buthelezi said he opposed foreign intervention but was going to the UN after its Secretary General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, assured him he would address the meeting.

● Mandela will also visit the United States, the Middle East and Spain. He will also attend the US Democratic Party's national convention in New York.

According to an itinerary released by the ANC, Mandela will fly to Teheran, Iran, after addressing the UN, and on July 21 will travel to Kuwait.

He is scheduled to leave the Middle East on July 29 to arrive in Johannesburg on July 30.

Meanwhile, PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander left for London yesterday where he would speak at two-day seminar on violence in South Africa.

See Page 9

Council of Trade Unions, discriminatory practices Joe Botha announced last night.

Body to fight 'corruption, murder'

By Michael Sparks

A coalition of nearly 50 organisations was formed yesterday to fight Government "corruption and State-sponsored murders".

Dubbed the Coalition against State Murder and Corruption (Casmac), it was formed at Wits University and plans to send a representative to Harare to address a United Nations group investigating human rights violations.

Casmac comprises a broad spectrum of trade unions as well as political and religious groups, including the ANC, Congress of SA Trade Unions, SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, SA



Ramaphosa ... urged vigorous public outcry.

Council of Churches, Lawyers for Human Rights, Human Rights Commission, Black Sash, Pan Africanist Congress and Five Freedoms Forum, among others.

Addressing the launch of Casmac yesterday, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa urged

the public to act to force the State to be more accountable for its actions.

He challenged the public to take part in a more vigorous public outcry so that the Government could not "get away with denials of complicity in the violence".

Casmac, in a document distributed at the launch, called for the dismissal and prosecution of all Government ministers and officials who had been involved in murder or corruption.

It also called for the full disclosure of secret projects and covert operations — and the creation of a multiparty commission, involving the international community, with full powers of ac-

cess and investigation into the security forces.

Casmac plans to meet Mr Justice Goldstone to voice its concern that recommendations by the Goldstone Commission are not being acted upon by the Government.

Members also hope to meet President de Klerk.

Casmac intends writing to the UN Committee Against Apartheid and the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Among the 18 members elected to the steering committee are Cheryl Carolus of the ANC, Kallie Hanekom of Five Freedoms Forum, Brian Curren of Lawyers for Human Rights and John Lamola of the SA Council of Churches.

Dismissed Toyota workers stone job-seekers

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Pandemonium broke out at the Toyota plant in Prospecton south of Durban yesterday and police were called in and fired tear-gas to disperse dismissed workers who had stoned and chased away people seeking employment.

Job-seekers arrived at the plant after Toyota's announced at the weekend that it would start recruiting new workers after the dismissal of 6 000 workers who had been on strike for more than a month.

Talks between management and the National Union of Metal-

workers of SA (Numsa) deadlocked on Friday.

From early yesterday, hundreds of people queued up at the gates to seek interviews. Police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said a group of former employees stoned and threw bottles at the job-seekers.

"Repeated calls to those who were not seeking employment to leave the area were ignored."

Toyota public affairs managing director Phil Wilkon confirmed the incident.

Numsa regional secretary Eckie Esau was unavailable for comment.

THE UN Security Council meets tomorrow to help SA out of its current impasse. To most of the permanent members, and several of the permanent ones as well, this is not a proper use of the council's time. Unlike the Balkan crisis, SA's problems do not constitute a threat to international peace.

Nor, at this stage anyway, do they involve a conflict between sovereign states, real or aspiring. However much they may affect the surrounding region, they are at root a domestic matter. In taking them on, the council is setting itself an uneasy precedent. Few countries can honestly relish the prospect of the UN presuming to act as arbiter of their internal disputes.

Nonetheless, if UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the permanent members can keep their heads — and hitherto they have — this week's session should prove a valuable exercise. With all 19 Codesa members, plus the nine African foreign ministers deputised by the OAU, having the right to speak, the superficial theatre will be unedifying — a throwback to the days before the UN found itself custodian of the New World Order and was merely a Hyde Park Corner for the self-styled wretched of the earth. Beneath the surface, however, important business should be transacted.

The principal function of the meeting and of the resolution that emerges from it must be to restore the primacy of those within the ANC alliance — principally, one assumes, president Nelson Mandela — who wish the Codesa process to succeed along the lines the parties have mapped out for themselves.

Seen from this remove, the collapse of Codesa II and the post-Boipatong hysteria are symptoms of the quite understandable difficulty the ANC is having in making the transition from liberation movement to political party, from struggles to electoral competitors within a constitutional framework.

The nature of the difficulty is illustrated by a couple of draft papers

ANC alliance's options limited as crisis goes to UN

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SIMON BARBER in Washington

allegedly prepared for the SACP's June 20 consultative conference. The authenticity of the first, which Ken Owen discussed in his Sunday Times column two weeks ago, has been established. The second, which landed on my desk last week, may be genuine but could equally be a plant. I assume it has already been circulated at home. Whatever its provenance, its analysis — which is offered in the first person on behalf of an unidentified "we" — seems acute.

The author contends there are now three basic "strategic outlooks" within the liberation alliance. The first, which he describes as "Don't Rock the Boat", sees "the path to democratisation as depending primarily upon negotiated pacts between elites. Elites deliver their constituencies. The job of constituencies is 'to be delivered'."

"This perspective is grounded on the assumption that there is essentially a strategic convergence between responsible leaders on the side of both the regime and the national liberation movement. This 'moderate centre' must be allowed to coalesce; it must be given the space and time to get on with the task."

The second outlook the author calls "turning on the tap", and is "essentially a militant version of the

first". Under this approach, mass action is conceived as a tool of the negotiating "elite" to strengthen their hand at the table. Like the first strategy, option two is said to appeal to those who view the ANC as a "government in waiting" and who "see themselves as future bureaucrats" when the waiting is over.

This "begins to suggest that soon the national liberation movement must transform narrowly into an electoral machine. Once more mass action will be confined to periodic spurts, this time in elections — yet another version of turning the tap on and off."

The third strand is "The Leipzig Way" — the mobilisation of truly spectacular demonstrations of the kind that brought down East Germany's Erich Honeker. This, says the author, is preferable to methods one and two in principle, and enjoys considerable support among less sophisticated, grassroots comrades. The trouble is in the practicalities: "How realistic is this option?"

Not very, in the author's view. "Internationally, as we know, there has been a very rapid and absolutely radical change in the balance of forces. It was essentially this funda-

mental change that allowed mass demonstrations in Leipzig and Prague to act as catalysts for the rapid demise of governments." However, that same change has meant that the world balance of forces is now foursquare behind negotiated transitions, and thus "entirely unfavourable" to mass insurrection in SA.

Nor are the government and its "repressive machinery" about to fold. To the contrary, developments since 1989, particularly the disengagements from Angola and Namibia, have "parsecingly (sic) relieved the pressures on the SADF. Today, there are almost certainly more guns in the hands of the popular masses... than ever before. But we are further (and we are arguably never that close) from insurrection than we were three or four years ago."

There are several further problems with the Leipzig option. One is that it will succeed only in "winding the masses up" and then demoralising them when it does not bear the expected fruit. Second, "because the insurrectionary logic tends to be one of disengagement from the negotiation process, it is liable to open the way to the regime unilaterally steering the process of transformation". Another problem — and this

seems a particularly interesting point — is that the "insurrectionary orientation" has already "tended to become an elite, conspiratorial fixation" among certain groupings within the alliance, most notably the Youth League, proponent of the Leipzig variant. It calls the "extended political strike". In other words, the author suspects that the third option's principal backers may see it as much as a means of seizing control of the liberation movement as of overthrowing the government.

Unfortunately, having critiqued what he sees as the three major strands of the alliance's thinking, the author stops short of offering any specific alternatives. He does, however, stress the need for achieving a unified line and does not rule out a strategy of rolling mobilisation that will leave the movement "maximally poised to exploit... a sudden insurrectionary moment should one occur".

Whoever wrote the paper — and such is its tone that it hardly seems calculated to generate a Red Scare any more than the other, certifiably genuine document now in circulation — its analysis, albeit mechanistic, makes sense. It suggests what ought to be fairly obvious anyway, namely that the ANC front, having failed to win a Sandinista-like ouster of the existing powers, has run into an ideological and strategic hard place and is flying apart at the seams. This possibility, rather than government's overweening constitutional demands and failure to "control" its police, may be at the root of the present breakdown.

What is needed now is to help the proponents of option one, even two, regain the upper hand. This is where the Security Council can help.

Those within the ANC who favour negotiation need bolstering in the eyes both of their constituents and their rivals. The council, as the official voice of the international community, can contribute to that. It can also indicate that there are limits to what the ANC can reasonably expect the government to concede.

If Mandela is the statesman he is billed as, this is why he has appealed to the UN.

station where six men claimed they had been beaten by their leaders.

ANC, govt clash over police deaths

A WAR of words has erupted between government and the ANC over the growing number of police deaths in unrest-related incidents. **SIDAY 14/7/92**

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze appealed to the ANC yesterday to "condemn publically" the killing of more than 100 policemen in incidents of violence this year.

He said a climate of "war talk and belligerent statements" by political organisations was to blame for the growing number of attacks on policemen.

But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday his organisation had condemned the killing of policemen in the past and would continue to do so.

He said it was remarks such as those made by Law and Order Minister Hernus

RAY HARTLEY

Kriel suggesting the security forces would be deployed for political ends that caused resentment of the police. **(274)**

Kotze said statistics showed police killings had "virtually doubled" since apartheid legislation had been scrapped.

More than 100 policemen had died violently so far this year while the figure for the whole of 1986 was 68, he said.

"Investigations are being hampered by organisations who issue calls not to aid the police. This explodes the theory that we are tardy in investigating the violence," he said, adding that ANC statements had hampered efforts to arrest the Boipatong killers.

Tiny's 'gift' to Tamo...

Government slated for failing to protect Goldstone witnesses

The Argus Correspondent

(274) 14/7/92
ARG

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African government was neglecting its responsibility to protect Goldstone Commission witnesses — and foreign governments had been left to foot the bill, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) charged.

LHR director Brian Currin said his organisation ran a special witness protection programme to ensure the safety of Commission witnesses.

The programme cost about R20 000 a month, and ran solely on funds donated by foreign embassies.

"It is ridiculous that LHR and foreign governments should foot the bill for something that is the responsibility of the South African government," Mr Currin charged.

LHR spokesman Laura Pollecut said two categories of witnesses needed protection: Those who witnessed the violence and those who allegedly took part in it.

Indarin Govender, co-ordinator of LHR's Violence Monitoring Project, who organises the protection of witnesses, said LHR was trying to fill a gap in the judicial system, but could not hope to do so adequately.

Only the Department of Justice could take responsibility for the protection of witnesses because independent organisations lacked the funds and the police lacked the credibility, Mr Govender said.

Killing of police 'step to anarchy'

CT 14/7/92 (274) (251)

PRETORIA. — Attacks on policemen, caused by a climate of hate and suspicion, were the first steps on a slide to anarchy and lawlessness, a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order warned yesterday.

"A product of this climate is that policemen are now apparently being murdered simply because they are policemen, to the detriment of the entire community," he said.

The climate, "fuelled by a constant flow of hate propaganda and unsubstantiated allegations", made attacks on policemen appear to be justified.

The spokesman also referred specifically to the "particularly brutal murder" of two constables in Sebokeng at the weekend.

The homes of four policemen in Sebokeng were damaged by petrol bombs at the weekend and in Boipatong two men were arrested for throwing stones at police vehicles.

In Umlazi, Durban, an off-duty police constable was tied up and shot by unidentified gunmen on Sunday evening, police reported.

The "gunmen tied him to the back of his private car and shot him with AK-47 rifles, a police spokesman said. The policeman died in hospital.

His attackers took his service pistol.

This brings to at least six the number of

policemen killed since last Wednesday.

In the Natal Midlands, at least two people were killed in political fighting in Wembezi, outside Estcourt, at the weekend, said a local Democratic Party national council member and co-convenor of a local peace structure, Mr Graham McIntosh.

Wembezi has been the site of clashes between members of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress over the past two weeks.

Yesterday's unrest report said one person had been found dead in Wembezi with hack and burn wounds.

Mr McIntosh, a justice of the peace, who was in Wembezi on Saturday at the time of the fighting, said about 2 000 Inkatha supporters held a rally in the township and on their way home stopped outside the house of a local ANC executive committee member.

The group began singing war songs and a person emerged from the house and fired into the group.

An IFP supporter was killed during the shoot-out, and another person was "necklaced" in Wembezi on Saturday night. Four houses, including the local Anglican priest's home, were burnt in Saturday's violence, Mr McIntosh said.

"It is extremely tense and no one can escape the blame." — Sapa

IFP objects to MK's existence

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The IFP has requested the National Peace Committee (NPC) to refer the IFP's unresolved complaint about the continued existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, for arbitration.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said the existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe was in breach of the National Peace Accord.

The IFP has also formally complained about reported statements by ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba and by PAC "firebrands".

Mr Mokaba was alleged to have said the youth league would make the townships ungovernable.

Although the PAC was not a signatory to the National Peace Accord, the NPC should contact the PAC leadership about the slogan "Kill a cop a day" —
Political Reporter.

Planned sit-ins may result in confrontations

WILSON ZWANE

PLANNED sit-ins at government buildings today seem likely to result in confrontation between the authorities and members of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance. (274)

Targets are all government buildings — including police stations, courts and buildings owned by local and provincial authorities. ANC campaigns committee chairman Mandla Dhlamini said the sit-ins would be staged "right in the offices where their effects will be felt the most".

Dhlamini said although the alliance was aware police would "arrest and harass protesters", the protest would go ahead.

Police said yesterday they had taken precautions to prevent the sit-ins as they would disrupt essential services.

They called on organisers to refrain from the planned action because it would lead to confrontation with the police who had to maintain law and order.

They said many townships where sit-ins were planned were unrest areas and those taking part could be breaking the law.

Dhlamini said today's occupation of government buildings and other actions — such as barricades in city centres, pickets, marches and rallies — were a build-up to the three-day general strike from August 3.

LINDA ENSOR reports from Cape Town that the ANC Youth League is to hold a mock trial of President F W de Klerk and other key figures on the Grand Parade today as part of the mass action campaign.

ANC MP Jan van Eck and ANC Western Cape regional secretary Tony Yengeni, are due to speak at the rally which will see mock charges being laid against De Klerk, State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and police officer C P van der Westhuizen.

ANC Youth League Western Cape president Mcebisi Skwatsha said "charges" would focus on "corruption, murder and assassinations and conspiracy to prolong apartheid". After being found guilty they would be sentenced. At Caledon Square formal charges would be laid against C P Van der Westhuizen for signing the death warrant of the Cradock Four.

ANALYSIS 'Elimination of unco-operative leaders'

continue

Evidence points to police atrocities

■ SECURITY SCOURGE

The ANC, PAC and

Azapo say although the

Government has lifted some

security and emergency legislation, assassi-

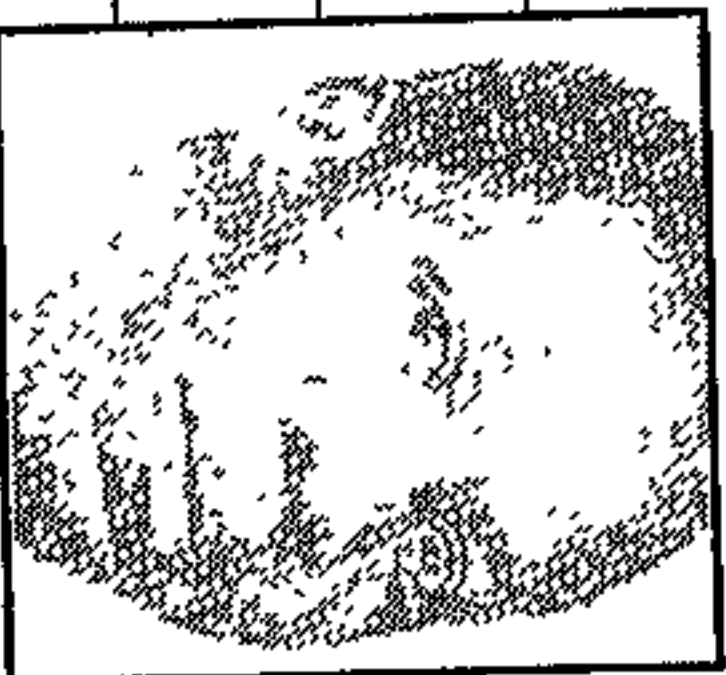
nations and abductions continue. Last

week's killing of MK cadre George Mashela

is part of the campaign. **Monk Nkomo,**

our Pretoria bureau chief, reports:

South Africa . . . 1977/10/7 . . .



Gomolemo Mokaie . . . family harassed.



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15/7/92

THE recent assassination of an MK and an Apla cadre, plus the attempt to kill two other activists, is believed to be a renewal of attacks on black political organisations.

Two weeks ago George Mashele, an MK cadre, was killed under suspicious circumstances in Vosloorus.

This followed the brutal attack on ANC member Mr Oupa Masuku and an attempt to abduct and murder the family of a senior member of Azapo, Dr Gomolemo Mokae, in Bophuthatswana.

First to be attacked this year was Masuku, who was stopped by men wearing army uniforms near the swimming pool in Saulsville during the night of March 21.

He sustained serious injuries. A woman passenger who was with him was raped.

Masuku, who was organising secretary in the Justice and Peace Commission at the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, reported the matter to the police.

"Until this day there have been no arrests. And this makes us believe that these are renewed attacks on political activists in the township," said Masuku.

Continuously harassed by police for many years, Masuku's mother, Mrs Esther Masuku, was killed in a handgrenade attack at her house on March 5 1986. The ANC blamed State agents for the attack because, until this day, nobody has been arrested.

"It has always been the aim of the State to eliminate influential leaders within all liberation movements," said ANCPWV media spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.

Assassinated

Deputy Commander of the African People's Liberation Army (Apla), Jan Shoba, was assassinated allegedly by white men at his sister's residence in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on May 29.

Before he was murdered, Shoba

was also attacked, assaulted and left for dead by white people near the same swimming pool. A woman who was with him was also gang-raped.

After Shoba's death, the local branches of the PAC, ANC, Azapo and church groups, resolved to form a united defence force which could include cadres from these camps.

Police liaison officer in the Northern Transvaal, Captain Andrew Lesch, this week said no arrests had been made yet in connection with Shoba's death. Police were still investigating.

Shoba was one of the leadership's bodyguards PAC cadre Mr Oupa Peter Sekoboto of Sharpeville, who was also a bodyguard, was abducted by unknown persons travelling in a minibus while strolling with his girlfriend near his home in the evening of May 7. His whereabouts are still unknown.

Regional chairman of the PAC, Mr Moss Mavundla, said Sekoboto informed them before he was abducted that he had been approached while in prison by State agents who wanted him to spy for them.

He refused. "He was then told that he will not live long. His abduction leaves us with no doubt that he was abducted by State agents."

The family of Mokae, Azapo's head of the Education Secretariat, was nearly killed by unknown persons who came looking for him at his home during the night early this year.

Azapo's publicity director, Miss Malebo Rammopo, said the men threatened to abduct and kill his 4-year-old son.

"Obviously State agents were behind the move," said Rammopo.

She added that Azapo's offices in the city were broken into and human excrement piled on the floor. Filing cabinets were also broken and important files seized.

"We view this in a serious light and believe that this is renewed harassment of political leaders in our area," she said.

Another senior PAC member, Mr

It has always been the aim of the State to eliminate influential leaders within all liberation movements

**ANC PWV media spokesman,
Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.**

Elias Ntloedibe, who left South Africa in 1960 and is presently staying in Botswana, was also wanted by a group of black men who identified themselves as policemen, according to his family.

A PAC spokesman said the family had informed them that these men visited them almost daily since this year at their home in Suurman near Temba in Hammanskraal asking for his whereabouts.

Although they claimed to be policemen, these men refused to give their names. Ntloedibe was due to come back from Germany yesterday en route to Botswana.

"In the light of all these incidents, we believe that the entire PAC leadership is on a hit-list of State agents who are now bent on first eliminating their bodyguards and making them vulnerable to further attacks," said Mavundla. "However, no harassment or killing of PAC members will stop the PAC from demanding the return of the land to Africans nor will they stop us from the struggle."

Investigation

He said the organisation was conducting its own investigation into all the incidents. He stressed, however, that Shoba was killed by State agents and "that explains why there have been no arrests up to now".

He added that the PAC suspected that the black men now looking for Ntloedibe were also State agents.

Sekoboto was first arrested at a taxi rank in Mafiking, Bophuthatswana, during a skirmish with security forces on June 20 1990. Another cadre, Mojanaga Nyanga, was killed. Sekoboto was later acquitted on charges of possession of an unlicensed firearm and ammunition.

He was arrested again on November that year for allegedly being in possession of a handgrenade. He was also found not guilty. "It was during this time while in detention that State agents approached and asked him to join the Askaris and spy for the Government," said Mavundla.

In the light of all these incidents, we believe that the entire PAC leadership is on a hit-list of State agents who are now bent on first eliminating their bodyguards and making them vulnerable to further attacks

**Regional chairman of the PAC,
Mr Moss Mavundla**

SA accused of negligence

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Sowetan Correspondent

LONDON - Chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, Professor Ibrahim Gambari, yesterday accused the South African Government of "gross negligence" in the "appalling violence" in the country and the security forces of complicity.

Blaming the international community for indifference to the "carnage" in South Africa, he said: "The loss of lives in South Africa is no less deserving of world attention than those in Sarajevo."

Gambari addressed a two-day conference on SA violence, whose aim, according to convener Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, was to rouse the world to realise that there could be no peace in South Africa until State President FW de Klerk's Government was forced out of office.

Grave threat to suburbia

(274)

CT 15/1/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Civic organisations here are threatening to bury victims of township violence in white areas.

The civics are also threatening to march through white suburbs unless the government puts an end to the violence.

Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) general-secretary Mr Dan Mofokeng said yesterday civic organisations needed to carry the

"struggle in all its forms" into the white suburbs because whites were apathetic about the violence.

"We are sick and tired of the violence ... and unless the government acts and puts an end to it, we are going to bury victims in the white areas," Mr Mofokeng said.

He said the victims would first be buried in cemeteries, but once those were full civics would have "to find space anywhere in the white areas to bury the violence victims".

"If they see us burying our people in

FW to be 'charged' by ANC youth today

Staff Reporter

THE ANC Youth League is to conduct a series of "mock trials" on the Grand Parade today as part of the ANC's mass action campaign to call for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

Among those who will be "charged" for "crimes" — including "mass corruption and murder" — are President FW de Klerk and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

After sentencing, brief speeches will be delivered by ANC-aligned MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck and ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni.

their areas, the whites are bound to bring pressure to bear on people they have elected to power to do something about the carnage," Mr Mofokeng said.

Johannesburg was the first target as it harboured "killers at its hostels — Denver, Jeppe and George Goch", he said.

He added that the civics were also planning marches through the white suburbs to highlight the problem of violence and to demand the dismantling of white local authorities.

Govt to announce plan to fight violence

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor (274)

A meeting of top Cabinet ministers, chaired by President de Klerk, continued in Pretoria last night as the Government prepared to make a major announcement on new steps to combat violence.

According to Government sources, the announcement was expected before the

emergency United Nations Security Council session on South Africa gets under way in New York later today.

Political and diplomatic observers said they believed the Government wanted to seize the initiative at the UN meeting, and planned to give Foreign Minister P. W. Botha the political "ammunition" he had asked for. The Security Council meeting will focus on the issue of violence.

They believe the eleventh-

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hour Government initiatives will be aimed at "setting the agenda" for the meeting — which is to be addressed by Codesa participants including ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Government sources told The Star it was "necessary to investigate" possible steps to end the violence in view of the UN debate.

The Star understands that

the Government proposals are likely to respond to specific criticisms by the Goldstone Commission of State inaction on violence.

Sources said the Government would take care not to be seen to be responding directly to the ANC's latest demands.

It is expected that key issues, including the hostels and dangerous weapons, would be dealt with in the Government statement.

Witness protection urged

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PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission should have a witness protection programme to function properly, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) national director Mr Brian Currin said yesterday.

He said because of the lack of such a programme LHR was running one at a cost of R20 000 a month.

Mr Currin said two witnesses who

testified before the commission had been killed. One was killed in spite of having testified in camera. "This sort of information gets out," he said. "We don't know how, but it does."

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said last week that Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee had accepted the commission's recommendation that the commission be empowered to offer adequate witness protection. — Sapa

Alexandra fears brushed aside

WILSON ZWANE

THE need to settle homeless people in Alexandra's Far East Bank area outweighed concerns of nearby residents about property depreciation, Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) official Richard Mokane said yesterday. R103-1577192

East Bank homeowners have reportedly said they would boycott their bond repayments if squatters were settled on their doorsteps.

Reacting to complaints that East Bank residents were not consulted, Mokane said they had until recently not regarded themselves as part of Alexandra. But that was changing, he said, and the East Bank Residents' Association had now applied to join the Joint Negotiating Forum.

Alexandra administrator Andre Jacobs said shacks would not be erected on the 7 000 sites, of which 1 700 had already been serviced.

Meanwhile, STEPHANE BOTHA reports that an application by the Laezonia Landowners Association to prevent the TPA from resettling Zaventonein squatters in their area was struck off the Pretoria Supreme Court roll yesterday.

Judge J M C Smit removed the matter with costs on the grounds the squatters were not joined as parties to the application.

In a similar action lawyers representing the Diepsloot Residents Association yesterday afternoon argued the legalities of having the squatters joined as parties to their application. A finding is expected today.

FW to get petition on hospital strike

R103-1577192

LEADING medical academics from Wits University and Baragwanath Hospital said yesterday they would petition President F W de Klerk and Health Minister Rina Venter to intervene in the six-week-old strike.

They said 75 hospitals and 40 000 workers had been affected by the strike, a backlog of semi-urgent cases was building up and patients were being prematurely discharged.

The dean, deputy-dean and sub-deans of the Wits medical faculty and the chairmen of the Medical Advisory Committees of the PWV areas main hospitals said the strike had become a "national crisis".

"The ability of the medical and allied staff to continue under these circumstances is extremely doubtful," they said in a statement.

It called for a halt to dismissals until the crisis was resolved, even if this meant compulsory arbitration. The dismissal of workers would "almost certainly place hospitals, staff, students and patients at further risk".

The SAP warned yesterday that plans by the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu), which is leading the strike, to occupy hospitals and government buildings would be illegal and "would invariably lead to confrontation with the SAP". Nehawu secretary-general

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

Phillip Dexter said that "if the police get involved then our membership will have to defend themselves".

Sapa reports that the Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of SA has expressed its support for the strike, as had postal workers at Soweto's Power Park Telecommunications Yard. They have decided to stop installing and maintaining telephones at Baragwanath Hospital.

Amid new rumours of assaults and intimidations by strikers, Baragwanath's chief superintendent Chris van den Heever said that a fourth victim of last week's petrol bomb attack had died. The 13-year-old boy was the son of one of the three who died last week.

Dexter said an agreement which was reached yesterday afternoon in Cape Town between the Commission for Administration and employees organisations to give general assistants permanent status was "not concrete enough".

The commission also agreed to consider claims that public servants in the education sector had received over R1m more than they ought to have done and that other public servants might be reimbursed accordingly. Dexter, however, said that such a sum was totally insufficient.

ANC army on peace committee agenda

R103-1577192

THE continued existence of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe is expected to be high on the agenda of today's national peace committee meeting.

A source close to Inkatha said yesterday Umkhonto's existence was a breach of the national peace accord, which outlawed private armies. The source said since talks between government and the ANC had broken down, the "unresolved MK issue" should be referred to arbitration in terms of the accord.

Inkatha had asked peace committee chairman John Hall to place the issue on

WILSON ZWANE

the agenda for today's meeting of the committee executive.

It is understood Inkatha has also urged the committee to discuss statements by ANC Youth League officials, which it regards as violations of the accord.

League president Peter Mokaba was quoted by a newspaper as saying the intention of his organisation's mass action was to return townships to the era of "ungovernability", which characterised the mid-'80s.

Ploy to make burials a lever

R103-1577192

ANGER at continuing political violence has shifted into high gear, with township civic organisations threatening to bury victims in white areas.

The civics are also threatening to stage marches through white suburbs unless government ends the violence.

Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) general secretary Dan Mofokeng said yesterday civic organisations needed to carry "the struggle in all its forms" into the white suburbs because whites were apathetic about the violence.

"We are sick and tired of the ongoing violence... and unless government acts and puts an end to it, we are going to bury victims in the white areas," Mofokeng said. He said when the cemeteries were full, civics would have "to find space anywhere in the white areas".

"If they see us burying our people in their areas, the whites are bound to bring pressure to bear on people they have elec-

WILSON ZWANE

ed to power to do something about the carnage," Mofokeng said.

A policeman died in an attack yesterday, bringing the total number who have died this year to 109.

Sapa reports acting regional police commissioner Maj-Gen Gert May said the attack occurred during an investigation of an assault in Mailutapark, Vosloorus.

Two men armed with AK-47 rifles burst into the house, shooting dead Const F R Ritkoiso, 33. A second constable was seriously injured while a third escaped unhurt. A shooting incident in Zone 11, Sebokeng, in the Vaal Triangle claimed the lives of two men on Monday night, a police unrest report said yesterday.

Two men were gunned down in Boipatong on Monday evening, said PAC national executive member Mark Shinnars, but police were unable to confirm it.

SAP agrees in principle on demonstration guidelines

Cwn Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The police agreed with the "cornerstone premises" of the multinational panel on lawful control of demonstrations in South Africa, counsel for the SAP told the Goldstone Commission in Cape Town yesterday. 16/7/92

At the hearing, at which recommendations were made for "peaceful and effective" demonstrations involving co-operation between organisers, police and local authorities, Dennis Gordon, SC, said the police agreed that their obligation was to uphold the right of people to assemble peacefully, but also to protect life and property.

Not all aspects of the report were acceptable to the police, who felt that in some respects the panel had exceeded its terms of reference and was wrong to believe that foreign police forces could be models for South Africa.

It was "monumentally naive" to regard train passengers "bent on murder and mayhem" in the same light as European soccer thugs.

On dangerous weapons and forcible disarmament of protesters, Mr Gordon said the police would "carry out the law" where organisers had failed to exercise control.

Police agreed that notice should be given for demonstrations, where this was not done, or, in the case of spontaneous gatherings, they would make an effort to seek out organisers to negotiate conditions to ensure control.

Police did not agree with panel recommendations that lethal force was not justified to protect property, and said that in the case of hospitals, water purification plants, electrical installations and buildings occupied by people, they believed lethal force could be justified.

As "guardians of public peace" and "protectors of public rights" they wished to have the ability to take preventive

action where lives and property were threatened, not "when the threat is already afoot", Mr Gordon said.

The police believed the Supreme Court should be used to its full potential in setting precedents on the prohibition of demonstrations and the carrying of traditional or cultural weapons.

"We endorse the right of human beings to assemble peacefully and wish to be upholders of it, but there are potential circumstances in this country where a proposed gathering or demonstration ought, in the interest of public peace, to be prevented," he said.

Mr Gordon said the SAP did not believe the panel had addressed "the high level of fear" on the part of protesters, the police and the public — "a legacy of the past".

The ANC and Cosatu believed that gatherings at which protesters carried dangerous weapons should be prohibited and that demonstrators should be forcibly disarmed if necessary, said

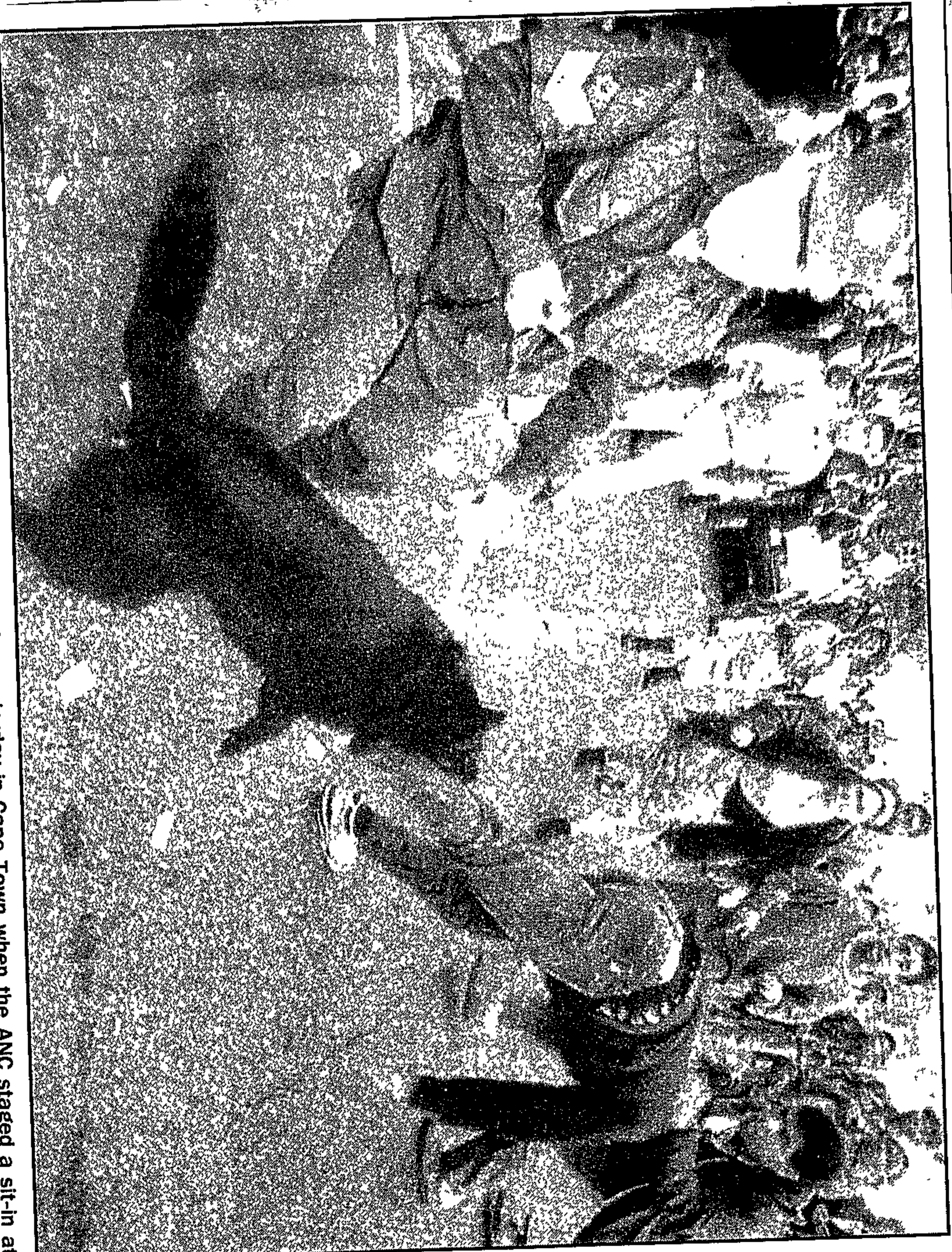
Professor Fink Haysom

L J L Visser, SC, for the Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu government, said that if the carrying of weapons — cultural or otherwise — had the propensity for, or the espousing of, violence, it would have to be prohibited.

However, the organisations he represented believed there had to be a distinction between cultural and political gatherings, and that an option might be to make special provision for the police to transport cultural weapons to and from events.

In the open session yesterday at which the ANC, the police, Cosatu, the IFP and the Department of Justice reported back on their consultations on the panel's recommendations for peaceful and effective gatherings and demonstrations, chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said there had been general agreement on the principles.

The hearing convenes today to hear the panel's reaction to the responses put before them yesterday.



Dog versus demo . . . a police dog attacks a demonstrator yesterday in Cape Town when the ANC staged a sit-in at National Party offices as part of its mass action campaign. ● Report — Page 5.
Picture: Eric Miller

SAP seeks talks on ²¹⁴ ~~214~~ protests

Staff Reporter and Sapa

As South Africa braces itself for more demonstrations and sit-ins at government buildings, the SA Police yesterday sought negotiations with leaders of political organisations intending to protest at its establishments.

The police plea comes after one on Tuesday by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, urging the organisers of mass action and the police to hold urgent talks to ensure peaceful demonstrations.

Co-operation

In a statement issued yesterday, the police said: "The SA Police will do everything in its power to ensure that the protest actions are carried out peacefully as requested by Judge Goldstone.

"It must be emphasised that police co-operation will be given with due regard to the democratic rights of all members of the public, including those who do not wish to participate in such actions."

● More reports — Page 7

buildings

Police, protesters clash during campaign to occupy govt buildings

POLICE clashed with ANC demonstrators in Cape Town and Maritzburg and NUM members staged peaceful marches to three gold mines near Westonaria yesterday as the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance launched its campaign to occupy government buildings.

Sapa reports from Maritzburg that a policeman was stabbed, 25 people were arrested and several shops were looted when several hundred ANC supporters tried to occupy the city hall.

Police said a crowd freed 25 detained people while they were being taken to

Loop Street police station.

At Richmond, several thousand ANC supporters marched from Ndaleni to the town, where they handed a memorandum to the chief magistrate.

Protest marches organised by the NUM to three mines near Westonaria proceeded without incident yesterday.

The marches, which the NUM said were "part of the broader programme of mass action", were held at JCT's Randfontein Estates, Westonaria gold mine and Gold Fields' Libanon gold mine.

However, an ANC spokesman said last

night plans to occupy government buildings in the PWV would be disclosed only on Friday.

In Cape Town the SA flag was burnt, and bottles and stones were thrown at police during a highly charged stand-off between police and protesters during the ANC Youth League's occupation of the NP's Cape head offices yesterday.

Later, a rally on the Grand Parade heard that ANC stickers had been stuck on portraits of SA prime ministers, and Youth League members had toyi-toyed on tables and "drunk all their tea and sugar".

Earlier, Foreign Minister P. W. Botha, President F. W. de Klerk, State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Gen C. P. van der Westhuizen were all "convicted" by a mock trial on Cape Town's Grand Parade. They received "prison terms" ranging from 25 years to life imprisonment.

WILSON ZWANE reports police said they did not receive reports of the planned occupation of government buildings in the Border and the northern and southern Free State regions.

The ANC's campaign committee chair-

man Mandela Dhlamini said fears of confrontation with police had contributed to the uneventful launch.

Mcebisi Bata, spokesman for the alliance's Border region, said the only sit-in staged in the region was at the Mdantsane Magistrate's Court near East London.

But, Bata said, more sit-ins at government buildings were expected to be staged from today. Dhlamini said sit-ins at government buildings were a prelude to the clogging up of city centres next week.

Most feel Govt can't halt bloodshed

Staff Reporters (274)

Almost two-thirds of respondents in two recent Human Sciences Research Council surveys believe the Government has little or no control over the violence ravaging the country, the HSRC said yesterday.

Conducted in April and February this year by political experts Dr Nic Rhoadie, Dr Chris de Kock and Dr Charl Schutte, the surveys showed that the greater

proportion of respondents "felt unsafe or very unsafe". Both surveys involved samples of 1 100 blacks, 400 whites, 300 coloureds and 200 Indians. **STAR 16/7/92**

One of the findings was that perceptions had changed little since February. **(106)**

The HSRC said 85 per cent of those who felt unsafe or very unsafe also believed the Government had little or no control over the violence, con-

firmed expectations that a feeling of insecurity went hand-in-hand with a lack of trust in the State's agents for maintaining law and order.

"It can also be deduced that a feeling of insecurity will correlate with self-arming and the founding of mechanisms for self-defence (eg private armies). As such, a feeling of insecurity can be regarded as a primary factor in promoting violence," said the HSRC.

ANC lashes FW at UN

■ **FORUM ON VIOLENCE** Mandela calls on UN
to appoint a special envoy to probe SA violence:

Sowetan 16/7/92

IN an unprecedented debate on South Africa at the United Nations in New York last night, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela called on the world body to dispatch a special envoy to the country to probe the violence.

The council was also expected to be addressed by South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik

Botha, president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, and the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mandela, in a hard-hitting speech, said FW de Klerk's Government was responsible for the violence.

See story page

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~~274~~ (274)

NEWS Faith in the Government to curb killings is at a low ebb, discovers HSRC

State 'cannot control violence'

ALMOST TWO-THIRDS of respondents in two recent Human Sciences Research Council surveys believed the Government had little or no control over the violence in the country, the HSRC said in a statement yesterday.

The greatest proportion of the respondents - involving 2 000 people from all population groups - said they felt "unsafe or very unsafe".

The lack of control and insecurity jointly stimulated the violence in the country, three political experts of the HSRC - Dr Nic Rhoadie, Dr Chris de Kock and Dr Charl Schutte - found in two separate surveys conducted in February and April this year.

The surveys involved 1 100 blacks, 400 whites, 300 coloureds and 200 Indians.

In April a total of 64 percent of the respondents, representing more than two-thirds of the Indian, black and white respondents, thought the Government had no control over violence. The figure for February this year was 65 percent.

In both surveys coloureds were the exception to the rule. In the April survey, more than two-thirds felt safe to

Socetam 16/7/92. 274

blacks support Mandela, while whites, coloureds and Indians back De Klerk:

very safe, and only 15 percent felt unsafe or very unsafe.

The majority Regarding leaders for South Africa, African National Congress leader Nel-

It was also deduced that a feeling of insecurity correlated with self-arming and the establishment of mechanisms for self-defence, such as private armies.

Military wings

However, most respondents were in principle opposed to the existence of private armies - the military wings of political parties or groupings.

Seventy-nine percent of whites, 62 percent of coloureds and 61 percent of Indian respondents opposed such armies.

Blacks were the exception, with 26 April. - *Sapa*.

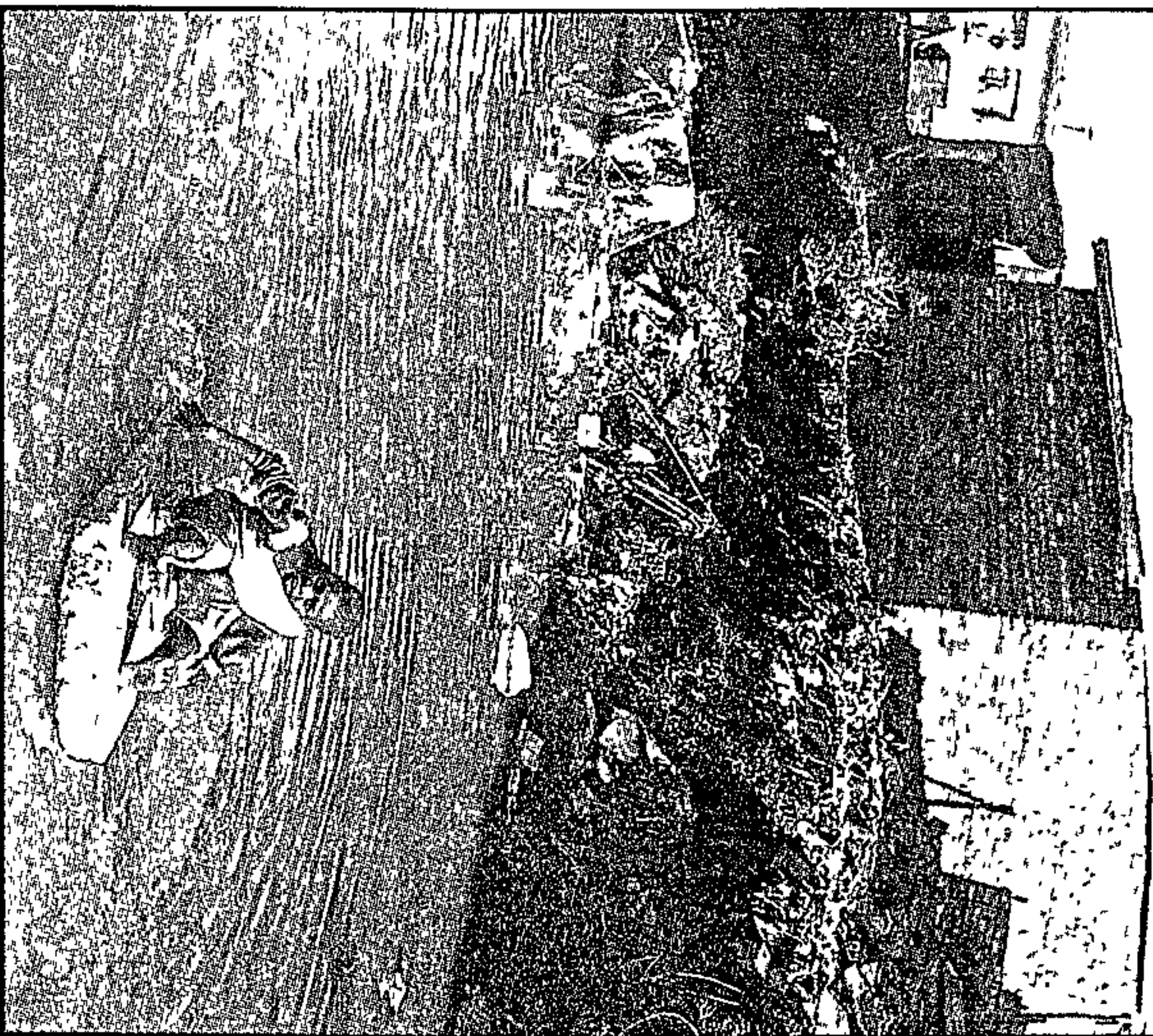
percent against and 27 percent in favour of private armies.

The majority

Regarding leaders for South Africa, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in both surveys received the support of by far the majority of black people, while State President FW de Klerk received the support of a great majority of the other three population groups.

Mandela received the support of 68 percent of black respondents in February and 62 percent in April.

De Klerk figures of support were : Indian respondents 65 percent in both surveys; coloureds 70 percent in February and 78 percent in April; and whites 56 percent in February and 53 percent in April. - *Sapa*.



This boy and his makeshift raft of porcelain were spotted as they drifted in the murky waters of the Alex stream. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

UN to urge renewed negotiations

Govt guilty of state terror, says Mandela

B1 D4-1
16/7/92

SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK — Charging that the SA government "has never relented in its war against the democratic movement", ANC president Nelson Mandela asked the UN Security Council yesterday to provide "continuous monitoring" to help restore peace.

At the same time, he submitted to the council documents he said would prove the "criminal intent" of government, both in instigating violence and in failing to curb it and to prosecute those responsible.

Mandela accused government of conducting a "cold-blooded strategy of state terror" to impose its will in negotiations. He also stressed that even if the violence was controlled, the ANC, while still committed to negotiations, would return to the table only if govt was prepared to accept "majority rule" according to "internationally accepted standards".

The council was meanwhile preparing to adopt an even-handed resolution that stopped far short of endorsing Mandela's condemnation.

The text which will probably be adopted today, emphasises "the importance of all parties co-operating in the resumption of the negotiating process as speedily as possible" — language that was understood to have been insisted on by the Russian representative on the instructions of President Boris Yeltsin.

The only explicit criticism of the government is directed at the shooting of unarmed protestors after Bojpatong.

The government is "strongly urged" to take "immediate measures to bring an effective end to the ongoing violence and to

bring those responsible to justice"

US ambassador Edward Perkins said the Bush administration had full confidence in the Goldstone commission and supported the efforts of the national peace accord.

"The UN stands ready to help these efforts but they will only bear fruit if the parties themselves resolve to control the violence."

British representative Sir David Hannay said a troika of EC foreign ministers would visit SA later this year to explore ways of restoring momentum to the negotiations. "We would expect such help to be aimed at reinforcing the peace structures that South Africans have already built."

Foreign Minister Pk Botha, invited to sit at the council table, listened unpassively. He and Mandela had earlier greeted each other with apparent warmth.

Mandela, who at a news conference before the session had vowed to prove to the council that incidents like Bojpatong were government orchestrated, devoted most of his speech to detailing the findings of Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, the recent OAU fact-finding mission and such groups as the Community Agency for Social Enquiry.

He made clear that in his view the Security Council would have to go beyond sending a special envoy to SA and should provide "continuous monitoring" once the envoy had reported back.

There were signs that the ANC might oppose UN Secretary-General Boutros

□ To Page 2

UN hearing

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□ From Page 1

Boutros-Ghali's choice of former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance for the task in favour of a more prominent figure such as former president Jimmy Carter.

Senegalese Foreign Minister Diibo Ka, who led off the debate for the OAU, advocated only that the secretary-general dispatch a special representative "with a broad enough mandate" from the council. He said the UN could help "consolidate the measures for combatting the violence" and relaunching Codesa.

He was at pains to justify the council's involvement, suggesting that while the violence had not thus far spilled over SA's borders, it might become a threat to regional peace if it remained unchecked.

Botha has postponed addressing the council until today. He will speak first, followed by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope, Ciskei president Brig Oupa Gqozo, the DP's Ken Andrew and other Codesa parties.

At a news conference before the debate, Mandela noted that far more people had died in SA's violence than in Yugoslavia. He dismissed President F W de Klerk's

announcement that government would implement many of the recommendations of the Goldstone commission as a "raw manoeuvre" to win support from the council.

Earlier in the day Mandela met Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton privately. He said he could not attend last night's convention session because he would be busy at the UN.

Mandela was careful not to impose himself on US electoral politics. While he implicitly criticised President George Bush for having lifted sanctions prematurely, he also praised Bush for his willingness to consult on a regular basis and for supporting his call for a Security Council meeting.

Meanwhile Sapa reports from London an international seminar on political violence in SA ended yesterday with a call for the international community to be given the means to end the fighting.

The two-day hearing, convened by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, found that the primary responsibility for the continuing violence lay with the SA government, "since it has failed to take effective measures to end it".

FW's moves on violence opportunistic, says ANC

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's announcement on Tuesday night of measures to curb violence was crafted to provide government with ammunition at yesterday's UN Security Council meeting in New York, the ANC said.

De Klerk's statement was "trivialisation of the serious crisis that faces our country", an ANC statement said last night.

"The statement was clearly crafted to provide Pretoria's Foreign Minister ... with the 'ammunition' he requested to counter the ANC's charges before the meeting."

De Klerk had announced the disbanding of the SADF's controversial 31 and 32 Battalions and the SAP's Koevoet unit; action on hostels; and restrictions on carrying dangerous weapons.

The ANC's initial response yesterday was that it did have some positive elements, but crucial issues would still have to be addressed.

Its detailed response last night was more critical, accusing De Klerk of misrepresenting the Goldstone commission's findings on the causes of violence.

"In his zeal to make cheap party political propaganda, De Klerk pretends that the Goldstone commission concurs with the NP's view that it is rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha that lies at the root of the violence," the ANC said.

"Quite the contrary is in fact the case

"The Goldstone commission said: 'The causes of the violence are many and complicated.

Deadlock

"In historical sequence they include: the economic, social and political imbalances among the people of SA. These are the consequences of three centuries of racial discrimination and over 40 years of an extreme form of racial and economic dislocation in consequence of the policy of apartheid."

Cosatu said De Klerk had "totally failed" to address the negotiations deadlock.

The decision to integrate 32 and 31 Battalions and Koevoet into the security forces was "fatally defective" as it would disperse killers throughout "the system", it said.

The ban on dangerous

weapons in unrest areas was not new, and action on hostels lacked urgency.

"De Klerk's failure to address our demands on the eve of a general strike is effectively telling the majority 'do your damndest'."

The DP welcomed De Klerk's statement but castigated government for failing to take action earlier. DP law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow said De Klerk had responded to a crisis, "rather than taking the initiative by anticipating and defusing the situation".

Gastrow urged the effective training and reintegration of individuals into the regular police and defence force "under the command of officers who will ensure they now become part of professional and neutral police and defence force units."

The CP said government's further concessions to ANC demands again wrongly placed the SAP under suspicion.

CP law and order spokesman Moolman Mentz said this had created frustration among policemen and made the execution of their task "almost impossible".
— Sapa-Reuter.

NEWS Call for special UN envoy to SA • Pleas for Kobus

Mandela lashes at FW

Sowetan 16/7/92

■ **ANC LEADER** blames Government and

Inkatha Freedom Party for the violence:

THE ROLE of the United Nations Security Council would be undermined unless it took swift action to intervene in the South African situation, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said last night

Mandela was speaking at the opening of the Security Council's special debate on South Africa's constitutional crisis

He said the continuing violence which had forced his organisation to halt constitutional negotiations was clearly to blame on the South African Government and its "surrogate", the Inkatha Freedom Party, which it armed, trained and funded

"It is the criminal failure of the Government to properly address the violence, which has cost too many lives already, and is tearing our country apart and making further negotiations impossible."

In his 30 minute address, Mandela referred in detail to many incidents which he said had been found by various independent inquiries and courts to prove the Government's role, either by omission or commission, in the violence

The IFP, which he described as proven to be backed, funded, trained and armed by State forces, was nothing more than an extension or surrogate of the Government. It was therefore not an organisation that the ANC could conclude any agreements with, as the Government in-

sisted.

Mandela reiterated his organisation's commitment to peaceful negotiations aimed at a non-racial democracy, without minority party veto over the majority

It did happen that members of the ANC and its allies in the democratic movement became involved in counter-violence.

The ANC remained firm in its commitment to non-violence but implementing this policy was difficult as the violence was clearly targeted at the organisation, with the purpose of weakening its position at the negotiating table.

Special envoy

Mandela formalised the ANC's call for the UN to appoint a special representative to investigate ways in which the world body could help end the violence, monitor measures implemented, and get negotiations going again

"We call on the UN to intervene in the South African situation to end the carnage

"In terms of the 1989 General Assembly declaration on South Africa, the UN must act firmly and with the necessary speed."

Apartheid was still in place, with a repressive white minority regime ruling over a majority that could still not determine its own future.

"We believe that this violence, like the system of apartheid itself, is a direct challenge to the authority of the (Security) Council, and a subversion of its global tasks of furthering peace and promoting the objectives contained in both the UN Charter and the Declaration on Human Rights.

"Failure on the part of the Council to act firmly and decisively cannot but undermine its prestige and authority at a time when the Council and the United Nations as a whole are called upon to play an even more active role in the ordering of world affairs," Mandela said.

The Foreign Affairs Minister of Senegal, Mr Djibo Ka, as the first speaker at the historic meeting, made an impassioned plea for a UN presence in South Africa as one of the ways to revive the stalled Codesa talks

Speaking on behalf of the Organisation of Africa Unity bloc, Ka charged that the current violence in South Africa could drag not only the country and the continent into an abyss.

Police seek power to halt protests

CAPE TOWN — The police yesterday called for powers to prevent demonstrations which threatened violence, and said any new legislation on demonstrations should not limit them to taking action only when lives were actually threatened.

The SAP proposal, presented during a public session of the Goldstone commission of inquiry into the lawful control of mass demonstrations, would restrict the absolute right to demonstrate which an international panel of experts insisted on in their report.

The report said force should be used only when demonstrations turned violent, and that the subjectively perceived threat of violence should not be grounds for prohibiting a demonstration.

The Justice Department also felt that the panel had overemphasised the right to demonstrate at the expense of the protection of the public.

But the ANC and Cosatu called for tough legislation prohibiting the carrying of weapons at demonstrations and suggested that the police be given measures to prevent demonstrations which threatened the rule of peaceful assembly.

ANC-Cosatu legal representative Fink Haysom said weapons should be totally prohibited, police should have the right to forcibly remove weapons and participants in demonstration who carried weapons should be liable for prosecution. "Such measures could include harsh restrictions and prohibitions on organisations which

continued to indicate that they will not or cannot control weapons at gatherings."

Inkatha legal representative Louis Visser SC called for a distinction between cultural weapons and dangerous weapons, saying that only weapons which created the opportunity or propensity for violence should be prohibited. Cultural weapons should be allowed at cultural gatherings, and special arrangements could be made to have the weapons transported to the venue.

SAP legal representative David Gordon SC said it was the responsibility of the organisers of a demonstration to ensure people did not carry arms — forceable disarmament by the police should be only the second option. Gordon conceded that cultural weapons should be allowed and said that while the legislation should contain an absolute prohibition on all weapons, the Supreme Court should have the power to grant permission for cultural weapons to be carried in certain instances.

Other issues raised by the legal representatives of the SAP, Justice Department, the ANC-Cosatu alliance and Inkatha were the penalties to be imposed on the failure to give the authorities notice of a demonstration, or on the breach of its conditions, and provision for spontaneous demonstrations.

Haysom said Cosatu and Saccola were negotiating an agreement on peaceful picketing on private premises.

Poll: few believe govt is in control

PRETORIA — Almost two thirds of respondents in two recent HSRC surveys believed government had little or no control over political violence.

Results of the polls, released yesterday, showed that most respondents felt "unsafe or very unsafe".

Each survey, undertaken by researchers IC Rhodie, Chris de Kok and Charl Schutte, involved samples of 2 000 people — 1 100 blacks, 400 whites, 300 coloureds and 200 Indians.

The surveys were conducted in February and April. In the February survey 68% of all respondents supported ANC president Nelson Mandela as SA leader. In April his support stood at 62%.

President FW de Klerk received the support of 65% of Indian respondents in both surveys.

His coloured support increased from 70% in February to 78% in April, while 56% of white respondents supported De

Klerk in February and 53% in April.

The majority opposed private armies.

Support for De Klerk's interim government proposal in February came from 45% of coloureds, 47% of whites, 55% of Indians and 53% of blacks. In April the proportions were 58% coloureds, 55% whites, 66% blacks and 73% Indians.

In February and April 64% of respondents thought government had little or no control over the violence.

In the total sample 46% felt unsafe or very unsafe and 37% felt safe or very safe. And 85% of those who felt unsafe or very unsafe believed the government had little or no control over violence.

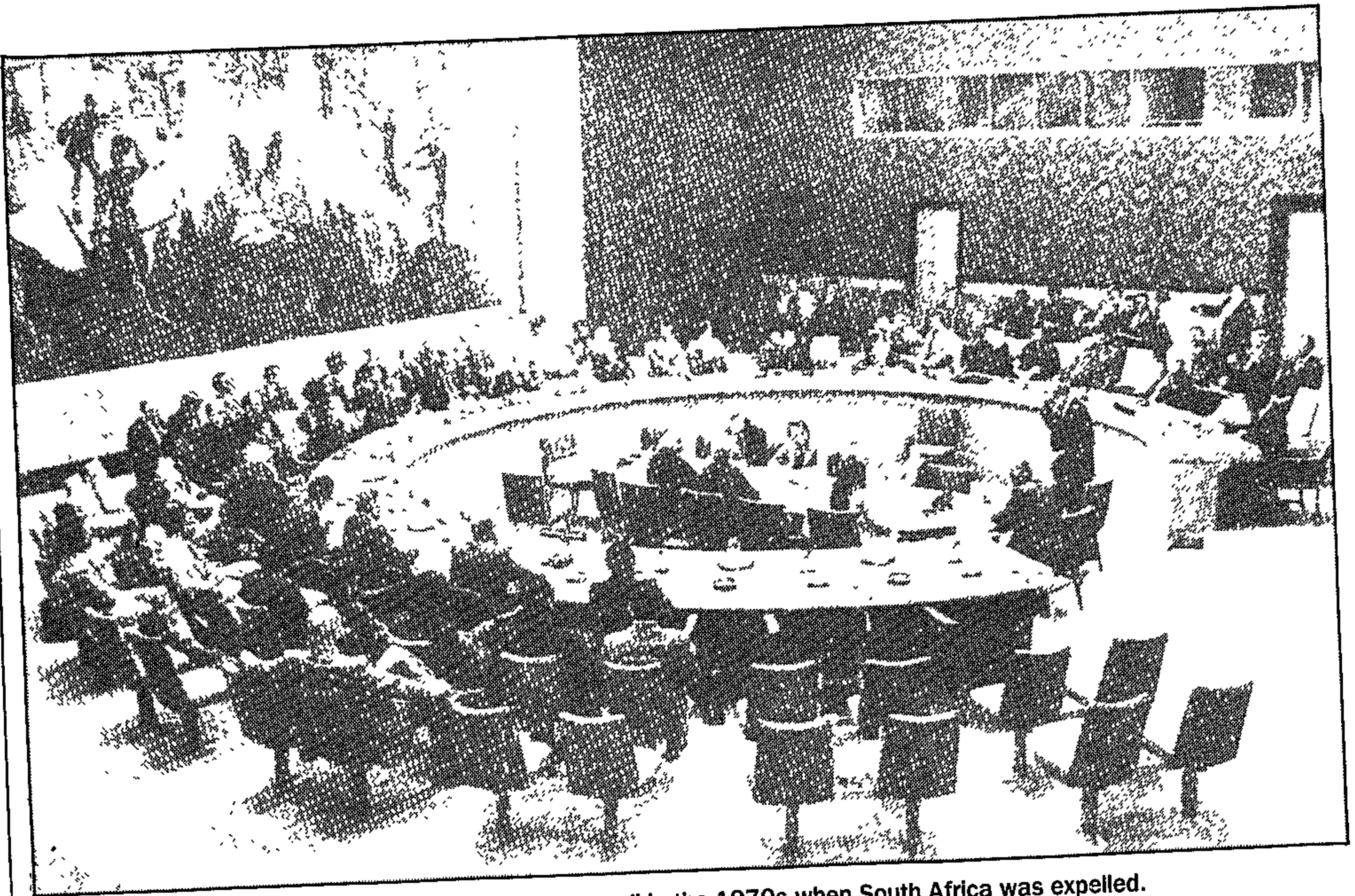
The researchers said the results confirmed the expectation that a feeling of insecurity went hand in hand with a lack of trust in the state's security forces.

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continue

World body sees 'racist



Flashback . . . the UN Security Council in the 1970s when South Africa was expelled.

regime' in new light

274 STAR 16/7/92

THE decision by the United Nations Security Council to invite all groups taking part in Codesa — including homeland leaders — to address the world body signals a significant softening of attitudes and the adoption of an apparent neutral approach towards the South African conflict.

The UN had hitherto regarded homeland governments and leaders as products of apartheid — an ideology the world body considered to be a crime against humanity.

Only the PAC and ANC enjoyed some legitimacy and were accorded permanent observer missions at the UN.

But yesterday, leaders from the liberation movements, the Government, Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, among others, attended the Security Council emergency meeting on the continued violence which has claimed more than 7 000 lives in two years.

The world body is expected to assess the views of these leaders and then decide what to do to help South Africa's transition to democracy.

This is a shift from the Security Council's past practices when it used to listen only to liberation movements and then

The South African Government stands before the UN Security Council this week to try to convince the world body of its bona fides. PHIL MOLEFE reports.

pass a resolution against the "apartheid regime".

Professor Robert Shire of the department of political science at the University of Cape Town said the United Nations was adopting a new style of trying to be neutral and listen to all the parties involved.

"With the end of the Cold War, the UN, and the Security Council in particular, have been trying to be impartial towards regional issues," he said.

Human rights lawyer Professor John Dugard said the Security Council was viewing South Africa in a different light because of the political changes introduced since February 1990.

"South Africa has met the main demands of the Security Council by repealing discriminatory and repressive laws," Professor Dugard said.

He predicted that the UN would still condemn the Government for failing to bring the violence to an end, would send

former US secretary of state Cyrus Vance to South Africa as a special representative, and would try to get all parties back to the negotiation table.

Professor Dugard said an interesting aspect of the meeting in New York was the presence of Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei.

The world body has consistently refused to recognise homeland governments, let alone invite them to speak at the international forum.

Professor Dugard singled out Mr Mangope as using the United Nations meeting as a "strategy on his part to secure a belated recognition for his independent state".

He said the UN mediation could prove to be to the advantage of both the Government and the ANC as neither party would appear to have given in to the other's demands.

The head of the department

of political studies at the University of Cape Town, Professor Hermann Giliomee, said that while it was very good that the "international avenue" was being pursued, the scope for foreign intervention was fairly limited and at the most would be of a symbolic nature.

Professor Giliomee said there were unrealistic expectations about what foreign intervention could deliver.

South Africa, which was expelled from the world body in the 1970s, will appear before the Security Council meeting standing on a different platform.

While in the past the regime had stood in the dock to plead not guilty before world opinion, this time South Africa will attempt to convince world leaders that the Government is committed to democracy and that everything possible is being done to bring an end to the violence.

The ANC and PAC have already indicated they would ask the world body to send a special representative and a monitoring group to SA.

Said ANC president Nelson Mandela: "It is important to have monitoring groups in the country to see for themselves what is happening." □

Send army, Mandela tells UN

(274)
CAPE TOWN
16/7/92

From SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK. — Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday called for United Nations peace-keeping soldiers to end the violence in South Africa, saying the bloodshed in the country was worse than in Yugoslavia.

Addressing a press conference before the UN Security Council's special session on South Africa, Mr Mandela stopped short of making his call a demand because, he said, he recognised it would be unacceptable to the government.

Mr Mandela was to address the council last night. Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha is expected to speak only today.

Yesterday Mr Mandela dismissed President F W de Klerk's announcement that the government would be implementing many of the recommendations of the Goldstone Commission as a "raw manœuvre" to win support from the council.

Disbanding special forces units like 32 Battalion and Koevoet was insufficient, he said. Their members must be "thrown out of the country".

He also said it would not be enough for UN secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali to send UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance to South Africa. That visit would need to be followed up by a major monitoring group.

Earlier in the day Mr Mandela met Democratic presidential nominee Mr Bill Clinton.

The Security Council session will be opened by a speech from Senegal, which holds the chairmanship of the Organisation of African Unity. Yesterday Senegal's Foreign Minister, Mr Djibo Ka, said the UN should call on South Africa to ensure the safety of all South Africans.

'Little faith in state power over unrest'

PRETORIA. — Almost two thirds of respondents in two recent Human Sciences Research Council surveys believed the government had little or no control over the violence.

The greatest proportion of the respondents — numbering 2 000 from all population groups — had said they felt "unsafe or very unsafe".

The lack of control and insecurity jointly had stimulated the violence, three political experts with the HSRC, Dr Nic Rhodie, Dr Chris de

Kock and Dr Charl Schutte, found in separate surveys in February and April.

The surveys involved 1 100 blacks, 400 whites, 300 coloureds and 200 Indians.

In April, 64% of the respondents, representing more than two thirds of the Indian, black and white respondents, thought the government had no control over violence. The figure in February had been 65%.

The researchers concluded that a feeling of insecurity went hand in

hand with a lack of trust in the state's agents for maintaining law and order.

It was also deduced that insecurity correlated with acquiring arms and establishing mechanisms for self-defence, such as private armies.

However, most respondents were opposed in principle to the presence of private armies.

In both surveys, African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela had the support of most blacks and State President F W de Klerk of most members of the other three groups.

CT 16/7/92 (274)

Steps on violence too small — ANC

Political Correspondent

THE steps announced by President F W de Klerk to curb violence were not sufficient to draw the ANC back to the negotiation table, the organisation said.

However, the ANC's executive met in Johannesburg yesterday to draft a more considered response to the government proposals, which included the disbanding of three controversial security force units.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said Mr de Klerk was trying to influence the Security Council with last-minute manoeuvres, Sapa-Reuter reports.

Interviewed on NBC's "Today" television show, Mr Mandela was sceptical about Mr De Klerk's offer to disband a controversial army unit recruited from Angola and remove it from black townships, a key demand in restarting the talks.

Mr De Klerk had last year promised to phase out hostels housing single migrant men, but had not yet done so.

Murderers

The hostels were "centres for murderers who are killing innocent victims", Mr Mandela said.

● The PAC also said the steps did not go far enough and members of Koevoet and the Buffalo Battalion should be expelled from the country.

● The Democratic Party, while welcoming government moves to meet certain of the Goldstone Commission's recommendations to end violence, slammed the government for failing to take action earlier.

Mandela favours UN troops

Mandela goes on the attack at UN session

(Cont from page 1)

probably only a dozen will ultimately be able to address the council.

Before the speeches began, Foreign Minister P. Botha and the government delegation stopped on their way to the council table to shake hands with Mr Mandela. There was a brief and apparently affable exchange between them.

Mr Botha will be the first speaker when the debate resumes at 4pm South African time today, and he will be followed by other Cdeesa members, including IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, Mr Ken Andrew of the DP, and several homeland leaders, including General Bantu Holomisa and President Lucas Mangope.

In his speech, Mr Mandela called on the Security Council to send a representative to South Africa to investigate the violence, and said this representative should be followed by a larger and permanent UN presence in the country.

Mr Mandela told the Security Council that "an extremely critical situation" now existed in South Africa and that the UN was in a position to make a positive contribution to resolving it.

"It is more than clear to us that the violence is both organised and orchestrated and is especially directed at the democratic movement whose activists, members and supporters make up the overwhelming majority of its victims."

"It constitutes a cold-blooded strategy for state terrorism intended to create conditions under which the forces responsible for the introduction and entrenchment of the system of apartheid would have the possibility of imposing a government on a weakened democratic movement at the negotiations stage."

But the violence had made negotiations impossible.



WORLD FORUM: ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela addresses the UN security Council while Foreign Minister Mr P. Botha listens

UN draft resolution urges renewed talks

NEW YORK — The draft of a United Nations Security Council resolution on South Africa expected to be adopted today has been issued here.

The draft, which is still subject to revision, states:

● Recalling its resolutions 392 (1976), 473 (1980), 554 (1984) and 556 (1984),

● Gravely concerned by the escalating violence in South Africa, which is causing a heavy loss of human life and by its consequences for the peaceful negotiations aimed at creating a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa,

● Concerned that the continuation of this situation would seriously jeopardise peace and security in the region,

● Recalling the consensus declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences in Southern Africa adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session on 14 December 1989, which called for negotiations in South Africa to

take place in a climate free of violence,

● Emphasising the responsibility of the South African authorities to take all necessary measures to stop immediately the violence and protect the life and property of all South Africans,

● Emphasising also the need for all parties to co-operate in combating violence and to exercise restraint,

● Concerned at the break in the negotiating process and determined to help the people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for a non-racial democratic society,

● (1) Condemns the escalating violence in South Africa and in particular the massacre at Botlong township on 17 June, 1992 as well as subsequent incidents of violence including the shooting of unarmed protesters,

● (2) Strongly urges the South African authorities to take immediate measures to bring an effective end to the ongoing violence and to bring those responsible to justice,

● (3) Calls upon all the parties to co-operate in combating violence and to ensure the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord,

● (4) Invites the Secretary-General to appoint, as a matter of urgency, a Special Representative in order to recommend after, inter alia, discussion with the parties, measures which would assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa, and to submit a report to the Security Council as early as possible,

● (5) Urges all parties to co-operate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in carrying out his mandate, and to remove the obstacles towards the resumption of negotiations, **Argus 16/7/92**

● (6) Underlines in this regard the importance of all parties co-operating in the resumption of the negotiating process as speedily as possible

No US sides — ANC

NEW YORK ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela met Mr Bill Clinton and said that although he was a firm friend of the Democrats, he would not take sides in the US presidential election.

Mr Mandela said he was too busy with United Nations work to attend the Democratic National Convention as planned last night, when Mr Clinton was formally nominated as the party's presidential candidate.

An appearance would have been a slap at President George Bush, who has been criticised for not putting enough pressure on President De Klerk to make concessions.

"We will not interfere in the domestic affairs of the United States of America. It is up to you to decide who your president will be," Mr Mandela said after an hour-long meeting with Mr Clinton and his running mate, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee.

"I would have liked to attend the convention but unfortunately I'm going to be busy at the United Nations," Mr Mandela told reporters.

Mr Mandela was in New York for a Security Council debate on South Africa's political crisis, which he discussed with Mr Clinton at a morning meeting in midtown New York City.

"The point is that we met today and we were very happy to meet," said Mr Mandela, who called the Democrats faithful supporters of the anti-apartheid cause.

Posing for pictures with Mr Clinton before the meeting, Mr Mandela told him, "You are the big noise here." Mr Clinton laughed and said, "The mayor is letting me make noise just for a few days and then he's going to run me out of town."

Mr Mandela said President Bush had also been "forthcoming" in his dealings with the African National Congress but criticised President Bush for lifting sanctions against South Africa.

"We would like sanctions to be reimposed because the United States administration was in too much of a hurry," Mr Mandela told reporters before the Security Council debate.

ANC leader hits out at FW

HUGH ROBERTSON, The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK — ANC president Nelson Mandela accused President De Klerk of attempting to mislead the international community by announcing the decision to disband two army battalions and the police unit, Koevoet, on the eve of the United Nations Security Council debate on South Africa.

He made his attack at a Press conference before the UN debate yesterday and shortly after a meeting with the Democratic Party's presidential candidate, Mr Bill Clinton, and the Mayor of New York, Mr David Dinkins.

The UN resolution is likely to call on the Secretary-General, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to send a special representative to South Africa to consult the parties and to recommend how the UN might be helpful in ending the violence and promoting a resumption of negotiations at Cdeesa.

Mr Mandela told the Press conference that he would welcome a monitoring commission from the European Community and said he favoured the deployment of UN troops, although he said this was unlikely to be supported by the government.

Commenting on Mr De Klerk's announcement of the disbanding of two Army battalions, and of the police unit, Koevoet, Mr Mandela said, "This is a manoeuvre aimed at misleading the Security Council and the international community into believing that he is taking steps to end the violence."

It was revealing, Mr Mandela said, that after appeals made long ago by the ANC for the disbanding of the units, Mr De Klerk should have chosen to do so only a day before the Security Council was due to take up the matter.

Mr Mandela was also critical of the Goldstone Commission's finding that there was no evidence of government involvement at Bopalong.

"We believe it was premature. The people are collecting evidence and it will be presented to the commission."

He added that the commission had done outstanding work and noted that it had also criticised the government for failing to act on recommendations aimed at curbing the violence.

But it was difficult for the ANC to collect evidence, he said, because witnesses were "arrested, and some eliminated" by the security forces, and people were thus reluctant to come forward.

"Judge Goldstone should have kept this in mind," he added.

Mr Mandela said he would welcome a mission of the European Community, adding, "The more world missions come to South Africa, the more chance we will have of ending the violence."

Asked whether he supported the actual deployment of UN troops in South Africa, he said, "It would be very good if the UN sent a peacekeeping force, as they have done in Yugoslavia where they have lost less people than we have. But we are realistic about this. We realise that for such a force to be sent, the regime would have to give its support, and they have made it clear that they would not support this."

Perfect timing — then along

came Coetzee

STAR 16/1/92 (274)

CABINET members, who expected to be enjoying a traditionally restful marathon session in the Union Buildings on Tuesday, their task was to respond to Mr. Justice Goldstone's recent criticisms of Government inaction and State unhelpfulness regarding his commission's proposals for practical measures to combat the violence.

The issues — controversial battalions, hostels, dangerous weapons, tardy police investigations — had been knocking around in South African political circles for quite some time. The reason that they required and received an immediate response was that the violence debate was about to shift to New York. Mr de Klerk and his strategists decided that they could not let Foreign Minister Pik Botha go into the emergency UN Security Council meeting and face a savaging on the Goldstone criticisms.

He certainly would have been savaged, although the ANC was sure to raise similar complaints. Judge Goldstone's carried the weight of neutrality simply because they came from a judge and not a political party.

But the Government, a tactical past-master, imagined spurs: gifts beyond protecting its veteran international spokesman.

By promising action on the very eve of the UN meeting, Pretoria would seize the initiative and be seen to be responding positively to the current impasse. The focus could then be shifted to the ANC, which would be asked why, in the face of manifest movement by the Government side, it refused to return to the negotiating table.

President de Klerk's latest moves on violence were cleverly and carefully timed. But, writes Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON, even the best-laid plans can't take fate into account.

And, most important of all from the ANC point of view, the latest intrigue occurred weeks, rather than years, ago.

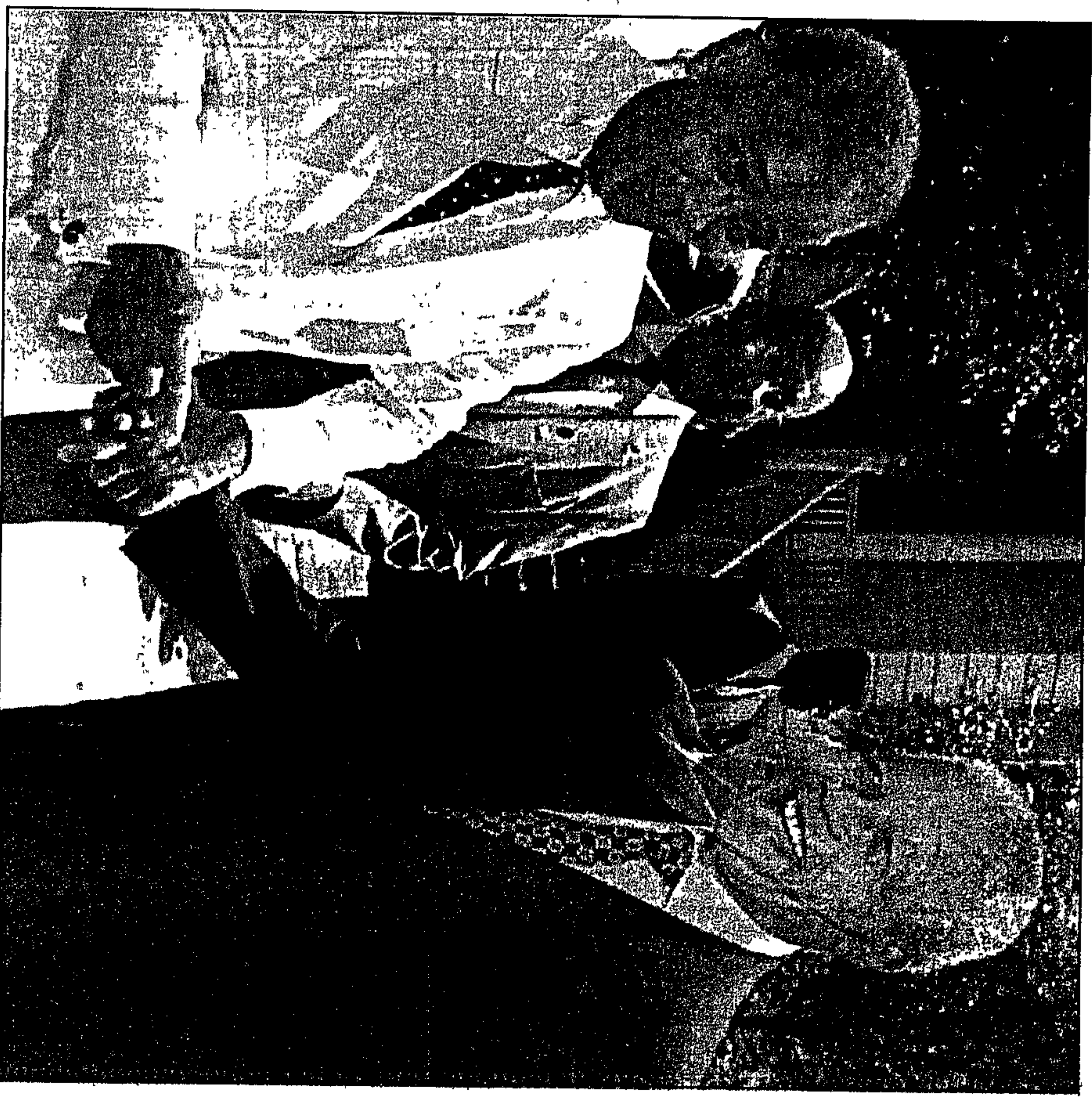
This suggests that the Government will not get as easy a ride as it might have hoped for. A relatively safe prediction for the outcome of the UN encounter is a score-draw. The Security Council was in any event never expected to make a clean, "one-side-or-the-other" finding — now it is likely to be overwhelmed by a cacophony of traded accusations.

But when the last flashbulb has popped after what now promises to be a particularly long-drawn-out session, even by UN standards, the action will inevitably shift back to home soil — and the Government will be expected to act on its promises regarding the violence.

Those promises, notwithstanding the ANC's view that they are insufficient in themselves to get negotiations restarted, could well get things moving again in the anti-violence campaign. The disbandment of controversial SADF battalions and Koevoet might, at least partially, serve to lower the confrontational temperature in the areas in which they have been operating. Similarly, visible movement on the prosecution of policemen implicated in illegal activities might begin to restore a modicum of trust in the State's intention to root out miscreants in its own ranks.

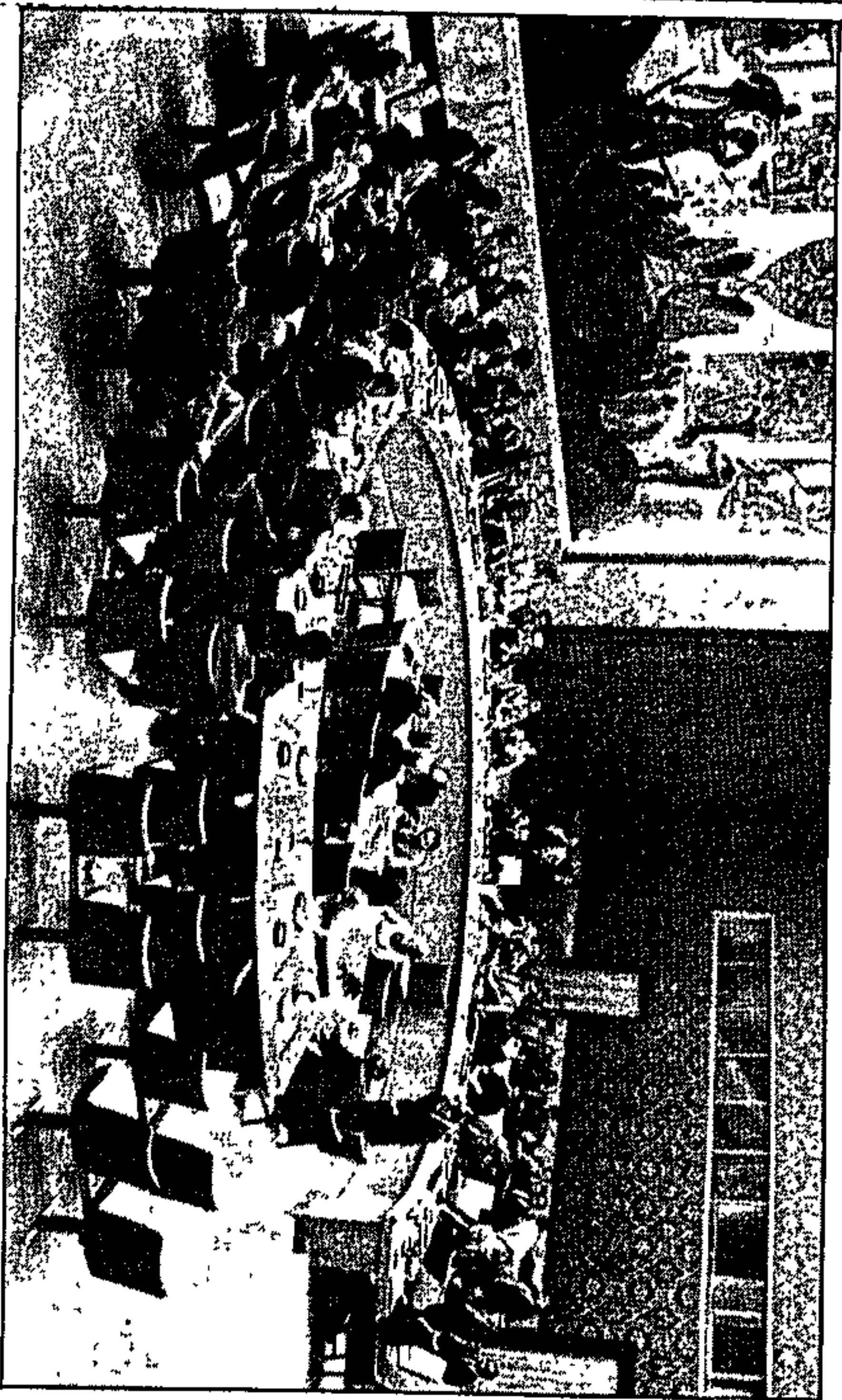
On the hostels, although Mr de Klerk's undertaking is vague, there is a chance that the intolerable delay in taking action might be drawing to a close. And on traditional weapons, there is the promise of firm legislative action at last.

For these and other reasons, an intervention which might have been born of tactical considerations and tailored for international consumption could yet serve to provide much-needed impetus in the search for peace at home. □



Warm encounter . . . Nelson Mandela meets New York mayor David Dinkins this week. While in New York, Mr Mandela is to ask the UN for a representative from the world body to investigate township violence. Picture AFP

World body sees 'racist regime' in new light



Flashback . . . the UN Security Council in the 1970s when South Africa was expelled.

THE decision by the United Nations Security Council to invite all groups taking part in CODESA — including homeland leaders — to address the world body signals a significant softening of attitudes and the adoption of an apparent neutral approach towards the South African conflict.

The UN had hitherto regarded homeland governments and leaders as products of apartheid — an ideology the world body considered to be a crime against humanity.

Only the PAC and ANC enjoyed some legitimacy and were accorded permanent observer missions at the UN.

But yesterday, leaders from the liberation movements, the Government, Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, among others, attended the Security Council emergency meeting on the continued violence which has claimed more than 7 000 lives in two years.

The world body is expected to assess the views of these leaders and then decide what to do to help South Africa's transition to democracy.

This is a shift from the Security Council's past practices when it used to listen only to liberation movements and then

pass a resolution against the 'apartheid regime'.

Professor Robert Shire of the department of political science at the University of Cape Town said the United Nations was adopting a new style of trying to be neutral and listen to all the parties involved.

"With the end of the Cold War, the UN and the Security Council in particular, have been trying to be impartial towards regional issues," he said.

Human rights lawyer Professor John Dugard said the Security Council was viewing South Africa in a different light because of the political changes introduced since February 1990.

"South Africa has met the main demands of the Security Council by repealing discriminatory and repressive laws," Professor Dugard said.

He predicted that the UN would still condemn the Government for failing to bring the violence to an end, would send

former US secretary of state Cyrus Vance to South Africa as a special representative, and would try to get all parties back to the negotiation table.

Professor Dugard said an interesting aspect of the meeting in New York was the presence of Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei.

The world body has consistently refused to recognise homeland governments, let alone invite them to speak at the international forum.

Professor Dugard singled out Mr Mangope as using the United Nations meeting as a "strategy on his part to secure a belated recognition for his independent state".

He said the UN mediation could prove to be to the advantage of both the Government and the ANC as neither party would appear to have given in to the other's demands.

The head of the department

of political studies at the University of Cape Town, Professor Hermann Gillmore, said that while it was very good that the "international avenue" was being pursued, the scope for foreign intervention was fairly limited and at the most would be of a symbolic nature.

Professor Gillmore said there were unrealistic expectations about what foreign intervention could deliver.

South Africa, which was expelled from the world body in the 1970s, will appear before the Security Council meeting standing on a different platform.

While in the past the regime had stood in the dock to plead not guilty before world opinion, this time South Africa will attempt to convince world leaders that the Government is committed to "democracy and that everything possible is being done to bring an end to the violence."

The ANC and PAC have already indicated they would ask the world body to send a special representative and a monitoring group to SA.

Said ANC president Nelson Mandela: "It is important to have monitoring groups in the country to see for themselves what is happening."

ANC stands firm on not returning to negotiations

FW's plans for peace slated

(274)
ARG 16/7/92

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk's new steps against violence have been criticised across the political spectrum — and the ANC says the moves are not enough to lure the organisation back to the negotiating table.

While political groups conceded that the steps on controversial security force units, hostels and dangerous weapons could produce some positive results, the reception has been generally uncharitable.

Mr De Klerk announced the initiatives in a statement timed to coincide with the start in New York of the United Nations Security Council special session on violence. The government move followed criti-

cism from the Goldstone Commission.

The Democratic Party attacked the government for not taking action earlier, while Conservative Party spokesman on Law and Order Mr Moolman Mentz said the latest moves wrongly placed the police under suspicion.

Democratic Party Law and Order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said: "Mr De Klerk's decision falls into a long-established pattern of the government to bite the bullet on issues like this only after severe crises have arisen.

"It is a case of responding to a crisis rather than taking the initiative by anticipating and defusing the situation — action that could have been taken long ago."

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the movement's preliminary response was that Mr De Klerk's announcement contained "positive elements, but does not go far enough". The ANC's national working committee met to consider Mr De Klerk's announcement. The ANC welcomed the disbanding of 31 Battalion, 32 Battalion and Koevoet, but said their integration into other SADF and police units was still to be clarified.

Mr Niehaus said that in the past announcements had appeared positive on paper but had not been implemented. Mr De Klerk's announcement on hostels was "disappointing".

The violence moves came after a lengthy meeting of top government negotiators in Pretoria chaired by Mr De Klerk.

Observers interpreted the timing as a government attempt to seize the initiative at the UN meeting, which was being addressed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, along with other parties from Codesa.

● Meanwhile the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) welcomed Mr De Klerk's announcement of the dismantling of 31 and 32 Battalions and Koevoet.

Contralesa president Chief Patekile Holomisa said the decision was "an admission that the government is directly involved in the violence in spite of its previous denials"

FW warned he may be killed

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CT 16/7/92

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Former "death squad" policeman Mr Dirk Coetzee, who is being hunted by his former colleagues, yesterday warned that President FW de Klerk was the prime target of "third force" assassins.

"President De Klerk is in great danger — from within, from the same set of people who have just failed to murder me ... I used to be one of them. I still have my contacts," he said.

Mr De Klerk was leaving himself and South Africa exposed to peril by being slow to purge suspect elements from the security forces, Mr Coetzee said.

The warning was given after Scotland Yard and the Foreign Office yesterday confirmed that two South African agents were arrested in April on suspicion of recruiting Northern Ireland Protestant terrorists to silence Mr Coetzee by murdering him.

The South African and British governments, up to the level of the offices of Mr De Klerk and Prime Minister Mr John Major, are co-operating on the case.

Captain Pamela du Randt and Mr Leon Flores, identified as military intelligence agents, were detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act late on April 14 along with an Ulster extremist with known terrorist links.

They were released and expelled from Britain

SADF deny bid to murder ex-policeman

THE SA Defence Force yesterday denied that it was trying to assassinate Mr Dirk Coetzee, the former security policeman turned ANC supporter.

"It's not true," spokesman Colonel John Rolt said.

Captain Pamela du Randt and Mr Leon Flores were sent to London to confirm a possible link between uMkhonto weSizwe and the IRA, he said.

"During the visit one member, acting without sanction, authority or knowledge of the SADF or any other government authority allegedly decided to arrange for the monitoring of Mr Dirk Coetzee."

The British and SA authorities had embarked on a "thorough investigation". The probe included "the possibility of collusion between the individual in question and any individual or individuals who are not members of the SADF", he said.



WARNING ...
Dirk Coetzee

after three days of interrogation, during which they made statements to the police. The Ulsterman was ordered back to Belfast.

Scotland Yard were tipped off by "concerned, respectable" South African policemen.

The two suspect agents were under Special Branch and MI5 domestic intelligence surveillance from the moment they landed at Heathrow.

Special Branch put out a red alert that Mr Coetzee's life was in danger after the two agents and the Ulstermen were bugged as they met three members of an Ulster paramilitary group at a London pub.

Mr Major, who was being regularly briefed, was profoundly disturbed by the contact between South African agents and suspect Ulster Protestant terrorists, and has been given assurances by Mr De Klerk's office that the link will be investigated.

Mass action could cost economy R7bn

(274) RAY HARTLEY (4/15/92)

LEADING businessman Sam Motsuenyane called yesterday for an end to mass action which a leading economist said would cost the economy up to R7bn.

"If anything can be done to stop mass action, it should be done immediately," Nafcoc president Motsuenyane said.

Referring to the cost of mass action Motsuenyane said the loss could not be "borne by the community".

He said his organisation had already noticed small businesses were suffering as a result of the campaign.

Unemployment would increase and "the very people who are calling for mass action are the people who are going to suffer", he said. B1044 16/7/92

Econometrix chief economist Azar Jammine said in an interview yesterday growth would decline by between 0.5% and 1% — amounting to a loss to the economy of between R2bn and R3bn — due to "the psychological damage done by the threat of mass action".

And if August's three-day general strike went ahead and was 100% effective, "theoretically that would cost another R3bn or R4bn in lost production, or 1.2% of GDP", Jammine said.

He emphasised he was assuming this was permanently lost production that would not be recovered later in the year, which was not necessarily the case.

"If mass action were to continue and a general strike were total it risks pushing the economy over a threshold from which it may never recover," he said.

He feared the 1% decline in growth experienced by the economy in the past three years could be increased dramatically to a point where "it virtually ceases to be important to even measure growth".

He said the economy was in danger of going into "a real tailspin" and, based on the experiences of countries like Chile and the Philippines, a negative growth rate of between 5% and 10% was possible during periods of political turmoil.

Jammine said he hoped mass action would be ended as soon as possible for the sake of the economy.

"I've been encouraged by the develop-

□ To Page 2

Mass action

B1044 16/7/92

ments of the last few days. But they (political leaders) are playing with fire and they must realise this," he said.

Jammine said there were some companies which would welcome the mass action because they would be able to go ahead with planned reductions in working days without having to pay wages.

He added if the mass action stopped the violence, this should begin to "roll back" economic losses. But this would be difficult

because "business confidence is something very fragile".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation was left with no choice but to continue with mass action despite what this might cost the economy.

"If it is at all possible to avoid doing that kind of damage, we are prepared to do that," he said.

He added there would be benefits "in the longer term" when SA was a democracy.

(274) (4/15/92) □ From Page 1

Govt steps to curb violence under fire

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

274

President de Klerk's new steps to combat violence have been criticised across the political spectrum, and the ANC says the moves are not enough to lure it back to the negotiating table.

While political groups conceded that the steps on controversial SADF battalions, hostels and dangerous weapons could produce positive results, the reception has been generally uncharitable.

Mr de Klerk announced the initiatives in a statement timed to coincide with the start in New York of the UN Security Council special session on violence. The move followed criticism from the Goldstone Commission.

Yesterday the DP attacked the Government for not taking action earlier, and

STAR 16/1/92
CP spokesman on law and order Moolman Mentz said the latest moves wrongly placed the police under suspicion.

16/1/92
In the ANC's preliminary response, spokesman Carl Niehaus said Mr de Klerk's announcement contained "positive elements but does not go far enough".

The ANC national working committee met yesterday to consider Mr de Klerk's announcement. The ANC welcomed the disbanding of 31 Battalion, 32 Battalion and Koevoet, but said their integration into other SADF and SAP units was still to be clarified.

The violence moves came after a meeting of top Government negotiators in Pretoria chaired by Mr de Klerk. Observers interpreted the timing as a Government attempt to seize the initiative at the UN meeting.

Violence takes toll on trade and tourism

HENRIETTE GELDENHUYS and
VUSI KAMA, Staff Reporters

ARG 16/7/92

SOUTH AFRICA can expect fewer foreign visitors because of the unstable political climate, the SA Tourism Board has warned.

Although overseas arrival figures in the first three months of 1992 increased by 15,6 percent compared with last year, political turbulence was beginning to take its toll, said Satour media liaison officer Ms Marinda Steyn.

The strong flow of reservations in the first five months of the year had slowed and future tours and the printing of South African brochures had, in some instances, been postponed, Satour's overseas offices had reported.

The Boipatong massacre had not caused major cancellations, but a "longer-term mood of wariness is beginning to emerge," she said.

If the political climate did not stabilise and fewer tourists visited the country, it would "impact negatively on jobs and foreign revenue."

● Wesgro executive director Dr David Bridgman said yesterday foreign businessmen had shown incredible interest in trading with South African companies since 1990, but political uncertainty and weaknesses in the government's economic approach remained stumbling blocks.

Responding to the business community's concerns about the future of the economy, Dr Bridgman said the prospects for foreign trade were better than two years ago and that businessmen should prepare themselves for better days.

Last month, Wesgro hosted its 1000th foreign visitor considering business in the Western Cape since January 1990.

Most of the foreign businessmen were interested in commodities such as fruit, fruit juices, wines and clothing.

"We must be aware that South Africa in general, and the Western Cape in particular, offer good investment opportunities in market areas such as tourism, food processing and yacht building.

"But given the current political uncertainty and violence, large scale foreign investment cannot be expected now."

Slabbert call for pact on violence

TRANSITION in South Africa would remain a dream if the differing parties did not reach a pact on stability and violence, Idasa's policy director, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

Such a pact was more important than an agreement at Codesa, he said at an Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) seminar in Cape Town on the role of the media during transition.

Dr Slabbert said five defence forces

and nine police forces had to be rationalised and the problems surrounding the various unofficial militia had to be resolved.

Pacts also had to be reached on economic growth, state intervention, the rights of workers and managers, and development and redistribution.

Democracy was "some sort of functional equilibrium" and this would be demonstrated if pacts on these subjects were reached.

CT 17/7/92 • 274 248
The deputy editor of the Sunday Star, Mr Jon Qwelane, said black people viewed the mainstream press as serving white economic and political interests.

He also said the SABC and the alternative press were in the same camp as they were politically partisan, with the SABC still biased in favour of the National Party, and the alternative press serving extra-parliamentary organisations.

Call for alliance pledge on protests

By PETER DENNEHY



THE Goldstone Commission's demonstrations committee is to ask the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance to commit itself publicly to implementing pre-demonstration procedures agreed upon at this week's Codesa-type hearings.

CT 17/7/92

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday that his committee would immediately start the process of drawing up draft legislation on dealing with demonstrations for submission to the State President.

Yet the promulgation of such legislation would 'inevitably take some months', he said. Meanwhile, the ANC alliance had extensive plans for protest action.

Mr Justice Goldstone thought that procedures agreed upon at his committee's hearings would assist in reducing substantially the likelihood of violence being associated with protests.

One of the issues agreed on at the hearing was that police, local authorities and march organisers should meet to plan non-spontaneous marches jointly.

UN mission to SA is on

Savetran 17/7/92
■ **SPECIAL TASK** United Nations gives go-ahead
for a special envoy to visit South Africa: *(scribbles) 274 (scribbles)*

CONSENSUS has been reached among members of the United Nations Security Council and South African political groups on the dispatch of a special envoy to the country to revive talks.

This was decided by an unanimous vote on the second day of the Council's historic debate on the violence and stalled

negotiations in South Africa.

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, also gave the Government's approval for such a mission in his address to the Council yesterday.

He rejected claims about the Government's role in violence.

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DEMONSTRATIONS

Maturity gap

FM 17/7/92

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Key aspects of the ANC's rolling mass action campaign set to sweep the country over the next few weeks would probably be outlawed in terms of recommendations likely to emerge from the Goldstone Commission's investigation into demonstrations.

Drawing on international experience, a multinational panel that reported its findings in Cape Town last week found it reasonable to prohibit the occupation of city centres intended to disrupt traffic and business and of public buildings. The panel, set up as a committee of the commission, was due to meet again this week to hear more views from legal representatives of interested organisations and to resolve disputed issues.

It will make recommendations to President F W de Klerk, including draft legislation designed to regulate mass demonstrations, marches and picketing.

If accepted and put into law, the committee's recommendations will demand that all groups involved in demonstrations reassess their attitudes. But there is likely to be heated debate over whether the report — based largely on the laws of European countries — meets the demands of SA in transition.

The degree of tolerance demanded of local authorities, police and the public as well as demonstrators and pickets appears difficult to achieve under current conditions.

In its lengthy report, the panel discussed: new procedures for giving notice of demonstrations; the duties of local authorities, police and organisers; and police training and reorganisation to cope better with demonstrations. For example, it noted that demonstrations should be dispersed only under the most extreme conditions and not simply because the organisers failed to give timely notice or negotiate with the other parties.

It held that dispersal is also not justified if the organisers "wilfully" disregard conditions agreed on with the other parties or imposed by the local authority or directed by the Supreme Court on review, though the organisers may then be subject to a penalty.

"Great restraint should be used in applying very vague statutes regarding breach of the peace or unlawful assembly to arrest nonviolent demonstrators.

"If the activities of the demonstrators violate general criminal laws or occasion civil liability, particular demonstrators or those urging them on can be sanctioned later

through the normal processes of the law or through the disciplinary mechanisms of the organisation holding the demonstration."

The committee also suggested that police should be organised, trained and equipped to deal with unexpected developments during a demonstration. The use of force should also be minimal and exercised through a range of "nonlethal resources." The use of lethal force could be justified only when delay in using it and the use of anything less would subject police or other people to a "severe risk of death."

In general, the panel found that western European nations imposed restrictions designed to protect the safety of people and property, the health and freedom of individuals, government and economic interests, the honour or reputation of individuals, and public tranquillity.

In the US conditions are aimed at preventing six types of harm: attacks on other citizens; destruction of private or public property or occupation of public or private areas; closing of government or private enterprises and disruption of their functions; disruption of the movement of others by vehicle or foot; intercommunal violence or riot; and assaults on the police.

As examples of conditions for demonstrations in SA, the panel recommended a ban on the carrying of weapons or replicas and the wearing of disguises.

There could also be limited restrictions on the time and place of demonstrations to: minimise the disruption of traffic and pedestrians; create space between rival groups of demonstrators; maintain access to private and public property in workplaces; and prevent damage to public or private property.

Local authorities should also be allowed to prohibit "hate speech" as is the case in the Netherlands and Germany. Western countries — except the Netherlands — examined by the panel prohibit demonstrations near parliament and courts. The panel recommended that this should apply in SA, though demonstrations should be allowed within sight and sound of their targets.

It was found that in other countries "the declaration of the demonstrators that they control a certain area to the exclusion of the authorities or other citizens would be met with the use of adequate force to obtain free access." Those countries would also prosecute demonstrators for occupying government or private buildings not open to the public.

The panel was against the posting of a bond by organisers to cover any costs that may arise from damage caused during the demonstration. It believed legal action to recover costs could be taken later.

Police should tolerate a rain of stones and bottles but be adequately protected against it. Water cannon and tear gas should be used to keep demonstrators at bay. Plastic bullets should be a last resort. The indiscriminate shooting of demonstrators in response to shots being fired at the police by individuals in the crowd should be avoided at all costs.

FM 17/7/92 (152)

While problems remain, SA has come a long way since February 1990 when street protests became legal. Acceptance of the proposals likely to come out of the committee would be a major step forward. ■

No job for Martti

FM 17/7/92

The calling of an emergency UN Security Council debate on the breakdown of negotiations in SA this week was a tribute to the ANC's capacity to mobilise external support for its political position. This capacity has been considerably weakened since the collapse of communism, doubts over the nature of the emergent SA, and the Gulf War — which assured American dominance in world politics.

The ANC's anger over what it sees as "premature" relaxation of sanctions — including access to foreign loans — has partly arisen because it has seen its influence abroad wane. As in sport, it wishes South Africans to believe that the good things in life come with its blessing. This is why Nelson Mandela will attend the opening of the Barcelona Olympics.

Though the UN has changed its nature since the Sixties and the heyday of the Afro-Asian bloc, it evidently remains a potent symbol for the ANC of a forum to which appeals for justice — and justification — can be made. Now it wants a UN special representative appointed to SA in much the way one was appointed to Namibia to oversee the transition to independence in terms of the world body's Resolution 435.

Of course, a special representative need not have such theoretically far-ranging powers as Martti Ahtisaari, the Finnish diplomat, enjoyed in Windhoek. Such a figure would act for the secretary-general according to specifically dele-

gated powers. And the situation in SA is markedly different to that which prevailed in Namibia since there is no colonial power to surrender sovereignty.

The fact that the UN itself requested all Codesa parties to state their viewpoints suggests it will not pass anything as sweeping as Resolution 435 on SA. The organisation has its hands full with the civil war in what was Yugoslavia. And the government is also set to speak in New York.

Given the constraints, the UN could be expected to recommend a resumption of Codesa — with a greater or lesser degree of international involvement in assessing and monitoring the violence. This government appears ready to accept — and if the UN can produce the magic formula which will re-start negotiations, it will have fulfilled an important task.

Unfortunately, if it is true that the underlying factor in violence is the nascent civil war between the ANC and Inkatha, as the Goldstone Commission has suggested, no magic formula will end the killing. It would then be of paramount importance that any UN presence in this country be in a position to testify to the truth of what begets violence.

If government is sure of its position that it does not — in any of its areas of authority — shield elements of a third force, it has nothing to fear from such a presence. If it is not sure, it has misled the white electorate. ■

UN told of 'Harare's complicity'

ANC cadres smuggling arms

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SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK — ANC elements, with the complicity of the Zimbabwe National Army and possibly without the knowledge of the movement's leadership, were attempting to infiltrate weapons into SA, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha charged before the UN Security Council yesterday.

With the council on the point of adopting a studiedly even-handed resolution calling on all parties to return to the bargaining table, Botha asserted government's desire to end the violence and negotiate a new constitution.

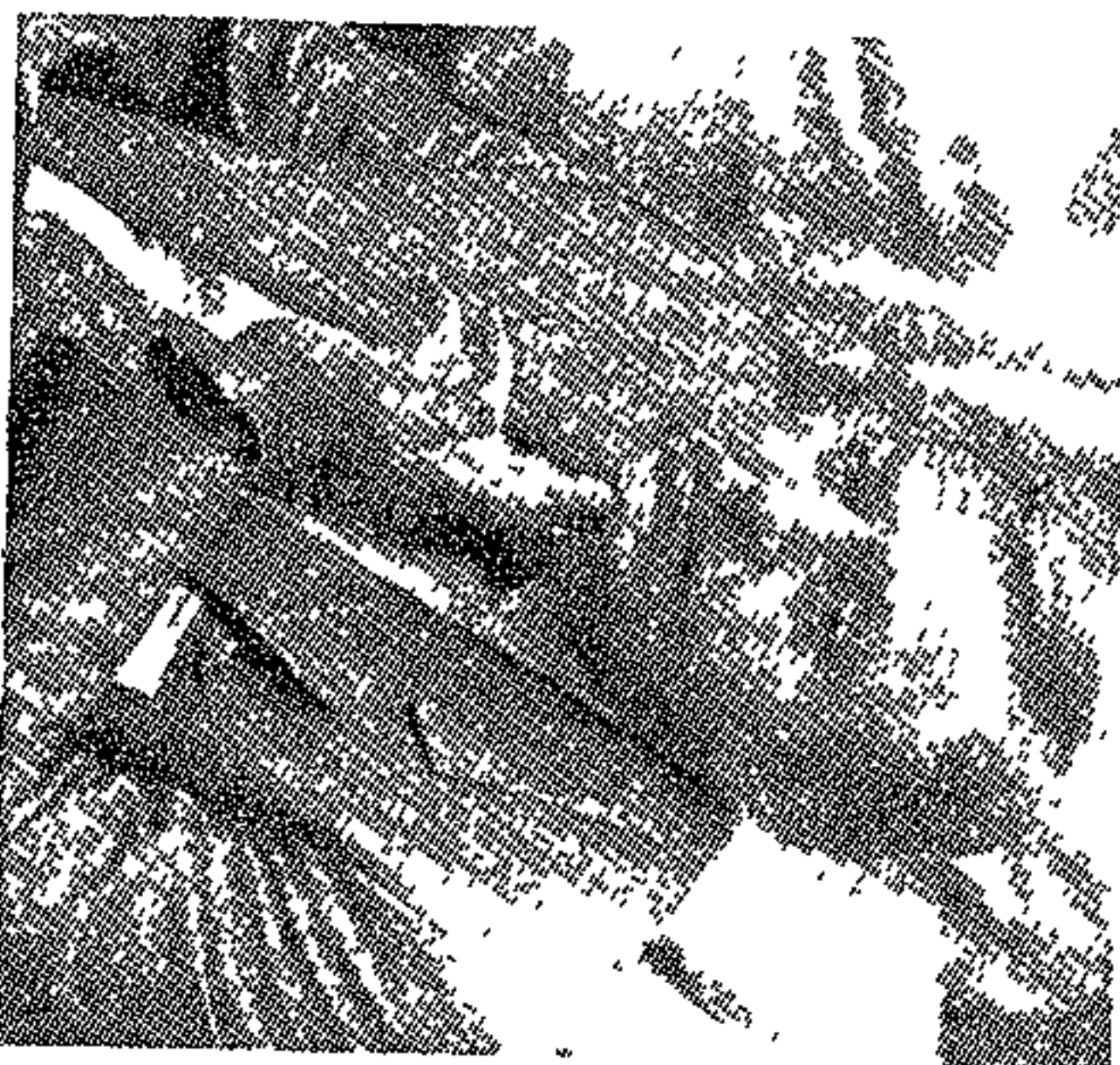
Throughout his presentation, Botha pointedly referred to the ANC as "the ANC-Communist Party alliance".

Answering points raised by ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday, Botha:

- Offered to hold immediate bilateral talks with the ANC on resolving the organisation's lingering claims that political prisoners are still being held and that government had failed in its undertaking to repeal all repressive legislation.

- Hotly contested Mandela's assertion that government was determined to keep a veto for whites, arguing that the NP had every intention of becoming a majority party under a new constitution by aggressively competing for black votes which would only be alienated by the entrenchment of a white veto.

- Urged the ANC and Inkatha to join government in setting up a joint monitoring body, possibly with international observers, to defuse township flashpoints; and
- Supported the establishment of a code of conduct under the auspices of the Gold-



● BOTHA

Picture AP

stone commission to ensure that mass action remained peaceful.

In what seemed a direct retort to Mandela's claim that government was conducting a campaign of "state terror", Botha countercharged that the ANC had publicly admitted the existence of arms caches both inside SA and in Angola.

He said that shortly before his departure he had received information that the ANC-Communist Party alliance had instructed its Zimbabwe representative to transfer assault rifles and grenade launchers stored at Mashvinga to the northern Transvaal for infiltration into SA.

This, Botha said, illustrated the difficulty of creating a climate for negotiations, but was also "all the more reason for us to

□ To Page 2

Pik

talk about these matters rather than simply walking away from the negotiating process".

Mandela was not present as Botha spoke.

At a news conference after his address, Botha said he would be "very much encouraged" if the council adopted the draft resolution before it, since it put the international community on record as believing that SA had to solve its own problems without outside interference and "telling all parties to hurry and get around the negotiating table".

He hoped the UN secretary-general would send his special envoy to SA as soon as possible. All outside assistance was welcome, so long as it was done in consultation with all parties and did not constitute an effort to "run the show" — a level of intervention, Botha added, that the Security Council would not support either.

In an interview with SABC TV last night, Botha said the ANC would "get a resolution they do not want".

"The ANC is going to get a resolution telling them to go back to the negotiating table."

"The UN has said 'the SA government is quite right. We have listened to all of you and you had better all get back to the negotiations table'."

Botha said the hearing was a victory for government. "The political attempt by the ANC to get at us was a total failure."

Sapa reports Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi hit back at the ANC in an aggressive address to the council yesterday. While he welcomed the efforts of the UN body to address the violence and to

kick-start the stalled negotiations process, Buthelezi said the ANC was bent on seizing power unconstitutionally.

Defending the carrying of so-called traditional weapons, he waved his ceremonial stick of office to a packed council and said he would carry it "to the end of my days".

He said his party would welcome a "strong, effective" international fact-finding mission to SA. But unless it was unbiased and fair, it would only exacerbate the situation.

In his address to the council, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope yesterday accused the ANC of destabilising its political opponents.

Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo also stated the ANC in his address, alleging it was no longer a progressive liberation movement, but had changed into an oppressive organisation bent on seizing power "through the barrel of a gun".

And PAC president Clarence Makwetu on Wednesday told the council it should empower the secretary-general to identify a neutral venue where the modalities of a constituent assembly for SA could be thrashed out.

He supported a draft resolution before the council empowering the secretary-general to send a UN mission to the country to investigate and make recommendations on the violence.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew told the council the international community could play a constructive role in resolving the crisis in SA, but in the end a new constitution would have to be drawn up by South Africans.

● Comment: Page 8

You're more likely to be killed for your money

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(274)

Police release new figures on the country's plunge into lawlessness.
PAUL STOBBER reports

DESPITE political violence dominating the headlines, South Africans are more likely to be killed for their possessions than their beliefs.

According to South African Police figures, 2 240 people died in unrest-related incidents during 1991 but another 14 693 were murdered over the same period.

On the day of the Boipatong massacre, in which 39 people died, another 73 murders were committed nationally.

These statistics were among a portfolio of graphs, released by the SAP last week, which reveal the inability of the SAP to stop South Africa's headlong plunge into lawlessness.

While the police success rate in solving "really serious crime" is 2,2 percent up from April last year, criminal activity in the same category increased 6,44 percent over the first four months of 1991.

The high number of suspects granted bail after court appearances is also adding to the police's workload. Over a period of nine months, 10 353 suspects broke their bail conditions while another 3 850 committed other

crimes while out on bail.

In the briefing document, Major-General Andre Pruis describes political violence as having "anarchistic tendencies" in communities where violence has become an accepted means of settling disputes.

According to the SAP figures, 1 181 people were killed in political violence during the first six months of this year: 779 were gunned down; 205 were hacked or stabbed to death; 23 people were necklaced and 76 were burnt to death. The report identifies Natal and the PWV region as the areas worst hit by political violence.

Given the government's insistence that the township violence is a result of rivalry between the African National Congress and Inkatha, Pruis surprisingly acknowledges that "a variety of groups are involved and that it is not an exclusively ANC/Inkatha conflict. These people attempt, under the guise of ideological strife, to promote personal interests".

Although the report does not substantially address allegations that a "third force" is fan-

ning the township violence, it accepts that "attacks by small groups on persons with a specific political affiliation or on the public in general ... gives credence to allegations of the existence of a so-called third force". Pruis sharply dismissed accusations of police involvement in political violence, extensively quoting a judgment which cleared the SAP of much publicised allegation of their complicity in the murder of Chief Maphumulo. But, no mention is made in the document of the Trust Feed trial in which policemen were found to be extensively involved in the massacre of supporters of the defunct United Democratic Front. However, in his introduction to the briefing, Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe conceded that some members of the police force might break the law.

According to Van der Merwe, the statistics were released to bring attention to the problems the police face and not to "deprecate what, in all fairness, is often said to be a lack of

In the past six months

* 1 181 people were killed in political violence

* 23 of them were necklaced

* 76 were burnt to death

* 205 were hacked to death

* 779 were shot dead

achievement.

Expressing concern about the negative township perceptions about the SAP, Van der Merwe said the force had never been monitored as closely as it was today. He offered the R11-million the SAP has paid out on civil claims, this financial year, as proof of this. But, added Van der Merwe, efforts were constantly made to make policemen aware that they had to act within the law.

According to Van der Merwe, negative criticism is undermining the morale of policemen, who often work 12-hour shifts.

Outlining steps the SAP had taken to improve its relationship with communities, Van der Merwe pointed to:

*The formation of the semi-autonomous Internal Stability Unit to combat political violence with preventative measures.

*The creation of a special unit to investigate allegations which could disturb the relationship between the police and the community.

*The creation of special investigating units to deal with political violence.

*Full-time SAP representation on regional and local dispute resolution committees.

He also said the code of conduct for the SAP embodied in the National Peace Accord was strictly implemented.

Softly, softly UK tones down resolution

BEHIND the United Nations scenes, Britain effectively hijacked an African initiative for vigorous Security Council action to defuse the explosive South African crisis.

In the week before the council met on Wednesday, British diplomats persuaded key member-states to rewrite a resolution drafted by Zimbabwe on behalf of the Organisation of African Unity. Backed by the US, they argued for the elimination of any passage that could be construed as an attack on, or criticism of, President FW de Klerk's government.

With the co-operation of UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali, a new version emerged that would give the world body no mandate to investigate the origins and effects of the years-long violence or to monitor the performance of the South African security forces.

In line with what the British Foreign Office officials call its "softly, softly" approach, the final resolution will do little more than to:

- Empower Boutros Ghali to send a personal emissary to the Republic for consultation with all parties involved in the stalled constitutional talks.
- Arrange for that emissary to report back to the secretary general.
- Invite Boutros Ghali to make rec-

ommendations for action, or inaction, by the council.

● Urge the contending groups in South Africa to get back to the negotiating table again and avoid inflammatory or provocative acts.

Britain's role, widely perceived as protective of De Klerk, has also earned the condemnation of speakers at this week's international hearing on political violence in South Africa in London, sponsored jointly by the UN Centre Against Apartheid and Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM).

The two-day meeting attended by more than 200 academics, lawyers, churchmen from 27 countries and by South African black victims of violence, ended on Wednesday with this three-point call:

● International intervention to monitor and to investigate political violence with powers to end it.

● Maximum international pressure to ensure that the De Klerk government effectively uses its security forces to stop the killings, massacres, maimings, and the destruction of homes.

● International action "to prevent the South African regime from continuing to frustrate the process to establish a new democratic order", this action to take the form of full international

Britain's intervention to tone

down the UN resolution on

South Africa took away the

world body's mandate to

investigate violence.

By ARTHUR GAVSHON

in London

participation in the negotiating process.

In a wind-up statement, British AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston said public opinion around the world is to be rallied to support these aims. In particular he accused the South African authorities of subverting the National Peace Accord process and the Goldstone Commission by ignoring their work and recommendations.

In campaigning to protect Pretoria against a full-scale onslaught within the Security Council the British used a variety of arguments and tactics and won the help of Boutros Ghali, who had visited London about 10 days ago. The secretary general, for instance, was persuaded to permit a long council session — possibly of three days, with more than 50 speakers listed including some of the minor Codesa

participants.

The calculation was that such a cacophony would have the effect of drowning African National Congress president Nelson Mandela's central demands for De Klerk to shut down the hostel system, to ban the carrying of lethal weapons, to introduce international monitors and investigators.

"We don't want South Africa's domestic arguments injected into the Security Council setting," one Foreign Office official told journalists. "That would result only in megaphone diplomacy."

Other British officials took time out to call the attention of journalists to published articles generally disparaging of Mandela, including assertions by *London Times* columnist Woodrow Wyatt that the ANC president today "is not the man he was when he stepped out of Pollsmoor jail".

The widely-advertised preference for a special UN emissary to visit South Africa on behalf of Boutros Ghali has been Cyrus Vance, secretary of state when Jimmy Carter was US president.

But a challenger has emerged from Africa. He is General Olusegun Obasanjo, who with Australia's former prime minister, Malcolm Fraser, co-chaired the Commonwealth Group

of Eminent Persons who visited South Africa in 1986. Obasanjo headed a federal military government in Nigeria from 1976 to 1979 when he handed over to civilians.

Meanwhile, another general, Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei, flew into New York on Wednesday to support Mandela in the Security Council if needed. Before doing so, he submitted a statement to the two-day international hearing organised in London jointly by the AAM and the UN Centre Against Apartheid.

In that submission Holomisa advanced the view that "the political fortunes and settlement of the South African dilemma are tied to Angola and Mozambique". He went on: "The armed Unitas and Renamo bandits, equipped and funded by South Africa and some of its Western allies, must, it appears, be safely ensconced in power before our country is propelled to a non-racial democracy."

The meaning of the scenario he was offering seems clear: a South African government led by the ANC would act to halt new military and other aid reaching Unitas and Renamo and thus "foil the entire grand strategy" mapped by Western powers to install their political pets in positions of power in neighbouring states.

UN urges De Klerk to end violence

■ This is the United Nations Security Council resolution which was adopted last night after a two-day debate on South Africa:

Soviet 17/11/92

GRAVELY concerned by the escalating violence in South Africa which is causing a heavy loss of human life and by its consequences for the peaceful negotiations aimed at creating a democratic, nonracial and united South Africa,

CONCERNED that the continuation of this situation would seriously jeopardise peace and security in the region,

RECALLING the consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth Special Session on December 14 1989 which called for negotiations in South Africa to take place in a climate free of violence,

EMPHASISING the responsibility of the South African authorities to take all necessary measures to stop immediately the violence and protect the life and property of all South Africans,

EMPHASISING also the need for all parties

to co-operate in combating violence and to exercise restraint,

CONCERNED at the break in the negotiating process and determined to help the people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for a nonracial democratic society,

1. CONDEMNS the escalating violence in South Africa and in particular the massacre at Boipatong township on June 17 1992, as well as subsequent incidents of violence including the shooting of unarmed protesters;

2. STRONGLY urges the South African authorities to take immediate measures to bring an effective end to the ongoing violence and to bring those responsible to justice;

3 CALLS upon all the parties to co-operate in combating violence and to ensure the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord;

4. INVITES the Secretary-General to appoint, as a matter of urgency, a special repre-

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sentative in order to recommend, after, inter alia, discussion with the parties, measures which would assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, nonracial and united South Africa, and to submit a report to the Security Council as early as possible;

5. URGES all parties to co-operate with the special representative of the Secretary-General in carrying out his mandate; and to remove the obstacles towards the resumption of negotiations;

6. UNDERLINES in this regard the importance of all parties co-operating in the resumption of the negotiating process as speedily as possible;

7. URGES the international community to maintain the existing measures imposed by the Security Council for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid in South Africa;

8. DECIDES to remain seized of the matter until a democratic, nonracial and united South Africa is established."

NEWS Pik Botha gives Government approval of UN mission



Dobsonville Police Station commander Captain Isak Ludick addresses rival taxi drivers operating in the area yesterday after a confrontation which has caused tension in the township.

PIC: SELLO MOTSEPE

Pik, Buthelezi hit back at the ANC

■ FIGHTING BACK

Botha defends NP's constitutional proposals:

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha launched a stinging counter-attack against the ANC during his address to the United Nations' Security Council in New York yesterday.

The organisation also came under heavy fire from Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Responding to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's allegations of State terrorism, which Mandela made to the Security Council on Wednesday, Botha said the ANC was not the only victim of the violence.

He said investigations into the Boipatong massacre had indicated the violence could often be traced to a conflict between the ANC and IFP.

Reports of movement of ANC arms caches from Zimbabwe to South Africa were also a source for grave concern.

Defending the Government's constitutional proposals Botha denied they were designed to

enable the Government to cling to power or to give whites a veto on a new constitution.

While he welcomed the efforts of the UN body to address the ongoing violence and to kick-start the stalled negotiations process, Buthelezi repeatedly deviated from his prepared speech to attack the ANC.

"My people are being killed by operatives of MK," Buthelezi, who was speaking in his personal capacity, charged.

He said the ANC was bent on seizing power unconstitutionally.

"There will be no solution to the South African problem unless at least the South African Government/National Party and the KwaZulu Government/IFP as well as the ANC alliance are party to the solutions attempted," Buthelezi said.

The IFP was not opposed at present to any international peace-keeping function by security or military forces.

A proposal before the Security Council requests that UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali send an envoy to South Africa to investigate the violence.

"We also have no serious objection to the establishment of some monitoring machinery to observe, on a continuous basis, developments in South Africa and to make recommendations," Buthelezi said.

Sowetan 17/7/92

(274)

THE FULL UN TEXT

THE following is the full text of United Nations Security Council resolution 765 on South Africa, adopted unanimously in New York yesterday: ARG 17/7/92 (274)

The Security Council: Recalling its resolutions 392 (1976), 473 (1980), 554 (1984) and 556 (1984), is...

■ Gravely concerned by the escalating violence in South Africa, which is causing a heavy loss of human life and by its consequences for the peaceful negotiations aimed at creating a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa;

■ Concerned that the continuation of this situation would seriously jeopardise peace and security in the region;

■ Recalling the consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa adopted by the General Assembly at its 16th Special Session on 14 December 1989 which called for negotiations in South Africa to take place in a climate free of violence;

■ Emphasising the responsibility of the South African authorities to take all necessary measures to stop immediately the violence and protect the life and property of all South Africans;

■ Emphasising also the need for all parties to co-operate in combating violence and to exercise restraint;

■ Concerned at the break in the negotiating process and determined to help the people of South Africa in the legitimate struggle for a non-racial, democratic society:

1. Condemns the escalating violence in South Africa and in particular the massacre at Boipatong township on June 17 1992, as well as subsequent incidents of violence including the shooting of unarmed protesters;

2. Strongly urges the South African authorities to take immediate measures to bring an effective end to the ongoing violence and to bring those responsible to justice;

3. Calls on all the parties to co-operate in combating violence and to ensure the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord;

4. Invites the secretary-general to appoint, as a matter of urgency, a special representative in order to recommend, after, inter alia, discussion with the parties, measures which would assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa, and to submit a report to the Security Council as early as possible;

5. Urges all parties to co-operate with the special representative of the secretary-general in carrying out his mandate; and to remove the obstacles towards the resumption of negotiations;

6. Underlines in this regard the importance of all parties co-operating in the resumption of the negotiating process as speedily as possible;

7. Urges the international community to maintain the existing measures imposed by the Security Council for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid in South Africa;

8. Decides to remain seized of the matter until a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa is established. — Sapa

Botha tells of alleged ANC weapons conspiracy from Zimbabwe

FOREIGN Minister

Pik Botha told the United Nations Security Council today that the government had received information earlier this week of an alleged conspiracy by the ANC-Communist Party alliance to infiltrate

weapons into South Africa from Zimbabwe.

The weapons, he alleged, included automatic assault rifles and grenade launchers and were to have been transported to the northern border of the Transvaal with the as-

sistance of the Zimbabwean army.

Mr Botha said the weapons currently were stored at Mashvinga, in Zimbabwe, and that the government had learned that the instruction to move them into South Africa had

come from the ANC-Communist Party alliance in South Africa.

He did not elaborate, and declined comment on the matter after his speech. Zimbabwean representatives at the UN said they had no information about the

matter, but said they had already reported details of Mr Botha's speech to Harare. No officials of the ANC were available for comment in New York today.

Mr Botha said a major cause of death in

the violence in South Africa was the use of AK47 assault rifles.

"Only two days ago, the ANC-Communist Party alliance in a public statement admitted to the existence of arms caches inside South Africa," he said, before

going on to allege a conspiracy to smuggle weapons from Zimbabwe across the northern Transvaal border.

"These facts illustrate how difficult the task of creating a climate conducive to peaceful negotiations has become,"

Man denies police death plot

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CT 11/1/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Senior ANC member Mr John Nhlanhla has rejected the allegation that he ordered a member of the organisation to kill policemen.

"It is a complete fabrication," Mr Nhlanhla said yesterday.

He said he believed a senior member of the security force was behind the allegation, which re-emerged in the sentencing of a returned ANC exile in the Ermelo Magistrate's Court yesterday morning.

Twenty-five-year-old Kgatso Branden Samson was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for the illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition. Nine months of the sentence were suspended for five years. — Sapa

(274)

An expanded role for the Supreme Court was suggested by the parties and the panel accepted the idea of an automatic review by the Supreme Court of conditions imposed by local authorities on demonstrations which the organisers objected to

Goldstone said this was incorrect: the panel had recognised the need for policemen to be adequately protected from missiles, adequately equipped to keep violent demonstrations at bay, and adequately trained.

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Weapons ban in unrest areas

PRETORIA — New regulations on violence and intimidation in unrest areas would include a ban on the carrying of weapons in public, Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday.

Other aspects of the new regulations, announced by President F W de Klerk on Tuesday, would be announced as soon as practically possible, he said.

The outlines of the regulations provided by De Klerk indicated a hardening of government's attitude to township violence.

There were currently 14 declared unrest areas, all of which fell in central and southern Natal and the PWV area.

TIM COHEN

Details of the new regulations remained vague but they would include measures to criminalise opposition to the authority of the security forces and measures to combat intimidation.

Severe penalties were envisaged for the use of certain weapons in crimes, with sentences ranging from five to 25 years.

De Klerk also announced that a simplified form of criminal procedure would be introduced to combat crimes involving violence and intimidation.

Kotze could not say when the new regulations would be implemented.

ANC funeral 'peaceful'

THEO RAWANA

THE funeral of ANC member George Mashele, who was killed in a handgrenade blast last week, went ahead without incident yesterday at Vosloorus on the East Rand, police said.

Police have maintained Mashele blew himself up when they arrived at his home to arrest him in connection with an attack on a Vosloorus town councillor, but the ANC has disputed this version, claiming police lobbed the grenade into the house.

Sapa reports SACP secretary-general and ANC executive member Chris Hani attacked the anti-violence measures President F W de Klerk announced on Wednesday.

The measures were "not only silly, but frivolous," Hani said, and accused De Klerk of "playing to the gallery of the international community".

Hani said he doubted whether De Klerk really intended disbanding three controversial security force units.

"These mercenaries will continue killing people as part of the SADF," he said.

Two train commuters were seriously injured when they were thrown off a moving train in Katlehong on the East Rand. Police also found the bodies of two men with bullet wounds in Katlehong, and a body which had been hacked and burned in Thokoza near Germiston.

Man denies order to kill

SENIOR ANC member John Nhlanhla has rejected the allegation that he ordered a member of the organisation to kill policemen.

He said he believed a senior security force member was behind the allegation, which re-emerged during the sentencing of a returned ANC exile in the Ermelo Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Kgatso Brendan Samson, 25, was sentenced to 18 months in jail for the illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition.

Nine months of Samson's sentence were suspended for five years.

A police spokesman said Samson was first arrested in Piet Retief for the illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition. — Sapa.

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'Violence claims 50'

Sowetan 17/7/92
■ Since the State President's reform progress began in February 1990, 6 375 people have died: (274)

By Mathatha Tsedu

AT LEAST 50 people were killed in politically related violence from July 8 until Wednesday this week, according to the Human Rights Commission.

The number of people killed since the reform process of State President Mr FW de

Klerk started in February 1990 stood at 6 375 with 13 380 people injured during that period.

People killed in politically motivated violence since the signing of the Peace Accord in September last year was 2 881 while 4 391 people were injured, according to figures kept by the HRC.

Goldstone: The

THIS is the full text of Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's statement from Pretoria:

INQUIRIES BY THE COMMISSION:

The commission consists of five members and a small staff. It is obviously unable to inquire into every one of the many tragic incidents of violence which regrettably have become a daily occurrence in South Africa.

In deciding which incidents to investigate the commission has regard to many factors and primarily its most important task which is to find ways and means of curbing violence. When it declines to investigate any particular situation or incident of violence, in no way does it lack a full appreciation of the personal and public tragedy associated with needless and often mindless loss of life or serious injury.

The commission holds preliminary inquiries to assess whether the issues are such that a full inquiry is necessary having regard to the commission's resources and terms of reference.

THE BOIPATONG INQUIRY:

1. Some incidents cry out for full and exhaustive inquiry. The Boipatong massacre is one. The number of people who were murdered and injured, the personal tragedy of the bereaved families and the justified anger of all decent people demand answers to the questions which so obviously arise in relation to the events of June 17, 1992.

2. The legal representatives of the parties have assisted the commission in framing terms of reference relating to the inquiry. They are:

- (a) The identity of the people directly responsible for the massacre;
- (b) The cause of the massacre and the nature, time and place of the planning of the massacre and the people responsible for the massacre and its planning;
- (c) The action taken by members of the Defence Force who were in the vicinity of the Kwamadala hostel immediately after the massacre;
- (d) Whether any steps could or should have been taken by the police to prevent or avert the massacre;
- (e) The nature and efficiency of the investigation by the no-

(a) Direct complicity in or planning of current violence by the State President, members of the cabinet and senior members of the police and Defence Force;

(b) Direct complicity in or planning of current violence by members of the middle or lower ranks of the police and Defence Force;

(c) Unwillingness or inability by the State President and members of the cabinet to take adequate steps to prevent current violence;

(d) Unwillingness or inability by the security forces to prevent current violence.

3. No evidence has been submitted to the commission which in any way justifies allegations of direct complicity in or planning of current violence by the State President, any member of the cabinet or any highly placed officer in the police or Defence Force. But if such evidence is submitted to the commission it will be thoroughly investigated.

4. In the absence of such evidence the commission considers that allegations to the effect that government and security force leaders are themselves directly responsible for the commission of violence are unwise, unfair and dangerous. They are dangerous particularly because they are likely to exacerbate the climate of violence and frustrate and retard attempts to curb violence.

5. Evidence in support of the other kinds of allegations about government and security force involvement in the violence has been received by the commission. The serious acts of violence committed by 32 Battalion in Phola Park have been reported by the commission to the State President. Other evidence of misconduct by members of the police or army are being heard and considered by committees of the commission.

6. The commission will continue to investigate allegations of violence alleged to have been instigated by supporters of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

7. So, too, the commission will continue to investigate any allegations about the unwillingness or inability of the security forces to prevent

police misconduct or complicity which are not materially substantiated by facts.

IGNORING RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION

13. The commission is distressed that some of the considered and urgent recommendations made by it have been ignored. In particular it would refer to the following:

14. In its second interim report the commission reported that:

"Hostels are common to most of the worst areas of violence. All hostels should immediately be adequately and securely fenced. A strong and efficient police presence should ensure that no arms are taken in or out of hostels. It should also be in a position to protect all hostel dwellers from external attack."

The only response to date has been a statement on behalf of government that R294 million has been allocated for the upgrading of hostels. As far as the commission is aware no action has been taken.

15. The commission's recommendations, made in January 1992, on policing in Mooi River have been ignored. No reasons have been given.

16. The commission's recommendations on the deployment of 32 Battalion in peace-keeping operations were met with what can generously be described as an unhelpful response from a senior member of the Defence Force. No reasons have been given for ignoring the commission's recommendations.

17. In December 1991, the commission referred to the Attorney-General of the Transvaal a prima facie case of involvement by policemen in Schweizer-Reneke in an unsuccessful conspiracy to murder an ANC leader in the town. Notwithstanding constant inquiries by the commission, the police investigation has taken an unacceptably long time. Eventually the commission felt obliged to call the investigating officer to testify in public and explain the delays.

18. The commission by no means expects that recommendations made by it should necessarily be accepted or implemented. It does expect, however, that they will not be ignored. If they are not accepted or not implemented the commission believes that it and the public are entitled to be informed of that fact and of the reasons.

19. If the commission is to continue to serve any purpose it must retain such national and

7/7/92 (274)

Continued

(f) Steps which should be taken to prevent or avert a recurrence of such acts of public violence.

3. With the concurrence of the Minister of Justice, the commission has decided that a committee of the commission should be established to conduct the full inquiry. It will consist of myself as chairman. The members will be advocates Mr D J Rossouw SC and Mr M N S Sithole, and the former Chief Justice of India Mr Justice P N Bhagwati will assist the committee as assessor.

4. All of the legal representatives appearing before the commission are agreed that they are not yet in a position to begin the inquiry. It has been agreed that it will commence on August 4, 1992 at 10am at a venue to be announced.

5. In its second interim report the commission recommended that the government empower it to offer adequate witness protection to people testifying before the commission. The Minister of Justice has informed the commission that this recommendation has been accepted and discussions are being conducted by the commission with officials of the Department of Justice on appropriate regulations. It is hoped that the regulations will be in force by August 4, 1992.

6. Mr Justice Bhagwati has generously agreed to return to South Africa to sit with the committee. I would like to express my sincere appreciation to him for agreeing to do so. The commission is indebted to him more especially as his wise counsel and wide experience have already been of much value to the commission.

GENERAL POLICY CONSIDERATIONS:

1. In view of the climate of violence and political volatility in the country, the commission has unanimously decided to make public its views on a number of issues.

ALLEGATIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIOLENCE

2. With regard to the involvement in current violence of government and the security forces different kinds of allegations have been made by some political leaders and by some newspapers. They include:

or sufficiency or steps taken by them to do so.

8. The commission is of the view that for a government to gain the respect and support of its citizens whom they serve, it must be able to demonstrate that it has full control of its security forces. In turn, the security forces must be able to secure the lives and homes of the people. Such a state of affairs cannot be brought about without active co-operation between the security forces and the vast majority of the citizens and their political representatives. How to bring about such a state of affairs is the most urgent and daunting task of the commission.

9. The Commission appeals to all political leaders in South Africa to actively assist in this task.

NON-COOPERATION WITH THE POLICE

10. In its second interim report the commission set out a number of reasons for the distrust and mistrust of the police by so many South Africans. The commission remains deeply aware and concerned at this state of affairs.

11. If acts of violence were to be committed by or with the complicity or with the active support or connivance of members of the police, it could not be expected of the victims of violence to co-operate with the police in subsequent inquiries into the violence by the police.

The government and the security forces should therefore understand and appreciate the anger and frustration of so many South Africans. It will take more than the abolition of racial legislation and statements of good intention to achieve racial and ethnic harmony in South Africa.

Whether or not groups of former Koevoet members employed by the police are involved in incidents of violence, the infamous reputation of Koevoet is such that the very existence of such a group in South Africa in 1992 is calculated to cause yet further distrust and suspicion of the security forces.

The wisdom of employing such a group or groups must be open to serious question.

12. But at the same time, in the current climate of distrust and suspicion community leaders should be particularly careful not to make allegations of

full text

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ARG 7/7/92

international credibility as it may have earned. To ignore its recommendations can only be calculated to diminish if not destroy the credibility and effectiveness not only of the commission but also of the government.

20. The commission's recommendations on the bearing of weapons in public has been partially but inadequately implemented.

MASS ACTION

21. Public demonstration is a fundamental democratic right though in times of political tension it may have the potential for violence. For that reason, some months ago the commission set up an international panel of experts to assist it in making recommendations to the State President on the rules and procedures which should apply to public demonstrations, marches and picketing. That panel will report in public in Cape Town on Thursday. It is the hope of the commission that at the end of the public debate which will follow the report, an accord will be reached on rules and procedures.

22. In the view of the commission the right to public demonstrations is especially important at a time when the disenfranchised majority of South Africans have no alterna-

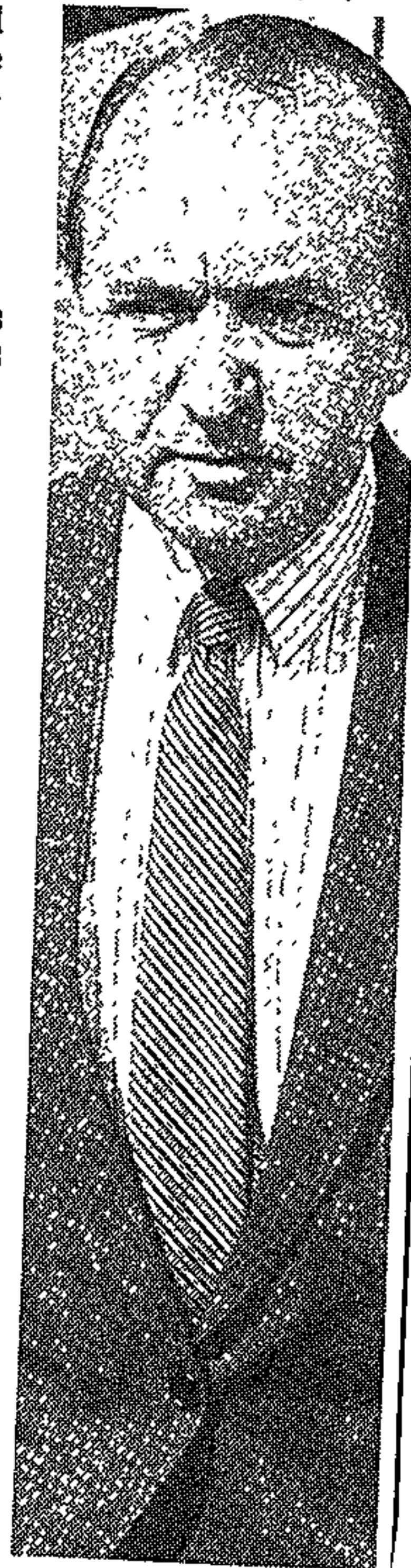
tive peaceful means of political action. But at the same time this right should not be exercised in such a way that it is calculated to lead to violence.

APPEAL TO LEADERS

23. The commission appeals to all of our country's leaders to spare no effort in re-establishing appropriate ways to continue the search for a peaceful transition to a democratic form of government. Without it the efforts of people of peace will come to nought and the activities of the instruments of the Peace Accord will become irrelevant.

ANTICIPATION OF THE FINDINGS OF THE COMMISSION

24. The commission has previously welcomed vigorous public debate on matters referred to it for inquiry and on its reports. However, it views with concern recent Press comment which anticipates findings which have to be made by the commission. In particular there has been comment on the credibility of witnesses who have testified before the commission and findings have been stated in matters which have yet to be decided by the commission. This practice is regrettable and it is hoped that it will not be repeated. — Sapa.



Mr Justice Goldstone

‘Mild’ Security Council resolution calls for end to violence

UN's rescue mission to SA

(214)

ARC 17/1/92

HUGH ROBERTSON
The Argus Foreign Service

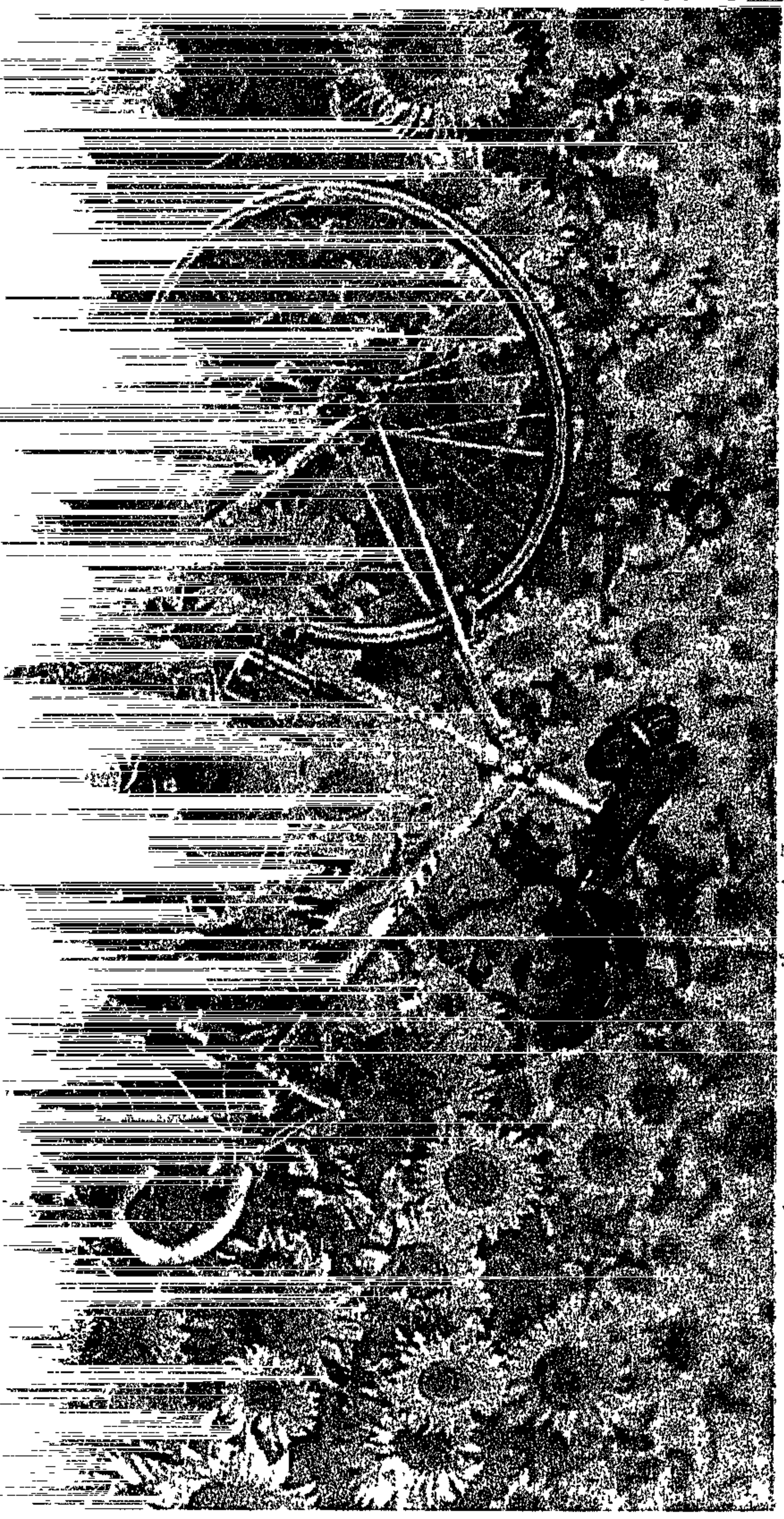
NEW YORK. — The 15 members of the United Nations Security Council have unanimously passed a resolution asking the Secretary General, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to send a special representative to South Africa.

The council also called for talks to end the violence and to establish a new constitution.

The resolution was milder and more even-handed than most observers had expected and, to the surprise of many, it did not specify what role the Secretary General's special representative should play, leaving this up to Mr Boutros-Ghali and whoever he chooses to send.

The ANC had demanded that the representative specifically investigate the violence, and that his mission be followed by the stationing of a permanent UN presence in South Africa to monitor the violence and the implementation of UN recommendations to end it.

While the representative, widely expected to be a former US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, almost certainly



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The ANC had demanded that the representative specifically investigate the violence, and that his mission be followed by the stationing of a permanent UN presence in South Africa to monitor the violence and the implementation of UN recommendations to end it.

While the representative, widely expected to be a former US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, almost certainly would investigate the violence, he is not compelled to and may look at other issues as well, or may choose to limit his mission to getting some form of peace talks started at which the issue of violence would be the main subject on the agenda.

Slap on wrist

The resolution condemns the violence, without apportioning blame, and asks the South African government to take immediate steps to bring the violence to and end — a modest and restrained slap on the wrist in the light of the wide criticism which the government faced for having failed to act on recommendations of the Goldstone Commission.

By passing such a neutral measure, the UN — and specifically the African countries, which had a major say in drawing up the resolution — have sent an important signal to all parties in South Africa that the UN intends playing a constructive role without becoming the battering ram of anyone.

UN officials say Mr Boutros-Ghali is determined to maintain international unity on the South African issue, meaning that he is not willing to engender the opposition of the five permanent members of the Security Council, the United States, Britain, France, Russia and China, and that any measures will have to be broadly acceptable and non-partisan.

The special representative is expected to consult all the parties in Codesa, as well as other groups, on what role they feel the UN should play. The representative is likely to set out for South Africa sometime later this month or early in August. By calling for peace talks, the UN has also shown its impatience about the delay in negotiations, suggesting that the main strategy of Mr Boutros-Ghali's representative will be to bring the two sides together as part of a strategy to end the violence.

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Panel on demonstrations finds much consensus

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The International Panel on Mass Demonstrations has completed its work and the Goldstone Commission will draft legislation to be aired for comment before submission to the State President.

Panel chairman Professor Philip Heymann said at the conclusion of the hearing yesterday there was "remarkably extensive" agreement among contributing parties.

The panel's recommendations for new legislation include a six-day notice requirement for gatherings and demonstrations; negotiations between organisers, police and local authorities; and minimum use of force by police.

Responding to the submissions by the ANC/Cosatu, the IFP, and Police and Justice Department representatives, Professor Heymann said the parties' respect for and belief in the courts was "striking".

The panel agreed with a police recommendation for a universal ban on protesters carrying weapons before, during or after demonstrations, "tempered by a judicial power to make limited, symbolic exceptions".

Planning

The panel was adamant that training of police at all ranks, and particularly human relations training, was imperative.

"Men and women must be taught and learn to deal with provocation and fear. Senior officers need to be taught and

to learn how they might handle various dangerous contingencies and how to plan in advance for even the unexpected. These are present weaknesses, and they must be addressed," the panel report said.

The panel rejected the police assertion that foreign policing models could not be applied here because of "particular and peculiar circumstances" and said South Africa was "not the only place where demonstrations are challenging to the skills and patience of the police."

"There is no reason why the authority of the police to use force in South Africa should differ from that of the major Western democracies."

The panel supported the recommendation of the ANC for a system of providing independent monitors who were

accessible to demonstration organisers and who also had access to the policing of demonstrations.

"We continue to recommend a committee to examine the set of systems that are or could be used to provide greater accountability and transparency to policing decisions. This is unusually important in a country where trust in the police is so often lacking," the report said.

● The international consultants to the Goldstone inquiry into mass demonstrations had seen "some police restraint" exercised during Wednesday's mass action in Cape Town, Professor Heymann said.

Making the panel's final recommendations on peaceful and effective protest action, he said he hoped the attitude would spread to the rest of the country.

STAR 17/7/92

Mandela's claims on violence 'an insult'

Pik offers 'package deal'

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, struck a largely conciliatory note in the United Nations Security Council yesterday, saying that he would welcome a UN fact-finding mission to South Africa to investigate political violence — but he also described as “an insult” ANC claims of Government complicity in the violence.

He also offered the ANC a “package deal” aimed at disarming a number of outstanding issues, among them the dispute over allegations that political prisoners were still being held in South Africa — a charge made yesterday by ANC president Nelson Mandela in his speech to the council.

Mr Botha's speech appeared to accurately anticipate the mood of the Security Council, which circulated a draft resolution yesterday proposing a representative of the Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, be sent to South Africa to investigate the violence and consult the parties to Codesa on the role the UN might play in the process.

On SABC-TV's “Agenda” programme last night Mr Botha said the UN draft resolution that parties should “get back to the negotiation table as soon as possible” was a strong vindication of the Government.

He said the ANC's quest at the Security Council meeting had been a “total failure and they know it”.

Replying in the Security Council to Mr Mandela's claims that the Government was promoting violence, Mr Botha said it was beyond his comprehension that anyone could accuse the Government of fomenting violence when its consequences at

home and abroad were disastrous.

“To accuse the Government of fostering violence is an insult,” he said.

In private consultations before the debate was resumed yesterday, the Security Council decided to allow all parties which had requested a hearing the opportunity to speak. This means that at least 64 speeches will be heard — a near record for a UN meeting — including those from representatives of 48 countries, and leading members of Codesa.

In his address, Mr Botha alleged a conspiracy by the ANC to smuggle weapons, including AK-47s, into South Africa from Zimbabwe.

“It hurts me to be accused of fomenting violence between ethnic groups when we have at last removed ourselves from apartheid. We have every intention of making the National Party a majority party. That can only be done if we succeed in gaining a substantial number of votes from every section of the population.

“To entrench a white veto would alienate voters, deny us a majority and repudiate the referendum result.

“I urge this council to accept once and for all that my party is not a white party any longer. We offer a political home to every South African subscribing to the party's principles.”

Mr Botha said President de Klerk had taken many initiatives to end the violence, often without the support of other parties. He said one such initiative involved his efforts to arrange a meeting between himself, Mr Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, so that the public could see their leaders united in an effort to stop the violence. So far, all Mr de Klerk's efforts had failed, including a proposal for a meeting made on

● To Page 3

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Pik offers STAR 17/7/92 'package deal'

● From Page 1

July 2, which had been rejected by Mr Mandela. Mr Botha said the Government recognised that in any investigation of the violence “painful revelations may come to the fore as regards excesses and irregular actions by individuals in official agencies. But that was the purpose of an open society.

Later, when asked about the acceptability of former US secretary of state Cyrus Vance as a UN envoy in South Africa, Mr Botha told a press conference: “I would welcome Mr Vance in South Africa tomorrow.”

Sapa reports that Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi hit back at the ANC in an aggressive address to the Security Council.



While he welcomed the efforts of the UN body to address the violence and to kick-start the stalled negotiations, Chief Buthelezi repeatedly deviated from his prepared speech to attack the ANC.

“My people are being killed by operatives of MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe),” charged Chief Buthelezi, who was speaking in his personal capacity.

The ANC was bent on seizing power unconstitutionally, he charged.

Defending the carrying of so-called traditional weapons, he waved his ceremonial stick of office and said he would carry it “to the end of my days”.

PAC leader Clarence Makwetu said he had no choice but to ask the Security Council to condemn “the South African regime for its involvement in the violence”.

He formally invited the UN to send an international commission to South Africa to investigate and recommend measures to end the violence.

'Mock trial' just bit of theatre, says ANC

By Peter Wellman

The ANC yesterday defiantly dismissed growing criticism of the "mock trial" of President de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi by its Youth League in Cape Town on Wednesday.

President de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi were given "life sentences for apartheid crimes". So were top Nationalists, including Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Military Intelligence chief General Christoffel van der Westhuizen.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the trial was simply "a piece of theatre, but it does indicate what people feel".

But National Peace Committee (NPC) chairman John Hall said that

if the reported facts were correct, the trial was a breach of the National Peace Accord.

The Democratic Party condemned the trial "in the strongest possible terms" and the IFP said it would refer the trial to the NPC, which is already considering a similar "mock trial" last month in which 12 IFP leaders were "sentenced to death".

The National Party's youth leader, Randburg MP Marthinus van Schalkwyk, said: "It is no secret that the ANC Youth League has been a headache for the more moderate element in the ANC for quite a while."

"An example has been the particularly firm relationship of the league with Winnie Mandela."

ANC plan to occupy Union Buildings, install Mandela as President

ANC and Cosatu leaders met yesterday to draw up plans for the alliance's "Exitgate" phase of mass action, which includes the occupation of the Union Buildings and the symbolic installation of Nelson Mandela as President.

The meeting, described by a source as a "strategising meeting", also discussed nationwide tax defiance. It was attended by Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. It decided the plans would go ahead only if Cosatu failed to reach an agreement with employers at the weekend.

"Exitgate" has been billed as the fourth stage of the alliance's mass action campaign. It was raised at Codesa II by SACP secretary-general Chris Hani as a means of unseating President F W de Klerk.

Cosatu spokesman Keith Madonsela yesterday confirmed the plan to occupy the Union Buildings and install Mandela. The plan will be discussed at a Cosatu executive committee meeting today and will include an attempt to pressure employers to divert money paid in PAYE taxes to a "fund for a future SA".

Madonsela said industries "where there

17/11/92

RAY HARTLEY

are disputes" would continue to face mass protest during the fourth phase.

Cosatu envisaged a six-day national strike, from August 3 to 8, consisting of a two-day stayaway, a one-day "occupation of cities and towns", two days of "factory-based action" and a day of "assessment meetings".

Dates would be set for the occupation of the Union Buildings at the assessment meetings on August 8, but Madonsela hinted that today's Cosatu meeting might

make proposals in this regard.

Factory-based action would effectively be strikes because workers would "go to work, but do not do anything there".

The occupation of cities meant "blocking their strategic entrances", which would bring them to a standstill, Madonsela said.

Cosatu would call off the mass action only if government agreed to hand over to an interim government by December, because this would be the only effective way to deal with the violence.

"At minimum government must commit

itself to majority rule. The whole point of this exercise is trying to get De Klerk out of power," he said.

He said mass action would continue "in a different form" even if negotiations resumed because Codesa parties needed to be pressed to concede to majority rule.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mannoepa said his organisation would announce today plans to occupy government buildings and other mass action activities.

He said no details of the activities would be given, to prevent "the regime" from thwarting the plans.

DEMONSTRATIONS

Maturity gap

Key aspects of the ANC's rolling mass action campaign set to sweep the country over the next few weeks would probably be outlawed in terms of recommendations likely to emerge from the Goldstone Commission's investigation into demonstrations.

Drawing on international experience, a multinational panel that reported its findings in Cape Town last week found it reasonable to prohibit the occupation of city centres intended to disrupt traffic and business and of public buildings. The panel, set up as a committee of the commission, was due to meet again this week to hear more views from legal representatives of interested organisations and to resolve disputed issues.

It will make recommendations to President F W de Klerk, including draft legislation designed to regulate mass demonstrations, marches and picketing.

If accepted and put into law, the committee's recommendations will demand that all groups involved in demonstrations reassess their attitudes. But there is likely to be heated debate over whether the report — based largely on the laws of European countries — meets the demands of SA in transition.

The degree of tolerance demanded of local authorities, police and the public as well as demonstrators and pickets appears difficult to achieve under current conditions.

In its lengthy report, the panel discussed: new procedures for giving notice of demonstrations; the duties of local authorities, police and organisers; and police training and reorganisation to cope better with demonstrations. For example, it noted that demonstrations should be dispersed only under the most extreme conditions and not simply because the organisers failed to give timely notice or negotiate with the other parties.

It held that dispersal is also not justified if the organisers "wilfully" disregard conditions agreed on with the other parties or imposed by the local authority or directed by the Supreme Court on review, though the organisers may then be subject to a penalty.

"Great restraint should be used in applying very vague statutes regarding breach of the peace or unlawful assembly to arrest nonviolent demonstrators.

"If the activities of the demonstrators violate general criminal laws or occasion civil liability, particular demonstrators or those urging them on can be sanctioned later

through the normal processes of the law or through the disciplinary mechanisms of the organisation holding the demonstration."

The committee also suggested that police should be organised, trained and equipped to deal with unexpected developments during a demonstration. The use of force should also be minimal and exercised through a range of "nonlethal resources." The use of lethal force could be justified only when delay in using it and the use of anything less would subject police or other people to a "severe risk of death."

In general, the panel found that western European nations imposed restrictions designed to protect the safety of people and property, the health and freedom of individuals, government and economic interests, the honour or reputation of individuals, and public tranquillity.

In the US conditions are aimed at preventing six types of harm: attacks on other citizens; destruction of private or public property or occupation of public or private areas; closing of government or private enterprises and disruption of their functions; disruption of the movement of others by vehicle or foot; intercommunal violence or riot; and assaults on the police.

As examples of conditions for demonstrations in SA, the panel recommended a ban on the carrying of weapons or replicas and the wearing of disguises.

There could also be limited restrictions on the time and place of demonstrations to: minimise the disruption of traffic and pedestrians; create space between rival groups of demonstrators; maintain access to private and public property in workplaces; and prevent damage to public or private property.

Local authorities should also be allowed to prohibit "hate speech" as is the case in the Netherlands and Germany. Western countries — except the Netherlands — examined by the panel prohibit demonstrations near parliament and courts. The panel recommended that this should apply in SA, though demonstrations should be allowed within sight and sound of their targets.

It was found that in other countries "the declaration of the demonstrators that they control a certain area to the exclusion of the authorities or other citizens would be met with the use of adequate force to obtain free access." Those countries would also prosecute demonstrators for occupying government or private buildings not open to the public.

The panel was against the posting of a bond by organisers to cover any costs that may arise from damage caused during the demonstration. It believed legal action to recover costs could be taken later.

Police should tolerate a rain of stones and bottles but be adequately protected against it. Water cannon and tear gas should be used to keep demonstrators at bay. Plastic bullets should be a last resort. The indiscriminate shooting of demonstrators in response to shots being fired at the police by individuals in the crowd should be avoided at all costs.

FM 17/7/92 (274)

While problems remain, SA has come a long way since February 1990 when street protests became legal. Acceptance of the proposals likely to come out of the committee would be a major step forward. ■

APARTHEID
W/Mail 17/17-23/17/92 (274)
DEATHS AND INJURIES

FIFTY people were killed and 32 were injured last week. This figure is lower than last week's total of 76 deaths and 82 injuries, reports the Human Rights Commission (HRC). Most of the deaths occurred in Natal and the PWV area.

Control of weapons 'chief issue'

CAPE TOWN — The most troublesome problem at South African gatherings was the control of weapons at public demonstrations, the chairman of the international panel of the Goldstone Commission said yesterday.

Professor Phillip Haymann said the SAP should be empowered to prevent armed demonstrators from proceeding to a different location, as well as to disarm them.

"We also agree strongly with the party who emphasised the responsibility of the organisers in this regard," he said, presenting the panel's reply to representations made on Wednesday in response to last week's report on demon-

strations.

Professor Haymann said the SAP had recommended that a universal prohibition on carrying weapons in places open to the public immediately before, during or after demonstrations should be tempered by a judicial power to make limited, symbolic exceptions.

"We think the proposal is safe and may be useful to attain wider acceptance of the prohibition," he said.

Far sharper distinctions should be drawn between situations subject to normal policing and those justifying the use of the SADF, which should be kept to the minimum.

Professor Heymann said the panel did not agree with the

ANC that police forces should always initially be kept invisible at a demonstration. Nor did it think the opposite was true: that there should routinely be an early show of available police force.

"We urge all parties to address the specifics of the situation, developing more case-specific practices. Police presence should depend on the situation.

"Training of police at all ranks is even more at the heart of what our international police experts consider the real issue. Commissioner Lee Brown of New York had asked the panel to emphasise human relations training."

The panel disagreed with

the SAP about the right of local authorities to deny innocent, law-abiding demonstrators the right to go to a particular area because of the expected response of lawless hostile opponents.

"It is the responsibility of the police to enforce the law against the lawless and not against the lawful, unless maintaining the peace is beyond their powers," he said.

The complete review of police powers, including the use of deadly force, was timely and important. The use of power to control free, political expression was a sometimes necessary, always regrettable, last resort, he said. — Sapa.

Rolling mass action set to speed up

274
APC 18/7/92

**BRENDAN TEMPLETON
and ESTER WAUGH**

Weekend Argus Political Staff

INTENSIFIED mass action aimed at persuading the government to give in to key ANC-initiated demands is due to kick off this weekend with marches and rallies in major centres.

Monday morning would see the co-ordinated occupation of government buildings, sit-ins and more marches and pickets, the chairwoman of the ANC's PWV region, Jessie Duarte, said yesterday.

But the ANC alliance's programme of "rolling mass action" is not a programme for insurrection, says a statement — in response to persistent government claims that the ANC is being manipulated into returning to "revolutionary" tactics — contained in the latest guidelines on the programme of action, discussed by the ANC's national executive committee this week.

A document from the meeting, in the possession of Weekend Argus, says: "In the current situation insurrection is not on the agenda. Neither would it be a voluntary choice of the ANC, now or in the future."

"We are at one of those rare moments since February 1990 in which the democratic movement enjoys the strategic and tactical initiative and occupies the moral high ground."

The central thrust of the campaign is to get the government to accept genuine negotiations, short time frames for transition and an end to the violence.

Mass action has already led to clashes between protesters and police in Cape Town this week and at Fort Hare University yesterday.

March organisers protested that police fired teargas without warning or provocation.

Miss Duarte warned that plans for continuing action were going ahead irrespective of whether next month's planned seven-day strike went ahead or not.

Only the ANC national executive could decide on changes, she said.

The programme of action was drawn up during a meeting of Transvaal organisations including the ANC, the SA Communist party, labour umbrella organisation Cosatu, civic organisations, the SA Democratic Teachers' Union and student bodies.

Actions planned for the region this weekend include a march today to Wits Command headquarters at Joubert Park, Johannesburg; a rally tomorrow at Mamelodi stadium, and a march on the Atteridgeville town council offices.

Marches, rallies and 'occupations' planned for next few days

Mass action to intensify

Star 18/11/72

BRENDAN
TEMPLETON
and ESTER WAUGH

INTENSIFIED mass action to pressure the Government to give in to ANC-initiated demands is due to begin this weekend with marches and rallies in major centres.

But Jan van Eck, the former Democratic Party MP who now sits in Parliament as an independent ANC member, believes the campaign is in danger of failing because of unruly behaviour by demonstrators.

He said this in reaction to the Cape Town "mock trial" earlier this week.

Van Eck, who joined the ANC earlier this year, was so shocked by the behaviour of elements of the crowd at a "mock trial", arranged by the ANC Youth League in Cape Town, that he decided he had to "publicly state my utter disgust at the violent behaviour of the crowd. If these hooligans claim to be supporters of the ANC, then they have betrayed the just cause of democracy they profess to support, and the ANC will need to immediately take the necessary action against them," he said.

"If this kind of behaviour is to continue, and if this becomes part and parcel of mass action and if effective steps cannot be taken to prevent this, then we have to seriously consider whether we can afford it," he said.

Yesterday, Jessie Duarte, chairman of the ANC PWV region, said Monday would see the co-ordinated occupation of government buildings, sit-ins and more marches and pickets.

Today, dismissed hospital workers will attempt to occupy Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto and Pelonomi



"WE ALL STAND TOGETHER": A union doctor makes his point to the gathering of nearly 300 doctors, nurses and student nurses who marched on the Baragwanath Hospital administration offices in a show of support for dismissed strikers yesterday.

Hospital in Bloemfontein.

Strike action was continuing at several provincial hospitals in the Cape Peninsula yesterday in spite of a return-to-work decision. Paraplegics have threatened to march to Pretoria in wheelchairs and on crutches if the Government does not resolve the strike.

The Disabled People of South Africa have blamed the strike for the deaths of two people with severe sp-

inal injuries.

Earlier, an ANC document outlining the latest guidelines for mass action made it clear it was not a programme for insurrection. A document from this week's national executive meeting, in the possession of the Saturday Star, says "In the current situation, insurrection is not on the agenda. Neither would it be a voluntary choice of the ANC, now or in the future."

The central thrust of the campaign is to get the Government to accept genuine negotiations, short time-frames for the transition, and to end the violence.

Duarte warned that plans for continuing action were going ahead irrespective of whether next month's planned seven-day strike went ahead or not. Only the ANC national executive could decide on changes, she

added.

Mass action has led to clashes between protesters and the police this week — and it happened again at Fort Hare University yesterday. March organisers protested that police fired teargas without warning or provocation.

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● Photograph: JOAO SILVA

local ANC, SA Communist Party, Cossu, civic organisations, the SA Democratic Teachers' Union and student bodies.

Actions planned for the PWV region this weekend include a march today to Wits Command headquarters at Jonbert Park, Johannesburg, and, tomorrow, a rally at Mamelodi stadium and a march on Atteridgeville Town Council offices

● The demands include: ● The acceptance of democratic proposals around a constitution-making body

● An end to violence, including the disbanding of covert and special forces, the phasing out of hostels and the prohibition of dangerous weapons in public

● Socio-economic demands such as the end to unilateral restructuring of the economy and an end to VAT

Pik warns on mass action

(274) 18/7/92
ARG

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — If the African National Congress continues with its campaign of mass action it will be in direct contravention of United Nations Resolution 765 on South Africa.

This was the view expressed by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha last night in what may signal the beginnings of a wrangle over the precise interpretation of the Security Council's resolution.

Speaking on his return from New York, Mr Botha said that if the ANC continued with its campaign in a way that caused disruption it would be in conflict with the spirit of resolution 765, which called on all parties to work for peace.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, who met France's junior foreign minister Mr Georges Kiezman in Paris yesterday, said afterwards that violence had to end before talks with the South African government could resume.

Mr Mandela said the Security Council had emphasised the halting of violence. "As long as this violence continues to ravage the country, it is going to be impossible for us to go back to negotiations," he said.

UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday announced that Mr Cyrus Vance, former United States Secretary of State, would head the organisation's mission to South Africa. Mr Vance will

■ Contrasting interpretations of Resolution 765, which calls for a UN special representative to visit South Africa, threaten much wrangling.

leave for South Africa early next week.

Mr Botha said the UN's envoy was not coming to South Africa "to interfere in the country's internal affairs, but to assist. His mandate is open. He is not coming himself to write the constitution, to curb the violence".

He said 765 was the first Security Council resolution passed that did not condemn South Africa.

"There was no condemnation, no apportioning of blame," said Mr Botha.

The clause which said the government had a responsibility to end the violence was "not an accusation, but an acknowledgement" that the problems had to be resolved by South Africans.

Mr Botha said that while he had reservations about the "factual basis" for the special session, "nothing better could have happened to this country".

He said it was now clear the world expected South Africans to resolve their problems, to stop apportioning blame and to stop putting the burden on other countries and international organisations.

"It will do all of us a lot of

good to reflect on that sentiment," he said.

In other reactions yesterday, Resolution 765 was broadly welcomed in South Africa.

Analysts cautioned, however, that it would take the political players themselves, rather than a wish expressed by the international community, to get negotiations going again.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said the presence of a monitor "will tend to put parties on their best behaviour. But, I do not think it will make that big a difference".

Dr De Beer was more optimistic that the UN presence would lead to a "slow climb back to negotiations".

The Conservative Party, which rejects any foreign involvement in South Africa's politics, slammed the resolution.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said that, while the organisation was happy its demand that the violence be investigated by the UN had been met, he would have welcomed direct UN involvement in the chairing of the negotiation process.

Continue

Resolution commits all to peace - Pik

Mass action 'in defiance of UN'

JOHN PERLMAN
ESTHER WAUGH and SABA-AFP

STAR 18/1/92

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● See Page 2 and Editorial, Page 10

ANC president Nelson Mandela, who met France's Junior Foreign Minister Georges Kiejman in Paris yesterday, afterwards said violence had to end before talks with the Government could resume.

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UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday announced that Cyrus Vance, a former United States secretary of state, would head the organisation's mission to South Africa. Vance will leave for South Africa early next week.

Botha said the UN's envoy was not coming to South Africa "to interfere in the country's internal affairs, but to assist. His mandate is open. He is not coming himself to write the constitution, to curb the violence." He hoped the envoy would meet "the widest possible spectrum of South Africans".

Botha, who addressed the Security Council for the eighth time, declared himself "more than satisfied with the turn of events". He said 765 was the first Security Council resolution passed that did not condemn South Africa. "There was no condemnation, no apportioning of blame," Botha said. He said the clause which said the Government had a responsibility to end the violence was not an accusation but an acknowledgement that the problems had to be resolved by South Africans.

Botha said that while he had reservations about the "factual basis" for the special session, "nothing better could have happened to this country". He said it was now clear that the world expected South Africans

to resolve their problems, to stop apportioning blame, and to stop putting the burden on other countries and international organisations. "It will do all of us a lot of good to reflect on that sentiment," he said.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who also returned last night, said the UN session made it possible "for the

● TO PAGE 2.

D.T.O.

Buthelezi wades into ANC, Mandela at IFP meeting

continue

■ **IFP** leader says party may withdraw from negotiations if MK issue was

negotiated exclusively between the ~~IFP~~

ANC and the government: ~~IFP~~ 274

Sowetan 22/7/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's annual general conference this past weekend in Ulundi coincided with heightened international focus on South Africa and again underscored the country's polarised state.

In a spin-off to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's scathing attack on the African National Congress at the United Nations Security Council's emergency meeting on South Africa on July 17, the IFP emerged from its conference with a two-pronged attitude: to put pressure on the Government and confront the ANC and its president Mr Nelson Mandela.

In his speech Buthelezi said he returned from New York deeply disillusioned about the political process in which the relationships between political parties could be normalised.

He also launched a scathing attack on the ANC and Mandela, reminding delegates that Mandela called the IFP surrogates of the Government at the UN.

Significantly, the future of the National Peace Accord, which was threatened when the ANC angrily broke off talks in the wake of June 17's Boipatong massacre, is again threatened as its first anniversary on September 14 draws nearer.

"Peace, negotiation, democracy...or death" was the theme at the IFP's meeting.

An analysis of its resolutions, forecasts a long political winter ahead.

The party has threatened to withdraw from a meeting of the Peace Accord signatories planned for July 30 if the ANC did not respond to its demand that it disband Umkhonto We Sizwe, its military wing, by Septem-

ber 14.

Also, the IFP has given notice to the Government that it is prepared to pull out of negotiations and the peace process if the issue of MK continued to be discussed exclusively by the ANC and Government.

Although having withdrawn from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, causing its collapse, the ANC is still a major signatory of the Accord together with the Government and IFP.

Conversely, as the ANC insists the Government is behind the violence, the IFP says it is the ANC. In fact, it charges that MK is the common denominator in all political violence.

In his speech Buthelezi said the ANC and Mandela were not committed to peace. It thus resolved that its national chairman lay a formal complaint charging Mandela with violating the accord.

Some of the major resolutions of the conference were:

- * That members establish defence units in accordance with the provisions of the Peace Accord and that maximum training be provided by the IFP;

- * Workers who are IFP members withdraw membership fees from Cosatu-affiliated unions because of the federation's mass action programme;

- * To condemn the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance "for courting economic disaster in the process of seeking their own party political gain";

- * To demand that the Goldstone Commission investigate any mass action campaign which leads to violations of the terms of the Peace Accord.

Saying it was committed to negotiations the IFP resolved to call a multi-party conference of review charged with reviewing the peace and

To condemn the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance for courting economic disaster in the process of seeking their own party political gains

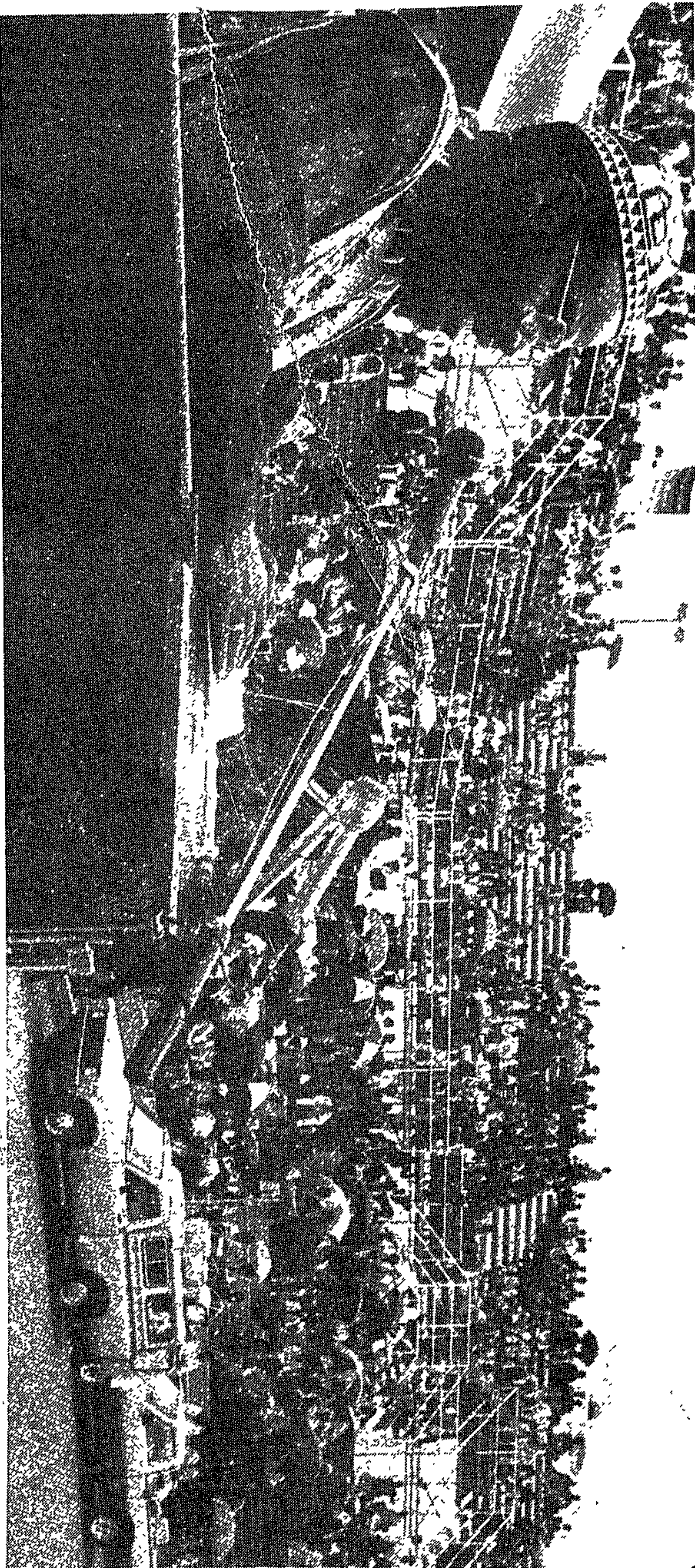


Some of Inkatha's supporters

negotiations processes and which should be given statutory powers.

Federalism as an option should be given maximum publicity and the IFP would call for negotiations about regional boundaries and regional autonomy, the party resolved.

NEWS FEATURE Chief Buthelezi threatens to pull out of negotiations with the Government



Scene at a previous Inkatha meeting.

(742)

26/4/22

Nitty gritty of ANC's mass action strategy

THE ANC has released details of an intensified phase of mass action, including national strikes and "occupation of cities", to which it says it will resort each time there is a deadlock in negotiations.

The action is to try to ensure a range of demands directed at the government are met.

The ANC and its main allies, Cosatu and the SACP, want:

An interim government set up to elect a one-chamber constituent assembly;

An end to violence by

disbanding special security forces, phasing out township hostels, banning dangerous weapons in public and implementing an international commission of inquiry to investigate the violence; and

An end to economic restructuring.

In a document on its mass action campaign titled "Guidelines on Programme of Action", the ANC national working committee said: "We are at one of those rare mo-

ments since February 1990 in which the democratic movement enjoys the strategic and tactical initiative and occupies the moral high ground."

The campaign should ensure that "democratic forces", in the form of the alliance, held on to that initiative.

"Whether or not there are negotiations and advances in Codesa, the people should continue to act around local and national grievances: from water

and electricity to housing, health, jobs and higher wages.

"When there are deadlocks in negotiations around the central questions, it becomes necessary to resort to unprecedented actions. This should be sustained rather than once-off events, and should aim at further shifting the balance in favour of the democratic forces."

In the later stages of its mass action campaign the

alliance aims to occupy the Pretoria seat of the SA government, the Union Buildings.

However, the document said: "In the current situation, insurrection is not on the agenda."

The phase of intensified action which began on July 15 with the occupation of government buildings continues on July 21 and 22 with a look at violence. The two days include the 25th anniversary of former ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli's death and the second anniversary of a massacre in Sebokeng.

Protests against the SABC will also be launched.

The next phase is subject to alteration depending on the outcome of talks between Cosatu and the SA Consultative Conference on Labour Affairs.

It could mean that business will recognise

towns, including blockades, marches, pickets.

"Thursday August 6 and Friday August 7, sectoral actions by workers and others to include factory demonstrations and occupations."

Phase four includes a prolonged general strike and a campaign to occupy the Union Buildings, cities and factories.

"The total situation (will) be reviewed from time to time, depending on the response of the regime and the practical steps regarding the problem of violence," says the document. - Sapa

August 3 - the day a national stayaway has been called - as a legal holiday and even participate in "jointly agreed activities".

The phase is scheduled to begin on August 3 and 4 with "a complete withdrawal of labour with local rallies, marches, pickets and other actions", says the ANC document.

The programme continues: "Wednesday August 5, regional initiatives to occupy cities and

PIK'S TOUR FORCE AT U

Continued
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SIMON BARBER judges Pik Botha to have emerged as the victor of Council debate on South Africa in New York this week

ANC president Nelson Mandela came to New York this week to ask the UN Security Council to take his side on the question of violence. The council, a different animal entirely from the General Assembly, where the ANC has generally prospered, chose instead to address the issue of peace.

In so doing, it handed a substantial moral victory to President FW de Klerk and his Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, whose performance before the council was widely judged masterful and which did much to revive Mr De Klerk's image after the beating it has taken in the wake of Boipatong.

With peace and the resumption of negotiations at centre stage, Mr Mandela failed to justify the ANC's withdrawal from talks to the council's permanent membership, most of whom made it clear, albeit in exquisite diplomatic terms, that they believed the ANC president was overplaying his hand.

For the first time in decades, Mr Botha managed to portray his government as sincere and genuinely aggrieved. One of his most extraordinary strokes was to raise allegations that elements of "the ANC/communist alliance" were trying to infiltrate arms into South Africa, and then say that this was "all the more reason" for getting back to the table — particularly since Mr Mandela and other senior ANC leaders might not be aware of what was going on.

A senior deputy to American permanent representative Ed Perkins passed a personal note to a colleague in the South African mission calling Mr Botha's speech one of the best and most moving he had heard in the council. It ended: "Anyone who has a horse like that has an easy

time being a jockey."

Mr Botha spoke with supreme confidence. He had reason. After lengthy haggling, the council had already agreed on a consensus resolution which represented a substantial victory for the government and which rendered hollow Mr Mandela's impassioned, but seemingly defensive, catalogue of the regime's complicity in the violence at the opening of the debate.

The final text was a far cry from the original draft submitted on Mr Mandela's behalf by the OAU. Its one concession to the ANC was a giveaway: a call for whatever sanctions that now remained in place — and, as Mr Botha observed, the array is scarcely imposing — to be maintained "for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid".

The only act for which the government was specifically condemned was the shooting of protesters after Boipatong. And, while the council agreed, uncontroversially, that the government (no longer, note, "the regime") had the responsibility for protecting life and property, it pointedly declined to assign blame for the broader violence.

THE General Assembly would almost certainly have been more open to Mr Mandela's point of view, and indeed would have let ANC representatives participate directly in the drafting of a resolution. But the council is different. Its job is peace (even if that means having to go to war as in the case of Iraq), and it could have no other justification for getting involved in South Africa.

If he failed to understand this, Mr Mandela miscalcu-

lated badly. On the other hand, he, too, has gained if his purpose was to return to his followers with the news that the ANC's international stature is being undercut by its boycott of talks.

The council took the view that the key to resolving the violence was getting the parties back to the negotiating table.

IN A CLAUSE insisted upon by the Russian representative, Mr Yuliy Voronstov, on express instructions from Moscow, it emphasised that the parties must resume talks "as speedily as possible".

The Secretary-General's special envoy was to try to be helpful in this regard; the resolution implied, but there should be no prevarication in the expectation that his report to the council might tip the scales in favour of one party or the other.

This point was reinforced by the US representative (a former ambassador to South Africa). Using the phrase favoured by Pretoria, he said he envisaged the Secretary-General's envoy leading a small "goodwill team" to South Africa to help the council get a "better perspective" and to "enhance the complex negotiations" but not "seek to supplant that process".

As far as the council's key members are concerned, the role of the international community must be to augment existing institutions such as the Goldstone commission and the National Peace Accord, and add legitimacy to new ones.

When Mr Botha said Mr De Klerk was anxious to discuss with Mr Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi the creation of a "joint monitoring body" with international observers, both

Mr Perkins and the British representative, Sir David Hannay, nodded appreciatively. This was precisely what they wanted to hear.

It was difficult to gauge the impact of Chief Buthelezi's presentation and those of the other Codesa parties. Many of their spokesmen, including the SACP's initially reluctant Essop Pahad, were on hand by accident, brought over by the National Democratic Institute to watch at the Democratic convention.

The speakers' list was long even without them, a fact alluded to by the Spanish ambassador when his turn came on Thursday afternoon. As

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per the ritual, he began by congratulating the president of the council (this month the representative of Cape Verde) for his statesmanship, political acumen and other qualities. To these he added "patience".

Nonetheless, the Codesa parties were there. And by that very fact the council was giving its de facto blessing to the Codesa process whether individual speakers liked it or not. Some, most notably Mr Pahad, did not. He thought Codesa was supposed to be dead. He spoke anyway.

After all, it's not often that one gets an opportunity to address the high priests of the New World Order in their inner sanctum.



PIK BOTHA drives a point home during the debate

I won't sit in same room as Mandela - Buthelezi

By S'BU MNGADI

19/7/92

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SALVO ... IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi slammed the ANC at the IFP's 17th annual congress.

THE National Peace Accord teetered on the brink on Friday night when IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he would refuse to sit in the same room with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

In a scathing attack on the ANC leader, Buthelezi said this would be his position unless instructed otherwise by the IFP membership.

Opening the IFP's 17th annual general conference in Umtata, Buthelezi specifically referred to the crucial peace accord meeting scheduled for July 30 at which its original signatories would be expected to review the peace process.

He told the 10 000 strong crowd: "How on earth does one sit down and talk to a person like Mandela when, in fact, he has thrown down a gauntlet which we have to pick up or suffer total political ignominy

among those sections of the community who are prepared to die for the ideals we serve."

He was speaking barely hours after arriving back from the United Nations Security Council special session in New York at which Mandela slammed the IFP, saying it was a surrogate of a government which was waging a campaign of state terrorism against opponents.

Buthelezi said he did not see how there could be a common negotiation process while the ANC was adopting such a hardline stance.

He slammed the recent mock trial by sections of a crowd of ANC demonstrators in Cape Town which "sentenced" him and other IFP leaders to death. "How can I sit and talk peace with them?" he said.

The 10 000-strong conference at Mandleni-Matlang Youth camp

applauded among others, the SA deputy Justice Minister and National Intelligence chief Dannie Schutte, Public Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers, senior representatives of fraternal organisations in Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Qwa-Qwa, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele, town councillors from many parts of the country as well as Natal CP leader Carl Werth and Durban CP city councillor Duncan du Bouis.

Buthelezi said the IFP should send a delegation to the NPA meeting to demand the final disbandment of Umkhonto weSizwe.

"If negotiations cannot get off the ground, then violence will escalate. If violence escalates, much more than it is doing now, we might be pushed into a situation in which violence will have to run its course before we can again begin the negotiations," Buthelezi threatened.



SAP need protection

Sunday Times 19/7/92

Sunday Times Reporter

THE Sunday Times stated last week that a report on the lawful control of demonstrations by a panel of the Goldstone Commission had noted that "police ... should be prepared to stand and be hit by stones, bottles and petrol bombs and not use lethal force as a response".

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, chairman of the commission, this week objected to the article on the grounds that it was inaccurate and did not properly reflect the views of the panel considering the issue.

He also said a subsequent SAP statement based on the Sunday Times report had embarrassed the commission and the panel.

The panel's report, said Mr Goldstone, made it clear that it recognised the need for policemen to be adequately protected from missiles, let alone petrol bombs, and the need for policemen to be adequately equipped to hold violent demonstrations at bay.

Force

The panel's report observes: "The only answer for this is careful training, making sure that the police are operating in units and not alone, careful supervision, proper protective gear, and equipment with non-lethal means to hold an angry and hostile demonstration at bay."

The report continues: "In all the places we have examined, the police would accept a rain of stones and bottles rather than use lethal force."

The report also noted that despite a rain of missiles, "the police should not retreat, leaving the target

exposed to damage at the hands of an unruly and violent crowd".

When presenting the report to the commission last week, Professor Philip Heymann, the Harvard head of criminal law and chairman of the panel, said: "The police do not, however, use even a barrage of rocks and bottles and gasoline bombs as justification for using lethal force, for shooting the demonstrators."

The use of lethal force in such instances, he said, would mean the police "are quite likely to hit demonstrators who have no responsibility for the bomb, for the rocks or for the bottles. They are likely to inflame the situation and not reduce it".

After hearing submissions by various parties this week, the panel noted: "A complete review of police powers (including the use of force, especially deadly force) is timely and important. There is no reason why the authority of the police to use force in SA should differ from that of the major Western democracies ... SA is not the only place where demonstrations are challenging to the skills and patience of the police."

It also suggested that the use of rubber or plastic bullets be limited.

The panel's central precept was that responsibility for non-violent protest was shared by the organisers of the demonstration, local authorities and the police. Negotiation and agreement between the three parties — the "safety triangle" — was essential

to ensure this.

Police should be adequately organised, trained and equipped with a wide range of non-lethal resources and protective gear to control public protests. When the use of force was required, specialised and well-disciplined police units, under the command of the officer normally in charge of the community, should be used.

The Sunday Times regrets misquoting the panel's report and Professor Heymann's delivery.

● Charlene Smith, meanwhile, reports that new laws defining police powers and regulations around mass demonstrations, marches and picketing will flow from the most recent Goldstone commission hearings in Cape Town.

Fear

The commission and the Department of Justice will soon begin preparing legislation on mass action in time for the next parliamentary session in October.

Mr David Gordon, who appeared before the panel on behalf of the police, said: "There's a need for protection — not only for demonstrators, but also for police. There is a high level of fear on the part of demonstrators, public and the police."

Mr Nicholas Haysom, a member of the Police Board who appeared for the ANC tripartite alliance, said: "Difficulties appear to be experienced by police officers who seem uncertain of their powers."

The proposed new legislation on police powers is designed to give the SAP clearer instructions.

Vance faces tough SA test

UNITED Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali has given special representative Cyrus Vance the power to use his discretion during his mission to South Africa next week, diplomats have said.

His mandate is to "recommend measures" to help end the violence and restart negotiations, and there is likely to be much dispute over how the word "measures" is defined.

Having lost the first round over the wording of last week's Security Council resolution, the ANC is expected the push hard to get its way on "measures".

However, it will have a tough time convincing the Council's permanent members to accept anything that might be seen as "intrusive".

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha said it

By SIMON BARBER and MIKE ROBERTSON

Pik wins over UN

FOREIGN MINISTER Pik Botha returned to his old stamping grounds at the United Nations last week and did something he had not been able to do the before. Instead of being forced to tell the outside world to do its worst, he won it over.

His speech to the Security Council earned unprecedented acclaim among the permanent members. "Substantial" and "statesmanlike", said Sir David Hannay's British mission in a note to its South African counterpart.

A senior deputy to the American representative, former ambassador to South Africa Edward Perkins, was even more effusive.

In a personal note to the South African mission, he said: "Your Minister's speech not only was the finest one I heard at the UN but one of the best that I have heard anywhere. Moving, honest, sincere, full of facts and yet full of hope."

● Pik's tour de force at UN — see Page 19

was his impression that the Security Council did not want to interfere in South Africa's affairs.

It was for this reason that it deliberately left "a lot of room" in the wording of the resolution. It was his

impression that Mr Vance's visit would be a "facilitating, fact-finding, goodwill mission".

Mr Botha described the resolution as historic. The Security Council had emphasised that all parties

should co-operate in ending violence, and had not blamed the South African government.

The ANC's deputy head of international affairs Aziz Pahad also welcomed the resolution, but for different reasons. He said his organisation was pleased that, for the first time, violence in South Africa had been discussed in an international arena.

Resolution 765, he said, placed the primary responsibility for ending the violence on the South African Government, and also urged it to bring those responsible to justice.

Monitors

Mr Pahad said that when Mr Vance visited South Africa next week, the ANC would attempt to persuade him to recommend to the UN that it appoint a group of international experts to serve as monitors to complement the work of the Peace Accord.

The US and Britain, meanwhile, feel that the ANC must respond positively if the government proposes negotiating joint mechanisms designed to defuse tensions and check violent outbreaks before they happen.

The resolution, in their view, means that the ANC's contention that negotiations cannot restart until the violence has been dealt with, and the government has made concessions on "majority rule", is unacceptable.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has said that if there is any hope of the government accepting it, he would opt for some kind UN peacekeeping force, but would be satisfied with a "continuous-monitoring" presence.

SA parties welcome UN decision

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Political Correspondent

THE UN Security Council decision to send a special envoy to South Africa was generally welcomed by political parties yesterday.

However, the ANC cautioned that the UN-resolution did not necessarily mean the ANC would resume negotiations.

Speaking in Paris during a stopover yesterday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the violence must end in South Africa before the ANC would consider resuming talks with President F W de Klerk.

National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe appealed to the ANC "to heed the calls of virtually every speaker in the debate for the parties to return to the negotiating table".

He said the NP welcomed the "limited UN involvement in the negotiation process".

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai gave qualified support to the UN resolution which authorises international monitoring of violence in South Africa — a key PAC demand. However, he said the PAC would have welcomed direct UN involvement in the chairing of the negotiations process.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Walter Felgate said that Resolution 765 passed by the Security Council was "the best result we could have hoped for".

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer described the resolution as "sensible, reasonable and constructive" and said the presence of a monitor would "put parties on their best behaviour".

Rejecting the UN move outright, CP spokesman Mr Tom Langley said his party was wholly opposed to foreign involvement in local matters.

Council was fair — Pik

JOHANNESBURG. — If the ANC's mass action campaign causes disruption and conflict, the organisation would be acting against the spirit of UN Resolution 765 on South Africa, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night.

Parties would be acting "against the resolution" if they embarked on mass action and did not resume negotiations, he said on his return from the United Nations.

"I left with the feeling that the Security Council was even-handed, fair and objective," he said.

— Sapa

FW: Security force controlled

MAPUTO. — President F W de Klerk has denied allegations that his government had lost control of the security forces.

Chissano to meet

Renamo leader

Replying to questions at a press conference after talks with Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano at the weekend, he said his government remained in charge of, and had the loyalty and support of, the security forces.

He was convinced there was no "specific" third force within the security forces, although individuals sometimes acted against government policy.

"Anyone not sticking to policy laid down by the government... and not maintaining absolute impartiality will be acted against," he said.

Meanwhile, after talks in Harare yesterday with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, Mr Chissano signalled a breakthrough in his country's 16-year civil war by announcing that he would meet with Renamo leader

(274)

Mr Afonso Dhlakama.

It will be the first face-to-face meeting between the two men.

In Botswana two weeks ago Mr Dhlakama told Mr Mugabe he was ready for a conditional ceasefire.

Saturday's talks between Mr De Klerk and Mr Chissano have brought South Africa and Mozambique significantly closer to establishing stronger diplomatic ties.

Both presidents emphasised the need to bring about regional economic integration and peace.

Mr De Klerk said he and Mr Chissano had agreed real progress was being made to bring peace to the region and a positive environment for addressing the real problems.

Mr Chissano said there were still signs of contact between South Africans and Renamo, but he had confidence in Mr De Klerk and his ability to track down those violating agreements reached between the two countries. — Sapa-AFP



CHEERS... President F W de Klerk and President Joaquim Chissano toast the re-opening of Maputo's Polana Hotel, which was refurbished as a joint venture by South Africa and Mozambique.

Picture: AP

IFP wants guarantees

Sondekan 26/7/92

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TOP PRIORITY Party wants

to prevent talks being held to ransom:

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday resolved to call for a National Multiparty Conference of Review charged with reviewing the peace and negotiation processes.

A resolution adopted by delegates to the IFP's annual general conference in Ulundi said this conference should be given statutory powers. It could then prevent the recurrence of a situation where "any one party could hold negotiations to ransom and urge the Government to introduce the agreements reached in Working Group 3 in Codesa, once the negotiation process has resulted in broad consensus about constitutional principles and an interim constitution".

In a separate resolution adopted at the conference, the IFP said it would call for regional negotiations about regional boundaries and regional

autonomy.

The IFP would call upon all of its structures and other regional governments to make their input to constitutional negotiations in close harmony with one another.

"Federalism as an option should be given the widest publicity in our region and throughout the country," the conference resolved.

Meanwhile IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned on Saturday if the stalled negotiation process was unable to restart the violence would escalate, and it might have to "run its course".

He also gave notice the IFP might pull out of negotiations if the issue of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, continued to be discussed exclusively between the Government and the ANC.

"If violence escalates much more than it is doing, we might be pushed into a situation in which violence will have to run its course before we can again begin negotiations," he warned.

"If the ANC precludes the possibility of negotiations, then it is the ANC which will have to take the consequences."

Buthelezi called for the immediate formation of "community defence units" in areas which past experience had shown were violence zones.

Cop dies trying to save mate

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CT 20/7/92

DURBAN. — Two policemen were shot dead — one while trying to save another — and a third was seriously injured at Lamontville here yesterday morning. They were among six police casualties in various attacks at the weekend.

Police spokesman Captain Hamilton Ngidi said the Lamontville incident happened when the policemen tried to investigate a suspicious bakkie outside a house in Khawula street.

"As they approached the house, they came under heavy fire and a policeman was shot dead."

The name of the policeman, who was stationed at the C R Swart police headquarters, is being withheld until his next of kin have been informed.

Captain Ngidi said the other policemen got out of the car and returned fire. In the ensuing shootout, Constable F Venter was shot dead and Sergeant G Cummings sustained leg injuries.

Captain Ngidi said 57 AK-47 rifles and 18 9mm spent cartridges were found at the scene.

Warning

In other incidents, two policemen and a youth were injured when a handgrenade was thrown at them near the Jabavu Clinic in Soweto.

A policeman was injured in an attack on police by a mob at a taxi rank in Empangeni, KwaZulu.

At Sebokeng a man was wounded when gunmen fired a number of rounds at a hostel, and a woman was injured in Vosloorus when a handgrenade was hurled at a car.

● Tension ran high on Saturday afternoon when a group of demonstrators pushed, kicked and bashed a police van, denting the driver's door, as about 2 000 protesters, some armed with axes, sharpened metal rods and pangas, were about to leave Baragwanath Hospital after marching there.

Although angry marshals pushed the assailants away, dozens of soldiers with rifles — some with bayonets — walked towards the protesters.

The marshals, trying to avert further eruptions, then led the marchers back to Soweto. There was a heavy police presence inside the hospital grounds while at least eight SADF armoured vehicles followed the marchers on their route. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

● Health chief seeks to ban strikes — Page 7



PEACE-MAKER . . . One of the organisers of the Soweto march by hospital weekend steps between stone-throwing marchers and police with drawn weapons, avert conflict.

We'll help disband MK, says Inkatha

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ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday called for Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) to be disbanded by September 14 — the anniversary of the signing of the National Peace Accord — and said the IFP would do all it could to ensure this happened.

The IFP also said it would encourage communities to form "self-protection" units in accordance with the accord, and that it would call on all its members to withdraw membership fees from any Cosatu-affiliated union immediately in the light of the labour federation's mass action campaign.

In a resolution adopted at the IFP's annual general conference in Ulundi, Inkatha said MK — the ANC's armed wing — was a com-

mon denominator in all political violence.

The IFP further called for the peace accord to be given "teeth".

In the same resolution, the IFP said it would instruct its national chairman to lay a formal complaint with the National Peace Committee, charging ANC president Nelson Mandela with violating the accord.

Because of Mr Mandela's alleged violations, a planned meeting of signatories to the accord on July 30 had become impossible, the IFP added.

The resolution also said the IFP would investigate the possibility of seeking legal redress through the courts for "hideous violations on personal integrity and rights". — Sapa.

Mbeki: Vance visit only first step

By Jo-Anne Collinge ^{Star} 20/7/92

The visit by Security Council special envoy Cyrus Vance was just the first step towards the deployment of further UN personnel in South Africa, ANC foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki confidently predicted on his return from New York last night.

Stressing that Mr Vance's brief was to investigate the question of violence, and not to get parties back to the negotiating table, Mr Mbeki said he believed it would be possible for the Security Council to convene

in about three weeks to decide what additional steps to take to help halt the bloodshed. They would be guided by Mr Vance's recommendations. (274)

Mr Mbeki said he was pleased with the outcome of last week's historic UN debate and especially with the speed with which Mr Vance had been appointed. (48) (55)

Mr Vance, who is due to arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow, is set to meet ANC officials on Thursday. The ANC would "put forward steps which we believe the Security Council can and

should take" to prevent further outbreaks of violence, said Mr Mbeki.

The national working committee of the ANC will meet during the first half of the week to formulate its position.

Mr Mbeki argued that it was a distortion of the situation to present the primary aim of Security Council Resolution 765 on South Africa as the reconstitution of the negotiating process.

"Everyone in the Security Council is seriously concerned about the violence," he insisted, and this concern was embodied in the resolution.

Pirate taxis 'cause of war'

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AUG 21/7/92

LIBBY PEACOCK, Staff Reporter

THE legalisation of pirate taxis — seen as blatant favouritism towards the Western Cape Black Taxi Association by other operators — was one of the causes of the Western Cape taxi war, a committee of the Goldstone Commission heard.

Deputy city administrator Mr Alan Dolby told the committee yesterday the system under which permits were granted by the Local Road Transportation Board had a great deal to do with the conflict.

He believed the existing system was deficient and had to be researched and modified.

Under cross-examination by Mr J A le Roux, counsel for the Department of Transport, he said it appeared to taxi operators that there was no fairness in dealing with applications for permits.

The criteria for granting permits was "so simplistic" that the board could not explain to unsuccessful applicants why they did not get permits.

The legalising of pirate taxis was seen as being unfair in Cape Town, while it "may have worked in other centres".

Lagunya and other groups saw it as "blatant favouritism" towards Webta.

Mr Dolby said the council preferred a modified system in terms of which people would be given understandable reasons for their unsuccessful applications.

There should also be a locally based, or at least regionally based, appeal system.

Discrimination, whether it was deliberate or not, existed and Webta members had benefited most from the legalisation of the pirate taxis.

Committee member Mr Louis van Zyl remarked that representatives from Webta and Lagunya had told the committee the legalising of the pirate taxis made operators "so angry that they took to violence".

Mr Dolby said ideally the taxi industry should provide its own training.

Excluding the South African Black Taxi Association, which did not enjoy the support in Cape Town it had in the rest of the country, the associations did not have the means to provide education programmes.

The inquiry continues today.

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Vance's team arrives today

PRETORIA — Veteran troubleshooter Cyrus Vance arrives in SA today with four assistants in an attempt to broker peace talks and jumpstart the stalled negotiations process.

Government and the ANC yesterday welcomed Vance's mission, the product of a UN Security Council resolution which invited the UN secretary-general to appoint a special representative.

Vance has been given a broad mandate by the resolution, which calls for the representative to recommend measures which will help to end the violence and create conditions for negotiations.

Responding to suggestions that the ANC was averse to Vance's appointment, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC was happy with the decision.

The ANC expects Vance to investigate violence and although he will not be directly involved in discussions on resuming ne-

TIM COHEN

gotiations, the issues are related. Government has said it is satisfied with the appointment, although it sees Vance's mandate being wider than the ANC does.

Sapa reports from Cape Town that Vance will be met at Jan Smuts Airport by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and senior government officials, before starting on his schedule of meetings with political, religious, business and labour leaders.

He is expected to remain in the country until July 30. Details of his itinerary are expected to be released at a news conference immediately after his arrival.

He is expected to meet government ministers and President F W de Klerk tomorrow and the ANC, PAC Inkatha and DP on Thursday. It is understood his discussions

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Vance

will also include Sacob, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Saccola, Cosatu and other national peace accord signatories.

Vance, who was US secretary of state under Jimmy Carter, is renowned as a troubleshooter and mediator.

Vance played a key part in negotiating the Camp David agreements on the Middle East and assisted in transforming Rhodesia into Zimbabwe. Most recently he has been involved in negotiating the cessation

of hostilities in Croatia.

A Time magazine article said Vance's recipe for arbitration was: "Master the facts of the situation; listen exhaustively to both sides; understand their positions; make sure they understand the principles that must dictate a solution and don't give up."

Vance will be accompanied by UN officials Virendia Diyal, Hisham Omayad, Shola Omoregie and Carol Davis.

□ From Page 1

Goldstone report

PRETORIA — Reports on taxi violence and on violence on trains, have been presented to the government by the Goldstone Commission — Sapa

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Inkatha unveils violence dossier

CAPE TOWN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has released a list describing 587 attacks, 376 of them fatal, on its membership since the national peace accord was signed last September. (214) (217192)

IFP Western Cape chairman Nick Myburgh released the catalogue of attacks yesterday, saying the public needed to know the IFP was the target of a systematic programme of assassination and attack.

Myburgh also attached an analysis of the incidents, breaking down the occurrence and type according to provinces and weaponry. Most of the lethal attacks were alleged to have been carried out by ANC supporters and to have involved AK-47 rifles, hand grenades and incendiary devices. Most were recorded in the Vaal triangle and Natal. (214) (217192)

It is expected Inkatha's list will be handed to the UN secretary-general's special envoy, former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, on Thursday. A policeman was shot dead, allegedly by a colleague, during an argument at Lethabale last Friday, a police spokesman said yesterday.

She said a second police member sustained gunshot wounds and was admitted to the H F Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria. He was in a satisfactory condition. (214) (217192)

Nine people were killed and six wounded in unrest-related incidents countrywide, police said yesterday in their unrest report for the 24 hours ending at midnight on Sunday.

Court will decide squatters' future

THE outcome of two court applications due to be heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court today will determine whether Zevenfontein squatters will move to two disputed sites in the North Rand area.

The Diepsloot Residents' Association and Laezonia Landowners' Association are seeking an interdict restraining the TPA from settling the Zevenfontein community at Diepsloot.

Diepsloot is one of the sites on the North Rand identified by the TPA. In a third application later this week, lawyers representing residents living in Nietgedacht, the second area identified by the TPA, are expected to serve papers on the TPA.

But advocate Mathole Motshekga, legal adviser to the squatter community, said in a statement yesterday the TPA should honour the agreement it made to move squatters to Diepsloot and Nietgedacht, in spite of the outcome of the hearings.

He said squatters were ready to move to the sites, but in previous cases the TPA had bowed to "white racists' interests" and changed plans to relocate the community to any of the suggested sites.

The matter had become politicised, said Motshekga, and the community had resolved at a meeting last week "not to allow white racists to determine their destiny".

Should the TPA fail to honour its agree-

ment with the squatters, they would disregard the July 31 deadline for their relocation and reject any relocation to a transit camp.

Motshekga said the squatters had rejected the alternative sites in Cosmo City and Helderfontein proposed by the white residents, because residents had been unable to make any concrete arrangements.

Meanwhile, at a meeting yesterday, representatives of the Nietgedacht Action Group said they were prepared to accommodate the Zevenfontein community in the area, but only if adequate housing and facilities were provided.

Residents said squatters were being moved from their present site in Zevenfontein because of a "shadowy deal" between the TPA and Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, which has interests in the luxury Dainfern country club on the adjacent site.

Action group chairman Norma Sharples said if JCI did not want a squatter camp on its doorstep, the responsibility for providing funds for adequate housing lay with the company.

Sharples said the action group's members would stage peaceful protests, but added there were many right wingers in the area whose actions the organisation could not control.



A Nietgedacht resident, who declined to be identified, at yesterday's meeting called by the local action group to discuss the Zevenfontein squatters. Picture CATHERINE ROSS

Travel agent calls for streamlining

TRAVEL agent NedTravel Holidays has called for streamlining of the tour operators' sector to reduce current oversupply on certain routes. (214) (217192)

And NedTravel Holidays MD Eric Thorne's proposal that business should be evenly distributed has been supported by the Travel Agents' Board.

Thorne said in a statement that up to 10 different tour operators currently offered holiday options to the same destinations. Tour operators' cut-throat price war to

attract business was an unhealthy long-term option for the industry.

However, Thorne emphasised that he did not believe a streamlining of operations would mean fewer operators but fewer, specialised companies serving specific destinations.

Board director Bill Botha said the call made sense. "It is a sensible, valid proposal that needs consideration by the industry".

! Q U E S T I O N S F O R C O M M E N T A R I E S S E E

Last-minute appeal as strike looms

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Business Editor

AS last-minute efforts are made to avert the threatened general strike, Cape Town Chamber of Commerce has appealed to both employers and employees to avoid confrontation and cooperate to protect the economy and save jobs.

Both the chamber and the Cape Chamber of Industries (CCI) have sent delegations to a special meeting of the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) today to discuss a draft agreement between Saccola and Sacob which could result in a one-day shutdown instead of a longer strike.

Herbert Hirsch, president of the chamber of commerce, and Colin McCarthy, executive director of the CCI, said yesterday that they did not yet know details of the draft agreement.

Hirsch said he could not comment before the meeting.

McCarthy said: "We are going to hear what has been proposed."

"I am certain that, as a chamber, we would support a call for all parties to go back to the negotiating chamber and go ahead with the formation of an interim government as soon as possible."

"But some of our members may feel that it is not necessary to have a work stoppage to make this point."

Neither McCarthy nor Alan Lighton, director of the chamber of commerce, knew yesterday whether a one-day shut-down believed to be proposed by Saccola and Cosatu was intended to be a paid holiday.

"That is one of the questions we are

waiting to hear answered," said McCarthy.

But a spokeswoman for Sacob said it would recommend "no work, no pay, no discipline."

Today's meeting will be held behind closed doors and reaching agreement may be difficult.

Cosatu is known to look on a strike or a shutdown as a way of demonstrating its strength.

Although business people are worried by the prospect of strikes and mass action which could result in violence some may be reluctant to appear to act in support of Cosatu against the government.

And the point has been made that not all the workforce are in favour of a shutdown.

The chamber of commerce weekly bulletin points out that employers and employees "are interdependent and will sink or swim together."

"Within this context the chamber strongly appeals to all employers and employees to make every effort to enable ongoing consultations and negotiations to succeed, the mutual objective being to assist in meeting each other's needs."

Urging proper and timeous consultation and negotiations it warns: "Employers or employees who resort to the confrontational enforcement of rights or powers will, in the context of SA today, delay and possibly even destroy any hope of a rapid transition to a democratic and stable SA."

Widespread marches, protests

Mass arrests as buildings are occupied

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WILSON ZWANE

HUNDREDS of people were arrested in the Transvaal yesterday as the ANC's campaign to occupy government buildings got under way in the province.

The Transvaal campaign began at the weekend and is part of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's mass action in support of political, social and economic demands.

The arrests followed demonstrations in Pretoria, Soweto, Johannesburg, Randfontein and Kagiso.

Police said six people were arrested for trespassing after they had allegedly staged a sit-in at Transvaal Provincial Administration offices in Pretoria. A further 103 were arrested for staging an illegal demonstration outside the buildings.

In Soweto, police arrested 80 people who had marched on Diepkloof Police Station. An ANC spokesman said the march was in protest against the arrest on Saturday of five people who had staged a sit-in at the police station.

Soweto police spokesman Capt Govind-samy Mariemuthoo said the 80 were arrested for trespassing. Five of these were charged with obstructing a police officer in the execution of his duties while two were also charged with assaulting police.

In Johannesburg, a group of 10 people led by Bophuthatswana dissident and ANC national executive committee member Rocky Malebane-Metsing attempted to occupy the Bophuthatswana consulate but were locked out.

The group then headed for Sandton where Malebane-Metsing and three others occupied the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation premises.

Five people were arrested for trespass-

ing after they had occupied Hillbrow Hospital's administration offices. The ANC spokesman said the five were members of the National, Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu).

They appeared in court where they were released on warning to appear again today.

On the West Rand, 25 people were arrested for trespassing after they had occupied the local town council offices in Mokoleng, near Randfontein.

Thousands of people marched on Kagiso Police Station where they handed over a memorandum of demands. ANC Kagiso chairman Uhuru Moila said demands included an end to violence and the installation of an interim government.

Moila said a stayaway, called in Kagiso to enable residents to participate in yesterday's march, had been heeded.

No arrests were made, but West Rand police spokesman Henrietta Bester said a policeman was hurt by a thrown stone.

Sapa reports that five members of the Central Transvaal Civic Association were occupying the SABC's offices in Silverton, Pretoria, yesterday.

Association spokesman Jackie Mase-mola said the members planned to occupy the building for three days in support of the Media Workers of SA (Mwasa) strike.

Police warned again yesterday that the mass action could heighten the potential for violence. They appealed to participants in the mass action to refrain "from continued illegal actions" and said police had a duty to maintain law and order.

● Picture: Page 3

Groups ⁽²⁴⁾ meet on labour accord

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Business and labour groups meet here today to decide whether to adopt a draft Saccola-Cosatu accord aimed at averting a general strike and gaining business backing for political demands.

Today's meetings take place against a background of business concern that it is tying its fortunes too closely to the ANC/Cosatu camp.

The government yesterday indicated it was in favour of the accord which sets aside August 3 as a 24-hour stoppage.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said business would not be choosing sides politically if it signed the accord.

Senior representatives from business chambers countrywide meet today at a special Sacob summit here to discuss the accord and the 24-hour shut-down. Sacob's recommendation will be passed on to Saccola in time for its meeting with Cosatu tonight.

Saccola chairman Mr Bokkie Botha said he was not aware of business opposition to the accord on political grounds.

Sources said some business chambers were unhappy with the political aspects of the accord and were unlikely to agree to a paid holiday on August 3.

Free State Chamber of Business president Mr Abie Koch said his members strongly believed politics should be separated from business.

Cape Town Chamber of Business chief executive Mr Alan Lighton said many companies had adopted a "wait-and-see" attitude.

He said the Cape Town contingent would attend the Sacob meeting with particular views on the accord and stayaway but were prepared to discuss the proposals.

He said the MWU would approach the CP for support.

NEWS

Lawyers condemn killing of police

STAR

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Crime Staff

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) has condemned "the current spate of necklacing and killing of police officers".

LHR executive director Brian Currin hit out at ANC Youth League President Peter Mokaba for making "unacceptable" comments on plans to identify and harass the families of policemen.

Mr Currin said the

comments needed to be retracted "before any further police officers lose their lives in senseless and mindless witch-hunts".

While the LHR understood the anger and frustration of the community and the mistrust of the police by so many South Africans, it did not believe the solution would be found in responding to violence with more violence, Mr Currin said.

"Undoubtedly there are rotten apples in the

police but there are also principled and courageous people."

Mr Currin said in the interests of stability and forward movement to a future democratic state, the Government "should co-operate on the control of the security forces, with representations of the majority of South Africans as well as international monitors to prove that they are there to protect all lives regardless of colour, creed or financial status".

Goal is a climate for negotiations

Vance arrives expecting 'full co-operation'

UN SPECIAL envoy Cyrus Vance arrived in SA last night for talks with political leaders aimed at ending violence and restarting constitutional negotiations.

He was met at Jan Smuts Airport by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Inkatha representative Suzanne Vos.

Vance will meet President FW de Klerk today and the ANC, PAC and Inkatha by the end of the week.

His visit flows from last week's UN Security Council meeting. It takes place as government prepares for a "bosberaad" this week at which new proposals aimed at restarting talks will be formulated. These proposals could include a major role for the international community, a senior government source said yesterday.

Vance said last night: "I intend to meet the SA authorities and parties concerned and listen to their views most attentively on how best the purposes of the Security Council can be met."

He would strive to make recommendations to contribute constructively to peaceful transition in SA.

He said he would also look at measures to assist in ending the violence and create conditions for negotiations. He expected the fullest co-operation from all parties.

"The people of SA have in their endeavours the best wishes and support of the international community," he said.

He said he hoped his visit would render

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RAY HARTLEY and
TIM COHEN

an escalation of international involvement unnecessary. He would not comment on government claims that mass action was contributing to the impasse in negotiations and was contrary to the UN resolution.

A senior government source said the bosberaad would involve all three of the recently formed pre-Cabinet committees — finance, social services and constitutional affairs.

He said government, which considered itself not only a participant but also the custodian of the negotiations process, was duty-bound to counter the disintegration of negotiations which might occur as a result of the ANC's mass action campaign.

The source indicated government was not opposed to a large UN monitoring group of up to 3 000 people who would observe political gatherings and police under the auspices of the peace accord.

However, government was against the process of negotiations being placed under pressure to reach fruition as constitutional negotiators believed ANC members must be given time to vent their frustrations.

The Constitutional Affairs Department, Foreign Affairs and the State President's office are expected to meet Vance today with the main objective of providing him with a thorough understanding of the state of the negotiations process.

JOHAN SCHRONEN Crime Staff

FIVE policemen were wounded in a pre-dawn ambush in Khayelitsha and a policewoman was shot dead while waiting for a bus at Umlazi in Natal in the latest attacks on police.

Yesterday's fatal shooting of Constable Jabulile Magagula brings to four the number of police shot and killed this week.

Today's attack in Khayelitsha happened at 2.15am while 12 members of the Internal Stability Unit were on routine foot patrol in L Block.

The patrol took cover and returned the fire. But the attackers threw two handgrenades, injuring members of the patrol.

A suspect dressed in an army coat was arrested soon afterwards and police confiscated an AK-47 rifle and a shotgun.

Police spokesman Colonel Gys Boonzaaier said it was once again proof of a planned strategy to discredit police or the defence force by dressing attackers in police or army outfits.

The patrol is believed to have injured at least three of the attackers.

Constable L D Kidd-Anderson was shot twice in the leg and Sergeant A G Mells was also shot in the leg. Sergeants D R Solomons and G Beeslaar and Constable J Boltman were hit by shrapnel.

A bystander was slightly injured.

Four of the injured policemen were taken to 2 Military Hospital in Wynberg, where their condition was described as "stable". Constable Kidd-Anderson and Sergeant Mells were being prepared for operations at the hospital while Sergeant Solomons was expected to be discharged later today.

Khayelitsha resident Mr Lennox Mtengwane said he was asleep with his wife Nbantu when they were woken up by shots at 1.30am.

They hid under their bed with their child.

Mr Mtengwane said: "A few hours later we saw bullet holes in our back door and windows."

He picked up some cartridges outside his home.

Another resident, Mr Samuel Mdalisso, said two of his vehicle's windows had been damaged by gunfire.

Another resident said she heard a policeman, who sat outside her door for about an hour, speaking into a radio. She had been too scared to investigate.

Durban police spokesman Captain Hamilton Ngidi said Constable Magagula was waiting to catch a bus to work when she was shot by gunmen from a passing car.

Goldstone to probe police deaths

PRETORIA. — President De Klerk has asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate attacks on police.

Mr Justice R Goldstone said yesterday the commission fully shared Mr De Klerk's concern about the attacks and the high number of policemen killed and injured in recent months.

The commission asked anyone with information to give details, either in writing or orally — and in confidence if they wished.

Mr Justice Goldstone also asked police to furnish information and statistics.

Information should be submitted to the secretary of the commission, Private Bag X858, Pretoria, 0001, or telephone Advocate Du Toit or Advocate Pretorius at (012) 320-4640/1/2.

— Sapa.

City police patrol ambushes

And woman constable shot dead in Natal

ANC team gets a

hostile reception

WILSON ZWANE

AN ANC-SACP-Cosatu delegation received a hostile reception yesterday when it visited Iscor's Kwamadala hostel to check on the evacuation of inmates.

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Numsa official Alfred Woodington said yesterday the alliance had alerted Iscor's management and Kwamadala's leaders of their intended visit to the Vaal triangle hostel.

"But when we got there, about 200 people toy-trying towards us, calling us killers," Woodington said, adding that such a reception did not bode well for the spirit of reconciliation.

The delegation was able, however, to talk to the hostel dwellers' leaders. According to Woodington, it was agreed that a meeting of Inkatha, Iscor and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance should be convened today.

The meeting would discuss, among other things, what was going to be done about Boipatong residents who had been displaced by violence in the township and the reintegration of hostel dwellers in the local community, Woodington said.

Asked about the process to evacuate the Kwamadala hostel dwellers, he said the delegation was satisfied with steps taken to date. One-third of the hostel had been emptied and a wall could be built between that portion and the rest of the complex, he said. Iscor spokesman Neels Howatt has said his company intended moving all Kwamadala hostel inmates to Kwamadala hostel by September 21.

Call for help in tracing killers

8/004 22/7/92

DURBAN —

Natal's regional police commissioner has appealed to political organisations and communities to help the SAP trace and apprehend people who attacked and killed policemen, following the deaths of four around Durban recently, Sapa reports. In a statement yesterday, Maj-Gen Colin Steyn referred specifically to three policemen killed at the weekend: Const F J J Venter, Const Tyrell Tyrone Samuels and Detective Const Titus Maphanga.

Just hours before his statement, Durban police reported the killing of Const Jabulile Gumede, who was shot dead at point-blank range in Umlazi while waiting for a bus to take her to work yesterday.

Steyn described the killings as "clearly politically motivated".

He said a meeting had taken place between the ANC and Natal police last week to address rumours that the SAP intended withdrawing from certain areas. The ANC had demanded that police remain.

"The latest attacks on members of the SAP can be seen as a contradiction of the sentiments and concerns voiced by the ANC," Steyn said.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday that 112 policemen had been killed so far this year.

In his response to Steyn's remarks, the ANC's southern Natal secretary Sibusiso Ndebele rejected "the general's insinuation that the ANC is responsible for the

killings in Lamontville".

Ndebele said it was not ANC policy to kill policemen, adding that the organisation had suspended its armed activities.

President F W de Klerk has requested the Goldstone commission to investigate attacks on the SAP. Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday the commission fully shared De Klerk's concern about the large number of policemen killed and injured in recent months.

Goldstone also said the commission had received "disturbing reports" from the Vosloorus Local Dispute Resolution Committee concerning violence in that area. The commission was also concerned at the renewed outbreak of violence at Bruntville and Mooi River.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Herms Kriel gazetted a notice in Pretoria declaring the West Rand's Kagiso, Munsieville, Swanleville squatter settlement and Bekkersdal unrest areas.

RAY HARTLEY reports gunmen killed two men outside Selby Hostel in Johannesburg yesterday.

ANC spokesman Wally Mbhele said the attack followed the stabbing of a hostel dweller yesterday and the shooting of a worker on Friday.

In another incident, at least two people were killed in a shooting at an Umlazi home yesterday, police said.

And a burned body and a stabbing victim were found in Soweto.



ANC spokesman Gill Marcus, who attended yesterday's SAUJ-sponsored conference on journalists' safety.

Picture CATHERINE ROSS

Politicians promote journalists' safety

8/004 22/7/92

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

POLITICAL organisations, including the ANC, Inkatha, SACP, NP and DP, yesterday signed a declaration promoting the safety of journalists.

They were attending a conference organised by the SA Union of Journalists. SAUJ president Peter Malherbe said that since January, one journalist had been killed, 21 assaulted and 12 threatened.

The ANC said it had begun setting up a network of media marshals to act as guides for journalists in townships.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the

marshals would relay complaints from journalists to the ANC.

Inkatha information officer Errol Goetsch agreed that guides were needed.

NP information director Piet Coetzer said it was necessary "to change society's attitude towards freedom of expression".

The PAC and Azapo did not sign the declaration, which PAC spokesman Barney Desai said the national working committee had to discuss. Azapo's Steven Peter said it "needed to be broadened".

Hundreds held over protests

By Thabo Leshilo
and Mkeed Kotlolo

Hundreds of people were arrested on the Reef yesterday for illegal sit-ins and demonstrations on the second day of the ANC alliance's Transvaal mass action campaign.

This follows the arrest of over 200 people on Monday, when several Government-owned buildings were occupied.

Yesterday, about 400 demonstrators were arrested at the Hillbrow Hospital, police said. More than 50 people were arrested for trespassing after occupying the Carletonville Magistrate's Court and police station.

Eight members of the Mamelodi branches of the ANC, ANC Youth League and SACP occupied the Mamelodi police station, demanding an independent inquiry into the death of activist Stanza Bopape, who died in police custody in 1986.

A delegation of ANC, SACP and Cosatu activists, led by SACP regional executive member Dr George Mukhari, was refused entry to the Bophuthatswana embassy in Pretoria.

Five people were allegedly arrested for staging a sit-in at the Orlando Magistrate's Court, but a Soweto police spokesman could not confirm this.

About 2 400 Post and Telecommunication Workers' Association members joined the

mass action campaign by starting a strike yesterday at North Rand branches of Telkom, Potwa general-secretary Mlungisi Hlongwane said. Workers were also demanding that township hostels be demolished after buses taking Potwa members to work were attacked near Meadowlands hostel.

The ANC yesterday denied that its "peace and democracy" campaign was a failure because few people had turned up to occupy Government buildings.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the campaign had been planned to involve small numbers of people, so that access to targeted buildings would be easier.

He said the ANC was planning a series of activities for this week, culminating in major marches in Pretoria and Johannesburg on Saturday.

Eleven people arrested at the SABC and TPA offices in Pretoria on Monday are expected to appear in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on Friday on charges of trespassing.

A northern Transvaal police spokesman said 114 people, including 103 arrested during an illegal demonstration outside the TPA building, were charged and released on warning.

The 103 are due to appear in court on August 11 on charges of taking part in an illegal gathering or demonstration.

Assist journalists - ANC

By Phil Molefe ^{STAR} 22/7/92

The African National Congress has issued instructions to all its regions to establish press marshals to assist journalists — following recent attacks and threats to media workers, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Addressing a one-day seminar in Johannesburg on the safety of journalists, Ms Marcus said the ANC believed journalists had a right to perform

their duties without fear or favour, and to this end, the organisation hoped the establishment of press marshals in every region would minimise dangers faced by members of the media.

"In affected areas or conflict situations, press marshals can arrange or ensure access for the media to these places. We cannot guarantee everything, but the marshals can reduce problems faced by working journalists," Ms Marcus said.

In the face of growing concern for journalists' safety, the South African Union of Journalists invited the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha, National Party, Democratic Party and SA Communist Party to the seminar to speak on freedom of the press and journalists' safety.

The organisations were also asked to sign a declaration on "respect for the rights of working journalists". The PAC and Azapo did not sign the declaration.

Goldstone set to probe spate of attacks on police

Political Staff

(274)

The Goldstone Commission is to investigate the recent spate of attacks on members of the South African Police, following a request from President de Klerk.

Mr Justice Goldstone's announcement yesterday came as police revealed that 117 of its members had been killed since the beginning of the year.

The latest SAP victim was policewoman Jabulile Gumede, shot dead in Umlazi, south of Durban, early yesterday as she was preparing to catch a bus to work.

Judge Goldstone also announced inquiries into renewed violence in Mooi River, Natal, and increased clashes in the

Vosloorus area, asking interested parties for information.

He said his commission fully shared Mr de Klerk's concern, expressed last week, arising from the high number of policemen killed and injured recently.

The commission requested anyone with information to furnish details to the commission.

Judge Goldstone also requested the police to furnish the commission with all relevant information and statistics concerning the murder and injury of policemen.

Information may be submitted to the secretary of the commission at Private Bag X858, Pretoria 0001, or individuals may telephone Advocate du Toit or Advocate Pretorius at (012) 320-4640/1/2.

STAR 22/7/92

Ex-cop admits to killing advocate

#GCF23h/92

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JOHANNESBURG. — A 25-year-old former policeman yesterday admitted he had killed Goldstone Commission member Mr Legwai Pitje, an advocate.

Mr Seatile Rodney Matlotse, testifying in the Randfontein Magistrate's Court, admitted he had stabbed Mr Pitje, 40, with the intention of killing him, on Sunday, July 12. He pleaded guilty to stabbing Mr Pitje in Toekomsrus. His body and car were found in Kagiso.

A special constable before being suspended last week following his arrest for the murder, Mr Matlotse's bail application was refused by magistrate Mr H Holtzhausen.

The case was postponed until August 26 — Sapa

Not enough police to stop massacre

LONDON. — A report on the police's role before and after the Boipatong massacre has been leaked to the BBC.

The report, commissioned by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, was compiled by British academic Dr Peter Waddington and two London Metropolitan police officers. It is due to be officially published today.

Yesterday Mr Justice Goldstone expressed his regret that the report had been leaked ahead of time.

Copies of the report were given to interested parties on Tuesday to allow them to prepare for a commission committee hearing on the massacre on August 5.

"On past occasions, the commission has been concerned that public statements have been made, not on the context of its reports and statements, but on second and third-hand reports on them," Mr Justice Goldstone said.

This had resulted in misrepresentation of his commission's reports and state-

UK expert's report leaked to BBC

ments and their being used out of context.

"If (the report) does not represent or reflect any findings or opinions of the commission or committees investigating the Boipatong massacre, whether in general or in relation to the conduct of the South African Police," Mr Justice Goldstone said.

According to the BBC, the report will say a shortage of police manpower "allowed

the massacre to be perpetrated unhindered".

The report is believed to contain "a catalogue of shortcomings and failures" in the police planning and command, but provides no evidence that the SAP was directly involved in the attack.

Dr Waddington's findings, according to the BBC, said that police allowed weapons used in the attack to be piled together — making it impossible to link individuals to their weapons.

But Dr Waddington also reported that police efforts were "frustrated" by township residents' unwillingness to co-operate with the police, apparently at the behest of the ANC, said the BBC.

In what was described as a "badly handled investigation" by the SAP, the BBC reported that they "seemed unable or unwilling to establish what action was taken by whom with what result". They were neither trained nor equipped for the task.

— Own Correspondent, Sapa

The UN's resolution on SA complete and unabridged

81099 2317192

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THE Security Council:
 Recalling its Resolutions 392 (1976), 473 (1980), 554 (1984) and 556 (1984),
 Gravely concerned by the escalating violence in SA, which is causing a heavy loss of human life, and by its consequences for the peaceful negotiations aimed at creating a democratic, nonracial and united SA,
 Concerned that the continuation of this situation would seriously jeopardise peace and security in the region,
 Recalling the consensus declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, adopted by the General Assembly at its 16th special session on December 14 1989, which called for negotiations in SA to take place in a climate free of violence,
 Emphasising the responsibility of the South African authorities to take all necessary measures to stop immediately the violence and protect the life and property of all South Africans,
 Emphasising also the need for all parties to co-operate in combating violence and to exercise restraint,
 Concerned at the break in the negotiating process and determined to help the people of SA in their legitimate struggle for a nonracial, democratic society,
 Condemns the escalating violence in SA and, in particular, the massacre at Boipatong township on June 17 1992 as well as subsequent incidents of violence, including the shooting of unarmed protesters;
 Strongly urges the South African authorities to take immediate measures to bring an effective end to ongoing violence and to bring those responsible to justice;

We publish, at the request of a number of readers, the full text of UN Security Council Resolution 765 adopted in New York last week.

- ☐ Calls upon all the parties to co-operate in combating violence and to ensure the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord;
- ☐ Invites the Secretary-General to appoint, as a matter of urgency, a special representative in order to recommend, after, inter alia, discussions with the parties, measures which would assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and create conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, nonracial and united SA, and to submit a report to the Security Council as early as possible;
- ☐ Urges all parties to co-operate with the special representative of the Secretary-General in carrying out his mandate, and to remove the obstacles to the resumption of negotiations;
- ☐ Underlines, in this regard, the importance of all parties' co-operation in the resumption of the negotiating process as speedily as possible;
- ☐ Urges the international community to maintain the existing measures imposed by the Security Council for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid in SA; and
- ☐ Decides to remain seized of the matter until a democratic, nonracial and united SA is established.

focus on The Press

A FEW YEARS ago a noted white South African journalist, call him Mr A, had his audience eating out of his hands.

Or so he thought with satisfaction as he resumed his seat, after yet another address on South African politics, at yet another American university.

Then a bright spark, like a pointed poniard, pricked his bubble.

"Mr A, you claim that the Black Consciousness Movement is dead in South Africa, yet, day in, day out, we read about the feud between UDF and AZAPO members in Soweto, Natal, the Eastern Cape, Bekkersdal and so on.

"Who is it that the UDF is fighting, a ghost?" asked the spark, a black American hack.

Our usually loquacious journalist was dumbstruck. The truth, like a mole, had reared its head at a most unlikely place.

The time was mid-80s, but it could have been now. Then, as now, some press-persons perceived their role as extending beyond telling news as they are, but as they wish news to be.

This incident came back to one's mind after the funeral of victims of the Boipatong massacre, when the Press bemoaned "infringement of Press freedom" after attacks on some journalists at the funeral.

The "somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet" (apologies SAB) truth is that the Press began infringing the said freedom long ago.

The media ethic of "publish without fear or favour, and, if need be, be damned for that" has long been disposed of. Playing King-maker has become more important than reporting fairly, accurately, and objectively.

Though we as Azapo advocate Press freedom, those who choose to abuse the said freedom for political expediency have our coldest sympathy when they catch hell for so doing.

Let us explain ourselves.

Mr Rian Malan, author of "My Traitor's Heart" fame, has written excellently on how foreign correspondents see our world through ideologically-tinted glasses. For instance, during the said "UDF-Azapo feud", they would play down or ignore excesses of an organisation which was the apple of their eye, even when it infringed on Press freedom by "banning" a newspaper (*Sowetan*) for its supposed Black Consciousness leanings.

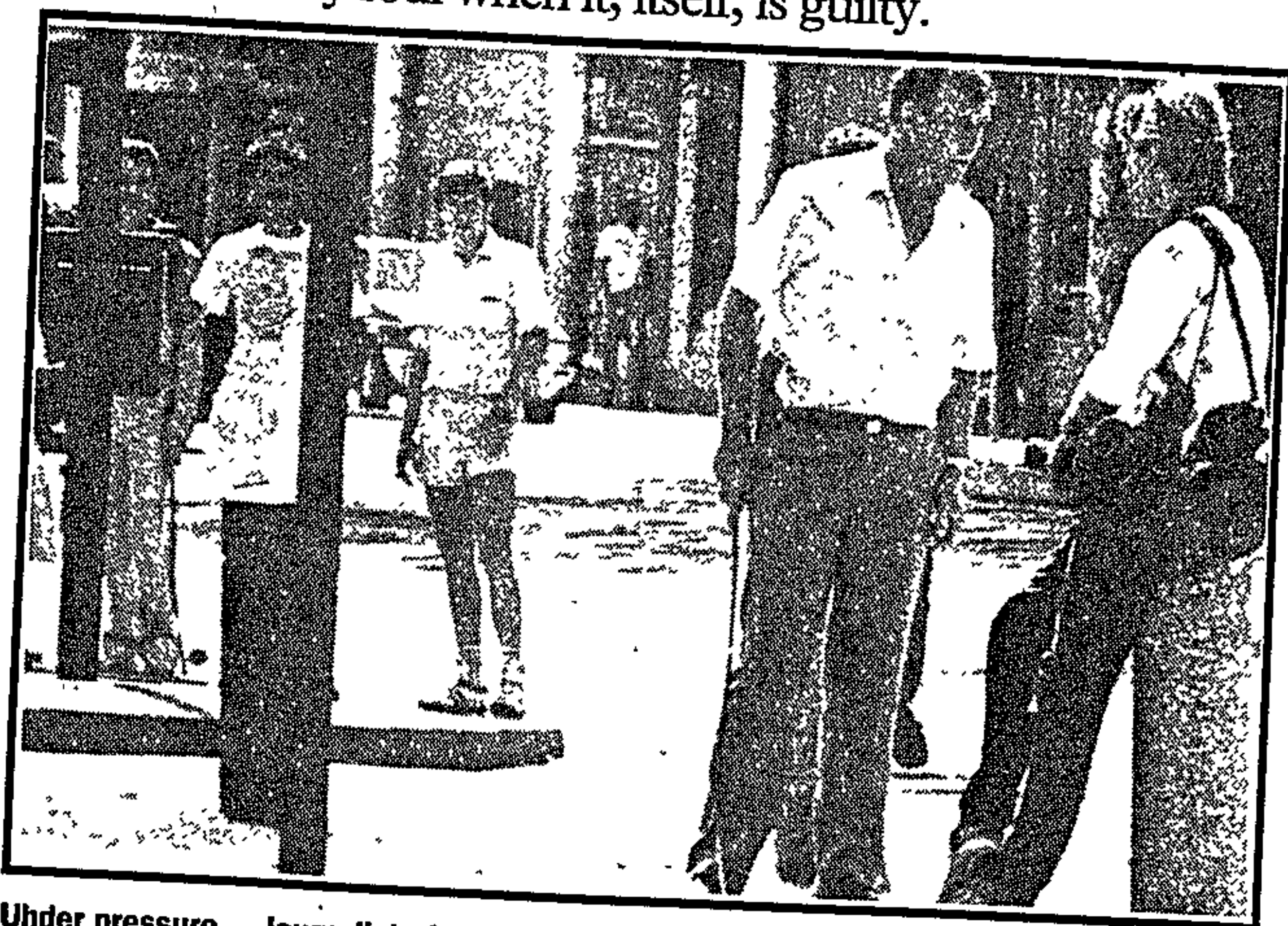
The under-reporting of the mass burning of more than 30 old people in Ga-Sekhukhune, for alleged "witchcraft" practises, by a local political youth organisation, is a case in point.

The local Press, white "liberal", and so-called alternative, has not, and still does not, perform any better. Indeed, this Press is guilty of covert, and sometimes overt, racism.

This Press' reportage on white politics endeavours, as much as possible, to reflect, fairly,

Two weeks ago Media bosses were outraged when Boipatong youths attacked *Sowetan* 23/7/92 journalists. Azapo education secretary, **Dr**

Gomolemo Mokae, supports the independence of the media but says it should not cry foul when it, itself, is guilty.



Under pressure ... Journalists facing pressure from rightwingers.

the entire political spectrum. That is, the seemingly disparate views of the two Bothas, Pik and Koos, carry virtually the same weight.

To rub salt to injury, a local commercial radio countenances the obviously rightist views of one of its DJs! But, would the station have the same "open-mindedness" to, say, a black DJ who makes no bones about his leftist, militant views?

We suspect not. When it comes to black politics, this Press patronisingly chooses "the right voice" for the oppressed, and pulls out all stops to project it as the alpha and omega of our struggle. At cross-ideological rallies, for instance, leaders of this "voice" would, by and large, be the only ones whose pronouncements are reported on.

Insightful, inveterate letter-writer, Kgositsile Mokgosi, ably alludes to another dimension of this white hypocrisy.

In a letter in a local magazine, Mokgosi points out that when Helen Suzman was the sole MP for the "English liberal ideology", she was snowed under by bouquets from the self-same Press.

"Though the white voting public showed not once, but in numerous elections their complete rejection of everything that Suzman stood for, no one ever dismissed her on the basis of the minuscule support she could muster from her own people.

"Is it not strange, then, that this very same Press becomes so excited when apparent lack of support for the so-called left becomes evident?

"Is it not strange that they attach so much importance to the probably minute size of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation, and yet, write glowingly about Dr Zach de Beer, whose party failed to be a government, and continues to lose in whites-only elections?

"This man, who is suddenly chairman of what the Press describes as the real parliament (Codesa), has been rejected by his white compatriots..."

Now that the bearer of bad tidings, the Press, is getting a hiding, perhaps its act will get a tidying (up)!

Bid to stop mass action, strike fails

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AUG CT 23/7/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Saccola and Cosatu failed to reach agreement last night on their planned charter and programme for peace, democracy and economic reconstruction.

The ANC-Cosatu alliance said it would go ahead with its planned general strike on August 3.

The general strike will take the form of a two-day national stayaway on August 3 and 4 with mass mobilisation to occupy major city centres and strategic points on August 5. On August 6 and 7, workplace-based protests are planned, while big rallies are planned for Saturday, August 8.

The parties were aiming to reach an agreement for everyone to observe August 3 as a day of peace and democracy.

Significant differences

It was understood that this would involve some form of voluntary shutdown. In exchange Cosatu would call off its general strike programme. But by the time Cosatu and Saccola went into the talks last night, significant differences were apparent.

Cosatu wanted August 3 to be a voluntary nationwide closure — including all enterprises and the public sector — with workers being paid for the day.

Saccola wanted employers and unions to decide at local and regional level how to mark the day. It also said it could not speak for employers outside its ranks — including the public sector.

● JSE reels as world markets reflect jitters — Page 10

Government briefs

Vance delegation

PRETORIA — UN envoy Cyrus Vance spent all of yesterday at the Union Buildings being briefed by a full panel of Ministers involved in the negotiations.

Meanwhile the Vance delegation, which is rapidly becoming the focus of the negotiations process, has been inundated with requests for meetings from organisations, including two unnamed right-wing groups.

Vance and three advisers met President F W de Klerk and several foreign affairs and constitutional development officials early yesterday morning.

A lunch with De Klerk developed into an extended working session.

Also present were Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, Justice Minister Kobi Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Vance, accompanied by UN Secretary General staff member Virendia Dayal and UN political affairs department members Hisham Omayad and Shola Omoregie, also met Finance Minister Derek Keys and Health Minister Rina Venter.

No official government comment followed the discussions, although it is understood that no concrete proposals for a physical UN presence in SA were discussed.

Government sources said yesterday they gained the impression that Vance intended to discuss the SA situation in broad terms

before coming to a conclusion about any possible UN involvement.

Vance made it clear that the measures envisaged in the UN resolution were positive. The resolution calls for the special representative to recommend measures which would assist in ending violence and encourage negotiations.

The discussions included an exchange of ideas on the SA economy.

There are increasing indications that possible UN involvement in SA will be more modest than has been suggested, particularly because of the UN's unhappy experiences in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

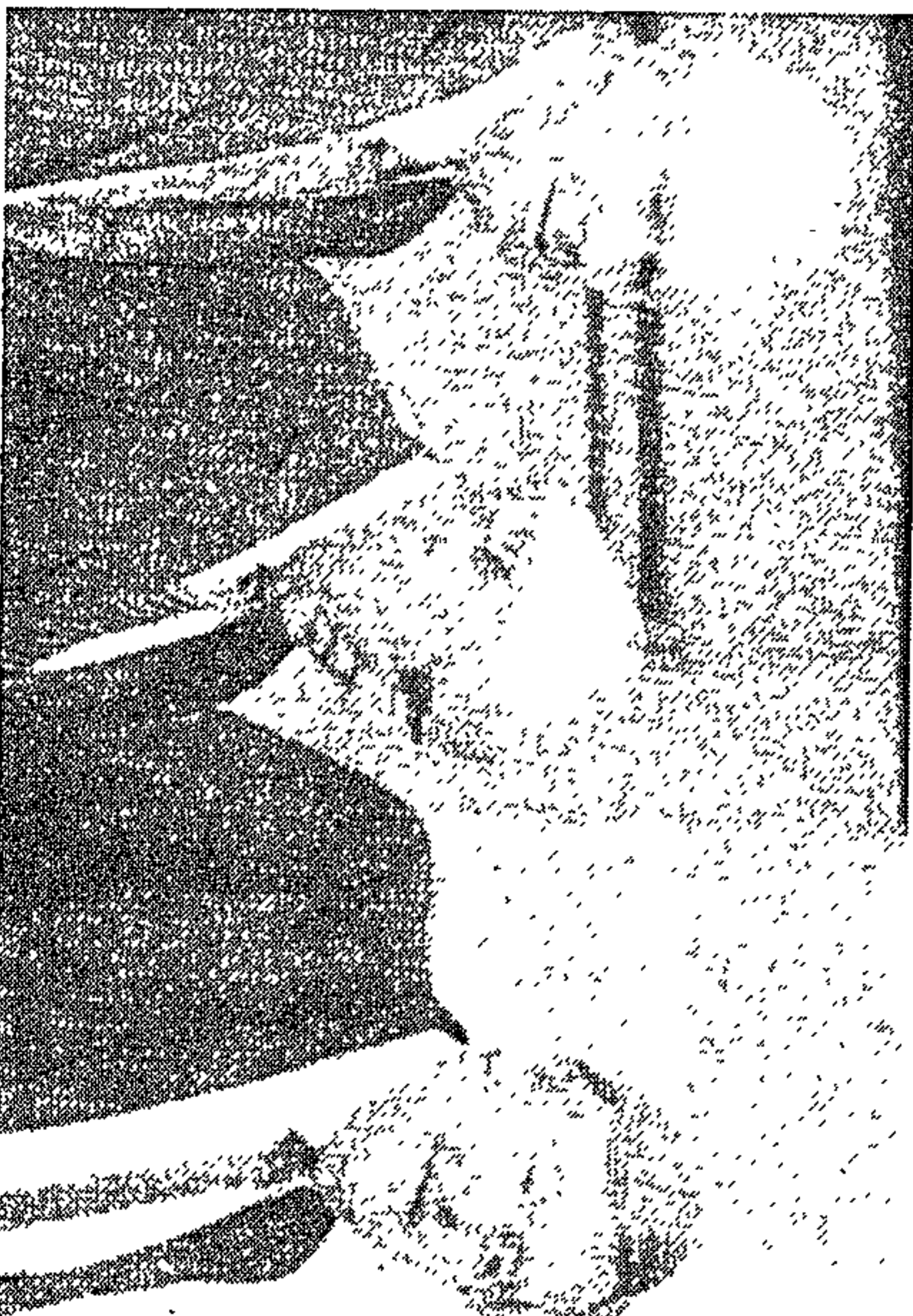
Although this was not directly discussed yesterday, the former Yugoslavian states, which Vance visited recently, have involved the UN in a seemingly intractable and expensive commitment.

Vance will meet the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha today and members of the Goldstone commission tomorrow.

Our Durban correspondent reports that PAC president Clarence Makwetu warned yesterday that any attempt by Vance to revive Codesa would be futile and would be rejected out of hand by the PAC.

Makwetu told an Idasa forum: "Our message to Vance is that negotiations should be held at a neutral venue and must be conducted under the chairmanship of a neutral person."

● Comment: Page 6



UN special envoy Cyrus Vance, left, President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday.

Riotous Assemblies Act alive and well

STEPHANE BOTHMA

PROSECUTIONS under the Riotous Assemblies Act continued, despite pending recommendations on illegal gatherings and demonstrations by the Goldstone commission, police confirmed yesterday.

Although most of those arrested this week for taking part in the ANC's campaign to occupy government buildings were charged with trespassing, several protesters were charged with staging illegal demonstrations.

Perpetrators were charged in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956 was still in force, and was used if demonstrators caused disturbance or refused to disperse.

In January, commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone established a special committee to look into mass demonstrations.

□ Sapa reports that Goldstone said yesterday the Justice Department would promulgate regulations within days to give the commission powers to offer adequate witness protection.

The SAP confirmed that the Riotous As-

Laws soon to protect witnesses

JOHANNESBURG. —

The Department of Justice will promulgate regulations within days to give the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry powers to offer adequate witness protection.

This was revealed yesterday by commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone in an interview with a foreign television crew.

Lawyers had often told the commission that some witnesses feared reprisal if they testified, Mr Justice Goldstone said.

"I think it is important that the public must be reassured, apart from the witnesses' own reassurance, that anybody who has relevant evidence to give to the commission must not fear," he said.

He did not reveal the nature of the regulations. — Sapa

64 die in political unrest

BLDAY 23/7/92 (274)

SIXTY-four people were killed and 45 injured in political violence in the week ending July 21, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday.

Most of those killed — 45 — died in the PWV. A further 18 people died in Natal, and one person was killed in the western Cape. In the previous week, 50 people died and 32 were injured, Sapa reports.

The HRC's weekly bulletin focused on the 1 235 arrests recorded from July 15 to July 21, the most in a seven-day period for the past two years. All but four of the arrests were related to demonstrations.

The commission also noted that 18 PWV townships had been declared unrest areas.

In Durban, one of SA's most wanted criminals and four other men were shot dead in a shootout with police at Isipingo last night.

Two policemen were injured when handgrenades were hurled at them.

The wanted man is believed to have been responsible for murdering several policemen.

In Cape Town yesterday five policemen were shot and wounded while on patrol in Khayelitsha. One man was arrested shortly after the incident and police confiscated a firearm and a handgrenade.

Gunmen opened fire with automatic firearms and hurled grenades at the 12-man internal stability division patrol.

Three of the attackers were injured when police returned fire, but managed to escape.

The wounded policemen are in a satisfactory condition in No 2 Military Hospital, Wynberg.

□ WILSON ZWANE reports that a meeting aimed at reconciling Kwa-Madala hostel dwellers with residents of Vaal triangle townships fell through yesterday when Numsa representatives failed to turn up.

The meeting was to have been between representatives of Inkatha and the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, and was agreed upon on Tuesday when the alliance's delegation visited the hostel.



Pik Botha
Picture AP

well

force, and

Violence under the spotlight as ministers meet

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TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

A TOP government group is today considering new initiatives on violence to back up Foreign Minister Pik Botha at the United Nations debate on South Africa which begins in New York tomorrow.

The government's policy group on negotiations — in effect the ministers who form the negotiating team at Codesa under the chairmanship of President De Klerk — meets in Pretoria today.

The aim is to plan strategy for the Security Council meeting and to try to get the negotiations back on track.

A government source in Pretoria said that the main aim would be to respond to the recent Goldstone Commission report and to consider how to curb violence.

More powers could be granted to the commission and the government is also likely to respond to criticism by it.

The commission found that allegations were unfounded of any direct complicity by the President, any minister or the security forces in the violence.

It was at the same time critical of aspects of police investigations into murder threats against ANC members, the lack of action against the carrying of dangerous weapons in public, the use of 32 Battalion in unrest areas and the deployment of ex-Koevoet members by the police.

It also criticised the government for lack of action on the hostels question.

Plans to upgrade hostels are to be stepped up.

Decisions taken today are likely to be announced by Mr Botha in New York.

More leaders fly out to address Security Council

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — More political leaders have jetted out of Jan Smuts Airport to address the United Nations Security Council's special session on violence tomorrow.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said on his departure last night that the most important decision the Security Council could take was to send a monitoring mission to South Africa.

He added that the ANC would not immediately press this demand on the UN.

Instead, the movement would ask for an independent investigation of the violence.

Mr Mandela claimed the special session had come about through ANC requests.

But Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu, addressing the media an hour earlier, said his organisation had initiated requests for such a session.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had no intention of postponing its rolling mass action campaign should the UN become involved in the problem of violence.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also left last night.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha left for New York on Sunday night.

It is believed that Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo also left, possibly last night.

Probe stands fast on dangerous weapons

STAN 24/7/92 (274)

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

The Goldstone Commission yesterday again recommended that dangerous weapons should not be carried in public — and expressed regret that the Inkatha Freedom Party refused to accept the guideline.

The commission released a draft interim agreement on mass demonstrations reached between the police, the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and the IFP.

In a statement on the agreement, Mr Justice Goldstone expressed the commission's regret that the IFP — despite being a signatory — could not

agree to the one recommendation that participants in public demonstrations should not carry dangerous weapons.

"The commission ... cannot accept the necessity, let alone the right, to carry dangerous weapons," he said.

IFP representatives had rejected the clause and requested that "a search be made for compromise wording".

Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission "cannot hold back on an agreement as important as this in order to 'search' for compromise wording".

APARTHEID BAROMETER

W/Mon 24/7-30/7/72 (274)

DEATHS AND INJURIES

SIXTY-FOUR people died and 45 were injured between July 15 and July 21, reports the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

A total of 57 people have been killed in the Vaal townships since the Boipatong massacre on June 17. Most deaths occurred in Sebokeng, Evaton and Sharpeville. At least 10 of those killed were "necklaced".

DETENTIONS AND RELEASES

NINE people are still in detention. One person is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and the others under Section 3 of the Public Safety Act. According to the HRC, African National Congress member Japie Maphala was still on hunger strike on July 18.

On July 17 and July 20, 83 kwaMadala hostel residents, detained in connection with Boipatong massacre were released without being charged.

UNREST AREAS

ON July 21, four West Rand townships were declared unrest areas by the minister of law and order. They are Bekkersdal, Kagiso, Munsieville and Swanieville squatter camps. This brings the number of townships declared unrest areas to 18, says the HRC.

SECURITY FORCE ACTIONS

ABOUT 1 235 people were

arrested between July 15 and July 21 in the PWV, northern and western Transvaal, eastern and western Cape and Ciskei, reports the HRC. Four people died and five were injured during this period.

More than 500 of the arrests were related to the ANC's mass action and 484 were arrested for participation in Nehawu and Mwasa strike actions. These figures are lower than last year's total of 2 492 arrests in May related to the ANC mass protest demonstrations.

VIGILANTE RELATED ACTIONS

THIRTY-NINE people were killed and 70 injured in the PWV and Natal. The majority of deaths — 19 — occurred in the Vaal sub-region. In Johannesburg, three people died and one was injured when workers from an ANC-supporting Selby hostel were attacked. According to the HRC, residents from the hostel reported that the attackers shot randomly and then disappeared.

HIT SQUAD ACTIONS

ON July 16 in Alberton, a shop steward of the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (Numsa), Bernard Mafiyeka, was killed. And in Umlazi on July 18, the chairman of the IFP's Glebelands Hostel, Dome Wellington Ngobese, was gunned down in his hostel room.

Police boost to combat SA violence

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ANC 24/7/92

Political Staff

POLICE are to boost the numbers of specially trained men in unrest areas in a bid to combat violence.

This was announced by police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe in reaction to the Waddington report into police conduct surrounding the Boipatong massacre.

The report, disclosed yesterday by the Goldstone Commission after an investigation by British academic Dr Peter Waddington and two London police officers, was sharply critical of the police, but discounted allegations of complicity in the killings.

General van der Merwe said: "The numerical strength of the Internal Stability division will be expanded."

He said police had studied the report and conceded some criticism valid, but argued local circumstances had not been taken into account.

Police strategic planning to eradicate shortcomings and defects had not been considered, he said. The report was valuable, however, and was being given urgent attention.

The new Police Board was studying training, efficiency, command and control, the commissioner said; also police-community relations.

Sapa reports that the Polic-

ing Research Project at the University of the Witwatersrand charged that the Waddington report again demonstrated the immense value of external scrutiny of police.

Project leaders Etienne Marais and Janine Rauch said Dr Waddington's comments on the failure of police leadership and management confirmed the view that the level of rhetoric of police reform had not been matched by real changes.

The ANC said the report was an indictment.

In a statement the ANC said it believed all SA police forces should be under interim multi-party control, reorganised and re-orientated.

Buthelezi pulls out of peace summit

WILSON ZWANE and RAY HARTLEY

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would not attend a national peace accord summit with President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela next week. (274)

The July 30 meeting was called to bolster the peace accord almost a year after it was signed. The summit was widely regarded as an opportunity for the three leaders to get together in an attempt to resolve their differences on the issue of violence. (274)

Buthelezi cited Mandela's alleged violations of the peace accord at the UN Security Council last week and the continued existence of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe as the reasons for his non-attendance. 810A9 24/7/92

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said yesterday the ANC would attend the meeting.

He said: "We would hope that everybody who is interested in peace and interested in ending the violence would indeed attend."

National peace committee chairman John Hall said the meeting would probably be postponed. He said Buthelezi's withdrawal from the meeting did not threaten the peace accord.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said Mandela's statement at the UN that he did not recognise Inkatha as "an independent force" with which the ANC could enter into an agreement aimed at ending violence, showed that Mandela was intent on "smashing" the national peace accord.

Vos said Inkatha had asked the national peace committee to postpone the meeting of the signatories until Mandela's statement, Umkhonto's continued existence and intimidation arising from the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's mass action had been "properly" dealt with.

Hall said the executive of the committee would meet tonight to discuss Buthelezi's reasons for his non-attendance.

Should the matter not be resolved tonight, it would be brought before a meeting of the full national peace committee next Tuesday.

Weapons ban: IFP rebuked

By PAUL STOBBER

THE Inkatha Freedom Party was rebuked, surprisingly sharply, by Judge Richard Goldstone after refusing to agree to the banning of the carrying of weapons in public.

"The commission cannot accept the necessity, let alone the right, to carry dangerous weapons in demonstrations," said Justice Goldstone in a statement yesterday.

The rebuke followed an announcement that an interim agreement had been reached on the conduct of public demonstrations between the South African Police, the African National Congress, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party. In a letter to the commission, the IFP said they endorsed all aspects of the agreement except for clause three which could be interpreted to ban the carrying of cultural weapons.

Ignoring pleas by the IFP for a search for a compromise wording, Justice Goldstone said: "Having regard for the present political climate in South Africa, the commission cannot hold back on an agreement as important as this in order to search for a compromise wording. The display in public of any dangerous weapons is unacceptable. On that broad principle it is unable to compromise."

The agreement states that the public has the right to demonstrate peacefully and that the SAP has a duty to protect this right and to ensure that demonstrations are peaceful. It also outlines procedures to be followed by the organisers of protest action before the start of demonstrations.

The agreement is based on a report by an international panel appointed to advise the Commission on rules and regulations to govern mass actions.

Vance gets to hear it all... again

W/week 2417-301792

UNITED NATIONS special representative Cyrus Vance this week faced the unenviable task of having to listen to South Africa's political parties restate the cases they made to the United Nations Security Council last week.

The seasoned diplomat and United States secretary of state in the Carter administration met leaders of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organization yesterday to hear their proposals on how the UN can help control the township violence and advance the peace process. He met President FW de Klerk on Wednesday.

If he allows himself the luxury of a whisky after the briefings, it will have to be a stiff one to help him start figuring out what recommendations he will make to the UN on the role it can play.

He could reflect that since his arrival the state-mate has, if anything, grown staler

With mass action looming and the cabinet heading for the bush for a think-tank, special envoy Cyrus Vance faces a formidable task to figure out what role the UN can play in South Africa. By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

The collapse of the Congress of South African Trade Unions-Saccola pact has closed an avenue that was starting to open up for talks to be restarted. One ANC official conceded this week that if the pact had succeeded, negotiations would have been back on the rails within three weeks.

The private sector having failed to find the path for the political parties, the onus for an initiative goes back to De Klerk who has taken his cabinet back into the bush this week for yet another group think-tank. They have a lot to put their minds to.

De Klerk's people have let it be known that concessions on the core issue of democracy are coming. But with a two-day general strike looming, the very last thing that De Klerk will want is to appear weak.

The fog that usually accompanies new moves on the constitutional front might help disguise a significant concession, offset by thundering rhetoric about mass action and signalled in morse code to the ANC, but this does not ease the conundrum. The ANC will have to take a visible gain back to its constituency if it is to explain why it is willing to accept De Klerk's bona fides and go back to the table. The general strike, now restricted to two days, is to go ahead anyway.

De Klerk has already taken the first real strides towards meeting the ANC's 14 demands that are linked to the resumption of talks. Last week, he announced the disbanding of Koevoet and 31 and 32 Battalions, moves towards guarding and upgrading the hostels and tougher measures

against the carrying of dangerous weapons in public. Couched as responses to the Goldstone Commission recommendations, it was no coincidence that they were simultaneously designed to meet demands on the ANC shopping list.

The ANC kneejerk public rejection of De Klerk's moves, on the basis that counter-insurgents would be accommodated elsewhere in the security forces, is not necessarily the private reaction. In their submissions to Vance yesterday, the key ANC request was for a UN monitoring force in the townships. But there was also a request that military personnel be included in the UN team, with one of their tasks being to monitor former combatants of 31 and 32 Battalions and Koevoet. None of this adds up to a breaking of the deadlock. But it does give Vance something to swirl over, after two days of listening to South African politicians, that could provide the basis for a marginally more hopeful deal than his last diplomatic foray, in Yugoslavia.



Economists warn of strike's toll

24/7/92 GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Cosatu's general strike next month would push the economy deeper into recession, Stellenbosch University Bureau for Economic Research economist Nic de Jager said yesterday.

This year's first quarter had had negative growth of 0,6%. The bureau's forecast for the second quarter had been -0,3% and for the third quarter 0,7%. However, the strike would almost certainly mean three consecutive quarters of negative growth.

Pressure on the economy, already stressed by drought and a deeply disturbed political climate, would intensify in the three days, he said.

Econometrix director and chief economist Azar Jammine said the loss of output over the three days could amount to 40%. Hardest hit were likely to be the manufacturing, mining and construction industries. The work stoppage over the three days could chop half a percentage point from the year's growth rate. Jammine said the three days had the potential to explode into widespread violence and intimidation, degenerating into chaos and a massive decline in black workers' confidence in the trade union movement.

The consequences of the strike — wage losses and a growing disillusionment with the trade union movement — would be a severe test of Cosatu's support, especially if there was no benefit for workers.

He said August would be one of SA's most damaging months.

US's Cohen warns of civil war in SA

24/7/92

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — SA faced civil war unless ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi were willing to put aside their differences, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen said in Congressional hearings yesterday.

He emphasised that any attempt to force the government out of power through mass mobilisation was "unacceptable".

He also flatly rejected any attempt to use the violence as a reason for breaking off talks: "We oppose linking continued negotiations with an end to violence ... Negotiations are even more essential precisely because there is violence."

In the Bush administration's toughest statement on US policy towards SA, Cohen outlined in unusual detail what was expected of the three major parties to get negotiations back on track.

Step one had to be "a moratorium on finger-pointing and name-calling" by all parties, as "inflammatory rhetoric" was serving only to fuel violence.

Government's willingness to investigate the Boipatong killings was "a crucial test of its credibility", he stressed.

In addition, government had to implement more fully the recommendations of the Goldstone commission, in particular its calls for increased police accountability and stepped up security at hostels.

The ANC had to be "receptive to government gestures concerning reducing violence and restarting negotiations".

The movement had to ensure that its mass action campaign did not lead to further violence, and had to "exert greater influence over its members who continue to advocate and perpetrate violence."

While the administration was "neither for nor against mass action" and recognised that it provided a means for black South Africans to "express themselves politically", "it must be done peacefully".

He called on the ANC to "dispose safely" of the arms it had "not denied" having cached both in and outside the country, and warned that transferring weapons into SA would violate the national peace accord.

Inkatha had to do more to ensure that its members were committed to peace, and had to tell its members that "carrying weapons in public is unacceptable".

Citing the Goldstone commission's finding that a common thread to the violence was conflict between the ANC and Inkatha, he warned that the "impasse" between Mandela and Buthelezi "contains the seeds of civil war which neither leader will be able to control but for which they will bear much responsibility".

He was "confident" that UN special envoy Cyrus Vance "will come up with a series of compromises that are useful for both sides", but stressed that "it is up to South Africans themselves to find their way back to the negotiating table".

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Police announce urgent steps to improve investigations

CAPE TOWN — The SA Police, reeling after sharp criticism by British experts of its response to the Boipatong massacre, has announced urgent steps it is taking to improve its investigations.

Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said last night urgent attention was being given to a police board investigation into training, efficiency, command and control as well as relations between police and the community.

The report, conducted by University of Reading criminologist P A J Waddington and two senior British police officers, found the police response to the massacre on June 17 "woefully inadequate and in-

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TIM COHEN and
Political Staff

competent".

The ANC has claimed the report is a "damning indictment" of the quality of policing in SA, demonstrating the need for joint control of the security forces.

However, the ANC was also slated in the report for deliberately frustrating the investigation.

Van der Merwe conceded the report was valuable, saying other steps to improve police investigations included:

- ☐ Ensuring that murder scenes would be properly guarded;
- ☐ Upgrading operational rooms and pro-

viding them with computers and other sophisticated equipment.

- ☐ An investigation of international systems of documenting and classifying crime information;
- ☐ Having an experienced member of the force co-ordinate the handling of documents where the extent of an investigation required it;
- ☐ An investigation into efficient use of manpower, and;
- ☐ Increasing the "numerical strength" of the internal stability unit.

But Van der Merwe also said there were aspects of the report he did not agree with. He believed Waddington's team had not taken all the facts and local circumstances

into consideration.

Law and Order Minister Herens Kriel said yesterday government took the criticism of the report very seriously, and had instructed the police to view it in this light.

Kriel added: "In the interests of balance and perspective", the report noted that the SAP was not forewarned or involved in the attack.

"The finding that the SAP was not involved in the massacre will now hopefully lead to the halting of the campaign — which is based on exactly such groundless accusations — against the SAP and a

☐ To Page 2

Police 61044 24/7/92

change in the climate of suspicion against the security forces in general," he said.

The ANC said the report "underlines a wide range of systematic faults in policing operations and attitudes".

In the light of the report, the ANC believed even more strongly that there was an urgent need to place the SAP and other police forces in SA under interim multiparty control and to begin the complete reorganisation and reorientation of the police force.

"There is also both evident benefit and an urgent need for international monitoring. Multiparty control and independent monitoring of the SAP would build greater community confidence in the SAP, and assist in the execution of their duties. There is also an urgent need to immediately review all police structures and practices."

The report censured both the ANC and the Press for their destructive roles in the investigation.

The ANC and its allies were slated for having "orchestrated a campaign of non-cooperation which must have been designed to frustrate the investigation".

It said the Press should be censured for what seemed to have been mischievously

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inaccurate reporting of "gossip, titillating and unsubstantiated rumour".

The report stated that police omissions arose not from deliberation, but incompetence.

It said the SAP failed the people of Boipatong because:

- ☐ There was inadequate command and control of officers patrolling and responding to incidents in the township;
- ☐ A lack of effective intelligence and contingency planning;
- ☐ Unstructured investigative procedures; and
- ☐ A lack of awareness of the importance of sound community relations with all sections of the population.

But the vast bulk of the 48-page report categorises in detail a long list of SAP inadequacies, including the failure of the SAP to react to drafts of the report.

The report adds the "tactics of lining police officers in front of hostile crowds, unprotected and holding a lethal weapon in both hands, seems to be a recipe designed for over-reaction".

But ultimately, the report concludes: "It was not the lack of will that plagued this operation, but the failure of imagination."

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose, president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and lawyer Joe Matthews after meeting UN special envoy Cyrus Vance yesterday. Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Police, alliance agree on protest rules

POLICE, the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP had reached an interim agreement on how mass demonstrations should be conducted, the Goldstone commission of inquiry into public violence said yesterday.

The announcement came as the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance announced it would intensify its preparations for mass action in August. **24/7/92**

Commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone said the parties agreed that "proper notice and bona fide negotiations are preferable to applications for permission to ensure that public demonstrations were held and conducted peacefully".

The parties also agreed that pending a

WILSON ZWANE

report and recommendations by the commission to President F W de Klerk, the agreement would assist in avoiding violence and confrontation, Goldstone said.

He stressed, however, that the agreement had no effect of "amending or superceding existing legislation relating to public demonstrations". **(274)**

The agreement flowed from a report of an international panel of experts appointed to advise a commission committee on rules and procedures for mass demonstrations, marches and picketing.

Star

UN envoy for townships and hostels

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Sowetan 24/7/92
Weekend itinerary under wraps after Vance meets IFP, ANC, PAC and Azapo yesterday before a session with Judge Goldstone today:

By Themba Molefe

Political Reporter

UNITED Nations special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance, who is in the country to assess violence, will visit townships and hostels on Sunday after meeting black political organisations yesterday.

Full details of the tour and the townships Vance would visit are being withheld for security reasons, according to UN High Commissioner for Refugees Mr Kallu Kalumya.

Vance held in-depth talks with the PAC, IFP, ANC and Azapo in separate meetings throughout the day in Johannesburg yesterday.

Today, the UN envoy meets Mr Richard Goldstone, chairman of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence; a delegation of the National Peace Secretariat led by chairman Mr John Hall, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu;

and Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at a press conference after meeting Vance yesterday that he told him:

"The United Nations can send as many missions to South Africa as it wanted, but there can be no peace as long as the African National Congress/SA Communist Party alliance continued its mass action campaign.

"It is quite clear that the Codesa deadlock is complete for now, and therefore it is clear to us that the thing to do now is to call this multi-party conference of review so that we can go into the whole issue of Codesa."

The Pan Africanist Congress told Vance that only international intervention could end political violence in South Africa.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu told journalists "We said that the issue of violence that is confronting us is beyond our control. We

need an outsider, an impartial body to look into ways and means of bringing an end to violence."

He said the PAC had proposed an international commission to investigate and monitor the political situation in the country.

The Azanian People Organisation told the UN representative that any future negotiations must be anchored on the transfer of power, president Mr Pandeani Nefolovhodwe told journalists.

"We said the Government must indicate the desire to resign.

"The security forces must be quarantined and an international peace-keeping force be sent to the country on a monitoring role and the UN Security Council preside over the transitional phase and transitional authority."

The ANC's delegation was headed by deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu.

Vance leads a five-person delegation in terms of Resolution 765 of the UN Security Council and will leave the country on July 30.

He meets the South African Communist Party and homelands leaders tomorrow.

WHAT are the causes of the current violence? A number of political leaders, clergymen, newspapers, monitoring agencies and foreign observers maintain the main culprit is President F W de Klerk, a mastermind of conspiracy in which a "third force", consisting of the police, the SADF, the Inkatha Freedom Party, vigilantes and miscellaneous "hit squads", is carrying out acts of premeditated murder to deny liberation forces their democratic rights and perpetuate minority rule.

Even though the Goldstone commission says no evidence has been submitted to it to substantiate these accusations, they should not simply be shrugged off. The Trust Feed verdict was not the first time black and white policemen have been convicted of murder. The murders were, moreover, designed to promote Inkatha at the expense of the United Democratic Front (UDF). There is also suspicion that the police were less than conscientious in pursuing the case against seven Inkatha members charged with 38 counts of murder after a massacre at an ANC funeral vigil in Sebokeng last year.

Yet another cause for disquiet is the publication of a document implicating top intelligence officers in the murders of activists in the eastern Cape in 1985. The authenticity of this document has not been proved, but it has not been challenged either.

Let us admit that the third force theory is plausible from a political point of view. Grand apartheid sought to divide and rule the black population, and for the NP to form an alliance with the more conservative black parties against the radicals and then to exploit ethnicity and the Zulu warrior tradition to undermine other parties would have a kind of logic about it. Suspicions are reinforced by the secret funding of Inkatha and an Inkatha-linked trade union.

The problem with the third force theory is not what it explains but what it does not explain. It does not explain why Inkatha has been able to publish a list of more than 220 of its own officials who have been assassinated. It does not explain why more than 550 policemen have been killed in the last five years. Bringing the violence to an end necessitates iden-

Ungovernability sowed seeds of black violence

Editorial 24/7/92, JOHN KANE-BERMAN

(274) 

ifying all its many causes.

Although most of the deaths in the disturbances in Soweto and elsewhere in 1976 and 1977 were at the hands of the police, in more recent years conflict between different groups of black people has been a major cause of fatalities.

The conflict among black people has its origins in the strategy to achieve the total collapse of apartheid by rendering black areas ungovernable — a strategy that was announced by the UDF at its formation in 1984. Consumer, rent and school boycotts were an integral part of this strategy. Unlike in Soweto in 1976, when occasional strong-arm tactics by militant youths were repudiated and abandoned, coercion to enforce compliance with the wishes of political activists was not only widespread in the 1980s but also a regular feature of the political boycotts and stayaways almost from the moment they began.

On November 4 1984, Sowetan Sunday Mirror ran an editorial expressing the fear that a stayaway planned for the following two days would, like the previous one, be enforced by coercion and lead, in the newspaper's own phrase, to black-on-black violence. People were being dragged "screaming into the struggle", the newspaper wrote. After the stayaway 16 black consciousness groups met to discuss the problem of coercion.

Various liberal groups and church councils were aware of all this and even held meetings to discuss it. In the end they decided, in effect, to turn a blind eye to it.

It is worth recalling what the ungovernability strategy sought to achieve and the methods it employed. In September 1984 the ANC declared that "we (ie black South Africans) must be impossible to control". A Radio Freedom broadcast by the ANC from Addis Ababa on September 6 1985 bore the headline "Let the people's war engulf the entire country".

The broadcast said that police and soldiers should be killed even when they were at their homes, and irrespective of whether they were in uniform or not.

The report of the ANC's commission on strategy and tactics at the organisation's national consultative conference in June 1985 said that the homelands must be ungovernable and their governments overthrown with a view to transforming these areas into bases for the advancement of people's war.

A Radio Freedom broadcast in December 1986 urged that the masses should fight in every way possible using Molotov cocktails, spears, sticks, petrol bombs and small arms seized from whites. Other forms of struggle should also be used — rent strikes, bus boycotts, the overthrow of the township councils and the creation of people's organs of power, people's courts and so on.

These strategies have had two simple consequences. One is that they have got out of control. As Nelson Mandela said a few weeks ago, it is difficult to make young ANC members understand a need for change after they have been "told to make the country ungovernable".

The campaign to make SA ungovernable may not have succeeded universally and it may or may not have been subsequently abandoned, but it has succeeded beyond expectation in some parts of the country where anarchy now reigns.

The other consequence of these strategies is that they have provoked brutally violent backlashes from at least some of their targets and set off

a vicious circle of attack and counter-attack.

In boycotts and stayaways, black people were incidental victims of violence, in the ungovernability strategy they were high on the list of intended targets. The people's war was partly directed at the state but it was also a declaration of war against sections of the black community, some of whom fought back.

The most obvious manifestations of this vicious circle are clashes between hostel dwellers and township householders. And the last decade has seen violent reaction against coercion in boycotts and stayaways, as well as clashes between rival political organisations, and between strikers and non-strikers.

In the wake of mass action, a situation appears to have developed where revolutionaries stage hit-and-run attacks on more conservative blacks (whom they have branded as collaborators) after which they disappear into the surrounding houses. The conservatives chase after them, but frequently, unable to find the actual attackers, take revenge on communities which are presumed to be sheltering them.

Government has repeatedly promised to protect black councillors from assassination but seems no more capable of doing so than it can protect its own police force. Into this vacuum have moved groups of vigilantes who are also unable to prevent intimidation and coercion but are capable of massive retaliation. This is not to suggest that vigilantes or Inkatha are necessarily innocent parties who respond only to provocation. It seems clear that violence in Natal and on the Reef has developed a momentum of its own, and that in some cases the aggression comes from the conservatives and in others from the revolutionaries.

Despite much disinformation about the nature of violence in SA, there are signs, here and there, that more of the truth is at last beginning to come out in both our own and the foreign Press. We need to redouble our efforts to make sure that the whole truth does come out, because unless the causes of violence are properly identified we will not be able to stop it.

□ This is an extract from an address last night by SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman to the institute's western Cape AGM.



The 'people's war' was directed at the state — and sections of the black community.

IFP's stance under attack

■ The Goldstone Commission again slams
the carrying of dangerous weapons:

Sowetan 24/7/92
EXPRESSING its regret that the IFP was refusing to accept its guideline, the Goldstone Commission yesterday again recommended that dangerous weapons not be carried in public.

The commission yesterday released a draft interim agreement on mass demonstrations reached between the police, the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance and the IFP.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone expressed the commission's "regret" that the IFP, despite being a signatory to the agreement, could not agree to the one recommendation that participants in public demonstrations should not carry dangerous weapons.

He said IFP representatives had rejected the clause and requested "a search be made for compromise wording to replace the wording of clause 3". - *Own Correspondent.*

WHAT are the causes of the current violence? A number of political leaders, clergymen, newspapers, monitoring agencies and foreign observers maintain the main culprit is President F W de Klerk, a mastermind of conspiracy in which a "third force", consisting of the police, the SADF, the Inkatha Freedom Party, vigilantes and miscellaneous "hit squads", is carrying out acts of premeditated murder to deny liberation forces their democratic rights and perpetuate minority rule.

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By 24/11/92, JOHN KANE-BERMAN

(274)



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The 'people's war' was directed at the state — and sections of the black community.

LETTERS

ANC step 'obstacle to peace'

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that as long as the ANC/SACP alliance generated tension through mass action, the problem of violence could not be resolved.

Chief Buthelezi was speaking after his meeting with UN envoy Mr Cyrus Vance.

He said he would not attend a meeting of National Peace Accord signatories on July 30 because of contraventions of the accord by the ANC.

The ANC head of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said later the ANC was committed to peaceful demonstrations and people's right not to take part in them.

Mr Mbeki confirmed the ANC would attend the peace accord meeting and hoped everyone interested in peace would attend.

'Civil war' warning by Cohen

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Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — South Africa faced "civil war" unless ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were willing to put aside their differences, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen, said in congressional hearings yesterday.

He emphasised that any attempt to force the government out of power through mass mobilisation was "unacceptable".

He also flatly rejected any attempt to use the violence as a reason for breaking off talks: "We oppose linking continued negotiations with an end to violence ... Negotiations are even more essential precisely because there is violence."

End to 'finger-pointing'

In the Bush administration's toughest and most prescriptive statement of US policy toward South Africa to date, Mr Cohen outlined in unusual detail what he expected of three major parties to get negotiations back on track.

Step one had to be "a moratorium on finger-pointing and name-calling" by all parties as inflammatory rhetoric was only fuelling violence.

The government's willingness to investigate the Boipatong killings and act on the findings was a crucial test of its credibility, he emphasised.

In addition, the government must implement more fully the recommendations of the Goldstone Commission, in particular its calls for increased police accountability and stepped up security at hostels.

ANC hands Vance 2 new conditions

(274) RAY HARTLEY

NEW conditions for resuming talks — the release of 400 political prisoners and the scrapping of security legislation — were presented to UN special envoy Cyrus Vance by an ANC delegation yesterday.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki described the preconditions as "additional to the ending of violence".

Vance met leaders from the ANC, Inkatha, the PAC and Azapo yesterday.

He would not comment on the meetings, but described his encounter with an ANC delegation, including secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, as useful.

Mbeki said the ANC continued to favour international intervention to end violence.

Mbeki said Vance had not communicated any of his discussions with government to the ANC delegation and was not acting as a go-between. Vance had not been asked to intervene to defuse mass action.

He said another ANC delegation, including president Nelson Mandela, would meet Vance next week.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he had told Vance there could be no effective international intervention in SA until the violence had been ended. The ANC's mass action campaign was increasing tension, he said.

PAC president Clarence Makwethu said he had informed Vance of the PAC's rejection of Codesa and told him government was behind the violence.

IFP, police deaths (274) CT 24/7/92 'left unexplained'

THE "Third Force" theory advanced by some political leaders as being responsible for most acts of premeditated murder against liberation forces did not explain why 220 Inkatha Freedom Party officials had been assassinated or why more than 500 policemen had been killed in the past five years.

This point was made in Cape Town last night by Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, when he spoke at the annual meeting of the organisation's Cape Western region.

He said that bringing the violence to an end necessitated identifying all its many causes.

Mr Kane-Berman said the strategy of rendering black areas ungovernable — first announced by the United Democratic Front at its formation in 1984 — as well as the strategy of making homelands ungovernable — enunciated by the ANC in 1985 — had got out of control.

He said ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had already said recently that it was difficult to make young ANC members understand a need for change after they had been "told to make the country ungovernable".

Mr Kane-Berman said the conse-

SAP stability units arrested over 5 000

PRETORIA. — A total of 5 143 people have been arrested by the South African Police's Internal Stability Units (ISU) on crimes ranging from murder and public violence to intimidation over the past six months, police said yesterday.

The ISUs had also taken possession of more than 1 000 shotguns, pistols, homemade weapons and hunting rifles.

During the six-month period 609kg of dagga with a street value of R609 000 was confiscated and 467 people arrested on charges of possession or dealing in dagga. Almost 4 000 Mandrax tablets were confiscated.

Other results the units recorded over the past six months included the arrest of thousands of people for serious crimes, such as assault (711), murder and attempted murder (668), robbery and attempted robbery (638), housebreaking and theft (1 153), rape and attempted rape (266). — Sapa

quences of these strategies was that they had provoked brutally violent backlashes from at least some of their targets — the others were terrified or dead — and set off a vicious circle of attack and counter-attack.

He said that, despite much disinformation about the nature of violence in South Africa, there were signs that more of the truth was beginning to come out in the media.

"We need to redouble our efforts to make sure that the whole truth does come out, because unless the causes of violence are properly identified, we will not be able to stop it."

SA 'legacy is recipe for conflict'

PRETORIA. — If political conflict between the IFP and the ANC was removed there would still be friction and violence in the country, a Goldstone Commission committee heard yesterday.

Dr Mamphela Ramphele, a member of the board of directors of the Independent Development Trust and deputy vice-chancellor of UCT, was giving evidence to the committee inquiry into violence in Thokoza on the East Rand.

She told the committee the apartheid legacy, which contributed to the disinte-

gration of the family structure, a strategy of crime to survive poverty, as well as the way the state was perceived, was a recipe for conflict.

Even if there was one dominant political organisation among blacks, there would still be a problem of family disputes retained from the past legacy, she said.

Dr Ramphele said that to quell the violence there should be a balance between the opening of political space and socio-economic space to redress the socio-economic conditions of all people.

She recommended that all political parties and organisations should communicate at all levels, including the grassroots level, if peace was to be achieved.

For the maintenance of law and order and trust between the security forces and the community, she said the police would have to be adequately equipped and given the "right" training for their work.

She said effective negotiations at all levels should take place before the violence could be stopped.

The hearing continues.

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WHAT UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 765 SAYS

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The wording of UN Security Council Resolution 765 is:

Recalling its resolutions 192 (1976), 473 (1980), 554 (1984) and 556 (1984);

Gravely concerned by the escalating violence in SA, which is causing a heavy loss of human life and by its consequences for the peaceful negotiations aimed at creating a democratic, nonracial and united SA;

Concerned that the continuation of this situation would seriously jeopardise peace and security in the region;

Recalling the consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in southern Africa adopted by the General Assembly at its 16th Special Session on 14 December 1989 which called for negotiations in SA to take place in a climate free of violence;

Emphasising the responsibility of the SA authorities to take all necessary measures to

stop immediately the violence and protect the life and property of all South Africans,

Emphasising also the need for all parties to co-operate in combating violence and to exercise restraint;

Concerned at the break in the negotiating process and determined to help the people of SA in their legitimate struggle for a nonracial, democratic society (the Security Council):

1 *Condemns* the escalating violence in SA and in particular the massacre at Boipatong township on June 17, as well as subsequent incidents of violence including the shooting of unarmed protesters;

2. *Strongly urges* the SA authorities to take immediate measures to bring an effective end to the ongoing violence and to bring those responsible to justice;

3. *Calls upon* all the parties to co-operate in combating violence and to ensure the effective

implementation of the National Peace Accord;

4. *Invites* the Secretary-General to appoint, as a matter of urgency, a Special Representative in order to recommend, after, *inter alia*, discussion with the parties, measures which would assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, nonracial and united SA, and to submit a report to the Security Council as early as possible,

6. *Underlines*, in this regard, the importance of all parties co-operating in the resumption of the negotiating process as speedily as possible,

7. *Urges* the international community to maintain the existing measures imposed by the Security Council for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid,

8. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter until a democratic, nonracial and united SA is established

VIOLENCE FM 24/7/92

The tide of guns (274)

Police seized an average of 20 illegal firearms a day in the first six months of the year — yet political killings and violent crime keep mounting. "Rule by AK" now appears to dominate not only many political disputes, but, increasingly, gang-wars and crime.

Government's concern at the continued flow of AK-47 assault rifles into SA was raised during weekend talks in Maputo between President F W de Klerk and his Mozambican counterpart, Joaquim Chissano. The SA-Mozambique joint security commission is investigating the arms smuggling and Chissano told De Klerk his government strongly disapproves of it.

Of the 3 600 firearms seized by the SA Police between January and June, 440 were AK-47s, but there are believed to be many thousands still in circulation or hidden in ANC and, to a lesser extent, PAC arms caches throughout the country.

In spite of massive rewards — R6 000 for information leading to the recovery of an AK-47 — only 632 firearms were seized in the first six months of the year as a result of

FM 24/7/92 CURRENT AFFAIRS

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tip-offs for reward. The rest were recovered in the course of normal police work. The police also claim there is evidence of an increasing flow of ANC arms into SA and the expansion of the organisation's "underground network."

In the UN Security Council debate on SA last week, Foreign Minister Pik Botha alleged that the Zimbabwean army was helping ANC cadres to move significant quantities of arms from caches in the country down to the border for infiltration into SA. This was strongly denied by Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira and ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

The ANC has also been under attack recently by the Freedom Foundation for stockpiling arms in Angola. The ANC's Saki Macozoma acknowledged the caches, which he said were the logical consequence of the sort of struggle the organisation had been waging. He accused the foundation of engaging in "cheap propaganda."

Niehaus says the organisation also acknowledges the existence of arms caches in SA but has undertaken not to allow them to "get into general distribution." He says an investigation, announced in April by ANC spokesman Gill Marcus, into the "whole question" of arms caches and the flow of arms to ANC supporters is "ongoing."

In another violence-related development this week, the Inkatha Freedom Party released statistics claiming that there were 587 "known attacks" on IFP members and supporters between September 14 last year (the day the National Peace Accord was signed) and the end of June this year. Most of the attacks were in Natal (415), followed by the Transvaal (168) and the Cape (4).

There were 376 known deaths of IFP members and supporters in the attacks, the worst months being February, March and April, when 195 people died. Just over 70% of the deaths were caused from gunshot.

In a memorandum published with the statistics, the IFP criticised the media for allegedly giving less prominence to attacks on IFP supporters than it gave to incidents involving ANC supporters. It said that, a week before the Boipatong killings, 27 IFP supporters were massacred "by the ANC" at Crossroads in Natal, but the incident was not reported. ■

More policemen to be deployed in unrest areas

Staff Reporters and
Own Correspondent

The SA Police is to boost the number of specially trained men in unrest areas in an effort to combat violence, Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe announced yesterday.

He was reacting to a report released yesterday by British experts appointed by the Goldstone Commission to probe the police's handling of and response to the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

The report, released after an investigation by British academic Dr Peter Waddington and two London police officers, was sharply critical of the police but discounted allegations of police complicity in the slayings.

It was also critical of the ANC for asking Boipatong residents not to co-operate with the police investigation.

General van der Merwe said the internal stability division of the SAP would be enlarged in unrest areas,

"especially as far as officers are concerned".

He said police had studied the report, and conceded that some of the criticism was valid. The SAP disagreed with other aspects — the steps taken by the police to eradicate shortcomings had not been considered. The report was valuable, however, and urgent attention was being given to aspects needing adaptation.

The new Police Board was studying police training, efficiency, command and control, and it was also looking at police-community relations, General van der Merwe said.

Earlier yesterday, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said he had ordered his generals to give him recommendations within seven days on addressing problems in the police force identified in the report.

The ANC said the report on police conduct was a damning indictment of the standards of policing in

South Africa. "It underlines a wide range of systematic faults in policing operations and attitudes," it said in a statement.

The report not only underlined the disastrous effect of apartheid on police-community relations, but also the lack of SAP concern, initiative and effort devoted to improving them, the ANC said.

On the finding that the police failed to gather information which could have prevented the massacre, the ANC said it was all the more glaring seen against the regularity of violence coming from the KwaMadala hostel.

The ANC believed the SAP should be internationally monitored and put under multiparty control.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was "alarming" that international experts viewed the SAP as inadequately organised. He welcomed Mr Kriel's initial reaction to the report.

● SAP in dock — Page 13

'Vicious circle' of SA violence: Politics blamed

Staff Reporter

POLITICAL organisations have perpetuated violence by always blaming each other for it, says South African Institute of Race Relations executive director Mr John Kane-Berman.

"This results in a vicious circle of attack and counter-attack," he told a meeting of the institute in Rondebosch last night.

He said there had been an 84 percent increase in political killings since the signing of the National Peace Accord.

"The existence of a Third Force may be theoretically plausible but does not explain why Inkatha Freedom Party members and policemen are also being killed.

"Some observers view President De Klerk as the mastermind of conspiracy, carrying out acts of premeditated murder,

but there has been no evidence of a Third Force."

He said the Human Rights Commission and Amnesty International had released selective information on violence in which they had mentioned the killing of African National Congress members but had ignored murders of security policemen and IFP members.

Although the Trust Feed killings had not been the first to be carried out by policemen, they could not be seen as a reflection of general police behaviour.

Intimidation is still rampant

THE arrest of more than 400 people during the past six months on charges of intimidation contradicted various organisations' claims that intimidation was not their policy, SAP Internal Stability Unit chief Lt-Gen Johan Swart said yesterday.

He also said 5 143 people were arrested by the unit for various crimes ranging from murder to public violence during the six-month period.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

The unit confiscated more than 1 000 shotguns, pistols, homemade weapons and hunting rifles plus almost 6 000 rounds of ammunition.

It manned 15 1564 roadblocks, in which almost 112 000 vehicles and more than 335 000 people were searched. Rape-related arrests saw 266 apprehended.

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concern its leadership — particularly, how to give the organisation a less-Zulu image.

Coming fewer than 24 hours after Buthelezi's return to SA after addressing the UN Security Council on the violence, the rally was also used as a report-back session to his followers. While clearly satisfied at the outcome of the debate, Buthelezi said that he'd returned deeply disillusioned about the political process. He accused ANC president Nelson Mandela of lying to the Security Council in an attempt to discredit government and the IFP.

The congress ordered IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose to lodge a formal complaint to the National Peace Committee that Mandela had violated the Peace Accord. It also pledged to investigate the possibility of seeking court redress for "hideous violations on personal integrity and rights."

The congress's main preoccupation was with township violence, though the tenor of speeches did little to calm troubled waters. In a three-and-a-half-hour address — prolonged partly by interpretation into Zulu and seSotho — Buthelezi claimed hostel-dwellers were probably the most maligned and attacked people in the country. He urged the establishment of defence committees; announced that the IFP was now on an election footing; and claimed the ANC had torpedoed negotiations because it was "defeated" at Codesa.

Furthermore, Buthelezi said he believed there was little prospect of the ANC returning to Codesa, and he slammed the mass action campaign for its impact on blacks already suffering economic hardship.

The negotiation process, he said, had to continue: "We cannot let the ANC decide the fate of SA negotiations. We must begin a process in which we reconvene either the preparatory committee, which met last November, or go back another stage by re-organising bilateral and multilateral negotiations."

Echoing their leader's tone, delegates resolved that:

- ☐ Pressure should be brought to force the disbanding of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, before September 14 (the anniversary of the signing of the National Peace Accord);
- ☐ IFP members should withdraw their membership of Cosatu-affiliated trade unions;
- ☐ Employer organisations should be urged to reject any ANC attempts to make them party to economic sabotage as a means of political protest;
- ☐ The IFP should facilitate the training of self-protection units if requested by communities; and
- ☐ The Goldstone Commission should be asked to investigate any mass action campaign which leads to violations of the Peace Accord.

Mdlalose pointed out that the IFP was still transforming from a cultural liberation movement to a national political party, and in doing so the party would assume a federal

structure — in line with the idea of a federal constitution it wants for SA.

- ☐ A meeting has been arranged between Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Mandela.

INKATHA FM 24/7/92 (274) (H8) Report back at Ulundi

"Work for peace by preparing for war." That, Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi advised more than 6 000 party faithful, was how to deter people "chancing their arm against the party."

He was speaking at the IFP's 17th annual congress at Ulundi last weekend. There were few surprises at the two-day event, billed as the organisation's most important annual convention. However, the IFP failed to address some of the strategic issues which must

Cont - D

Transport Dept 'rejects claims of corruption'

LIBBY PEACOCK
Supreme Court Reporter

A SENIOR Department of Transport official has told a committee of the Goldstone Commission in Cape Town that the department rejects claims of favouritism and corruption made against it and that there is "no merit in such accusations".

The committee is investigating the causes of the Western Cape taxi war.

Mr Pieter Geringer, deputy director of Road Transport Administration in the Department of Transport, told the committee that in January 1987 the Southern Africa Black Taxi Association (Sabta) asked for better application of the law in the taxi industry.

At the time Sabta also informed a law application committee — consisting of members of Sabta, the Department of Transport and the police — that City Tramways had started to use minibus taxis on certain routes.

This "could lead to a blood-bath", as City Tramways was intruding on existing taxi associations' activities, Sabta warned.

City Tramways then withdrew the minibuses.

Problems in the taxi industry were organised thefts, false permits and insurance scams.

Gullible black entrepreneurs and insurance companies had already lost millions of rands as a result of fraudulent practices by unscrupulous white businessmen, Mr Geringer said.

In August 1989 Sabta alleged in a memorandum to the committee that radical political groups in the transport industry were infiltrating the taxi

associations with the intention of getting control over the operators and that this could lead to "unnecessary political implications".

In reply to a question by committee member attorney Mr Louis van Zyl, Mr Geringer said in his opinion Sabta knew exactly what went on in the Western Cape at the time.

Sabta had told the Minister of Transport that the taxi violence was a political issue.

Mr Van Zyl said he had got the impression from evidence by previous witnesses that Sabta's involvement and support in the Western Cape was far less than in the rest of the country.

Previous evidence had also shown that the general cause of the violence was commercial competition and previous witnesses had spoken about a "battle for space", Mr Van Zyl said.

Mr Geringer rejected claims of favouritism and corruption by Department of Transport officials and said there was no merit in such accusations.

In certain cases people sought loopholes in the Road Transport Act and application of the law became difficult. This contributed to unhappiness in the industry.

Mr Geringer told the committee there was "a general lawlessness" in the local taxi industry and a culture of lack of respect for officials and for traffic regulations prevailed.

Officials were scorned just because they exercised control.

A general education programme could improve misconceptions, but the department did not have the means to offer this on each local level, although it could possibly do so on a national level.

The inquiry continues on Monday.

ARG 25/7/92

Churchmen take the lead in peace bid

214 (2) ARC 25/1/92

■ Urgent talks were held yesterday between Mr Cyrus Vance and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

JOHANNESBURG. — Church leaders have agreed to seek urgent meetings with the government, organised business and labour aimed at breaking the negotiations deadlock and averting the national strike planned for August 3 and 4.

At an emergency meeting in Johannesburg yesterday more than 30 church leaders also agreed on proposals to the United Nations' special envoy, Mr Cyrus Vance, and sent eight leaders to meet him, the SA Council of Churches, who facilitated the meeting, said in a statement.

The leaders expressed their distress that organised business and labour were not able to agree on terms which would have ensured a one-day business shutdown instead of a week-long protest.

They called on the two principal parties in the initiative, Cosatu and Saccola, "to come together again and resolve the issue" and offered their own services to "facilitate this activity".

The Charter and Programme for Peace, Democracy and Economic Reconstruction, on which Cosatu and Saccola reached substantial agreement, was endorsed by the leaders, the SACC said.

The government was addressed on three issues: the violence, the principle of democracy and the constitution.

The leaders called on the government to initiate discus-

sions as soon as possible, to bring the security forces under multiparty control and to give the Goldstone Commission power to enforce its recommendations.

It was also recommended that the National Peace Accord be assisted by a wide range of national and international political and non-political monitoring groups.

"We believe the government can make a major contribution to breaking the deadlock if there is unequivocal agreement that the new constitution will be drafted by a body completely free from any veto and elected by the democratic vote of all the people."

■ Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu expressed hope that stalled negotiations could be revived within days, but warned that the strike beginning on August 3 could lead to severe strife.

Archbishop Tutu made the comments yesterday after he emerged from a lengthy meeting with Mr Vance at a Johannesburg hotel.

Archbishop Tutu warned that the rejuvenation of the mass action campaign by the ANC and Cosatu on August 3 could lead to chaos.

Nevertheless, he foresaw a resumption of talks and immediate, clear action to deal with the violence by the authorities within the next few days.

The archbishop also urged all sides to commit themselves to a sovereign constitution-making body, saying it was necessary for peace and stability in South Africa. — Sapa.

Tutu: Don't attack police

JOHANNESBURG. — Archbishop Tutu said in a statement yesterday.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has condemned the continuing attacks on police by members of political organisations and called for the urgent resumption of negotiations to install a legitimately elected government.

"In accordance with the churches' condemnation of all violence, I want to condemn in the strongest of terms the ongoing spate of attacks against members of the SAP," Arch-

bishop Tutu said in a statement yesterday. "We are distressed at all loss of life and I extend the Anglican Church's condolences to the families of policemen and others who have died, and our sympathies to the injured."

He said the continuing attacks underlined the "urgent necessity to get on with the business of negotiating a legitimate and democratically acceptable government". — Sapa.

World knows ANC had to act as it did, says Mbeki

Dismay at mass action, but also understanding

STAR 2517192

FIRST appointment of another hectic Friday, and Thabo Mbeki was running late.

It might amuse opponents of the ANC that the organisation's head of international affairs had been stuck at home because of a problem with his vehicle's immobiliser.

Immobilise, they would say, is what the ANC is trying to do to the country.

Mbeki's specific portfolio is international relations — he held extensive talks with United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance on Thursday — but he is also one of the ANC's key domestic diplomats.

It was in that capacity that he flew to Bloemfontein last night to meet Free State businessmen and professionals, who needed some convincing that mass action was a bitter but essential pill for our society and not a dose of poison.

Mbeki has probably been doing quite a bit of this recently. "There is certainly concern in business and diplomatic circles, a wish that mass action were not the only way to resolve this dispute," he says

"There is a sense of dismay"

But Mbeki disputes that this translates automatically into criticism of the ANC. "There are some people who are clearly opposed to our stance and don't understand it."

"But the standing of the National Party is not very high either. There is a lot of distrust, even if there is a more positive attitude to individuals like F W de Klerk."

"There is also understanding that the ANC needed to act as it has. Businessmen convey to us that they want the solutions to be as peaceful as possible, we convey to them that they can make a contribution."

Comfortable

Mbeki describes the failure of labour and industry to reach a pact to avert next month's general strike as "unfortunate". South African business, he says, does understand that there are grievances.

"Part of the problem, though, is that some of them now claim that they are not political, that they don't want to get involved. But there was a time when they had a comfortable relationship with Government and they were happy to attend all

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

those summits with P W Botha, where they more or less got what they wanted. Now that has changed and there is resistance. An agreement between Saccoca and Cosatu could have made an important contribution."

Foreign businessman, says Mbeki, tend to take a longer-term view of the situation than their South African counterparts. "They have a basic concern about the speed with which we are moving, more than a concern with what is happening day to day."

"There were a lot of expectations that Codesa 2 would produce an interim government, and a number of corporations were standing by to make announcements about investment. Once Codesa failed, they held back."

"An interim government is important because it would signal that the process of changing the political-power relationship in South Africa has started, that the country is no longer simply ruled by a white minority government as of old. There is a very serious concern

about the levels of instability that derive from the absence of a political settlement."

Instability, some would argue, will also derive from mass action. "It is unfortunate that the scenario has been portrayed in this way, that mass political action equals violence and unrest. It doesn't."

"What all of us should be saying is that we have the civil liberty to express an opinion by meetings or marching in the streets. In that context we call on everybody to behave themselves. But saying that mass action produces violence simply justifies that violence," Mbeki says.

"The overwhelming majority in the country would have wanted a solution to our problems without the levels of conflict we have now. But we have a practical problem. The deadlock at Codesa did not occur between equal parties."

"If the Government were not both player and referee, it would not be necessary for us to have demonstrations."

Looking at the international picture, Mbeki rejects the view expressed by Foreign Minister P W Botha that mass action would be in conflict with the

spirit of United Nations Resolution 765. "The matter did not even arise. There was no suggestion that peaceful activity of this sort must be stopped."

Mbeki believes the ANC's shift into tough-talking mode has not cost it support abroad. "One must understand that in the rest of the world it is normal to have peaceful demonstrations. It is not extraordinary to have strikes. You don't have this hands-up-in-horror attitude."

Understanding

"In all of the meetings we have attended both conferences and bilateral talks, there is understanding for the position which the ANC has stated on majority rule," he says.

Today, Mbeki hopes to take a break from all this diplomacy by watching the Karer Chiefs Orlando Pirates cup tie at the FNB Stadium — well sort of a break. Diplomatically, he will not be drawn on which team he supports.

"I like both of them," he says. Any soccer fan, of course, will tell you that's impossible. But for now, at least, Mbeki probably has enough wrangling on his plate as it is.



THABO MBEKI: Mass action is a bitter pill that must be taken

● Photograph: JOHN HOGG

Inkatha wary of peace accord

Weekend Argus
Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party will continue to defend the rights of its members to carry "cultural accoutrements", a spokesman for the organisation, Mr Ed Tillet said.

Mr Tillet's statement yesterday comes in the wake of the IFP's rejection of the Goldstone Commission interim agreement on the conduct of public demonstrations. The IFP position is the second move in a week to alienate the organisation from the peace process.

Last weekend the IFP signalled its disenchantment with the peace process when IFP president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said that a meeting of the signatories to the National Peace Accord on July 30 was no longer possible.

Mr Tillet said the IFP decision not to take part on July 30 still stood.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced on Thursday that agreement had been reached between the police, the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP.

However, the IFP has expressed reservations about the wording of a clause dealing with the carrying of dangerous weapons in public and has said that compromise wording should be inserted.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission could "not hold back on an agreement as important as this to search for compromise wording".

Mr Tillet said that the IFP endorsed the condemnation of dangerous weapons.

However, the organisation was seeking clarification on a number of issues: "Cultural weapons have been responsible for fewer than five percent of politically related deaths, whereas approximately 70 percent of these deaths can be linked to firearms, notably the AK-47s."

"Pangas, axes and meat cleavers are not traditional weapons and such weapons should be outlawed."

"However, the IFP will defend the right of its members to carry cultural accoutrements," Mr Tillet said.

He added that the interim agreement would probably be claimed as a victory by the ANC, and that the ANC campaign on the traditional weapons issue was intended to marginalise the IFP and the Zulu people.

Mr Tillet said that the IFP was also concerned that the commission excluded discussion around the disbanding of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, and the mandatory handing in of arms caches. The IFP has called for the disbanding of Umkhonto We Sizwe by September 14 or it may pull out of both the negotiations and the peace process.

Thousands set to take to streets

STAR 2577192

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BRENDAN TEMPLETON and SAPA

SOUTH Africa is bracing itself for nationwide marches. Hundreds of thousands of protesters are expected to take to city streets across the country today in support of the ANC's mass action campaign.

Tensions are building up in Durban where the Inkatha Freedom Party has warned of a "spontaneous outburst of protest" if the ANC proceeds with "confrontationist" mock trials in the city centre.

Church leaders have expressed deep concern about the use of mock trials because they "encourage people to take the law into their own hands".

President F W de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and homeland leaders Oupa Gqozo and Lucas Mangope are to be "tried" outside the OK Bazaars in West Street.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said outraged residents from various areas had expressed their fears concerning the provocative nature of the ANC's campaign.

"Residents regard the mock courts and the 'condemning to death' and 'incarceration' of the IFP leadership as the ultimate provocation and a premeditated campaign for confrontation," said Tillet.

In Johannesburg and Pretoria, marches are set to start at 10 am. The Johannesburg march will proceed from Wanderers Street to John Vorster Square and then to the Transvaal Provincial Administration offices in Plein Street.

The Pretoria march will proceed from Brown Street to the

TO PAGE 2.

Marches

FROM PAGE 1.

Union Buildings.

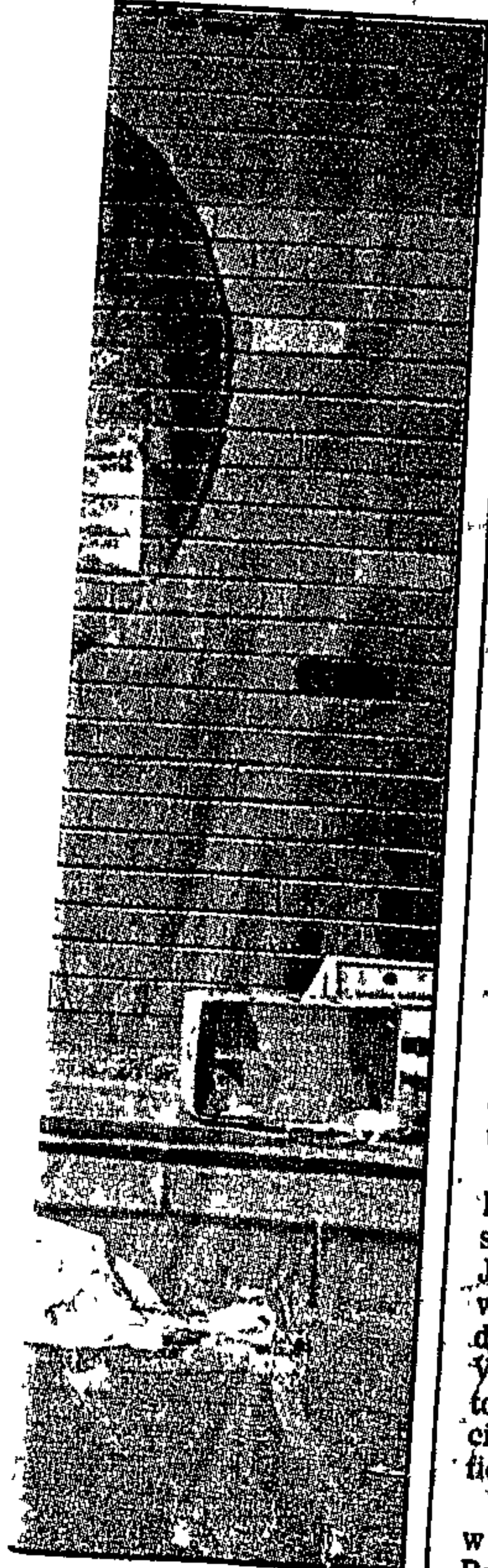
The marchers will demand an interim government, a single-chamber constituent assembly, an end to violence and unilateral economic restructuring, the removal of VAT on basic foodstuffs and an end to "corruption and murder".

In Cape Town, a "human chain" protest action is to be held in the city centre. DP spokesman on manpower Robin Carlisle said it would

be the first test of the guidelines on public demonstrations recently recommended to the Goldstone Commission.

The DP viewed the planned protest with concern as virtually all mass action in the western Cape had "abused the rights of many citizens", said Carlisle.

Similar action has been planned for Maritzburg, with demonstrations at Freedom Square in the city centre, and in Empangeni, where protesters plan to march on the Esikhaweni police station to demand equal access to venues, free political activity and an end to violence.



Photograph: GARY BERNARD

IN THE strife-torn townships, youths dress in ersatz uniforms and carry wooden guns. In the suburbs boys play with model Ratels. The imagery differs but the root ideas are the same

Time to slow the march?

STA 2517192

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GOVERNMENT is spending R8 000 a minute — about R11 million a day — on arms purchases. The culture of militarism is one of the central factors driving the present violence. It is essential that it be dismantled if broader attempts at achieving peace are to be effective, argues JACKLYN COCK.

SOUTH Africa is one of the most violent societies on Earth. Underlying this is a pervasive, deeply entrenched culture of militarism which has become so much a part of our way of life that many are unaware of its existence. Central to the thinking of many South Africans is the notion that violence is a legitimate solution to conflict. This idea has particularly wide accep-



reference to white domination and military power. Current threat analyses focus on the variety of security problems in the southern African region brought about by the effects of poverty, drought, disease and social dislocation.

In current debates, security is being redefined to focus primarily on meeting basic needs. The argument is that defining national security largely in military terms fails to recognise many other crucial determinants of security. National security requires economic vitality, environmental health and significant opportunities for human development. Thus real security can be attained only by reducing spending on arms and systematically redirecting those resources to meet critical human and environmental needs.

WHILE IN South Africa are only just beginning to learn of the evils done in the name of "national security". Our new approach to security should be rooted in meeting human needs and both expanded — to think in global terms — and reduced to a smaller scale to include personal and domestic security. There should be a total ban not only on dangerous traditional weapons but also of private

SOUTH Africa is one of the most violent societies on Earth. Underlying this is a pervasive, deeply entrenched culture of militarism which has become so much a part of our way of life that many are unaware of its existence.

Central to the thinking of many South Africans is the notion that violence is a legitimate solution to conflict. This idea has particularly wide acceptance among young people.

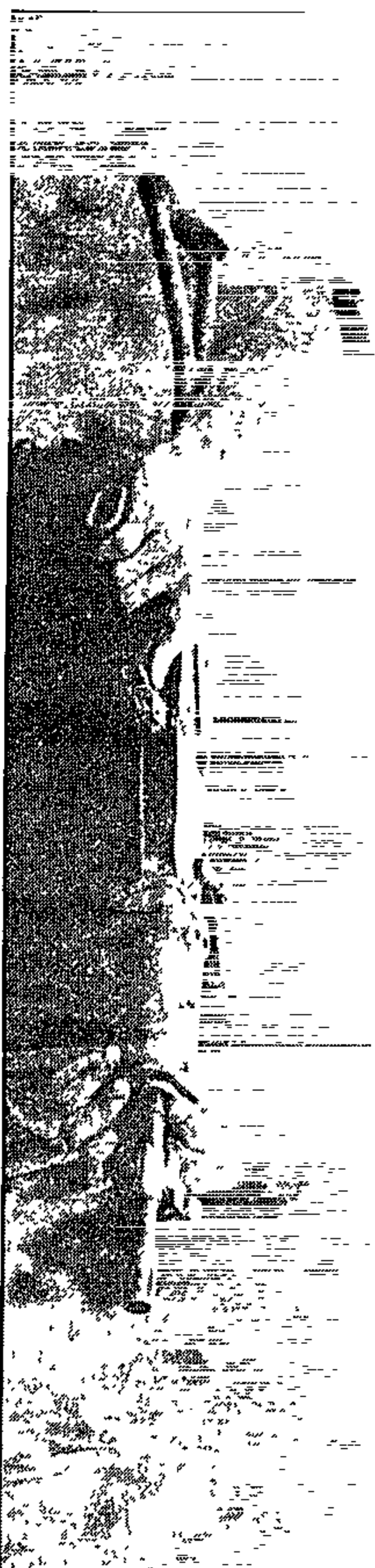
Images of militarism are rife. In the strife-torn townships, youths dress in ersatz uniforms, and carry wooden guns. In the suburbs boys play with model Ratels. The imagery may differ but the root ideas are the same. Boys have been playing at being soldiers probably since the dawn of time. But in this day and age, when youths, especially in the townships, are playing an increasing role in crime and violence alongside their adult counterparts, the games take on a different meaning.

Unless active measures are taken to change the ideas underlying our fascination with the symbols and instruments of force, they will continue to fuel the carnage.

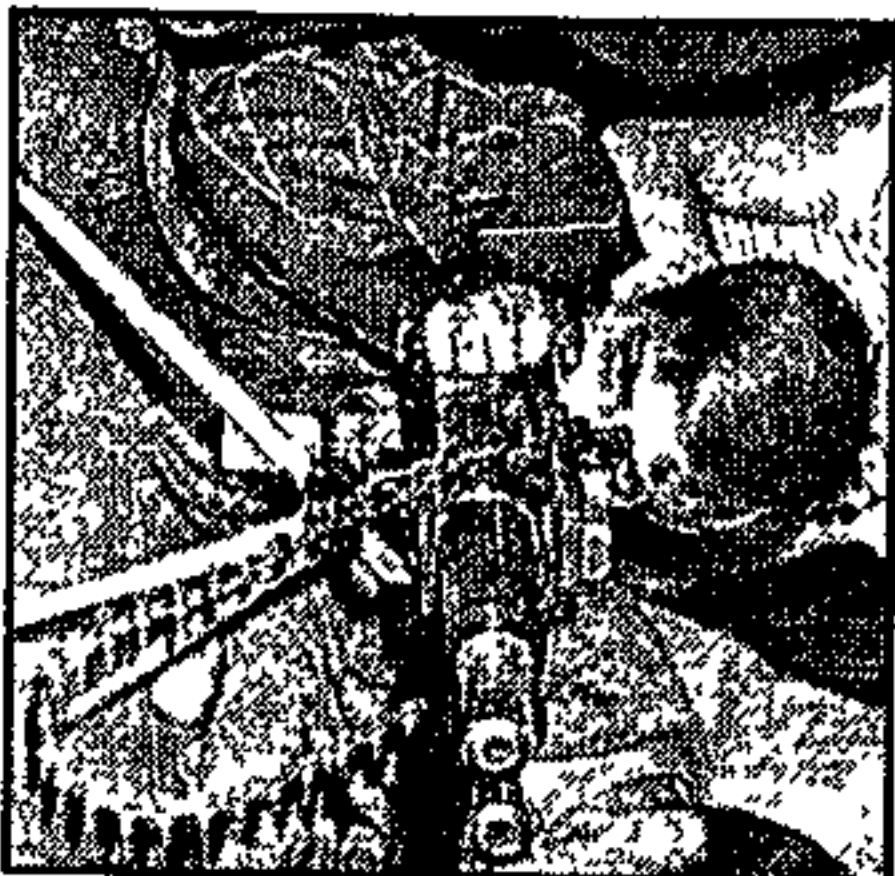
Dismantling South Africa's culture of militarism is one of the most urgent tasks facing the country if broader attempts at finding peace are to be effective. There is already under way a process of demilitarisation. Important indicators are the halving of the period of initial military service for white males from two years to one; reductions in the programmes and personnel of the SA Defence Force and Armscor; and the dismantling of the National Security Management System. But the process as it stands does not go far enough.

Innovative new ideas are needed. At the moment, thinking on a future defence force has gone no further than the suggestion that we should take the SADF, add some Umkhonto we Sizwe members and homeland soldiers, stir it all up and hope for the best. But the task of securing peace calls for far less simplistic thinking.

A special clause needs to be inscribed in a new constitution renouncing war as an instrument of foreign policy. Also, in-



NEW ROLE: The institution of the military needs to be rethought. What are the threats to South Africa's security?



SUBURBAN SOLDIER: A child wields a toy machine-gun.



STICKS AND SPEARS: What links firearms and traditional weapons are the themes of militarism and masculinity.



OMINOUS IMITATION: A township child with toy gun.

stead of simply expanding and adapting the SADF, a new, small, professional, legitimate and representative defence force must be formed.

It should be subordinate to civilian control. The institution of the military needs to be rethought. Are there threats to our security and, if so, what? Do we need a full-time army?

THE country's considerable arms industry should be dismantled via a planned process of reducing military resources to economic development and environmental protection. During the period of "total strategy", South Africa built up a vast arms industry. It is characterised by smuggling, secrecy, shady dealings — and it absorbs considerable resources. This year's Special Defence Account stood at some R4,4 billion, of which about R160 million was earmarked for secret defence projects, and the rest for the purchase of arms.

This means that the Government will spend more than R11 million a day or R8 000 a minute throughout the year on arms. Can this be justified in a society where 60 percent of our population live in poverty?

Dwight Eisenhower once said: "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, represents, in the final analysis, a theft from those that hunger and are not fed, who are cold and are not clothed."

The arms industry needs to be opened up to public scrutiny (in accordance with the modern principle of transparency, the avoidance of excessive secrecy and the concealment of information on military affairs). There were two South African signatories — Sheena Duncan and Desmond Tutu — to the June 1992 British American Security Information Council call to restrain the international arms trade. This call asks that "the United Nations Arms Register should be fully implemented including data on arms sales, purchases, and production to

their legislatures and to the public".

The possibility of non-military forms of national service should be investigated that are nation-building instruments and provide skills training, especially in a society where 48 percent of the potentially economically active population is unemployed.

"Peace education" should have a central place in school curricula which would teach children the importance of tolerance and non-violent forms of conflict resolution.

Attention should be paid to the needs of demobilised soldiers and make policy provisions to assist in the social integration of both MK soldiers and those members of the SADF Permanent Force and homeland armies who are either retrenched or who would prefer to serve in a transformed and nonracial defence force.

Security should be redefined. This is at the core of the demilitarisation agenda. In current international debates, na-

tional security is no longer defined largely in military terms. According to the analyst Maurice Strong, "our security is threatened more by environmental risk than by traditional military conflicts".

And as Michael Renner of the US World Watch Institute expressed it: "The security of nations depends at least as much on economic well-being, social justice and ecological stability as on pursuing military security at the costs of social, economic and environmental well-being is akin to dismantling a house to salvage materials to erect a fence around it."

IN current debates a distinction is often drawn between the old "world order of the last half century, organised around ideological conflict" and a new world order "organised around environmental sustainability". In the "old" South Africa in the period of "total strategy", security was defined primarily by

we are only just beginning to learn of the evils done in the name of "national security". Our new approach to security should be rooted in meeting human needs and both expanded — to think in global terms — and reduced to a smaller scale to include personal and domestic security.

There should be a total ban not only on dangerous traditional weapons but also of private gun ownership, or at least further restraint on their possession and use. Besides believing that violence is a legitimate solution to conflict, many South Africans also believe that violence is proper and appropriate to manliness. An important dimension of the current violence in South Africa is that it involves weapons which are understood as legitimate symbols of masculinity. What links firearms and traditional weapons in the form of spears, assegais, knives, knobkerries and sticks are the themes of militarism and masculinity. It follows that the debate about how to stop the violence in South Africa should involve some questions about gender identity and how to uncouple masculinity from militarism.

In the immediate term, all war toys and games should be prohibited. These are controversial issues which need to be debated widely. Our central task in South Africa right now is to create a common society, to build institutions which unify rather than divide us, which truly protect and defend our real security. A demilitarised society is not Utopia. As Professor Seymour Melman has written, "A roster of inequities, inequalities and brutalities... remain, with this difference: the very process of demilitarising — by well-designed economic convention — institutionalises democratic decision-making and decentralisation, and reinforces the need for every sort of improvement in quality of life."

This is why we should adopt a demilitarisation agenda as a road map towards the political goals of peace and social justice in South Africa.

● The author is co-ordinator of the Demilitarisation Group of the Black Sash.

Strike:

Tutu

warns

of strife

(274)

CT25/7/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu was hopeful yesterday that stalled negotiations could be revived within days, but warned that the ANC/Cosatu general strike beginning on August 3 could lead to severe strife.

Archbishop Tutu made these comments after a lengthy meeting with UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance at a hotel here.

Archbishop Tutu said it was unfortunate the meeting had taken place when South Africa was at the edge of a precipice.

"At this time, I had hoped that people would be talking about an interim government and a constitution-making body. I hope the collapse of the Cosatu/Saccola talks is temporary because the talks in themselves brought hope for an early restart of negotiations."

He warned that the rejuvenation of the mass action campaign by the ANC and Cosatu on August 3 could lead to chaos.

Nevertheless, he foresaw a resumption of talks and immediate, clear action to deal with the violence by the authorities within the next few days. Archbishop Tutu also urged all sides to commit themselves to a

sovereign constitution-making body, saying it was necessary for peace and stability in South Africa.

The Archbishop said one way to curb the violence was to place the security forces directly at flashpoints, such as at hostels and squatter settlements.

In that way, they would be able to respond quickly to possible clashes.

Mr Vance is scheduled to meet Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer and religious leaders today.

Extensive data from the Goldstone Commission and the National Peace Secretariat were submitted to Mr Vance yesterday.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone held talks for two-and-a-half hours with Mr Vance and was then joined by the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, Mr John Hall. — Sapa



BREAKING THE LOGJAM: PART 2

The second article in the Cape Times's series "Breaking the logjam", which examines the country's options at a critical stage of its fortunes, is by Lawrence Schlemmer of the HSRC and appears on Monday.

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OR R

See B

UN envoy puts off visit to Boipatong

S/Times 26/7/92

A PLANNED visit to Boipatong today by UN special envoy Cyrus Vance has been rescheduled for later this week.

Mr Vance will instead spend the day reviewing the work he and his team have done so far, and attending private engagements with "friends", said UN High Commissioner for Refugees in SA Mr Kallu Kalumiya.

He said Mr Vance was "extremely satisfied" with his mission, and in particular the "tremendous response" he had received from organisations and individuals in the country.

Mr Vance still planned to visit Boipatong before he left South Africa on Friday, Mr Kalumiya added.

NEWS ROUND-UP

Peace talks are back on track

S1 Times 26 7/92

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THE National Peace Accord meeting called off this week by Inkatha has been rescheduled.

At a meeting of the National Peace executive in Johannesburg on Friday it was agreed that the meeting of the committee's signatories which was to be held on July 30 be postponed.

This followed the IFP's complaint concerning statements made by ANC president Nelson Mandela at the UN Security Council.

Mr Mandela told the UN that the IFP was "an extension of the Pretoria regime, its instrument and surrogate".

At the IFP congress last weekend Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi said Mr Mandela had "declared war" on Inkatha.

Now a meeting of the NPC plenary session will be held on August 11 to discuss the date and agenda of the postponed meeting.

Preaching a gospel of violence

STimes 26/7/92.

The churches in SA have contributed directly to the new season of violence, argues an editorial in Britain's Spectator magazine

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WHY do blacks in South Africa kill each other? It is still the \$64 000 question despite the ANC's campaign to lay most of the blame at the government's door. One answer being given is particularly shocking.

It was spelt out in February last year by Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations. The leaders of the Christian churches in South Africa have, in his words, "helped to legitimise violence as an instrument of liberation"; the result is that "black people in the townships are reaping a whirlwind of violence that the churches helped to sow".

The SAIRR is no tool of the South African government; nor is another opponent of apartheid, the London-based Christian Studies Centre, which has just published a study of the question (*Revolution or Reconciliation: The Struggle in the Church in South Africa*).

This concludes that South Africa's radical church organisations (most particularly the South African Council of Churches and the Institute for Contextual Theology) "have contributed to the cli-

mate of violence which has rocked the country". It also finds that these organisations have been partly funded by radicalised church aid agencies in developed countries.

The policy of go-ahead churchmen to back radical — and sometimes violent — "structural" solutions to the problems of the oppressed has been well established, of course, for many years.

Everything was seen in the context of the World Council of Churches' notorious Programme to Combat Racism. The mentality behind this programme was influenced by the armed liberation movements which benefited from it, and which were invited by the WCC to contribute to the formation of its policy.

This policy was based on a quite conscious inversion — some would say perversion — of orthodox Christian theology. This inverted theology is variously known as liberation or contextual or Marxist theology.

Sin is not something from which individuals need salvation; sin is in the structure of capitalist society. Man's true end is not eternal life in

the presence of God; it is realised wholly in this world.

The Christian Aid slogan, "We believe in life before death", has to be understood as a classic formula of contextual theology. The Crucifixion is the suffering of the oppressed, and the Resurrection has not yet happened.

The consequences of such a theology in practice are real and they can be brutal. Here, for instance, at a WCC Consultation on Racism in 1969, is Oliver Tambo instructing his hearers on how they should interpret one of the Beatitudes: "When those who worship Christ shall have, in pursuit of just peace, taken up arms against those who hold the majority in subjection by force of arms, then shall it truly be said of such worshippers also: blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God."

The liberal Christian organisations which have been drawn into partisan support for the advocates of armed revolution have steadfastly averted their gaze from its nastier results.

When, in 1978, the Patriotic Front — in what was then Rhodesia — brutally murdered eight British mission-

aries and their children, the WCC ignored the outcry; only three weeks later they announced a grant of \$85 000 to the Front.

This capacity of radical Western churchmen to give support to cruelty and violence without flinching has a direct bearing on township violence in South Africa.

Mr Mandela's accusation that President De Klerk was directly involved in the Boipatong massacre may or may not be true. What is beyond any doubt is that black-against-black violence has been greatly intensified by the ANC's brutal policy of reprisals against reformists and other "collaborators", and by its widespread destruction of their schools, churches and homes.

It may be that the ANC would rule South Africa justly. It may be that peace and democracy would flourish, although the precedents are hardly encouraging.

But, even if that does come to pass, those Christians who have funded brutality and murder along the way still have to answer for it one day before the throne of the God whom they claim to worship.



THE GAME'S UP . . . a protest marcher wearing an Olympic T-shirt is led away by a police officer outside Johannesburg's Jeppe Street post office yesterday Picture: ANDY KATZ

□ From Page 1

postpone a mock trial of President F W de Klerk, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leaders after negotiations with the police during a stand-off that lasted more than half an hour

The ANC crowd symbolically renamed Farewell Park in front of the Durban City Hall after former ANC leader Albert

It's mass apathy

SITimes
Luthuli. A few hundred ANC supporters also marched through Maritzburg.

In Johannesburg, about 1 000 people, led by Walter and Albertina Sisulu, Steve Tshwete, Alfred Nzo and Amos Masondo, marched on John Vorster Square police headquarters.

26/7/92
They handed a memorandum to acting district commissioner Colonel Piet Fourie demanding a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Winnie Mandela arrived late and was greeted with hugs, kisses and raised fists.

In Pretoria, the organ-

isers had applied for permission for 70 000 marchers to descend on the Union Buildings. The authorities eventually issued a permit for 15 000. They need not have bothered — less than 500 people turned up for the march.

Even then, the march did not get further than 400

(274) metres before it was stopped by the police.

In Cape Town, 3 000 people joined hands to form a human chain around the central business district during a peaceful, but lively demonstration.

Police kept their presence to a minimum and there were no signs of police dogs.

Eight thousand people marched Port Elizabeth's city centre in a quiet and orderly procession.

(274)
Peace Accord meeting suspended

A CRISIS meeting of signatories to the Peace Accord, scheduled for July 30, has been postponed and officials of the National Peace Committee said a plenary session will be called on August 11 to decide a new date. *Open 26/7/92*

The meeting was cancelled on Friday night amid wrangles between the ANC and rival IFP over ANC leader Nelson Mandela's attack on Inkatha at the UN Security Council recently.



A policeman leads away an ANC protester, draped in chains, in Pretoria on Saturday. A march to the Union Buildings was stopped by police. Picture AP

Mass action campaign not a failure — ANC

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC would intensify its mass action campaign this week as the August general strike drew nearer, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He said his organisation would step up the occupation of government buildings, and more marches could be expected in urban centres.

Niehaus said media reports at the weekend that the mass action campaign was fizzling out were creating "a totally incorrect impression".

He said more than 100 000 people had participated in mass action to date and this figure would rise as the general strike approached.

Marches had taken place in all major urban centres at the weekend and they were relatively small because there had been many of them, he said.

"The aim was not to get everybody together at one place. We are very pleased with the outcome and the turnout," Niehaus said.

Around 3 000 people had been arrested during the

campaign so far, he said. Marches took place in Johannesburg, Soweto, Pretoria, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban at the weekend, he said.

About 1 500 ANC supporters marched to John Vorster Square on Saturday and handed a memorandum of demands to a senior police officer, Sapa reports.

The march was led by senior ANC figures including deputy president Walter Sisulu, his wife Albertina, and Alfred Nzo.

Stopped

Police reportedly arrested postal workers' union general secretary Mlungisi Hlongwane and hundreds of other protesters who occupied the Jeppe Street post office in Johannesburg on Saturday.

Police spokesman Lt Wikus Weber said about 460 people were arrested when negotiations to end the hour-long sit-in at the post office failed.

The demonstrators were

released yesterday and warned to appear in court in two weeks' time.

An intended protest march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria was stopped by police on Saturday apparently because protesters did not follow the prescribed route.

Hundreds of supporters of the ANC, the SACP and Cosatu were visibly angry when told by their leaders to disperse because the police would not allow them to follow a route of their choice.

In Cape Town, passengers on their way to a "human chain" demonstration in the city centre were removed from trains because they did not have tickets, a police liaison officer said on Saturday.

Earlier on Saturday ANC western Cape secretary Tony Yengeni told a crowd assembled at Cape Town City Hall that police forcibly removed people from trains at Langa station.

Yengeni accused the media of siding with the government.

"It seems to us the media is being used by the government. The media should be fair. If the media refuses to be fair we will be forced to institute a boycott," he said.

Police said they arrested 16 ANC supporters who marched on the Villiers, Free State, police station on Saturday demanding the release of fellow activists.

ANC set ²⁷⁴ to step up mass action

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC would intensify its mass action campaign this week as the August general strike drew nearer, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He said his organisation would step up the occupation of government buildings and more marches could be expected in urban centres.

He refuted weekend media reports that the campaign was fizzling out.

He said more than 100 000 people had participated in mass action to date and this figure would rise as the general strike approached.

Around 3 000 people had been arrested during the campaign so far, he said.

Marches took place in Johannesburg, Soweto, Pretoria, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban on Saturday.

Sapa reports that in Durban police averted bloodshed during a tense stand-off between ANC marchers and angry armed Inkatha supporters protesting against the plan for a mock trial and "sentencing" of their leader.

Armed with handguns

The mock trial of, among others, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr F W de Klerk, was called off after heavily-armed police formed a barrier between the ANC and IFP members.

In Maritzburg, the ANC claimed, there was almost violence when several Inkatha members armed with handguns approached a crowd of marchers. Police were asked to intervene.

In Johannesburg about 1 500 ANC supporters marched to John Vorster Square.

Police said about 300 people were arrested when negotiations to end an hour-long sit-in at Johannesburg's main post office failed.

An intended protest march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria was stopped by police, apparently because protesters did not follow the prescribed route.

Police estimated that 12 000 to 15 000 people took part in a march in Port Elizabeth.

Sixteen people who marched on the Villiers, Free State, police station were arrested.

4 more days to hand in AK 47s

ARG 27/7/92

(274)

Political Staff

THE government has declared a four-day period of grace for the handing over of AK 47s and other weapons, ammunition and explosives before imposing a major clampdown on Friday.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel and Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee announced the new measure in an attempt to curb the rapidly increasing number of firearm crimes.

Temporary indemnity from prosecution will be granted to people illegally possessing certain arms if they hand them over — or direct police to them — before Friday.

Rewards — including R400 for handing in an AK47 or other automatic weapon — will be paid by the police.

The indemnity ceases on Friday when the Criminal Law Second Amendment Act comes into force — carrying a minimum jail sentence of five years — and a maximums of 25 years — for the wrongful use of certain defined weapons, including automatic rifles.

The law includes other drastic measures for curbing the use of arms, including detention without trial for questioning, the suspension of bail and the streamlining of court hearings.

"The government is very worried about the outbreaks of violence and intimidation currently afflicting certain communities," the ministers said in a joint statement.

Up to the end of May this year at least 2 438 people — including 125 policemen — had been shot dead.

The ministers' statement said the indemnity would be subject to these conditions:

- Those illegally possessing explosive devices, firearms or ammunition, or having such items under their control, must voluntarily and on their own initiative hand in or disclose them before July 31.

- They must be handed in or disclosed to a police officer at a police station or at a collection point which will be announced soon.

- Gun owners will be allowed to apply for a firearm licence before July 31, 1992, although licences could not be issued for automatic arms or weaponry.

- Rewards of R200 would be paid for surrendering non-automatic weapons if no licence was granted.

Hani call for MK (274) to train blacks MR 9/27/82

JOHANNESBURG. — SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani has called on the African National Congress armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to teach blacks to defend themselves, claiming the government and its "allies" would counteract mass action with violence.

Speaking at a rally in Maritzburg, he described the SACP/ANC/Congress of South African Trade Unions withdrawal from Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) negotiations as his "happiest day" since 1990, saying the convention had been destroying the liberation movement.

Mr Hani called on the thousands of supporters present to occupy Maritzburg streets "and make sure nothing moves" during next week's strike.

He said protesters would occupy retail and wholesale outlets to highlight hunger and poverty.

In East London at the weekend, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was "sentenced" to life imprisonment in a mock trial held by about 800 ANC members as part of the tripartite alliance's occupation of the city centre.

The proceedings took place before a large police contingent and a crowd much smaller than the 50 000 expected.

Most stores in the central business district were closed during the "occupation".

Police said 460 ANC supporters, arrested for staging a sit-in at Johannesburg's main post office on Saturday, were released yesterday with a warning to appear in court in two weeks' time. — Sapa.

122 police have died violently

274
CT 27/7/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 122 policemen have died violently so far this year, police spokesman Captain Burger van Rooyen said at the weekend.

He said 49 of those killed had died in the line of duty and 73 while off-duty.

"It's very difficult to protect them. Most are killed on their way to work, on their way home or at home," he said.

Captain Van Rooyen said efforts were being made to assist policemen to increase security at their private dwellings.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said his organisation was concerned at the growing number of killings and continued to express sympathy for the difficult position policemen found themselves in.

Responding to reports that an ANC supporter carried a "kill a cop a day" poster at a weekend rally in Durban, Mr Niehaus said the ANC dissociated itself from such statements and would not tolerate its members popularising them.

"I can absolutely confirm there is no ANC involvement in an organised effort to kill policemen," he said.

He said the ANC wanted policemen to "join the democratic forces".

Sapa reports that Archbishop Desmond Tutu condemned the growing number of attacks on policemen and called for the urgent resumption of negotiations to install a legitimately-elected government.

"In accordance with the church's condemnation of all violence, I want to condemn in the strongest of terms the ongoing spate of attacks against members of the SA Police," he said.

"We are distressed at all loss of life and I extend the Anglican Church's condolences to the families of policemen and others who have died and our sympathies to the injured."

Police have arrested two men after the death of another policeman near Maritzburg on Saturday.

The dead policeman was identified yesterday as Constable Michael Raphael Mathalane, stationed at Imbali.

His body was found by a police patrol on the main road between Maritzburg and Bulwer. He had been shot twice in the head.

A police spokesman said the two suspects would appear in court soon.

4 killed, 12 injured in unrest

PRETORIA. — Four people died — all in the PWV area — and 12 were injured in unrest incidents nationwide on Saturday, the police reported yesterday.

In Ratanda township, near Heidelberg, south-east of Johannesburg, two men were killed and two wounded when gunmen opened fire on them, and a man was mortally wounded when "police took action" against a group that threw petrol bombs at a private home.

Police found the bullet-riddled body of man in Vosloorus on the East Rand.

In Tigane township, near Klerksdorp, police said seven people were injured "during a clash between two opposing groups".

At Daveyton, near Benoni, two people were wounded when shots were fired at their vehicle.

A man was wounded in Tembisa, outside Kempton Park, when a police patrol returned fire after being shot at. — Sapa

ANC moderates eclipsed, but the dragon has turned into a pussycat argues R W

Johnson

Mass action into soap opera

STAR 27/7/92

FOR more than a month now South Africa has been bracing itself for attempted insurrection, as ANC spokesmen have grimly detailed the "mass action" to come. But now, as the crucial moment nears, it looks very much as if the ANC's revolutionary dragon has turned into a pussycat.

There is no doubt that the original turn towards mass action and away from continued negotiations with the Government represented a considerable victory for radicals within the ANC.

The ANC's negotiation team stood accused not only of having failed to bring home the goods from Codesa, but of having come within an ace of reaching an agreement which might have locked the movement into a power-sharing compromise for years to come.

While the ANC's two top leaders, Nelson Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa, loyally echoed the new line, moderates like Thabo Mbeki and Ramaphosa's deputy, Jacob Zuma, were suddenly eclipsed.

The key pronouncements on the insurrection to come issued from radicals such as Ronnie Kasrils, widely regarded as the most adventurous of the SACP leaders; from Peter Mokaba, the head of the ANC Youth League; and from the more radical elements within the Cosatu leadership, notably its general secretary, Jay Naidoo.

The organisers of mass action, claiming to draw their inspiration from the "people's power" revolutions in eastern Europe, drew up a four-stage plan: mobilisation, starting with a one-day strike on June 16; a national offensive stage, to run for the whole of July; a general strike to start on August 3; and finally "exit-gate", when the marches, strikes and factory occupations, combined with the sabotage of telecommunications, the occupation of public buildings, and the jamming up of city centres would enable the ANC to "do a Leipzig", sweeping the Government from power.

Some saw the mass action campaign climaxing with the occupation of the seat of government, the

Union Buildings in Pretoria, and the "symbolic" installation of Mandela as president, but other voices from the SACP saw mass action as a way of life, a sort of demonstrator's version of Trotsky's "permanent revolution" in which marches, strikes and sit-ins went on forever.

Even without these surrealistic garnishes, the mass action programme was, from the start, pure fantasy. Attendance at the normal June 16 (Soweto Day) rallies and marches had been relatively sparse and even with the stimulus of the post-Boipatong protest, few believed that there was much popular appetite for marches and strikes.

South Africa is in the grip of its third consecutive year of negative growth. The gold price is low, the housing market woe-begone, agriculture decimated by drought and manufacturing, in which everyone assumes the country's future lies, has fallen back badly. Bankruptcies and job-losses proliferate and workers are frequently accepting sub-inflation increases in order to

preserve their jobs.

When a general strike of two or three weeks' duration was announced, many simply shook their heads at the impossibility of the thing. Quite clearly, the only way to organise such an event would be by massive intimidation in the townships — which would be bound to trigger large-scale violence, with the ANC/Cosatu on the wrong and losing side.

The planned occupations of factories and buildings had a similarly fantastical air for, by announcing such targets in advance, the ANC was merely guaranteeing such attempts would be foiled.

But the radicals were in the driving seat, much to the anxiety of ANC moderates.

Belatedly realising that the whole campaign might be a disastrous flop, even the SACP leader, Chris Hani, began to back off: mass action, he announced, was "the strategy of the weak and powerless" and insurrection was "not an option".

A similar attack of cold feet began to grip Cosatu, with many

unions grumbling at Jay Naidoo's headstrong leadership.

Suddenly the planned general strike was downsized from two or three weeks to one. The unions then met the employers' organisation and, to the latter's visible surprise, almost immediately announced that they were close to agreement on limiting the strike to a single day.

Meanwhile, at the UN, the ANC received an extremely firm push back towards the negotiating table and accordingly, from Paris, Nelson Mandela simply announced that the general strike would last one day, adding that this was "a victory".

This left the ANC attempting to repeat on a larger scale the recent fiasco over the on-off sports boycott, where it had to beat a hasty retreat under the cover of solemn phrase-making and ritual about peace and democracy.

Cosatu, in effect, tried to decree August 3 as an extra public holiday (with wages paid and a voluntary employer shutdown) with business and the churches brought

in to consecrate the event, with declarations in favour of peace, democracy, motherhood and apple pie. (In true Orwellian style, the workless day was to be entitled the Day of Peace, Democracy and Economic Reconstruction.)

This has now foundered, so toys are being hurled around the cot and we are currently back to a two-day strike. Much of the conviction has, however, gone from the mass action campaign and other mass action plans have taken on a deliberately theatrical air, with the holding of mock-trials of Mr de Klerk, Chief Buthe-lesi and so on.

If the "exit-gate" plan survives at all it will doubtless be only in this radical soap opera form now.

The country's relief as it draws back from the brink will be too deep for many to want to laugh out loud at this denouement, but South Africans like a good joke and as the ANC heads back towards the conference table, there will doubtless be the sound of muffled chuckles from many a braaivleis. □

Mass action set to gather force - ANC

Staff Reporters and Sapa

After poor turnouts at most "peace and democracy" marches at the weekend, the ANC yesterday rejected suggestions that its rolling mass action campaign was faltering.

One of the Saturday marches, to Pretoria's Union Buildings, was aborted because of a dispute between the ANC and police over the route to be followed, and marches in Durban and Johannesburg could attract no more than 2 000 people each.

In Cape Town, about 5 000 people took part in a "human chain" which circled the city's central business district, and in Port Elizabeth police estimated that between 12 000 to 15 000 people took part in a march.

Fighting between ANC demonstrators and about 200 armed Inkatha supporters in Durban was narrowly averted when police formed a barrier between the groups.

The ANC had planned to hold mock trials of leaders including President de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but had to "suspend" them to prevent possi-

ble confrontation.

In an interview with The Star yesterday, ANC national executive committee member Mac Maharaj said Saturday was a "bad day for mass action" in general.

"It's going to build up. That's the idea behind rolling mass action," Mr Maharaj said. "Saturday was not supposed to be the height of it. We are not concerned that it is going to falter."

ANC sources however conceded that the prolonging of the Congress of SA Trade Unions-SA Consultative Conference on Labour Affairs talks on draft agreements to avert a general strike delayed their planning of mass action.

The National Council of Trade Unions had decided not to take part in the campaign, a Nactu spokesman said yesterday.

Police yesterday said 460 ANC supporters arrested for staging a sit-in at Johannesburg's central Jeppe Street post office were being released with a warning to appear in court in two weeks.

In another protest action on Saturday, Tembisa residents staged a march on the

● To Page 3

Mass action will pick up, warns ANC

● From Page 1

local hospital.

Police in the Free State arrested 16 ANC supporters who marched on the Villiers police station demanding the release of fellow activists.

The ANC's Sam Mokoena alleged that police had opened fire on demonstrators, wounding several people, but police said there had been no shooting.

● The Department of Foreign Affairs declined yesterday to become embroiled in a public row over the SA embassy in Transkei which was besieged by ANC supporters last week and which was said to be readying itself for another "attack".

A spokesman for Foreign Minister Pik Botha said Mr Botha and Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa were in contact over the issue, as well as over the recent detention of three South Africans.

Hundreds of protesters stormed the embassy grounds on Tuesday after a three-hour delay before a petition they had with them was accepted.

122 policemen killed in violence this year

AT least 122 policemen had died violently this year, police spokesman Capt Burger van Rooyen said at the weekend.

He said 73 of those killed had died while off-duty, the rest died in the line of duty.

Van Rooyen said efforts were being made to help policemen to increase security at their homes.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation was concerned about the growing number of killings and continued to express sympathy for the difficult position policemen found themselves in.

Responding to reports an ANC supporter carried a "Kill a Cop a Day" poster at a weekend rally in Durban, Niehaus said the ANC dissociated itself from such state-

RAY HARTLEY

ments and would not tolerate its members popularising them.

"I can absolutely confirm there is no ANC involvement in an organised effort to kill policemen," he said.

He said the ANC wanted policemen to "join the democratic forces".

Sapa reports Archbishop Desmond Tutu condemned the growing number attacks on policemen.

"We are distressed at all loss of life and I extend the Anglican Church's condolences to the families of policemen and others who have died and our sympathies to the injured," said Tutu.

Colin Legum writes it has taken 16 years to heed Tutu's bloodshed warning

Violence major threat to Codesa

STAR 27/7/92

BECAUSE violence and its insidious companion, political intimidation, are the major threats to finding an agreed solution for South Africa's racist society, it is timely to recall what the Rev Desmond Tutu (as he was in 1976) wrote to the then Prime Minister, P W Botha:

"I am writing to you, Sir, because I have a growing nightmare. I have a growing nightmare that, unless something drastic is done very soon, then bloodshed and violence are going to happen in South Africa, almost inevitably. A people can take only so much, and no more. . . . A people made desperate by despair and injustice and oppression will use desperate means."

It took 16 years for his warning to be heeded by President F W de Klerk, and for the last two and a

half years promising progress has been made towards finding a peaceful settlement. But the cloud that has hung over the negotiations has been that of violence, with the Government, the ANC and Inkatha all blaming each other for it.

While it is clear that none of the parties has been entirely free from blame, the onus for dealing with the violence must rest with the security forces.

The Government has put the blame on the ANC for the current violence because of its decision to embark on a campaign of resistance to try and force a resolution of the deadlock in the talks at Codesa. This accusation overlooks the fact that the beginning of the campaign was peaceful, and that the violence was triggered by the

attacks for which Inkatha supporters are clearly responsible.

The question remains whether the Inkatha attackers were aided by elements in the security forces. It is this dispute over whether one or, more probably, several "Third Forces" involving elements in the security forces are engaged in attacks on the ANC. So long as the Government continues to deny the possibility, despite evidence to the contrary, there can be no hope of resolving this issue.

The answer is to reach agreement about an independent international team of observers with authority to monitor the sources of violence as they occur.

The Government has already taken a step in this direction by agreeing to have observers present from the United Nations, the

Commonwealth and the Organisation of African Unity at the Codesa talks. It has also not ruled out the possibility of international observers.

The ANC has argued in favour of observers being brought in to monitor the sources of violence. There would thus appear to be little difference between the two major parties in Codesa over observers.

All the parties engaged in Codesa know that there is no alternative to the process of negotiations since none of them has any fallback position and all have a shared interest in preventing the total collapse of law and order. It is this shared interest in making a success of the negotiations which, in the end, holds out promise for the future. □

Attempt to avert stayaway

Meeting of employers, Cosatu

SHARON SOROUR Labour Reporter

MAJOR employers in the Western Cape meet regional leaders of Cosatu today in a last-minute attempt to avert next week's mass stayaway or limit its effect on the economy.

This comes as employers begin to consider wide-ranging options to deal with employees who support the mass action campaign next week.

Employer representatives, including the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, the Cape Chamber of Industries and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, will attend the meeting, according to Chamber of Commerce human resources manager Mr Charl Adams.

Meanwhile, the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) has issued a five-page directive of guidelines to employers on how to handle the general strike, marches, demonstrations, workplace occupations and pickets.

Mr Adams said the document was a directive for members of both the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Industries and presented employers with several alternatives.

Sacob suggested employers respond to the general strike in the following ways: Implement a "no work, no pay" policy and consider disciplinary action based on previously discussed criteria, as outlined in the document.

"The attitude of business towards stayaways is hardening in the light of their frequency and the poor economic situation ... however, it is recognised that many companies may not wish to jeopardise the sound relation-

ship they have developed with either their workforce or trade unions."

Management had the right to impose a sanction on any of its employees who took part in the action as it was "essentially illegal and amounts to unlawful absenteeism".

However, if disciplinary action was taken, it was important that:

- Employees were warned in advance, clearly, preferably in writing, especially if it represented a change to the company's disciplinary policy, for example, where the precedent of "no discipline" had been set over the years.

- All disciplinary action taken should be consistent with the company's disciplinary code, if there was one.

Sacob said the appropriate forms of disciplinary action included either final written warnings or dismissals, depending on the details of each case.

Final written warnings might be implemented if employees were given clear advance warning that the action might be taken if they took part in the strike.

Dismissals might take place subject to advance notice and depending on past actions.

Sacob suggested management discuss the impending action with workers timeously, making it clear that participation in the general strike was illegal and a breach of the employment contract.

Written notice should be given well in advance to all employees clearly stating management's position, especially if a move away from previous approaches was contemplated.

Relocate hostel dwellers — cop

MOOI RIVER. — The only way to bring peace to Natal's troubled Bruntville township is to relocate Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers, a senior policeman told a Goldstone Commission committee sitting here yesterday.

"The only way to find peace is to take one group out of Bruntville — that being the hostel dwellers," said Major Rowan Hendrikz of the SA Police Criminal Investigation Service in Ladysmith.

Major Hendrikz said it was clear that both the ANC and Inkatha in Bruntville

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were intent on seizing total power in the township.

While both groups were intolerant, the ANC had been aggressors most of the time with IFP supporters mainly resorting to violence in retaliation, he said.

The committee adjourned about 12.30pm on request by police who said ANC supporters were disrupting a hearing at the local magistrate's courts. About 10 ANC supporters stood outside a courtroom bearing posters calling for the security forces to be removed from Bruntville.

Bruntville's ANC publicity secretary Mr Mpho Dlamini told reporters they were protesting against alleged police harassment of a local activist and were demanding issues that emanated from a Goldstone hearing in January be addressed immediately. In particular, Mr Mpho said, residents wanted a ban on carrying weapons in public.

Residents were disillusioned over the failure of authorities to act on Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's previous recommendations on Mooi River, he said. — Sapa

Black businessmen warned against 'a Lebanon option'

BUSINESS and the rest of civil society were risking civil war if they continued taking political sides, Consultative Business Movement (CBM) executive director Theuns Eloff said at Sun City yesterday.

Addressing Nafcoc's 28th annual conference, Eloff said: "The lesson learnt from other violence-ridden parts of the world is that if not only the political parties in a society but indeed the whole society is polarised, it creates the dangerous possibility of what can be called Lebanonisation of the society."

"But what is happening at the moment is that political parties are totally polarised and are indeed villifying one another."

"On a different axis, organs of civil society, such as the church, business and labour, traditionally have backed either the ANC or the government in such situations," he said.

If that happened again and without distinction, and given the levels of violence at present, the possibility of civil war was not hypothetical, said Eloff.

He said civil society therefore had the

responsibility of playing a stabilising role by focusing on what was right for the country and not who was right.

This was the foundation for the Saccala-Cosatu initiative around the planned mass action which had recently failed.

Eloff said even though the initiative had failed, business and labour had come up with an important charter.

He urged churches and other non-political bodies to take up this charter for peace, democracy and economic reconstruction.

□ Preferential trade area for eastern and southern African states (PTA) secretary general Dingo wa Mutharka yesterday officially invited Nafcoc to send representatives to next year's PTA summit in Lusaka.

□ Meanwhile Sapa reports that the International Finance Corporation yesterday told Nafcoc it had pledged R450m in investments and loan finances to help develop mainly black small and medium businesses over the next three to four years.

THEO RAWANA

ing enrolled at Tembisa Hospital.

protest at Medunsa University in "CHILLI STREET" march would be held in sympathy future.

Gluckman made his allegations.

Picture CATHERINE ROSS

Blacks hate the police, says PAC

THE PAC blamed the growing number of police deaths on a general climate of hatred and mistrust of the security forces, PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said yesterday.

"The black population has a very poor impression of the SAP. You cannot isolate 1 700 blacks killed since the signing of the peace accord from the killing of policemen," he said.

He said he condemned all killings, but while they did not have the ballot, the bullet could not be abandoned.

Desai said he could not speak for the PAC's military wing Apla. People claiming to be members of Apla recently claimed responsibility for the campaign to kill policemen.

But Desai said he could not understand why the PAC had been accused of being behind the so-called "Kill-a-Cop-a-Day" campaign.

He said ANC supporters had been seen carrying placards with the slogan, but the ANC had not been blamed for the campaign.

Desai said recent revelations of police complicity in the death of prisoners were evidence of how the police raised the anger of blacks.

RAY HARTLEY

"Against that background, how must the people feel when they think about this?" he asked.

Sapa reports that police commissioner Gen Johann van der Merwe said individuals or organisations threatening or harming policemen would be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. 8/10/84 28/7/92

Reacting to a claim purportedly made by "the national commander of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army in SA", one Karl Zimbiri, Van der Merwe said the SAP had no evidence Apla had been responsible for the killings. "But an intensive investigation into the murder of each and every policeman is taking place."

"I want to warn those individuals and organisations concerned to refrain from making such threats (against policemen). Members of the SAP will defend themselves, and those who encourage or attempt to carry out such attacks will have to bear the consequences of their actions," Van der Merwe said.

18 people die in weekend unrest

RAY HARTLEY

POLICE reported yesterday that 18 people died in unrest in Natal and the Transvaal at the weekend.

Five people were killed near Heidelberg in the southeastern Transvaal, while another five died in the Vaal Triangle. 8/10/84

Eight people were killed and three were injured after violence broke out between residents and taxi operators at Folweni near Umbumbulu on the Natal South Coast on Sunday.

The bodies of two men who had been stabbed and shot were found in the East Rand squatter camp of Zonkeziwe on Sunday. 28/7/92

The body of a 21-year-old man who had been shot was found in an outside room of his parents' house in Sharpeville yesterday morning, police said.

In Sebokeng the body of a municipal police constable who had been shot was found on Saturday, while in Orange Farm a man was shot dead.

Two men were killed — one shot and the other burnt — in Boipatong on Saturday night.

Cholera threat to Vaal Triangle

ADRIAN HADLAND

AN OUTBREAK of cholera was imminent in the Vaal Triangle following the vandalism of municipal water mains and sewers, Vaal Triangle Negotiating Forum secretary Nigel Mandy said yesterday.

An urgent meeting of the forum this week will discuss the services crisis in the region together with possible measures to prevent vandalism to municipal installations. 8/10/84 28/7/92

The forum's activities were suspended recently following the withdrawal of the Vaal Civic Association but the calling of an urgent meeting had been authorised, Mandy said.

Mandy said about R8m, "which the councils do not have", was required to repair damaged water mains, sewers and roads.

He said all services in Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Bophelong and Boipatong would continue to deteriorate and break down, while money to pay municipal workers was running out.

Electricity supplies in virtually every township in the region were likely to be disconnected following the continuing non-payment of services levies, Mandy said.

Levy payments for June in the Vaal Triangle had dropped to below 20%.

Sapa reports the Vaal Civic Association agreed to attend the forum meeting tomorrow.

But the civic body was prepared to discuss only a resumption of sanitation services and repairs to mains, said association general secretary Tailtha Jona.

The ANC-linked civic group, through its contacts in Vaal townships, was prepared to ensure the safety of workers brought in to make repairs and to resume the services. "But the same does not apply to the collection of refuse, which has not been done since 1984," said Jona.

Meanwhile, DP spokesman Douglas Gibson yesterday blamed the ANC's mass action for the breakdown of the townships' essential health services.

He said the ANC leadership should ask itself which was more important — their political agenda or the health and perhaps the lives of ordinary people.

"The ANC will have to learn the responsibilities of power — power can be abused and political mass action, which harms the people instead of helping them, is surely an abuse of power."

Peace Committee to convene

Monitoring of police and self-protection units will be among the subjects discussed by the National Peace Committee when it meets in Pretoria tomorrow and Thursday. (270)

In a statement yesterday, the committee said its regional chairmen would meet to find a way forward for the Peace Accord structure. They would meet United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance tomorrow and would be addressed by National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and National Peace Committee chairman John Hall. Sapa.

Plans for effective violence watchdog

Political Correspondent

EFFORTS are underway to establish an independent national group to monitor the violence in South Africa.

This follows a meeting of 90 representatives of monitoring agencies, church and political groups, dispute resolution committees and the National Peace Secretariat last week to discuss ways to improve monitoring.

Reports on more effective monitoring programmes were being compiled to establish the national monitoring group, Idasa said.

The new watchdog would "mobilise the resources of each of the existing agencies and maintain close contact with the National Peace Accord, supporting the peace process at present under way", Idasa said.

Idasa was charged with compiling the report on the forum and convening a group to set up the national monitoring programme.

focus on Violence

Sowetan 28/7/92

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WOULDn'T IT be nice one day to read in this newspaper of a political figure saying "no comment" when invited to respond to invectives aimed at him or his group?

It would be more than a magnificent gesture of restraint. It would constitute a display of courage and statesmanship desperately needed at this time of ever-intensifying political hostility, which inevitably translates into a numbing series of daily body counts.

A pioneering step, it would hold out the tantalising promise of lowering temperatures in South Africa.

Journalists would be bound to report the response because of its unusual nature and editors may use it prominently in the realisation that it could be the start of a trend of dignity and understanding among the country's politicians.

It may mean an end to the unceasing verbal violence in South Africa which must stop before there is any hope of halting the physical kind tearing at the country.

Derogatory remarks

Reporters would be obligated to report the "no comment" in full, including any explanations of why the speaker did not want to stoop to an opponent's accusations, derogatory remarks or vicious personal slanging.

It would, hopefully, read: "...refused to comment today beyond saying the allegations were untrue, on the grounds that anything he would have to add might generate further tensions."

This would be a "no comment" like no other, a constructive one - wholly different from the all too familiar genre which obstructs, slams the door on public scrutiny and causes journalists to groan in their pursuit of fair inquiry.

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen is right in identifying South Africa's first step to peace as an end to the verbal violence.

"All sides bear some responsibility for the current situation and all sides must be willing to make concessions," he told a House of Representatives hearing on Capitol Hill last week.

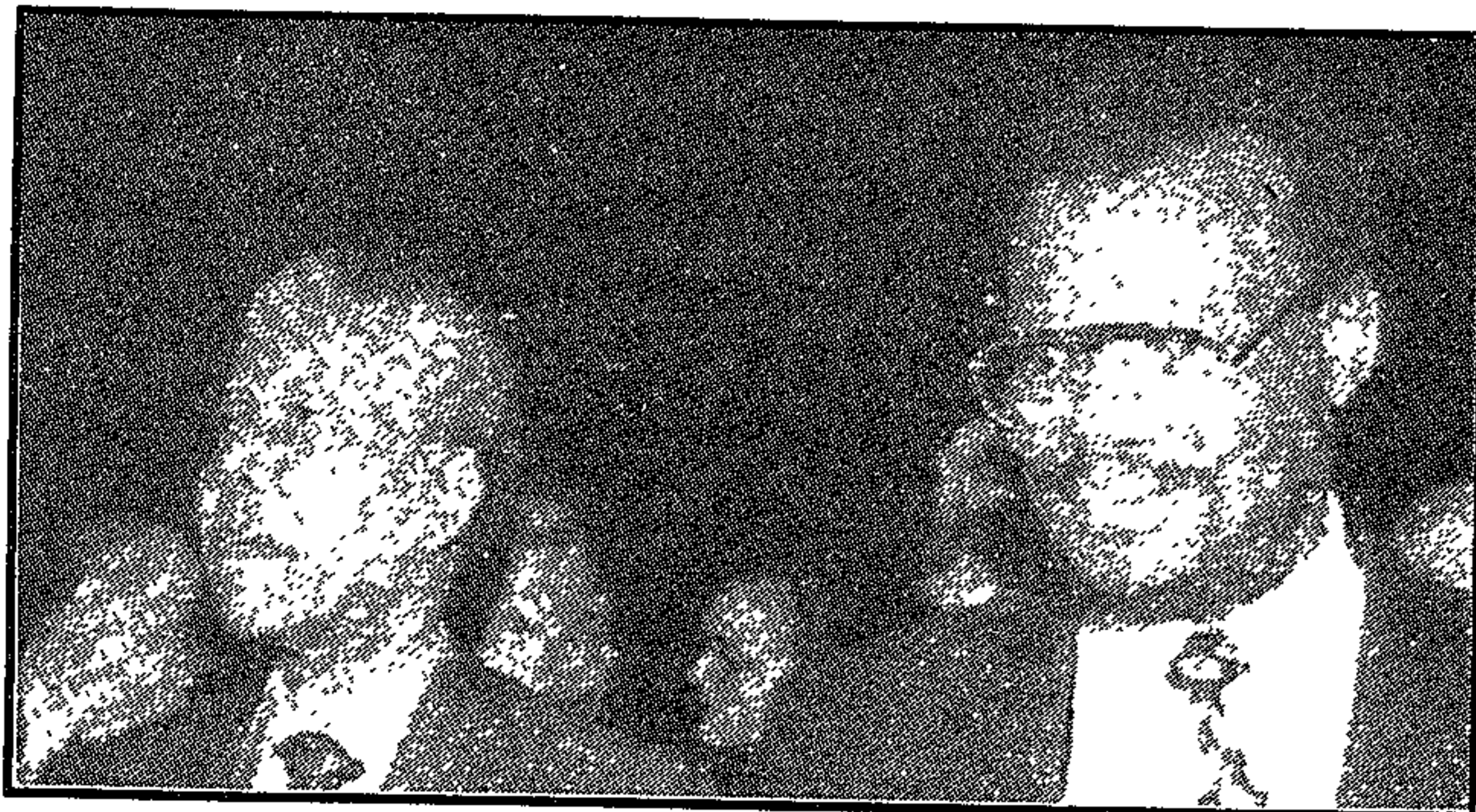
Name-calling

"Inflammatory rhetoric from all sides is only fuelling the violence. A moratorium on finger-pointing and name-calling would be a first step towards achieving the necessary climate."

It is not a case of a bright foreigner stumbling on a truth in Washington DC, 8 000km away. South African leaders identified it too, more than a year ago, inserting it into a code of conduct for political groups in the National Peace Accord.

Cohen was merely articulating, amid unrelenting waves of rhetoric and accusations between political actors, what they sought on

Politicians are disproving the "sticks and stones" adage through inflammatory remarks, which usually means more deaths in the townships. **Alan Dunn** examines the need for a pioneer to boldly lead the way from the lethal sniping.



Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe. . . verbal fight at the UN

pages seven and eight of the Accord sealed on September 14 last year.

Pledging to refrain from incitement to violence or hatred, the signatories undertook to withhold offending language and wilfully false allegations against other parties or personalities.

Word war

All have spoken often too of the need for an armistice in the word war. But that professed piety and code of conduct has amounted to less even than the entire, rickety accord, for which some signatories seem to have scant regard.

The most recent verbal fire fight was between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthe at the Security Council debate on South Africa in New York. But all have been guilty of it, not least the Government.

Direct vilification of State President FW de Klerk, particularly by Mandela himself in recent months, seems to be part of a greater ANC effort to demigrate the man in the knowledge that it is only his personal popularity which makes the National Party a political threat.

"Blood on hands" indictments and other chilling accusations form a picture of a systematic campaign by the ANC and its allies to erode De Klerk's following which generates much of the NP's electoral support. The more the NP promotes the De Klerk image, the more opponents try to destroy it.

That is politics. But it is a game with awful, lethal consequences in South Africa because of the volatility associated with transition.

Which begs the question of whether normal political rules such as we see at Westminster or on Capitol Hill can apply in a society as abnormally violent as ours.

South African politicians are failing to understand that their vitriol is misunderstood by a predominantly unsophisticated audience, that they may in this highly volatile political climate have to filter their utterances of all the sting expected of political opponents.

Leaders spitting insults and accusations at each other become supporters hacking and shooting each other. Verbal violence sets a tone encouraging the very opposite of the "climate of democratic tolerance" politicians solemnly and very publicly subscribed to on September 14.

De Klerk has striven for the high ground on this issue. His stance at Codesa 1 on the evening of December 20, in an impromptu reply to a breathtaking attack by Mandela on him, remains intact: "I prefer to play the ball and not the man."

Policies are fair game, his maxim goes, but people are not. While he sticks to it, NP attack dogs sometimes slip the leash and break it, lashing at their most vociferous opponents.

The first "no comment", or preferably a pattern of them, may break the cycle of verbal violence or at least give angry voices pause to contemplate the consequences of their words.

UN observer team not enough, says SACP

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR
28/7/92

An international force with investigative powers and access to security force documentation should be sent to monitor the violence in South Africa, the SACP has told UN special

envoy Cyrus Vance. (274)

An SACP delegation has told Mr Vance that an observer team was not enough because it could, at best, only note statistical patterns of violence.

Effective international monitoring of the security forces was the most realistic way of

establishing the truth about their alleged involvement in violence.

The SACP also proposed that the international team should monitor "political players".

The SACP said there was circumstantial evidence pointing to strategically planned vio-

lence by the security forces.

Today Mr Vance is scheduled to meet Cosatu and the CP.

CP chief secretary Dr J A L Theron yesterday said a delegation headed by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and foreign affairs spokesman Tom Langley would meet Mr Vance

'Buses stopped by intimidation'

27/11/71
Staff Reporter

SOME long-distance bus services had been terminated after taxi operators intimidated and assaulted passengers to get the public to use minibus taxis instead, a Goldstone Commission committee heard yesterday.

This was the evidence of the deputy director-general of the Department of Transport (DOT), Mr Pieter Geringer, during examination by Mr J le Roux for the DOT. The committee is investigating the taxi conflict in the Western Cape.

Mr Le Roux asked Mr Geringer what taxi operators hoped to achieve by assaulting passengers in buses travelling to South Africa from Botswana, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Ciskei and Transkei.

He replied: "To get people to use taxis instead of buses." The intimidation had led to certain bus services being terminated.

Mr Geringer also said there was no law enforcement by the inspectors of the DOT in black townships in the Western Cape at this stage.

● It was pointed out to the Cape Times by the chairman, Mr Neil Rossouw, that an earlier report, stating that the police had advised the DOT to stop law enforcement following threats to inspectors, should also have stated that there was still law enforcement in townships but by the police.

rief

Firearm deaths ²⁷⁴

A TOTAL of 2 313 people were killed by firearms between January and the end of May this year, police headquarters in Pretoria announced yesterday.

Police said recent statistics showed nearly two-thirds of the unrest-related deaths and injuries had been caused by firearms. *Sowetan 29/7/92*.

Since January 19 512 illegal firearms were confiscated by the police and 8 633 of them were AK 47 rifles, police said. Last year 3 803 murders, 6 449 robberies and 466 rapes were committed with illegal firearms. - *Sapa*.

Police respond to criticism by Goldstone

MOOI RIVER — The police yesterday stressed they had done all they could to implement the Goldstone commission's recommendations aimed at ending violence, although they had misinterpreted one and had difficulties with others.

Ladysmith district police commissioner Col Geoffrey Barbour and Mooi River police station commander Capt Jonathan Dewing were giving evidence before a Goldstone commission committee investigating the failure of peace efforts in Bruntville.

Goldstone's recommendations included stricter action on the carrying of dangerous weapons, the appointment of a senior police officer to oversee unrest policing in Bruntville, improved ways of gathering information on crimes and violence, the ending of searches without warrants and the use of police vehicles with false numberplates, and the implementation of peace structures.

The police counsel conceded that the recommendation on dispatching a police officer to Mooi River police station to oversee unrest policing had been "misinterpreted".

Dewing had taken over this role, while remaining the station commander.

The issue of dangerous weapons in public had also posed problems as police had arrested people carrying spears soon after January's commission, but the attorney-general had failed to prosecute.

The practice of using false numberplates had ceased, as had searches without warrants.

This was contested by the ANC's legal representative John Jeffrey, who named three houses and dates on which they had been searched without the necessary documentation.

Dewing said police had attempted to assist in peace structures but these had failed dismally.

Responding to questions from Jeffrey, Barbour said police regarded the ANC as the aggressors.

He added the perception that police favoured and collaborated with Inkatha hostel dwellers was incorrect.

Jeffrey questioned Barbour on what his view was of ANC supporters' reaction to the recent dropping of charges against about 170 hostel dwellers implicated in a massacre in Bruntville last December.

Barbour conceded they must have felt "negative" towards police, but added that evidence on this issue would be led later. — Sapa.

Wednesday July 29 1992 SOWETAN

NEWS Why aid is not getting through

Millions in aid funds lying idle

Sowetan 29/7/92 (274) (288)

By Mathatha Tsedu

VICTIMS of violence cannot make use of the R10 billion donated for their assistance because local authority structures in many communities have collapsed.

This was revealed by Mr John Hall, chairman of the National Peace Committee (NPC), in an interview with *Sowetan* on Monday.

"Billions of rands are available to meet the needs of communities whose homes have been ravaged by violence," Hall said.

"The delivery of the money is blocked

■ Victims of violence cannot be helped:

by a lack of management structures in townships which are capable of receiving money and administering it.

"The biggest crime is that there is money to be injected into the townships but this cannot be done because of political cynicism. Unless they get political credit, they obstruct.

"You can imagine the amount of jobs and relief for the displaced people if this money could be unlocked and utilised," the NPC chairman said.

Rivalry blamed for violence

PRETORIA. — The most obvious steps to alleviate violence in the taxi industry in the Midrand area between Johannesburg and Pretoria would be to recognize Ivory Park as a township and to upgrade the police presence there.

These were the main recommendations of the second interim report of the Goldstone committee investigating taxi violence in the area.

The committee, chaired by Mr DJ Rossouw, said there were suggestions that the dispute had

not died down and that further violence may be experienced if the root causes were not addressed with alacrity.

The roots of the discord were to be found in the commercial competition between taxi associations — Sapa

(274) (274) CT 29/7/99

Killings on trains seen as 'spillover'

274 CT 29/7/92

PRETORIA. — A committee of the Goldstone Commission has found that it cannot be determined who is to blame for the violence on trains on the Reef, with the killings being seen as a spillover of the unrest in black townships.

The committee, which released its findings here yesterday, was appointed to investigate the train violence that claimed 138 lives between July last year and April this year.

The committee said, however, that secondary causes had been identified.

These included poor entrance control at stations, packed trains and the carrying of weapons in public.

The committee said there was a decided lack of control over entrance to stations.

Overloaded trains during peak periods also made it impossible to maintain law and order, while the absence of interleading doors between carriages made it impossible for passengers to flee from attackers, causing them to leap from doorways and out of windows.

Moreover, poor control at exit points made it possible for assailants to escape easily, the committee found.

The committee said although witnesses frequently blamed hostel dwellers for the violence, other unidentified groups had also been involved.

The victims were also of different ethnic groups.

The committee, chaired by Mr G Steyn, said whenever a group of attackers was identified they turned out to be hostel dwellers, but added that there had also been other, unidentified assailants.

The report said: "Hostels have for some time been a cause of concern in the violence situation."

"It is the view of the committee that this aspect has to date not enjoyed the attention it deserves."

The committee was particularly perturbed about the apparent lack of control over the hostels and also the lack of clarity as to who exercised authority over them. — Sapa

Call for calm Mandela hits at hardliners

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday delivered a blunt put-down to hardliners in the the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance, saying the ANC was keen to resume negotiations when the government met its demands.

Stayaway 'confusion'

Business Editor

EMPLOYERS in the Western Cape are adopting a "wait and see" attitude about next week's planned two-day stayaway.

Mr Colin McCarthy, executive director of the Cape Chamber of Industries (CCI), said the situation was confused.

He explained that the executive of Cosatu in the Western Cape had assured business leaders at a meeting yesterday that it was not intended to stay away or disrupt work for the whole week.

"They said workers would come in and work for a time, but would leave during the general strike and demonstrations and then come back to work again."

plined.

"There is no question of the object of mass action being an insurrection. Statements may have been made by individuals, but they do not represent the official policy of the ANC or the tripartite alliance."

He said mass action was intended to secure an interim government and free and fair elections to a constituent assembly.

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange rose yesterday on indications that the planned general strike next week may not bring industry to a standstill in the wake of the Bopetong massacre and the

Cosatu had agreed to tell shop stewards that they should discuss any intended action with employers beforehand.

Mr McCarthy said any employers contemplating disciplinary action should first make sure that any employees who failed to come to work on Monday or Tuesday were in fact participating in the stayaway.

He said unions affiliated to Nactu had told employers that factories should not be closed because their members intended to go to work as usual.

Meanwhile, a meeting between the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce and Cosatu went off smoothly yesterday.

suspension of talks, the ANC planned a campaign of mass action labelled "Exit Gate" to force the resignation of President F W de Klerk and bring down the government.

The campaign was to include the occupation of government buildings and a two-week stay-away.

But Mr Mandela's comments yesterday are likely to be interpreted as being directed at high-ranking ANC-Cosatu-SACP officials — among them his estranged wife Winnie — who perceive mass action as

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PROMISE . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela says the two-day general strike on August 3 and 4 will go ahead — but will be peaceful and disciplined.

Mandela speaks

a means of forcing the government from power.

He has also sent a message to the government that the ANC is committed to negotiations but will use mass action to bolster its voteless members' demands.

While the ANC is not ready to return to negotiations until its demands are met, Mr Mandela's comment on mass action indicates it is a question of time before negotiations resume.

In further developments yesterday: ● The Confederation of Employers of Southern Africa, which represents employers with a total workforce of more than 2,3 million people, proposed tough measures including instant dismissal for workers who take part in the mass action.

In another tough-line attitude towards employees yesterday the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates adopted a "no work no pay" policy for teachers who failed to report for duty on Monday and Tuesday.

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● The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut advised its members to act "firmly and consistently" during the mass action, but said management's policy should be marked with "tolerance and maximum emphasis on the avoidance of unnecessary conflict".

● Inkatha appealed to people to exercise their democratic right to go to work next week and to resist intimidation from anyone enforcing the national strike.

● The planned countrywide marches today by Cosatu's Construction and Allied Workers' Union has been called off following an agreement with the Master Builders' Association.

In their turn, employers have agreed that they will not pursue their demand for a reduction in the prescribed wages in the industrial council covering the building industry.

● Cosatu has invited United Nations envoy Mr Cyrus Vance to monitor the national strike and protest meetings next week.

Holomisa: Commission 'waste of time'

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

TRANSKEI military leader General Bantu Holomisa has dismissed the Goldstone Commission as a "waste of time" and an exercise that had not

earned respect.

His rejection of Mr Justice Goldstone's investigations into political violence and related matters came during an ANC press conference yesterday during the general's one-day

visit to Cape Town.

When General Holomisa was asked for his opinion of Mr Justice Goldstone's recommendations on the handling of mass action, he replied: "I have not read the report. I do not waste time with him."

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Concern over strike ~~274~~ (274)

THE Democratic Party's Natal inland regional executive has expressed concern about the effects of the ANC-led mass action campaign and questioned the wisdom of the timing in the light of the current economic situation. *Sowetan 30/7/92*

The DP recognised the democratic right of people to protest, "but in exercising this right, other people's democratic rights to work and move unhindered should also be recognised and upheld," it said yesterday. - *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.*

Business must end violence

■ Motsuenyane urges business to act to bring about political change:

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Sowetan 30/7/92

By Joshua Raboroko

THE failure of the South African Government to deal with violence constituted a major obstacle to resolving the country's political crisis.

Outgoing National Federated Chamber of Commerce president Mr Sam Motsuenyane said violence had continued to escalate despite the adoption of the National Peace Accord by a large

majority of South African parties.

He said the broad acceptance of the Goldstone Commission and the formation of the Patriotic Front in the past year was a way in which the political impasse could be resolved.

Motsuenyane was addressing the 28th annual conference of Nafcoc at Sun City on Tuesday attended by more than 1 000 delegates.

The conference was attended by delegates from the international commu-

nity, including the United States, Britain and African states such as Tanzania, Kenya, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Motsuenyane said it appeared prudent that South Africans would be allowed to control international and local business.

"It is for the South Africans themselves to end the violence without foreign intervention."

Vance likely to suggest modest UN mission

(274) TIM COHEN (288)

PRETORIA — UN envoy Cyrus Vance is expected to tell President F W de Klerk at a meeting today that he will propose a modest observer mission to bolster existing peace structures.

Vance and his team are likely to inform De Klerk, and possibly senior ministers, of the nature and thrust of talks they have had with a variety of groups since their arrival last week.

Vance has given no public indications of what he intends reporting to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, preferring to use the trip to collect information rather than to suggest options.

He met ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday and senior diplomatic representatives on Monday to hear their views on possible roles the UN might play.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday the discussions were underpinned by the vital importance of the UN playing a non-partisan role. **BIDAM 30/7/92**

Vance is also constrained by the parameters of his UN Security Council mandate, and by his desire not to do anything which does not have the support of all parties.

One of the most popular ideas being mooted is the suggestion that a team of UN observers attend local dispute resolution committees to boost their importance.

It is believed this will bolster structures which are rooted in the negotiations process and avoid the establishment of competing structures.

The creation by the UN of structures that would, in effect, compete with existing peace structures might weaken the peace process and could result in an open-ended commitment to a presence in SA — something the UN wants to avoid.

Another suggestion is the establishment of "flashpoint groups", consisting of one representative each from the ANC, Inkatha, government and the UN, to observe trouble spots and report to either the national peace committee or the Goldstone commission.

However such action involves the danger that UN representatives might become embroiled in political disputes which could

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Vance **BIDAM 30/7/92** (274) (288) (289) □ From Page 1

result from incidents of violence.

It has also been suggested that the UN set up a "letterbox" system, where victims of violence lodge complaints if they do not achieve satisfaction elsewhere, although this might engender conflict because of the establishment of a competing structure.

The size of the observer group remains unclear, although it is likely to be far smaller than the 3 000-strong body ANC-aligned groups have been mooted. The figure of about 30 has been suggested.

Vance is likely to submit his report next week, when there will also be behind-the-scenes consultations with other parties, including the OAU and the EC, which is due to send its own delegation to SA in early September.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that Vance yesterday held only one meeting — with Mandela — before going on a low-key tour of Boipatong. He rescheduled all other appointments, including a Sacob lunch, for today.

Apparently Vance wanted to spend the rest of the day reviewing the discussions he had in more than 18 meetings with a variety of political, diplomatic and social groups.

In a statement Sacob said its delegation of top executives led by deputy president Spencer Sterling would give Vance an economic and business perspective on developments in the country.

Vance would probably also meet SA Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman, a Boerestaart Party delegation and newspaper editors in the next two days.

Reuter reports that in Boipatong Vance said he had had the chance to see some of the houses of people who were hurt and killed in their homes. Asked for his reaction, he said "It's tragic."

Vance was accompanied by Judge Richard Goldstone and ANC regional leader Tokyo Sexwale.

NEWS Alfred Nzo accuses big business of pursuing a short-sighted policy

SOWETAN Thursday July 30 1992
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Nafcoco conference honours Mandela

■ BLACK EMPOWERMENT ANC's Nzo accepts award on behalf of Mandela and praises Nafcoco for its commitment.

By Joshua Raboroko

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THE NATIONAL African Federated Chamber of Commerce's 28th conference, held at Sun City, yesterday gave a merit award to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

ANC executive member Mr Alfred Nzo received it on behalf of Mandela who could not make it to the conference.

In receiving the award, Nzo said

their organisation was pleased to be associated with Nafcoco in its attempts to empower black businesses.

However, they were also concerned about the violence that is gripping South Africa. This violence must have affected black business.

Nzo said the deadlock at Codesa was because of the Government of State President FW de Klerk's inability to stop the violence.

The ANC could not allow the present Government to exist. The Government would have to provide houses, decent wages and equality for everybody.

He said Nafcoco was part of the Patriotic Front which had fired the shots that saw the Codesa process in motion. "We have no doubt that Nafcoco will not relent until the declaration of intent which the Codesa participants committed themselves to," said Nzo.

However, it was regrettable that the business organisation, Saccola, after lengthy discussions with trade union federation Cosatu, could not come to a suitable conclusion.

"The shortsighted policy pursued by Saccola has meant that they have placed profits ahead of the interests of our people. They should have learnt by now that they cannot hope to triumph in an atmosphere of violence and chaos which is the most treasured bedfellow of the apartheid system.

"The mass activity by the people throughout South Africa will go ahead regardless of the decision by Saccola. We shall not allow our march to democracy and peace to be delayed."

est information ■ Bid to upgrade train security

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Vance delays talks with businessmen

United nations envoy Mr Cyrus Vance yesterday cancelled all meetings for the day to have time to consider what he has already heard from local leaders about violence-wracked South Africa.

A lunch with the SA Chamber of Business was cancelled by Vance and rescheduled for Friday, and a 3.30pm meeting with the SA Institute of Race Relations was also cancelled.

SAIRR director Mr John Kane-Berman said no reasons were given but he hoped the institute would still be able to meet the UN envoy before his departure tomorrow.

A Boerestaat Party delegation was scheduled to meet Vance yesterday morning. BSP leader Mr Robert van Tonder said the UN envoy had postponed their talks until today.

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr Kalu Kalumiyia, who is co-ordinating the meetings, was unavailable for comment but observers

Sowetan 30/7/92

■ **WORDY DIGEST** UN envoy Vance

cancels meetings to review previous

meetings and viewpoints:

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close to the visit said Vance was apparently going over what information he had already heard since his arrival.

Speculation that he might be visiting one of the townships - possibly Boipatong, scene of the June 17 massacre in which 49 people were killed - could not be confirmed.

Early yesterday, Vance met ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He has already met the ANC once since his arrival on July 2 but Mandela was overseas at the time.

Neither of the participants would comment on the nature of their hour-long discussion.

Vance has remained consistently

mum about the at least 18 meetings he has had with this country's political and social representatives.

He has already spoken to leaders from the Government, Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party, ANC, the National Peace Accord, TBVC states, the Patriotic Front, Azanian People's Organisation, Congress of SA Trade Unions, SA Communist Party, National People's Party, the Afrikaner Volkswag, Conservative Party and the Democratic Party.

In separate meetings, he has also spoken to State President FW de Klerk and European Community ambassadors to SA. -Sapa.

Amcham forum on peace

RAY HARTLEY

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NEWS Stalled peace workshop would have pressed for international monitoring of police

'Bitterly disappointing'

■ PEACE TALKS Move to revive

workshop plan which floundered with pull-out of Inkatha: 274

30/7/92

By Mathatha Tsedu
Investigations Editor

The stalled peace workshop planned for tomorrow would have been asked to press for an international monitoring mechanism for the police.

The workshop, which floundered when Inkatha Freedom Party pulled out and said its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, could not sit in the same room as ANC leader Nelson Mandela, has been postponed indefinitely.

A resolution which would have been put to the workshop states that security forces need to have their credibility restored and their activities integrated into community life. It also called for defence units to be monitored in terms of the provisions of the accord.

The workshop had been called by the National Peace Committee to try to get signatories to the accord to rededicate themselves to the floundering process.

A five-point programme drawn up by the peace secretariat and in the possession of *Sowetan* also included:

- The declaration of violence-ridden areas as "leadership areas of concern" where senior leaders of political organisations would commit themselves to working together in those communities to achieve peace.

- Hostels and shack areas and their attendant problems would be analysed and prioritised using independent and international task forces, and the development of joint programmes to rehouse

or upgrade hostels, and

- That funds be made available to create and make structures of the National Peace Accord functional and available.

The last point is directed at the Government which has until now not passed the R30 million budget submitted after the establishment of the secretariat late last year.

The collapse of the workshop was described by Peace Committee chairman, Mr John Hall, as a bitter disappointment. He said a meeting of the committee would be held on August 11 to revive the workshop idea.

Over 2 900 people have been killed in politically linked violence since the signing of the accord last September.

In a paper presented to United Nations special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance last week, Hall said the hostels and squatter camps in the PWV area were the "subterranean world of horror" in which his committee was to function and bring peace.

"The peace accord did not anticipate the deepening world recession, increasing unemployment and company failures, latterly exacerbated by one of the most severe droughts seen this century," Hall said.

In an interview on Monday, Hall said billions of rands pledged for reconstruction of houses razed during the violence, the creation of infrastructure for sewerage and the creation of jobs, were being held up by lack of accountable administrative structures in the affected areas.



Soldiers patrol the streets of Evaton, Sharpeville and Sebokeng closing trenches and removing barricades. Scraps of cars block some of the roads and hijackings are rife.

Putting end to taxi war

■ Recognising the Ivory Park squatter settlement as a township and upgrading of police are 'necessary to end violence, says Goldstone investigating committee:

30/7/92

THE most obvious steps to alleviate violence in the taxi industry in the Midrand area between Johannesburg and Pretoria would be to recognise Ivory Park as a township and to upgrade the police presence there.

"These were the main recommendations of the second interim report of the Goldstone committee investigating taxi violence in the area.

The report issued in Pretoria on Tuesday said Ivory Park did not seem to receive any official recognition in the sense that the municipality's application to have it declared a township had not, after eight months, been approved.

Ivory Park is a fairly new squatter community of some 70 000 people.

The result was that the municipal law enforcement agencies did not enjoy of fiscal recognition in the area.

The mayor of Midrand complained that the SA Police were understaffed and ill-equipped to deal with some 200 000 people in the whole Midrand area.

No armoured vehicles were available and the area was policed from Halfway House, some 20 km away, when Orlamsfontein, a mere 2 km away, would be the natural command post.

The committee, chaired by Mr DJ Rossouw, said there were suggestions

that the dispute had not died down and that further violence may be expected if the root causes were not addressed with urgency.

The roots of the discord were to be found in the commercial competition between taxi associations for the new market opening up there.

The committee also noted complaints that the Local Road Transportation Board's permit system was ineffective and a contributory cause of tension.

The committee's efforts to involve the South African Black Taxi Association (Saba) to which all taxi associations were affiliated, were fruitless - *Sapa*.

Vance visits Boipatong

STAR 30/7/92

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United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance visited Boipatong and Crossroads townships yesterday, according to Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

The judge said Mr Vance had informed him at their first meeting that he wished to visit areas which had been the focus of recent violence.

"I arranged to accompany him on a visit to Boipatong and Crossroads," said Mr Justice Goldstone. — Sapa.

ANC slates 'move to stifle' protest

Govt clamps townships in ring of steel

BIDAY 30/7/92

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LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday launched "stabilisation operations" in 14 townships — immediately raising a storm of protest and claims that the move was aimed at intimidating people against supporting the mass action campaign.

The plan to "saturate" 14 townships on the Rand, in the Vaal Triangle and in Soweto with SAP personnel and SADF troops conducting cordon and search operations was announced by Kriel in Soweto. He said this followed the success of similar operations in Alexandra and Phola Park.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus immediately launched a stinging attack on the operation, calling it "sheer intimidation designed to create an atmosphere of tension and allowing the police to get involved in repressive activity".

He said government was always accusing the ANC of intimidation but in this case government was the intimidator — "putting pressure on the community not to support the campaign of mass action, and the stayaway next week".

"Government is making the situation much more volatile and will subsequently want to blame the ANC for it. We call on government to cease this operation of police intimidation because of the danger that it will foster violence," Niehaus said.

However, Kriel said it was a "peace offensive" which would create conditions in which government agencies could restore essential services and upgrade infrastructure and living conditions.

Intensified policing in Phola Park and Alexandra a few weeks ago had proved so successful that local authorities could once

again render essential services in the areas. The crime rate had also fallen, criminals were arrested and political violence had been prevented, said Kriel.

The operations are still in force in these areas at a reduced level.

Kriel said the latest operations were "aimed at restoring peace, essential services and infrastructure to areas affected by unrest". Violence in these areas had resulted in local authorities not being able to provide essential services such as refuse removal, the provision of water, health services and sewage.

This caused a serious health hazard to the people living in these areas. "I believe we have a duty towards them," he said.

Operations were started yesterday in Soweto, Boipatong, Bophelong, Sebokeng, Evaton, Sharpeville, Vosloorus, Kathlehong, Thokoza, Tembisa, Munsieville, Bekkersdal, Kagiso and Swanieville.

Kriel said it had become clear to government and the police that people in the "unrest-afflicted" areas had had enough of violence, the disruption of their lives and the "senseless destruction or disruption of essential services and infrastructure".

He called on the communities to support the security forces and also to use this opportunity to "hand in unlicensed firearms to the SAP".

A moratorium had been placed on prosecutions until Friday and the police would pay R400 each for AK-47s and R200 each for all other firearms handed in. After Friday offenders will face prosecution.

● Comment: Page 4

Mass mobilisation bodes ill for negotiations, writes Stanley Uys from London

Playing the one-card hand

SPAR 30/7/92

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WHEN the ANC returned from exile in 1990 it had three cards to play: mass mobilisation; the armed struggle; and international opinion, which included sanctions. Now it has only one card left — mass mobilisation.

The armed struggle is a dead duck, unless the ANC returns to making South Africa ungovernable, in which case it will have to abandon negotiating its way to power and, ultimately, after more long years in the wilderness, inherit a wasteland.

As for international opinion, here the game has changed. The pace-setters in international opinion are the industrialised nations, who feel they have escaped at last from the years-long role of periodically pronouncing moral judgments on Pretoria. Their interest now is to play a conciliatory role, not to put either side in the dock.

This change has been strikingly evident in the past few weeks. The

ANC secured a Security Council debate and an experienced UN envoy, Cyrus Vance, was duly despatched to South Africa, but the mission was to reconcile the parties, not to nail Pretoria to the cross. The British government played a key role in steering the Security Council in this direction, but major objectors were few and far between.

Even Africa cannot be relied on any longer to support the ANC unquestioningly. Officially, the OAU still awaits the ANC's signal to allow South Africa to return to the African community, but member states are defaulting at a rate of knots. Governments like Kenya, Nigeria and Cameroon have publicly snubbed the ANC by refusing to keep their distance from Pretoria.

Even publications usually sympathetic to the ANC acknowledge that its victory at the UN was pyrrhic. The resolution drafted by Zimbabwe on behalf of the OAU

was rewritten to tone it down. The New York correspondent of an ANC-sympathetic publication, while pointing out that racism in South Africa is still a powerful issue in the US and that several dozen speakers queued to speak in the Security Council debate, wrote:

"With the West giving unfilled approval of Pretoria's progress, the South African Government has come in from the cold in international terms. The calls by Western diplomats for negotiations are addressed to the ANC as much as calls for the ending of violence are directed at De Klerk."

Even Chief Buthelezi, the correspondent said, succeeded in raising his world profile, while "South Africa, for the first time in recent history, secured speaking rights for Buthelezi as well as a string of other loyal supporters ranging from Solidarity's Dr J N Reddy to Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo".

Another sympathetic (London) publication reported that UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his staff are "unwilling to continue the UN role as an advocate for the liberation movements ... (They) have effectively sidelined the UN Centre Against Apartheid, which since the 1960s has taken the lead in UN activities on South Africa"

An international hearing on violence in South Africa, convened in London in mid-July by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and co-sponsored by the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, rallied most of the faithful (but few Western government representatives), and presented a solid case on violence. But when the final resolution was sent to the Security Council, it disappeared among the other supplications.

Two important points should be noted. One is that most of the world is no longer interested in

reimposing sanctions as an instrument to control Pretoria's behaviour. Another is that although the UN and Western governments are ready to respond on the violence issue, it is because they are deeply concerned about it themselves, not because they acknowledge the ANC's moral high ground

Where does all this leave the ANC? Only with mass mobilisation, currently being implemented through mass action. Cyril Ramaphosa describes mass action as a "rolling" campaign, but can the ANC ride the horses of both mass action and negotiations? Professor Lawrence Schlemmer expresses it rather well, I think

"To the extent that the ANC has realistic anxieties about a loss of symbolic status and leverage in negotiations, it will continue to adopt strategies outside negotiations which generate reactions (by the IFP or the authorities) and, in turn, become impediments for negotiation for the ANC itself. The



strategic situation of the ANC, therefore, is trapping it in contradictions."

What lessons can be learnt from events of past weeks in South Africa? One is that negotiations will never be the same again. Bilateral talks between the ANC and the Government, and Codesa itself until the final stumbling block was reached, flowed exceptionally smoothly, too smoothly, because the meetings were between elites. What mass action has done, whether intentionally or not, has been to democratise ANC involvement in negotiations, and consequently make agreements so much more difficult to reach.

The other lesson is that it is not in the Government's interests to force the ANC to continue to play its last card of mass mobilisation. The longer the ANC engages in mass action, the more the country can kiss goodbye to fruitful negotiations. Along this route lies only tears. □

Outrage over report finding

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday voiced outrage at the finding by the Goldstone Commission that statistics of incidents of train violence were incomplete due to their "routine destruction by police". ET 30/7/92

This could only be interpreted as being done to hide information.

The interim report released this week noted that 27 hostels along the railway network and adjacent to townships were a factor in train violence. — Sapa

38 violent deaths in one week ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ HRC

APR 30 1992

JOHANNESBURG. — Thirty-eight violent deaths and more than 168 injuries were recorded by the Human Rights Commission between July 22 and July 28, the HRC said in a statement here.

"Vigilante-related actions" accounted for 23 deaths and at least 31 injuries in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging region, the Western Transvaal and Natal.

In the PWV region, the death toll declined from 32 in the previous week to 13. In the Vaal Triangle area, where 19 people died in the previous week, there were two deaths and one injury.

The East Rand remained dangerous, with 10 deaths and 10 injuries during the week.

In Natal, the death toll remained constant at 10.

Actions attributed to the security forces accounted for four deaths and 124 injuries, the HRC said, and a record 1 247 arrests were made.

"Other political actions" accounted for five deaths and 11 injuries — the deaths being those of a policeman in the PWV region and four policemen in Natal. Ten policemen were among those injured. — Sapa.

FOCUS ON VIOLENCE More than 1250 people have been killed in 49 massacres in South

Finger points at cops in 8% of

■ KILLING OUTRAGE Human Rights

Commission reports on the escalating

violence during past two years:

Sowetan 31/7/92

By Kenosi Modisane

EIGHT PERCENT OF the killings in massacres in the past two years are attributed to the police by a recent report of the Human Rights Commission.

The report says more than 1 250 people died in 49 massacres which include last month's Borjatsong incident in which 49 people were killed.

The HRC puts 69 percent of the blame on the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), its members, supporters and other elements.

The IFP has dismissed the report as the HRC's "deliberate attempt of trying

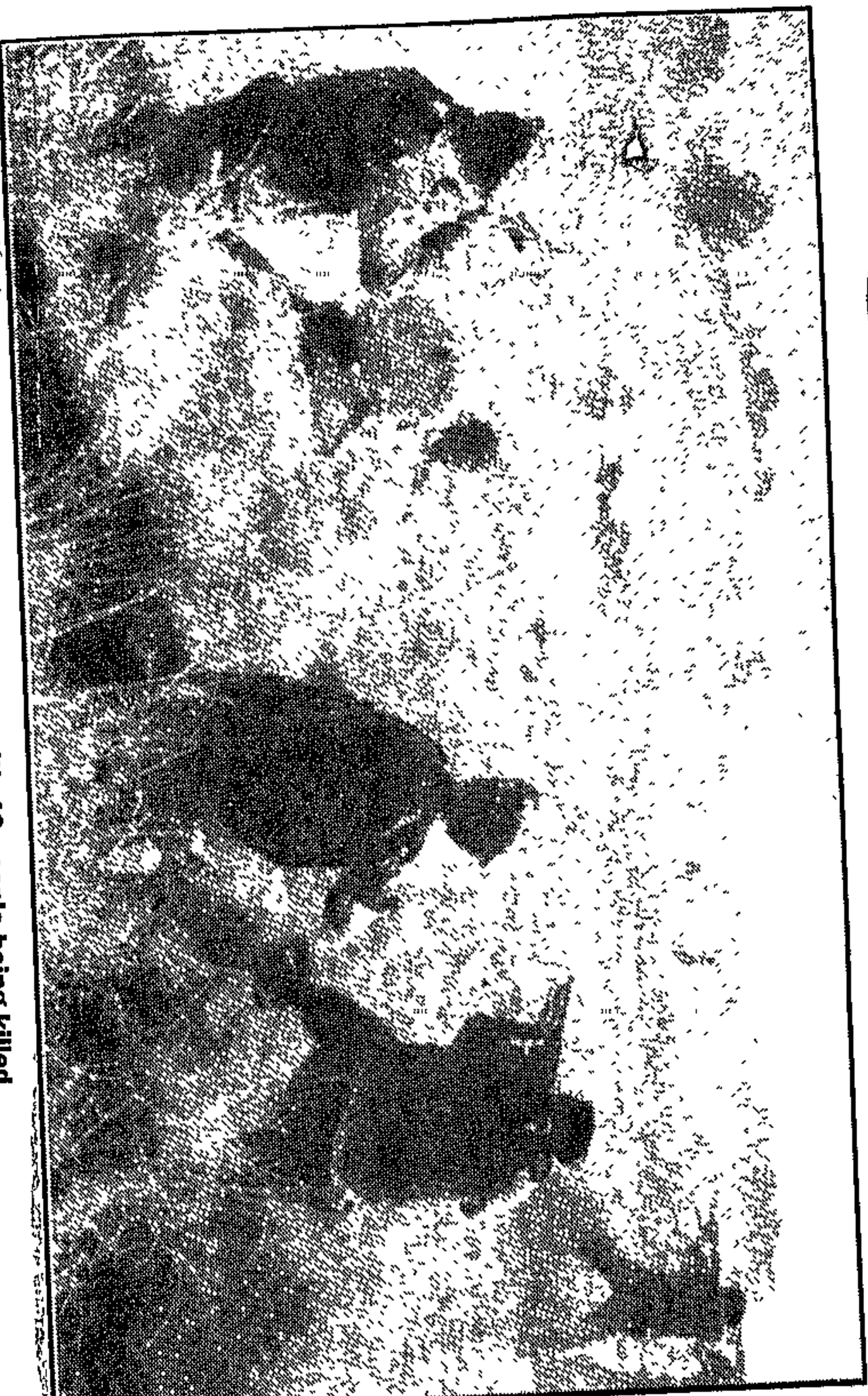
to whip up a storm of outrage against the IFP using the pretence of being a neutral panel of experts".

Captain J van Rooijen of police headquarters in Pretoria said: "We can't not respond to the HRC's accusations until we get all the facts. But I can assure you that the SAP are used to these unfounded accusations."

Van Rooijen promised to respond at a later stage.

The HRC's report links the formation of the IFP as a political organisation in July 1990 to the frequency of the massacres.

The massacres recorded included only those incidents where more than 10 people were killed in a single attack.



Borjatsong experienced one of the worst massacres with 49 people being killed.

WHEN a liked and valued colleague does not return home or turn up for work after the weekend, those close to him have, in this climate of violence, strong grounds for fearing the worst.

We speak to some of his friends who work nearby. They have not seen him but say he intended to visit friends in Alexandria.

When, the next day he has still not returned, we begin a round of telephone calls: to the Alexandria clinic and police station; to all the hospitals in the area; to our local police station. None has any information about anyone by his name.

The Johannesburg mortuary advises that the current count of unidentified bodies is six and we are invited to see if we can identify the missing man. The duty falls to me.

I arrive at the mortuary, wish good day to those behind the counter and stand patiently waiting while those in the office continue writing or conversing. Every action seems taken with that insolent slowness which infests the bureaucracy, causing inefficiency and waste.

A second member of the public enters and waits with similar patience. Eventually, one of the clerks pauses in his ledger entry and inquires what it is I want. I tell him.

So far this is almost a rerun of my previous two visits to this mortuary, when required to formally identify relatives who had died suddenly while not under the care of a doctor.

On each of those occasions, I was sent to wait by a window. A trolley bearing the cloth-covered corpse was wheeled up, the cloth was lowered from the face and I indicated that this was indeed the loved one.

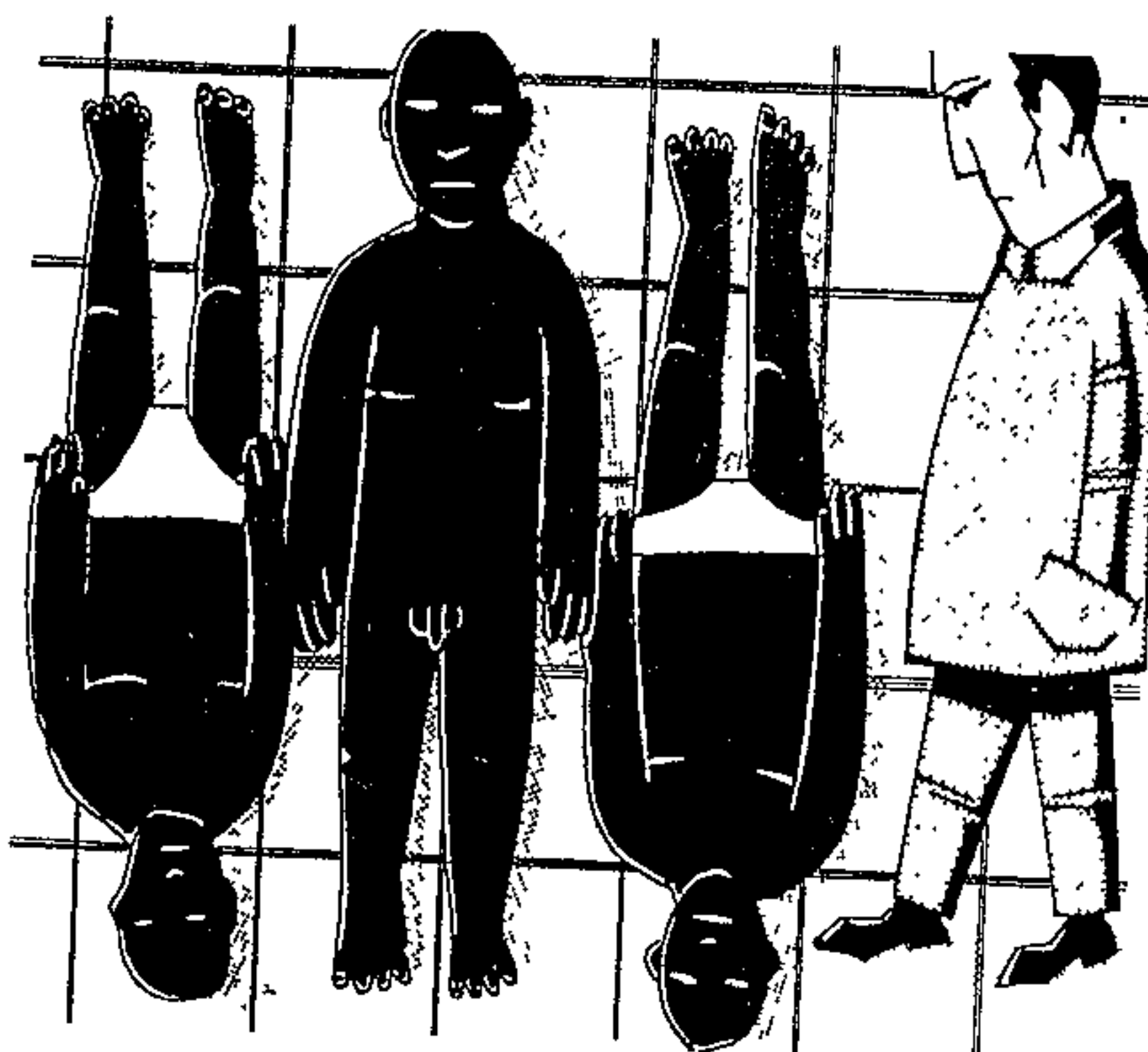
This time is to be very different.

The clerk speaks to a colleague, who leaves the office on some mysterious errand while the clerk returns to his ledger. The second official returns and says to me: "You can come and look in the fridge."

The other man on my side of the counter has so far been ignored. He, too, is looking for a missing person, he says, and receives a similar invitation.

From having seen such scenes played out on television, I expect to be taken to a room full of oversized filing cabinets which will be discreetly rolled open for inspection. Instead, we come upon half a dozen corpses lying naked on the floor of a corridor. The official indicates that we should look here

A visit to the mortuary... Corpses on the conveyor-belt of violence



*The search for a missing friend revealed rows and rows of unidentified — and unclaimed — bodies. **MATTHEW WHITE** reports on the consequence of violence*

and in two adjoining rooms, where there are more corpses, some on trolleys.

All are black. A few are not completely naked but are clad in underpants with, in these cases, their arms thrust into the sides of the garments — to prevent them from dragging when the bodies are moved, I suppose. Altogether, there are perhaps 15 corpses. None of them, I'm relieved, is the man I'm looking for.

"Thank you very much, he's not here," I tell the official, glad to have completed this beastly chore and to be on my way out into the fresh air.

"He might be downstairs," he says.

"There are more?"

"Plenty, plenty more."

"Surely, they are not all unidentified?"

He doesn't answer but leads the way down some stairs. My companion hasn't found the person he is looking for either and

we both follow.

The "fridge" is actually a large, windowless coldroom — a bigger version of what many butcheries have. From the large door it looks like a window dresser's storeroom full of dummies. There are, I estimate, some 40 or 50 bodies dumped on the concrete floor or on a few trolleys.

We begin the grisly chore of examining row upon row of corpses. All are black, almost all are naked. There are no cloths to pull back and, mercifully, we don't have to look at them all: some are too small, too old, too fat; a few are female. One female I do look at. She is lying on her back, frozen into a posture of unintended and grotesque invitation. Aged about 20, plump and clearly pretty in life, her stab wounds render her obscenely ugly. Could anything she may have done deserve this end among these burnt and hacked victims of malice? . . .

I look, too, at an old man, his face frozen with fear. He looks so harmless. To whom could he have been a threat? Here is a boy perhaps aged 12. Did he kill or plot to kill his attacker? Was he a soldier in some supposedly just war? Or just the hapless victim of an ignorant whose emotions have been whipped to frenzy by some corrupt, self-seeking warlord and his minions?

Except for any who might be the one I am seeking, I largely avert my gaze. And I breathe shallowly, for the stench of death assaults the nostrils.

The hurried search does not produce the corpse I fear to find. Relieved, I numbly thank the official, who directs us to the exit. My fellow searcher has not found the relative he is seeking.

Outside he turns to me, clearly very shaken. "Wasn't that awful?" Feeling ill, I nod and mumble agreement.

Not all of these bodies can have been unidentified, surely, and a better-run facility would have spared us this horror. But then we would not have known.

Two days after my search at the mortuary, the missing colleague turned up. He had been arrested five days earlier on suspicion of being an illegal alien and charged with committing a minor offence. He was being held in the cells of a police station at the time that a policeman in the charge office there denied official knowledge of him. His papers, which he was not carrying at the time of his arrest, show him to have been born in South Africa.

UN voices fears of bloodshed

Strike may cause lasting harm — Keys

BIDAM 31/7/92

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Next week's two-day national stayaway could harm SA's standing in international markets for decades, Finance Minister Derek Keys said yesterday as the UN expressed concern that the ANC's action could result in bloodshed.

Government yesterday cleared the way for international observers to monitor mass action. UN spokesman Francois Giuliani said yesterday about 10 UN officials would observe the next two weeks of mass action, Sapa-Reuter reports.

UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali told a closed session of the Security Council he had written to ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk expressing fear at the disruptive effects of mass action.

Boutros-Ghali said Mandela had assured him the action would be peaceful and should be watched by monitors from the UN, the Commonwealth and the OAU.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said UN special envoy Cyrus Vance — who ended a 10-day visit to SA yesterday — had also expressed concern about violence associated with the stayaway.

Japan has also expressed concern about the coming weeks and is to send the head of the foreign ministry's middle eastern and African affairs bureau, Takeshi Ohara, to SA to promote reconciliation between government and the ANC, Sapa-AFP reports.

At the same time Keys warned the organisers of the stayaway that their actions could turn international market opinion against SA, which he said could take decades to rectify.

He also warned them not to antagonise business and government as this would

risk depleting the "fund of goodwill" built up between the parties over years.

Botha said "the use of mass mobilisation to impose demands in the negotiation process is as unacceptable as the use of violence for this purpose".

The programme of mass mobilisation would inevitably lead to further violence, delay the search for democratic solutions, damage the economy and seriously disrupt social services, he said.

In the light of Mandela's rejection of a meeting with De Klerk and Inkatha president Mangosutho Buthelezi, Botha said De Klerk remained ready to convene an expanded meeting at short notice. De Klerk had decided to broaden his invitation to include an additional delegation nominated by the national peace committee.

De Klerk had no objection to the presence of "impartial" observers monitoring the mass action campaign. However, they should act in co-ordination with the national peace secretariat and there should be enough of them to be present in the major metropolitan areas.

It should be a condition that these observers have the right to attend demonstrations and other mass actions at will, and at random, to ensure that the secretary-general remained fully informed of the conduct and progress of the campaign as well as any incidents which might arise from these events, Botha said.

Keys told businessmen at an NP fund-raising lunch he thought it was too late to make a fresh attempt to stop the stayaways, something which would inevi-

□ To Page 2

Strike

ably involve substantial costs

Jobs would be lost, there would be a loss of income for the people who stayed away from work, and there would be a disruption of the economy

But he appealed for these losses to be minimised in order to preserve the economy's long-term potential

It was in the power of all those involved, particularly within the power of the "insti-

gators" of the stayaway, to avoid negative long-term consequences of adverse international opinion

"If this stayaway becomes prolonged for purely political reasons, if it becomes more than simply a gesture of protest, the verdict of the markets overseas is going to be adverse and there is no court of appeal."

● Picture: Page 3

From Page 1

Are mock trials a mockery of peace?

SAFETY valve or threat to peace? Mock trials arouse passion in both critics and defenders. A trial in Pietermaritzburg last month has been referred to the National Peace Committee for allegedly violation of the Peace Accord. And serious confrontation over planned "trials" was only narrowly avoided in Natal last weekend.

Opinions vary sharply over whether they are good, bad, neutral or an understandable but troubling development. Many feel the whole question is "very sensitive", and a surprising number of individuals and organisations

declined to comment on these grounds.

Mock trials feature on the mass action programme compiled by the African National Congress and its allies in several regions, with President FW de Klerk and kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthezi heading the list as the most popular choice of "accused" to be tried.

ANC supporters of these trials say they express people's anger that nothing is done to bring serious criminals to justice or to stop the violence. They say the trials result from public frustration at the breakdown in talks

Are mock trials of political leaders a humorous sideshow or a dangerous threat?

CARMEL RICKARD finds opinions differ widely

Break the stalemate, begin serious negotiations, and mock trials will disappear.

Natal University politics professor Douglas Irvine disagrees that mock trials will help re-start negotiations. "They fuel the forces of confrontation

rather than negotiation, because you don't negotiate with people you have criminalised or demonised."

Irvine says mock trials do not belong in the ordinary domain of politics. Trial targets stop being political opponents, instead they become people marked for destruction. These trials are also unhelpful because they inflame passions and raise antagonisms to a level extremely difficult to defuse. They mock judicial practice, by teaching participants in the "trial" to ignore the fundamental principle that both sides must be heard.

ANC MP Jan van Eck says the trials

are a spontaneous response by the people. ANC Natal midlands vice-chairman Reggie Radebe remembers his law professors staging mock trials as part of student training. He says his region tried to be creative and find "what form of protest can really 'bite' as it were. We mooted it here and were the first region to discuss it."

Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Frank Mdlalose believes the trials are psychological propaganda conceived by Van Eck and other senior ANC figures. Vasu Gounden, staff member of the African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (Accord), says mock trials have a long history, are universally accepted and can be seen daily in operation in London's Hyde Park.

Mdlalose concedes that coffins marked "Jay Naidoo" and "Elijah Barayi" were carried round the stadium at the 1986 launch of the Inkathasponsored United Workers' Union of South Africa. But, he says, the idea came from a particular individual who was called in afterwards and strongly "discouraged". There has been no repetition and IFP leaders would have tough words for anyone staging a mock trial or similar protest.

He does not accept that such trials are legitimate protest. "The Peace Accord is quite explicit. People and organisations must refrain from actions or language inciting violence or hatred against any political figure. Mock trials have never been in our tradition or part of political talk. The visual spectacle of such trials is much stronger than any verbal rhetoric. If you say someone is convicted or murdered and sentenced to death, life imprisonment or whatever, people know that they will be doing a service to humanity to attack or kill this 'horrible animal'."

Van Eck differentiates between mock trials and kangaroo courts. "I would not condone kangaroo courts, if they decided to ensure that the verdict (of the mock trial) was carried out, I could not identify with that." He says the trials he has seen had an element of humour, but concedes the trials "could be taken much further. Obviously the ANC will try to prevent that but if the climate does not improve no one will be able to prevent angry youths from going further."

Van Eck says it is impossible not to vilify political leaders. "I do it all the time about De Klerk. I make him out to be a bad man. How on earth can I stop doing that?"

Peace Accord officials declined to discuss the issue because an official complaint about an alleged mock trial in Pietermaritzburg is now being considered by the Peace Committee.

However, Gounden says he sees nothing wrong in principle with mock trials, particularly since politicians are "fair game". He quotes freedom of expression and Speaker's Corner, and says people who feel they have evidence against others must have some way of making this public.

A minister, a mission and missing money

OFFICIALS of the Department of National Health and Population Development are investigating allegations that a Bloemfontein Anglican church misused funds allocated for food relief.

But the church has denied the allegations, saying that a former priest had used its name in an application for funds from the department.

The *Weekly Mail* travelled to Bloemfontein to investigate the alleged misappropriation of funds at the Holy Cross Church.

"We are still looking into the matter and therefore nothing can be divulged to the media as yet," the department's communications officer, Anette Richter, said this week.

The *Weekly Mail* found that a former minister, Goodwin Sondiysi, had allegedly used the church's name in an application for funds from the Department of National Health.

According to records of payouts by the department the Holy Cross Church received a total of R10 150, while two church projects — the Khanyiso pre-school and the Thambo Square squatter camp — received R3 700 and R9 850 respectively.

However, national hunger relief organisation Operation Hunger alleged that the money, a total of R23 600, had not been used to feed the squatters nor the children at the pre-school.

"The Sondiysi only gave us food twice," said Miriam Moloi, who is in charge of the Thambo Square soup kitchen. This was confirmed by a cook in the soup kitchen, Rose Maletshetla, who added that "we only got food in April and in June but since then nothing".

The *Weekly Mail* was unable to contact Sondiysi but did manage to speak to his wife, who denied the allegations of misappropriation since they had not "been informed by the department" that the money had been deposited in their account. "So we did not feed the squatters for a month."

She said she was embarrassed about the whole incident.

Amid allegations of a former priest's misuse of money destined for food relief are claims that the system is wide open to abuse.

By **JACQUE GOLDING**

However, the money was made available to them at the end of March this year.

She could not show The *Weekly Mail* any receipts or duplicate copies, but said that "due to our inexperience we never kept any of the slips as proof of purchase. Nor did we give any duplicates to the soup kitchen committee." She does, however, claim that she sent "all relevant receipts to Pretoria".

According to the Bishop of Bloemfontein, Thomas Stanage, "the rector was reprimanded for not informing the diocesan office and hierarchy at the time of his application".

Hunger relief agencies have complained that often large payments by the department are not adequately monitored, making abuse of funds easy.

The deputy director of the department of national health, George de Klerk, asked that "the old dirty linen about corruption" be left in the past and that corruption on the part of the church or any other organisation be seen in the "light that the evaluation always took place on a national level".

De Klerk, who also heads the Nutritional Development Programme, added that the running of such a social programme was open to corruption. The department recently set up a regional monitoring committee to evaluate how money was being spent by the different organisations.

This was in addition to the requirement set by the department that "each organisation complete and sign an undertaking that funds will be used for the purposes requested" before any money was paid, Richter added.



For what they are lucky to receive ... Children in Bloemfontein pray before being given food. Photo: GUY ADAMS

But "despite the monitoring and evaluation, one cannot always be sure that there is no corruption", said a Miss Botha, an assistant director for the department of national health.

Operation Hunger's Natal regional director, Phillipa Yarker, added that it was strange that the organisation received "tons of calls from people who are starving" while "so many non-governmental organisations in Natal receive money from the Department of National Health. Where these non-governmental organisations are feeding seems to be a mystery".

In another claim of misuse of department funds, it has been alleged

that women were forced to work at the Dipalaeng Clinic in Hobhouse, Free State, in order to qualify for a food parcel.

Mabiti Mokone and Elizabeth Booysens, patients at the clinic, allege that "we have to work on a regular basis in order to receive the food".

This was denied by a Sister Swanepoel, who runs the clinic. "Whatever contribution is made by the people who receive the food, shows their appreciation for the parcels. The non-European women come in twice a week to clean, showing how grateful they are for the food."



Priests for peace ... Archbishop-elect Willfred Napier (right) fields questions after the church delegation held discussions with the ANC this week

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Churches' code for mass action

By PAT SIDLEY

CHURCH leaders from a wide spectrum of churches have drawn up a code of conduct for the period of mass action which they have negotiated with various political groups either taking part or not participating in the action.

The code has been seen by all political groups in the country, though not by the security forces. Although it has not necessarily been agreed to by all who have seen it, all the elements in the code fall within the terms and agreement of the National Peace Accord, according to South African Council of Churches spokesman Bernard Spong.

This means that the churchmen involved in drawing it up believe that all those bound by the Peace Accord will be bound by the code.

The document assumes that "everyone wants progress towards democracy and the end of violence" and states that "actions such as stayaways and marches are being undertaken by some organisations as ways of realising this objective".

A main thrust of the code is that all people should be free to choose what they want to do for peace and democracy, "without fear of intimidation" and respecting the right of people to hold differing views.

Among the points in the code are:

- Those who want to stay away from work or protest in public must be allowed to do so.
- Those who choose to work and not demonstrate must be allowed to do so.
- No weapons of any kind should be carried

during public demonstrations.

● Protest organisers should see to it that people are informed and disciplined, and must make their plans clear before each protest.

● Employers should deal with the stay-away with "sensitivity and make all efforts to reduce any potential for conflict or violence".

● People employed in emergency services should not be stopped from performing duties aimed at saving lives.

● Journalists should not be interfered with while they are covering the events.

● Security forces must uphold the right of peace protesters and must not interfere with peaceful gatherings, marches, etc. They should also act impartially in protecting people either participating or not participating in protest action.

● The government "must act in such a manner that peace, reconciliation and stability shall speedily follow any period or event of protest."

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VACANCY

THE MACRO-ECONOMIC RESEARCH GROUP (MERG)

MERG was set up by the Democratic Movement (ANC, COSATU, and some civic structures) in conjunction with a consortium of Universities (Western Cape, Fort Hare, Durban Westville, Witwatersrand and the University of the North) to;

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- through training and capacity building programmes, redress racial and gender imbalances in economic policy formulation and implementation
- establish a National Institute for Economic Policy (NIEP) which will service the Democratic Movement and
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Before the 25 August 1992

Cops won't interfere in legal protests

Sowetan 31/7/92



THE NEW 5 000-STRONG task force deployed in PWV townships would not intervene in legal mass action, police said yesterday.

SAP liaison officer Captain Burger van Rooyen was commenting on charges by the ANC that the current "township stabilisation operation" was meant to thwart mass action.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the massive deployment of policemen and soldiers on the Reef on the eve of the stayaway should be compared with the army call-up just before June 16 and was "meant to deny the people their right to peaceful demonstration".

Van Rooyen said the ANC accusations were facile because the task force was deployed to protect life and property and would "in no way stand in the

■ POLICE FORCE ANC says task

force in townships will deny the right to peaceful demonstration:

way of people wanting to express their feelings in legal mass action".

He said the keyword was "legal" as the SAP would "obviously have to act should mass demonstrations turn violent or threatening".

He stressed the task force had been expressly deployed to stabilise the situation in 14 new strife and crime-ridden townships in the Transvaal, thanks to the success of similar operations at Alexandra and Phola Park.

"The main aim is to restore peace and stability in the affected areas and to reinstall a sense of self-respect and human dignity among residents of the afflicted areas," Van Rooyen said.

The ANC insisted, however, that the Government had spared no effort in projecting the campaign for peace and democracy as a trigger for violence.

"In essence their argument is: 'if you protest, you will be killed'," Niehaus said. - Sapa.

Church draws up a code of conduct

■ **MASS PROTESTS** Churchmen say

there should be no intimidation:

THE CHURCH LEADERS' Meeting has released a document outlining a code of conduct for the mass protests planned for next week by the African National Congress and its allies.

Following is the contents of the document, the adoption of which "can help save lives as well as ease tensions during this coming week", a CLM statement said yesterday.

- Those who choose to stay away from work or engage in public demonstrations must be allowed to do so without interference;

- Those who choose to go to work or not participate in public demonstrations must be allowed to do so without interference,

- No weapons of any kind should be

carried during public demonstrations;

- Organisers of any protest action must take necessary steps to ensure that the action is peaceful;

- Organisers of protest actions must publicly issue instructions that will ensure that such actions shall be carried out in disciplined manner;

- Organisers of marches or other protest actions must publicly declare their plans beforehand;

Efforts to reduce conflict

- Employers should deal with the stayaway with sensitivity, and make all efforts to reduce any potential for conflict or violence;

- Those providing emergency services should not be hindered in their life-saving duties;

- All parties shall ensure that their members do not interfere with journalists in their work;

- The security forces must uphold the right of people to protest peacefully;

- The security forces must not interfere with peaceful meetings, marches, rallies and demonstrations;

- The security forces must exercise their duty impartially in protecting people taking part in protest actions, and those who choose not to do so; and

- Government must act in such a manner that peace, reconciliation and stability shall speedily follow any period or event of protest.

The CLM called on all parties "to act in a responsible way so as to ensure progress towards peace, democracy and an end to violence".

The CLM said it produced the code in consultation with many concerned parties, including ANC. The CLM is facilitated by South African Council of Churches - Sapa.

Sowetan 31/7/92

(274)

Africa — Report on Violence

massacres

Sowetan 31/7/92 (274)

In a statement responding to the findings, the IFP said: "The recent report on massacres compiled by the pretentiously-titled HRC amounts to a serious distortion of facts.

"It is only on close examination that the skull beneath the flesh can be seen. Their sources remain nameless, their statistics suspect, their methodologies fatally flawed and the whole flimsy edifice is resting on a foundation of ANC strategy.

"The number of deaths in political violence seem to depend on which political spectrum one belongs. And this gives a clear indication of the political agenda behind the supposedly neutral and factual information that the HRC disseminates.

"The report on the massacres is flawed, unreliable and biased," the IFP said.

"It makes sweeping generalisations, attributing almost all the violence to so-called Inkatha members while grudgingly admitting, in very few cases, the culpability of ANC-supporting residents."

The IFP accused the HRC of deliberately leaving out the massacres in which 23 IFP supporters were killed while en route to a prayer meeting at Tokoza Stadium on September 8 1991 and the deaths of 24 IFP members at Crossroads, including women and children allegedly murdered by ANC members near Katlehong.

Mass killings

According to the HRC, a breakdown of the massacres is as follows:

NATAL: Eleven massacres which claimed the lives of 167 people were recorded in the province in the past two years. These, however, do not include other mass killings in the region five or more years back.

Midlands - Five massacres (476 lives)

North Coast - Three massacres (33 lives)

South Coast - Two massacres (37 lives)

Durban - One massacre (18 lives)

THE PWV AREA: There have been 38 massacres claiming the lives of 1 083 people in the area since July 1990.

East Rand - 14 massacres (476 lives)

Soweto - Nine massacres (245 lives)

The Vaal - Eight massacres (195 lives)

Alexandra - Four massacres (89 lives)

West Rand - Two massacres (57 lives)

Johannesburg - One massacre (21 lives)

An analysis of the HRC's report yields the following:

IFP (members, supporter, elements) were responsible for 34 massacres (69 percent).

Vigilantes of unspecified affiliation, but certainly aligned with the IFP were responsible for three massacres (six percent).

Security forces (SAP, SADF and KwaZulu Police) were directly responsible for four massacres (eight percent).

Township residents and ANC supporters had a responsibility in six massacres (12 percent).

No clue as to the identity of the attackers was available in 10 massacres.

There was a shared responsibility in eight massacres, either in the case of two parties openly attacking each other or in the case of opposing parties being equally responsible.

Joint responsibility

Township residents were the victims in 36 massacres (73 percent).

Residents specifically identified as ANC supporters were additionally victims in 10 massacres (20 percent).

IFP members and supporters were victims in nine massacres (18 percent).

In six massacres both opposing parties were assessed to be victims of one another and having joint responsibility.

Funerals and vigils were attacked on three occasions. Places of public recreation (beer halls and taverns) were attacked on two occasions. Commuters (trains and buses - more than 10 people killed in an attack) were attacked three times.

The character of the massacres:

A number of points emerge very strongly about the nature and objectives of the massacres. They are:

- The drive by Inkatha to establish political influence, membership and even territory is the dominant theme.
- The use of hostels as bases to plan and launch attacks on residents.
- The persistent reports of police complicity in these massacres as well as the involvement of unidentified whites.
- Retaliation which sometimes produces its own massacres.

COSATU general secretary Jay Naidoo says only a miracle will stave off next week's general strike and mass action programme. Despite sustained interventions by a host of potential miracle-makers, it seems certain the action will go ahead. But what will happen?

Nobody knows for sure. And the situation is extremely fluid. But through the fog of endless meetings, statements and new initiatives, the outlines are becoming clearer.

There will be a "general strike" on Monday and Tuesday. Judging by past stayaways, most workers in the manufacturing and service sectors will stay at home. Their children will miss school and stay at home too. But the vast majority of domestic, public sector, farm and mine workers will work as usual.

In the western Cape, only a minority of the workforce will stay away, in Natal and the Free State a significant minority of workers will show up, while the eastern Cape and the PWV area will be most affected.

The fact that Inkatha, the PAC, Azapo and Nactu will not support the strike is unlikely to affect it dramatically. People will stay at home or go to work according to the dominant mood in their communities, rather than union or political affiliation.

Cosatu will have done the lion's share of the organisational work for the strike — with its affiliates in the metal automotive, paper, transport, retail, textile and chemical sectors carrying the action. And although these workers are reeling under the effects of the recession and violence, many will support the action in the hope that it will help bring an end to these things.

This is not to say that all participants in the stayaway will be acting voluntarily. A long history of coercive enforcement of stayaways by the "comrades" means that, even if they obey the instructions of the ANC/Cosatu leadership to desist from such actions, the threats of the past weigh heavily on many township inhabitants to this day.

Mass action gives way to negotiation, not insurrection

BDA 31/7/92

DIRK HARTFORD

Employer organisations like Sacob and the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry have issued guidelines on how to apply disciplinary action, without taking a stand on whether such action is advisable. But most large employers approached have indicated their intention to apply the "no work, no pay, no discipline" rule.

Despite a hardening of attitudes to political protests which affect the bottom-line, employers are beginning to accept the inevitability of a rough ride in the transition period. For, although Sacola and Cosatu were unable to clinch a deal, the process of negotiation with the unions has continued and some common ground is starting to emerge.

For example, new views are emerging around the post-stayaway mass action programme on August 5, 6 and 7. The ANC alliance's plan is to "occupy city centres and strategic points" on Wednesday. But there is no clarity on what this means. For some, it is the "Leipzig option" where hundreds of thousands of people would flock into the cities and stay there for the day, jamming up the works. Supporters of this view have been developing plans to back up the occupations with vehicle

blockades of the major routes into the cities. On this understanding, there would be no production on Wednesday — effectively stretching the general strike to three days.

But following discussions, it now appears likely that — at least in some areas — the occupations will be more symbolic than real. For example, in parts of Natal, the western Cape and Border, regional representatives of business and Cosatu are currently discussing what action should be taken on the day.

At company level, a substantial number of agreements have been reached to enable production to continue while allowing some workers — usually the shop stewards — a few hours off to join demonstrations in city centres. And on Thursday and Friday, earlier union talk of factory occupations and all-day demonstrations is now being replaced by agreements with employers to allow lunch-time demonstrations, and marches at the workplace.

This is a far cry from original suggestions within Cosatu to stage an indefinite general strike. And although "rolling mass action" is set to continue after next week, the fourth phase of the mass action programme — "exitgate" — does not look likely

— and not only because the numbers involved in demonstrations have not met organisers' expectations.

Exitgate was meant to transfer power from the "minority regime" to a "people's government", presumably on the basis of the government capitulating to the pressure of the mass action campaign. Instead, the whole process of negotiation and discussion unleashed by the mass action campaign has — despite the breakdown in talks between Cosatu and Sacola — succeeded in blunting the campaign's insurrectionary edge.

The possibility of a broad consensus emerging around ways to tackle violence, poverty and the deadlock in political negotiations is now more real than ever before.

Both Cosatu and Sacola have been at pains to point out they still stand by the essential thrust of their draft charter. And while there may be some disagreements, all the major players in political and civil society also back the sentiments expressed in the charter.

Although recent talks between unions and employers have focused on next week's action, the draft charter — and ways of making it succeed — has underpinned these discussions. And because employers

and unionists are now grappling with the issues it raises, chances are good there will be further movement in this direction after next week.

At the end of the day, if there is not going to be a revolution, there is going to be a deal. The insurrectionists in the alliance once hoped that mass action would provide fertile ground for a revolutionary agenda to proceed. But the very form of the mass action is, instead, now being moulded in talks between labour and employers. Behind all the rhetoric and threats from both sides, leaders are moving closer together in the search for solutions.

As the breakdown in Sacola-Cosatu talks demonstrated, both have to be careful they do not outstrip their constituencies in their efforts to reach agreement. The social, cultural and political milieus of workers and employers are still a million miles apart.

There is hardly a trade union meeting that does not observe another minute's silence because yet another comrade has been killed, or that does not get another report about more retrenchments or dismissals or high prices or low wages or victimisations. All of these sufferings are heaped at the feet of the "bosses and their government".

On the employer side the balance sheets, bottom lines and cutting costs predominate. And more often than not, when the bottom line is being squeezed as now, it is the workers and their unions who are to blame with their low productivity, unreasonable demands, strikes and support for sanctions.

An employer summed it up at a recent Sacob meeting when he said: "The unions say an injury to one is an injury to all, but bosses say that, if a trade union hits you with a strike, that's an opportunity for me because my competitor is in trouble."

Events in the past few weeks have seen both employers and unions starting to break out of this mould. They are each starting to take on board some of the issues the other side is raising. The draft charter is a first expression of this.

...the biggest vet in SA if many try, despite requests. It sa

ANC endorses conduct code

THE ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance has endorsed a code of conduct drawn up by church leaders and aimed at ending violence during next week's general strike.

The code, released yesterday, calls for an absence of weapons and intimidation, with an appeal to the security forces to uphold the right to peaceful protest.

Other clauses of the code suggest protest organisers make their plans public, employers deal sensitively with the stayaway, and journalists and emergency workers be allowed to operate without interference.

At a media conference yesterday, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said copies of the code would be sent to every regional and local branch of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu.

"Our participation should reflect the values and principles we are striving for — peaceful, disciplined and with respect for the right of free choice," Ramaphosa called on government to adopt a similar code, instructing security forces how to handle next week's mass action.

A delegation of church leaders pre-

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ADRIAN HADLAND

sented proposals on ways of ending the constitutional impasse and preventing violence to senior constitutional negotiator Gerrit Viljoen and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday.

The meeting was one of a series this week between church leaders and business, union, government and political representatives aimed at getting negotiations back on track.

SA Council of Churches communications head Bernard Spong said the delegation had come away from yesterday's meeting with Meyer and Viljoen expecting a "positive response" to the proposals.

It is believed the church leaders called for the creation of an elected constitution-making body and a commitment by government to act on the resolutions of the Goldstone commission. In a church leaders' statement this week, the State President was urged "to take bold action to avert what could be a national disaster".

Right-wing pair refused bail by judge

TWO right-wingers wanted in Namibia on charges of murder, arson and sabotage were refused bail by a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday, pending a decision by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee on whether to extradite them.

Dismissal of their bail application, Judge M J Strydom held that Orde Boerevolk members Darryl Stopforth and Leonard

31/07/92
SUSAN RUSSELL

Veenendal had failed to make out a prima facie case that the ends of justice would not be defeated if they were granted bail.

The pair, who have been in custody in SA since April, are wanted by the Namibian authorities to stand trial for a machine-gun attack on the UN office in Outjo in August 1989. A security guard was killed.

They are also wanted in connection with the death of a policeman who was shot when they escaped from Namibian police custody and fled to SA.

Bail was opposed by Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and his Namibian counterpart.

The judge said it was clear that Stopforth and Veenendal had no intention of standing trial.

Township raid nets few

THE 5 000-strong police and SADF force that searched 14 Reef townships for criminals yesterday made only 25 arrests, a police statement said.

Police made no arrests at all in nine of the 14 targeted townships. *610AM*

Police spokesman Peter Brandt said he was not concerned by the low number of arrests, as the object had been to improve community relations. *31/7/92*

Two of the arrests were for murder, four for dagga-related offences, four for possession of illegal firearms, 10 for public violence and five for theft.

Thirteen arrests were in Soweto, eight in Alexandra and four in Boipatong, Vos-

RAY HARTLEY

loorus and Sebokeng.

Brandt said the police were contemplating no further operations at this stage. *2/8/92*

Meanwhile, Sapa reports the SAP last night objected to a statement by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance criticising the deployment.

The SAP said the alliance's reaction was in direct contrast to an earlier statement by ANC president Nelson Mandela in Geneva that "Mr (FW) De Klerk could stop the violence with a strong, well-trained and well-equipped police force and army".

● Comment: Page 12

HRC reports 32 unrest dead

CHARLIE PRETZLIK *(274)*

THIRTY-TWO people were killed and 168 injured in unrest-related incidents this week, said the "weekly repression report" of the Human Rights Commission (HRC). *610AM 31/7/92*

The East Rand was the most violent area, with 10 deaths and 10 injuries in the seven-day period.

The HRC said security forces were to blame for four of the deaths and more than 120 injuries, while vigilante-related actions accounted for 23 deaths and 31 injuries. Five policemen were killed.

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International edition of the World Book Encyclopaedia. From left: World Books MD Clifford Jackson, Star chief librarian Shelagh Watt, Star books editor James Mitchell and World Books marketing manager Peter Lombard. Picture: Stephen

Peace committee 'needs teeth'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The National Peace Committee (NPC) is considering changes to its procedures to give itself greater teeth to deal with political leaders who break the National Peace Accord.

NPC member Dr Antonie Gildenhuys — who is also chairman of the National Peace Secretariat — said this yesterday at a briefing to explain the successes and failures of the peace accord.

He said the NPC had received about 90 complaints of alleged infringements of the code of conduct by political parties — mostly "war

talk" by political leaders — but had so far been unable to resolve even one.

"The dispute resolution committees do not have enough teeth. Parties are free to abide by or ignore their decisions."

There was also far too much abuse of the accord by politicians for political gain.

The NPC was considering ways of greatly shortening complaint procedures.

The peace accord would be given a boost shortly when the Internal Peace Institutions Bill came into effect. This would allow justices of the peace to be appointed with special powers

to deal with those committing violence.

The Bill would also allow for an increase in the peace secretariat's budget, which would raise its efficiency.

Dr Gildenhuys said the 11 regional dispute resolution committees had all reported back and in general the picture was "extremely positive". Although violence was still rife, it would have been worse without the peace accord, which had notched up many successes in intervening to prevent violence.

Apart from the regional bodies, 59 local dispute resolution committees had been or were being formed countrywide.

NEWS SACC issues code for conduct in mass action ● Two shot by police as protest turns ugly

Mandela heads a march on Pretoria

Soweto 31/7/92

■ Response sought to the ANC's demands:

By Ike Motsapi and
Themba Molefe

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will lead a march to the Union Buildings next Wednesday during the week of mass action.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the march was intended to get responses to the organisation's 14-point demands made to the Government.

The South African Council of Churches issued a code of conduct for mass action after consultations this week with the Government, trade union fed-

erations and political organisations.

Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action said it supported "any mass action that is directed towards the goals of addressing immediately the economic and social misery of the black working people".

The National Education Coordinating Committee called on all involved in the education sector to observe the two days of the general strike but said everybody should return to work on Wednesday.

(Naposa) warned pupils, parents and teachers that "time lost through mass action will never be regained".



All ready for tonight's premier Reef pageant, The Miss Soweto '92, at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg, are: Thandi Rabebe, Hope Shezi, Grace Tsimile, Nomsebenzi Noboza, Michelle Molatlou, Fikile Simelane, Bridgette Skosana, Lendy Mswana, Zanele Mahlangu and Daphne Seshabela. Singer Brenda Fassie will take care of entertainment.

Pic: VELL NHLAPO

NEWS Accused man killed his father in 1984 • Catholi

Nafcoc set on talks

B LACK BUSINESS YESTERDAY committed itself to playing a major role in curbing violence and getting negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa back on track.

This was one of the resolutions of the 28th annual conference of the National Federated Chamber of Commerce at Sun City in Bophuthatswana.

The conference condemned the violence currently gripping the country, adding that millions of rands had gone down the drain.

The outgoing president, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, said black business must expect take part in efforts to resolve problems of South Africa.

Southern 3117192. **CONFERENCE DECISIONS** Pledge to

help revive negotiations process:

The problems he identified included the political impasse, unemployment, poverty and the economy.

He said Nafcoc members should be seen to be playing a meaningful role in bringing about change in South Africa.

Nafcoc had taken part in attempts to formulate an economic policy for the country.

Motsuenyane said the mass action spearheaded by the African National

Congress and its allies would destroy the country's economy.

The newly elected president of Nafcoc, Mr Archie Nkonyeni, said the businessmen's organisation would have to play a major role in bringing about peace and stability to the country.

He said issues to be addressed included housing, education and the acquiring of skills and technology for the development of black business.

Major test of ANC strength

CT 31/7/92 (274)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

NEXT week's national strike will be a major trial of strength for the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance.

The call for a two-day boycott of work and educational institutions by the alliance has been opposed by most other political and labour organisations.

On the left of the political spectrum, the stayaway action has been rejected by the PAC, Azapo, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), the New Unity Movement, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said his organisation was not really concerned about the decision of other left-wing organisations to opt out.

The strike has also been criticised by the National Party, the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party and a number of smaller parties on the right.

PAC general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander said the ANC's

Flame of democracy planned for Parade

THE ANC and its allies in the Western Cape yesterday revealed their plans for the pro-democracy campaign's mass action which is set to start with a stayaway on Monday and Tuesday.

At a press conference yesterday the organisations said they planned to occupy buildings, including the Receiver of Revenue building in the city, on Wednesday after a flame of democracy had been lit on the Grand Parade.

The mass action would continue on Thursday and Friday, when more marches and the occupation of factories would take place.

Western Cape church leaders have called on communities to respect the right of individuals to choose whether or not to stay away from work.

mass protests were not aimed at overthrowing the government. The PAC would not take part in any stayaway which had the purpose of "breathing life into Codesa".

He said the PAC regretted that the ANC "repeatedly ignored our overtures for consultation".

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said that the ANC-led alliance had not attempted to consult properly with other Patriotic Front members about the mass action, which he said was designed to help ex-

ecute the strategies of the ANC and the National Party.

Wosa chairman Dr Neville Alexander said that mass action could not be switched on and off in a bid to restart negotiations which were geared in any case to buying off the black middle class.

Dr Alexander said Wosa was "implacably opposed to any further disruption of the education process" and called on all pupils and students to go to educational institutions on August 3 and 4 and "to negotiate with the relevant authorities for space to hold awareness

classes".

Conservative Party manpower spokesman Mr Frank le Roux said yesterday that no democratic mandate had been received for next week's "illegal" strike, adding that it was "inevitable" action would be taken against strikers.

Democratic Party manpower spokesman Mr Robin Carlisle said that individuals had not been given the opportunity of a secret ballot "on an issue which vitally affects their well-being, remuneration and job security".

Cosatu

warns

firms

274
31/7/92

A GENERAL strike could be called to deal with companies which penalise workers for taking part in next week's two-day national stayaway, Cosatu's Western Cape secretary, Mr Jonathan Arendse, warned yesterday.

Cosatu released a list of 35 companies and employer associations in the Cape which could face union action over threatened "action against workers who participate in the week of action".

Appeal

Multinationals could face international isolation if they acted against employees taking part in the pro-democracy protests, Mr Arendse said at a news conference.

Commenting on the blacklist, Cape Town Chamber of Industries spokesman Mr Colin Boyes said the chamber had called on members to "soft-pedal" when dealing with the stayaway.

Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys yesterday appealed to all people involved in next week's mass action campaign to act responsibly and to limit economic and political damage. — Sapa

Code of conduct for mass protests

STRA 31/7/92

After a failed initiative to avert next week's two-day national general strike, church leaders and political and business groups, including the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola), have drafted a code of conduct for mass protests to ensure that the mass action runs peacefully.

Everyone wants progress towards a democracy and the end to violence. Actions such as stayaways and marches are being undertaken by some organisations as ways of realising this objective.

All must be free to choose what they want to do for peace and democracy without the fear of intimidation. All must respect the right of people to hold different views.

1. Those who choose to stay away from work or engage in public demonstrations must be allowed to do so without interference.
2. Those who choose to go to work or not participate in public demonstrations must be allowed to do so without interference.
3. No weapons of any kind should be carried during public demonstrations.
4. Organisers must take necessary steps to ensure that the protest action is peaceful.
5. Organisers must publicly issue instructions that will ensure that protest actions shall be carried out in a disciplined manner.
6. Organisers of marches or other protest actions must publicly declare their plans beforehand.
7. Employers should deal with the stayaway with sensitivity and make all efforts to reduce any potential for conflict or violence.
8. Those providing emergency services should not be hindered in their life-saving duties.
9. All parties shall ensure that their members do not interfere with journalists in their work.
10. The security forces must uphold the right of people to protest peacefully.
11. The security forces must not interfere with peaceful meetings, marches, rallies and demonstrations.
12. The security forces must exercise their duty impartially in protecting people who are taking part in protest actions, and those who choose not to do so.
13. The Government must act in such a manner that peace, reconciliation and stability shall speedily follow any period or event of protest.

All parties are called upon to act in a responsible way so as to ensure progress towards peace, democracy and an end to violence.

Democracy to own

AKG 3/17/92
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CLIVE SAWYER and SHARON SCORR, Staff Reporters

CITY administrators and employers are drawing up plans to ensure minimum disruption next week in anticipation of the two-day general strike called by the ANC and its allies.

For the first time, the government has agreed to United Nations monitoring of the strike and country-wide protests during the mass action programme.

Receiver to resist ANC bid

Official Staff AKG 3/17/92

SHOWDOWN is looming over the ANC's plans to occupy the offices of the Cape Town Receiver of Revenue as part of the mass action campaign on Wednesday.

Receiver of Revenue Mr. E. Conradie said today he would not allow it.

The ANC announced it intended marching to the Receiver's Plenum Street offices to hand over a document protesting against the payment of taxes without having the vote. The building would also be occupied.

Mr. Conradie said: "If they want to hand over a document, fine, I shall send it on to the relevant authorities because it is a political matter."

JCT to close on Monday

Staff Reporter

HE University of Cape Town could close on Monday to mark its commitment to reconstruction and peace and in respect for those who had lost their lives in the violence, Vice-Chancellor Dr. Stuart Sanders said today.

Academic activities would resume on Tuesday, and Monday's teaching and research programmes would be rescheduled. AKG 3/17/92

Monday's extra-mural studies courses have also been cancelled and will resume on August 10. André Brink's postmodernist novel course will begin as planned on Tuesday.

But President De Klerk said international efforts would be of "limited use" and only South Africans could revive stalled negotiations.

Cape Town city council is holding urgent talks with its unions to prevent disruption of services and the executive committee has asked ANC Western Cape leader Dr. Allan Boesak for a meeting over "problems" at recent protests.

"We are endeavouring to arrange things to go off with the least possible disruption," said executive committee chairman Mr. Dick Friedlander.

Cosatu regional spokesman Mr. Alan Roberts said all unions affiliated to the federation were supporting the stayaway and "a huge majority" of the 200 000-strong Western Cape membership was expected to stop work.

"We have stressed that no intimidation or coercion is to take place," he added.

A row has blown up over whether teachers and pupils should join the stayaway.

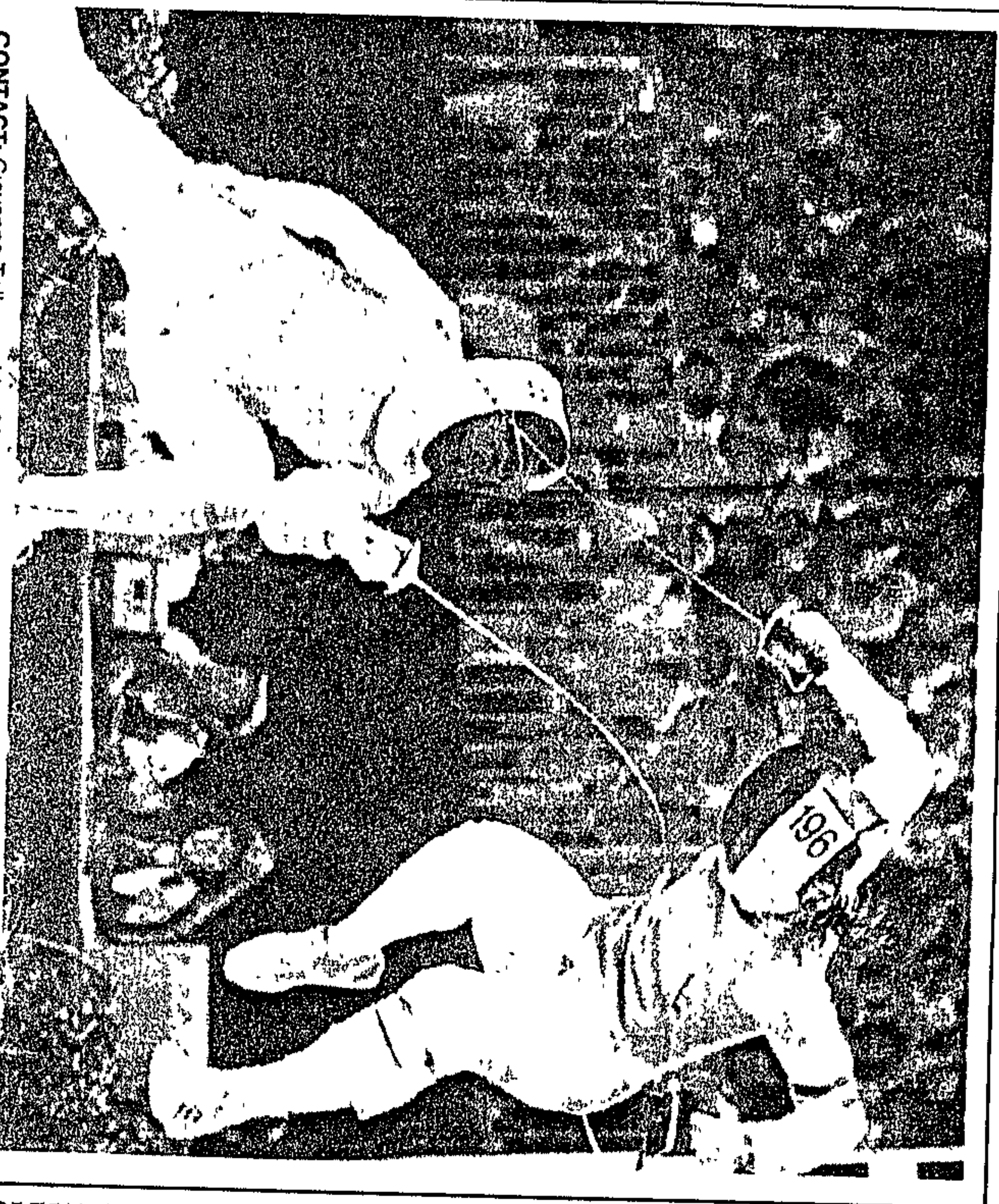
The ANC and five education organisations aligned to it have called for a boycott of classes while the PAC, the Pan-Africanist Student Organisation (Paso) and the Azanian Students Convention (Azasco) oppose the call.

Pensions

Several PAC-aligned organisations said yesterday that they would not take part in the worker stayaway.

Cape Provincial Administration regional director of community services Mr. S. P. Naudé said payment of pensions in the Western Cape would proceed as usual on Monday and Tuesday.

He had had discussions with senior members of the ANC who had given the assurance there would be no disruption.



CONTACT: Giovanna Trillini, right, of Italy leaps high during women's foil action against Nienfeng Wang of China in Barcelona. Trillini won the gold medal in the event. Picture The Associated Press.

Jani and the mystery 'spy'

'Green Party' will be launched today

JOHN YELD
Environment Reporter
AKG 3/17/92
A SOUTH African Green Party is being launched in Johannesburg and reached a maximum of about 1 800 paid-up members before going into decline.



Picture Leon Muller, the Argus

Strikers stage sit-in at Groote Schuur

ANDREA WEISS
Health Reporter

ABOUT 150 Health Workers Union members and their families occupied the administration block of Groote Schuur Hospital today because they had not been paid.

The Health Workers Union has been on strike since June 24 and the Cape Provincial Administration has adopted a policy of "no work, no pay."

Chief medical superintendent Dr. Jocelyn Kane-Berman said the strikers, some accompanied by toddlers, moved into the administration block soon after dawn when cleaners opened the building. They took the doors off the hinges, making it impossible to lock the block.

Mr. PRICE'S FACTORY SHOP

You'll never have to ask price again!

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He had had discussions with senior members of the ANC who had given the assurance there would be no disruption of payments or paypoints and staff and pensioners could go about their business undisturbed.

Regular broadcasts on Radio Good Hope on Monday and Tuesday will give householders information about city council refuse collection, which is likely to be disrupted.

Ambulance and fire services will not be affected in terms of an agreement between municipal employees and the city council.

Council workers are to occupy the Civic Centre concourse as part of the programme but have not disclosed when.

Deputy city administrator Mr Alan Dolby said meetings were to be held today with municipal trade unions over protests by employees planned for next week.

"We have not yet been told full details of the programme, but we do not see the situation as confrontational or as a protest against Cape Town City Council by its employees," he said.

A city council team will meet the African National Congress and police this afternoon to discuss an application for a demonstration on Wednesday.

"We are still waiting for details from organisers of protests and rallies."

continue

Alliance pledges itself to the code of conduct

UN watch on mass action

STAR 31/7/92

274

by Esther Waugh
and Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporters



UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is to send representatives to monitor next week's mass action.

The move comes after UN special representative Cyrus Vance had conveyed Mr Boutros-Ghali's "serious concern" in meetings with President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela, that the mass action could lead to violence.

Speaking last night on TV's Agenda, Mr de Klerk said the constructive approach by the international community could help to some extent, but South African leaders had to negotiate the country's future.

Full text of code — Page 3
No job protection — Page 10

Although the Government accepted the right to peaceful protest, mass action in a volatile atmosphere increased the risk of violence.

After next week's events, the resumption of negotiations was still the only option, Mr de Klerk added. Areas of disagreement were "narrow and bridgeable."

He reiterated his proposal for a meeting between himself, Mr Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the violence, and said an additional delegation nominated by the National Peace Committee could be included.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said last night the Government had no objections to the presence of UN observers.

The State President had strongly urged observers to act in co-ordination with the National Peace Secretariat.

As mass action preparations, headed by the work-stayaway on Monday and



Down the middle . . . a visitor to the Park Lane Clinic in Johannesburg leads his son between policemen and members of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union. The protesters want private hospitals to recognise their union. Picture: Gary Bernard

Tuesday went ahead, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said invitations to send monitors would, besides the UN, also be issued to the Commonwealth and Organisation of African Unity.

The decision to send observers comes after letters from Mr Boutros-Ghali expressing concern about the disruptive effects of mass action were delivered by Mr Vance to Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, which said it was "massive" support for its "cam-

paign for peace and democracy", called on its followers to ensure the stayaway was peaceful and that there would be no intimidation.

The alliance committed itself to the "Code of Conduct for Mass Protests" devised by church leaders together with other parties including the ANC, Cosatu, and the SA Co-ordinating Committee on Labour Affairs.

The ANC has assured the National Peace Secretariat that the mass action campaign will take place within the guidelines of the National Peace Accord.

Mr Ramaphosa said it was disappointing that Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel had not issued guidelines to the police.

The ANC alliance said that after "extensive consultations" with students' and teachers' organisations, it accepted their decision to take part in the stayaway.

The PAC, Azapo, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action and the National Council of Trade Unions have criticised the stayaway, and urged that students and teachers be exempted from it.

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APARTHEID

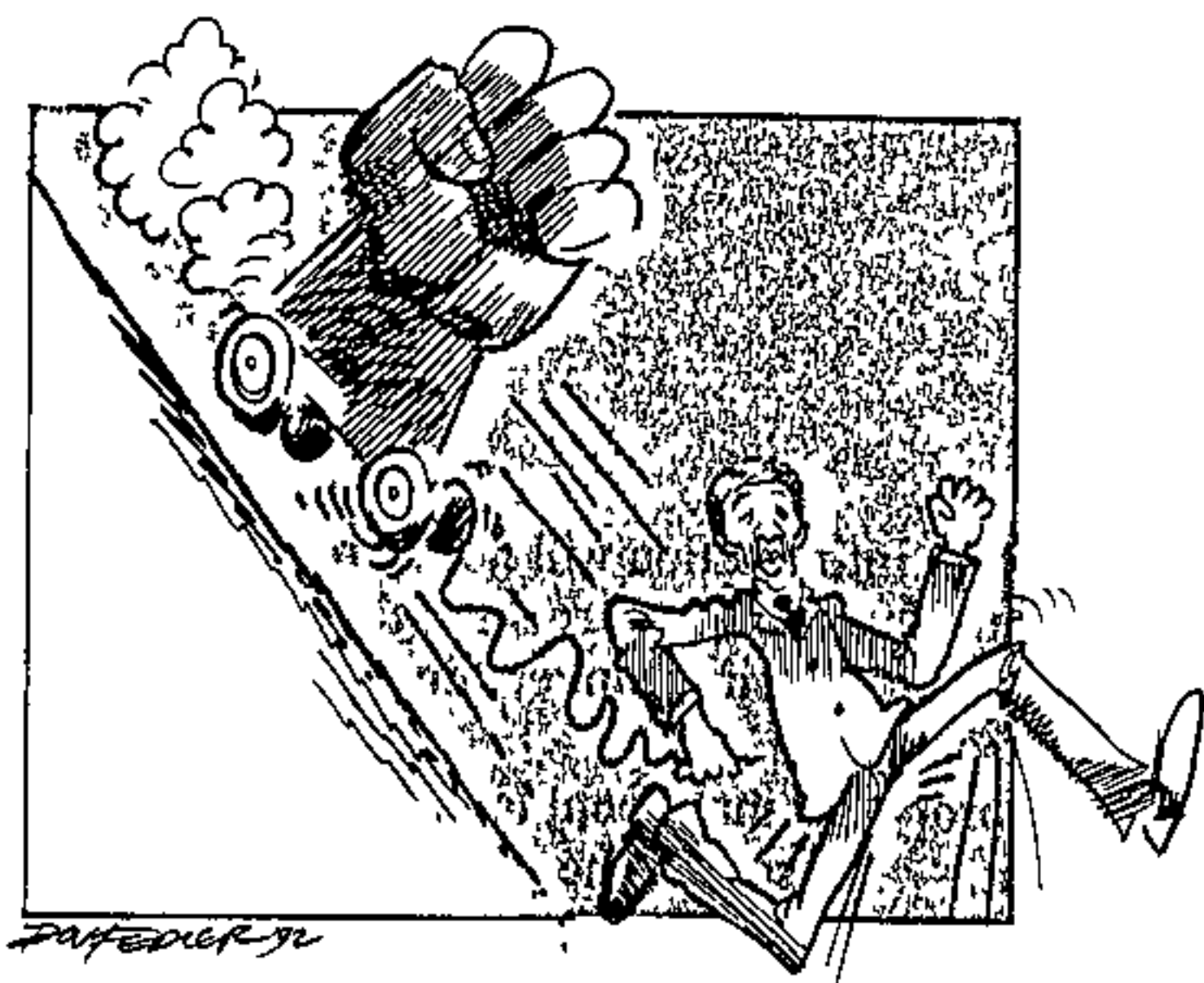
W/Mex 31/7-6/8/92

DEATHS AND INJURIES (274)

THIRTY-TWO people were killed and 168 were injured in the PWV, Natal and the Free State in the last week, says the Human Rights Commission (HRC). The number of deaths has halved since the last report but the number of injuries has increased from 45.

FM 31/7/92 (274)

continue



talks aimed at breaking the logjam.

Government believes it is critical to restart negotiations as soon as possible to undercut a new, more militant initiative expected from ANC alliance radicals in the wake of the lack of support for mass action. But this time agreement will have to be reached and implemented quickly, to ensure a perception in the townships of meaningful progress towards a new social and political order.

While welcoming the inability of organised mass action over the past two weeks to do little more than disrupt traffic, a senior source says government is extremely concerned at the level of violence related to mass action — but not part of official programmes. Government accepts that ANC

leaders needed to consolidate their constituency after the collapse of Codesa 2, but believes the flagging enthusiasm for mass action and increasing township violence is now becoming counter-productive.

The ANC leadership must also be worried: the destruction of private property, township anarchy and increasing strike-related violence is clearly not part of mass action as envisaged by leaders of the alliance. It may be difficult to stop.

The government source says there's concern that the ANC has "over-extended" itself. Though the failure of mass action may vindicate the moderates, it could also weaken them: further radicalisation of some township groups means the ANC may return to the negotiating table in a weaker position than when it walked out of Codesa 2. "Under such conditions it may be difficult to make a proper deal," said the government source. "Obviously we're in competition with the ANC, but it's not in their interest or in the interest of SA that the ANC loses control over its constituency."

However, Robert Schrire of the University of Cape Town's Institute for Study of Public Policy, believes mass action is "overrated." He says negotiations centre on "elites and organisation." The question now is whether the ANC leadership feels sufficiently strengthened to push ahead with talks.

Rather than undermine ANC leaders, he

believes the failure of mass action will strengthen their position because they won't be handicapped by the potential threat of militant mobs in the streets — which may have been the case had mass action brought people out in giant rallies and processions.

Shrire believes there's a considerable threat inherent in the inability of the negotiating "elites" to reach agreement while chaos reigns around them. "The danger of a slide into anarchy is the reality, not always perceived, that elites at some stage lose the ability to restore order even if, belatedly, they finally agree to co-operate with each other."

Though mass action is due to roll on for some time still, next week's two-day strike could be decisive in determining the alliance's strategy. The collapse of the proposed Cosatu/Saccola accord was seen as a blow to the alliance, which had hoped to pull organised businesses on to its bandwagon.

Government, on the other hand, was determined not to allow business to be hijacked by what it sees as a blatantly political campaign, particularly in the light of the failure of mass action and the possibility of an unenthusiastic response to the strike.

Instead, government wants mass action and the strike to run its course, after which it is confident the ANC — bolstered by the new concessions about to be announced — will be willing to resume negotiations.

FM 31/7/92 (274)

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Veteran SA watcher Heribert Adam, of Vancouver's Simon Fraser University and currently teaching at UCT's business school, believes mass action may play into government's hands by discrediting the ANC among the "mass of apolitical, law and order-orientated voters. Instead of retaining the moral high ground, a remarkably moderate liberation movement will be associated with anarchy and economic decline. Only the advocates of violence without victors can hope to benefit from such a course of events."

Adam believes the ANC overestimates its current international standing and clout. He says what's happening in SA can't be equated with the overthrow of authoritarian governments in eastern Europe, where the West backed anti-communist uprisings. In SA, a communist-aligned opposition wants to overthrow an "arch-capitalist order. Why would Kohl, Bush or Major empathise with 'left' experiments of redistribution in SA? A like-minded, 'reasonable' De Klerk strikes a far more amenable note."

The Vance visit, though unlikely to provide any new answers to SA's crises this time around, could be the peg on which the ANC hangs its decision to talk again. So far, according to groups that have seen him, Vance has done a great deal of listening and not much talking, which is precisely what he was expected to do. The difficult task will be

assessing a situation based on such a range of conflicting claims and allegations and then suggesting generally acceptable ways of breaking the logjam.

It may be that the feuding parties will be back at the talks table of their own accord before that happens. Once there, they have a number of options.

At this stage, Schrire sees three possibilities — he cynically calls it his "late July perspective" because next week it may be overtaken by new events.

Firstly, the ANC and government could fail to agree on key issues, such as power-sharing versus majoritarianism and federalism versus a unitary State. Negotiations collapse, leading to further socio-economic decline, more violence, an authoritarian government and international isolation.

Secondly, a coerced outcome is possible, as almost happened at Codesa 2. But the consequences could be that leaderships are repudiated by their constituencies, or accept deals as the best possible at the time, but later renege on them.

Thirdly, a new agreement is reached that all parties can live with.

Idasa's Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert sees four possibilities:

- ☐ Pacts among the elites, who then try to drive the transitional process;
- ☐ Unilateral imposition of transition, including co-option and the creation of an

oligarchy;

- ☐ Pressure from the masses such as the Leipzig option (the alliance's rolling mass action) which forces government to capitulate; and
- ☐ Revolutionary violence.

While all four possibilities are hinted at in SA today, the "pacted transition" option is dominant and more likely to succeed than "pressure from below." However, a pact may be threatened by issues such as: competition for support among participants; tensions centred on the balance (or lack of it) between power and responsibility; difficulty in compromising between constituency and strategy (such as mass action and negotiation); and "strategic ambiguity" among all major players.

Adam believes the most dramatic breakthrough would be a government-initiated nonracial referendum on power sharing vs majoritarianism. "It would need the support of the ANC and other parties. International opinion could persuade the contenders to travel along this route in their own interest."

But what if negotiations don't resume, or collapse irretrievably soon after they do? Could government push ahead with a settlement excluding the ANC? Such a scenario has been discussed during NP think-tank sessions, but is not a serious option at this stage, according to a senior party source. "I can't foresee the ANC being weakened to

Continue ->

MASS ACTION FM

Ways of escape

31/7/92

(274)

(300) (152)

The failure of mass action so far and growing concern that next week's planned general strike will push blacks further apart rather than unite them, is strengthening the hand of ANC moderates who are keen to get back to the negotiating table.

Added support for their position is expected within days — probably before the strike — when government discloses a new plan to get talks back on track. The package, finalised at a meeting of Cabinet Ministers and senior officials at a secret venue in the Transvaal bush last week, is believed to go further than ever towards meeting ANC demands for the transitional phase.

It is expected to include plans to cut government spending, in part by reducing the size of the bureaucracy; further beef up the maintenance of law and order; and provide for increased international participation in assisting with and monitoring the transition.

In addition, church leaders met government this week to put forward proposals for the resumption of negotiations and UN envoy Cyrus Vance continued wide-ranging

Continue →

P.T.O.

CURRENT AFFAIRS Fm 31/7/92

(274) (182) (304A)
the point where we could consider making a viable deal stick without their participation."

The situation may change if the ANC splits into moderate and radical factions, but, says the source, the NP doesn't see that happening in the medium term. "We know there's a great deal of tension within the ANC and even disarray on some issues, but a split seems highly unlikely." Schrire believes a settlement excluding the ANC could be considered if talks become deadlocked to the extent that there's no chance of either side budging further on major issues.

It may then be possible — but not desirable — to mobilise enough non-ANC support within SA to push through a federal option. As long as the elections are democratic, nonracial and free and fair, it's possible that the international community will tolerate, if not fully accept, the new government.

(304A)

CURRENT AFFAIRS

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HRC reports 32 unrest dead

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

(274)

THIRTY-TWO people were killed and 168 injured in unrest-related incidents this week, said the "weekly repression report" of the Human Rights Commission (HRC). 6:04 PM 31/7/92

The East Rand was the most violent area, with 10 deaths and 10 injuries in the seven-day period.

The HRC said security forces were to blame for four of the deaths and more than 120 injuries, while vigilante-related actions accounted for 23 deaths and 31 injuries.

Five policemen were killed.

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GENERAL

1992

AUGUST, _____

Complaints against ANC

By Mathatha Tsedu
Investigations Editor

By the end of July, the Peace Secretariat had received 95 complaints of alleged violations of the peace accord, Peace Committee chairman, Mr John Hall has revealed

The complaints were all from the police and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), who were in the main complaining about ANC utterances and behaviour.

The IFP also filed complaints against the police and the defence force.

The ANC, which is a signatory to the accord, had not filed any complaints against anyone, Hall said.

He said the ANC had not used the complaint mechanism.

None of the complaints filed has been completely solved as the mechanism for dispute resolution is too long. Attempts are presently being made to shorten the procedure and thereby give the accord the necessary teeth, Hall said.

CASE STUDY:

PEACE SEARCH Attempts made to shorten the dispute resolution mechanism:

The following is one case reported last week to the Witbank Regional Dispute Resolution Committee:

Following the furore in July over alleged delivery of arms by police to Inkatha in the town, the owners of the building in which the KwaZulu government has offices, Beatty Investment CC of the Bhamjee brothers, has been targeted for a consumer boycott by the ANC.

According to the affidavit made by Moosa and Ahmed Bhamjee, the ANC is insisting that Beatty Investment should evict the KwaZulu government from the Tri Angle building, which is incidentally also shared by Cosatu affiliate Numsa.

The Bhamjee family contends that they are bound by contractual obligations and cannot evict the KwaZulu officials unless there has been a breach of the contract.

The insistence on the eviction of the KwaZulu offices followed the alleged delivery of arms to that office, a delivery that police later said was a consignment destined for a London antique gun dealer.

Several meetings were held with the local ANC officials and letters had also been sent to ANC NEC members, including Secretary General Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Ahmed Kathrada but no response has been received.

Meanwhile there are threats to burn their building near the local township unless they throw out the "blood thirsty people"

The Bhamjee brothers, in a letter sent by their attorney to the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee on Friday, said the behaviour of the ANC was contrary to the Peace Accord which the ANC drafted and signed.

"This complaint of our clients will

also be brought to the attention of the United Nations Monitoring Group as well as Foreign Ministers of Britain (Mr D Hurd), Portugal and Denmark," the letter requesting action stated.

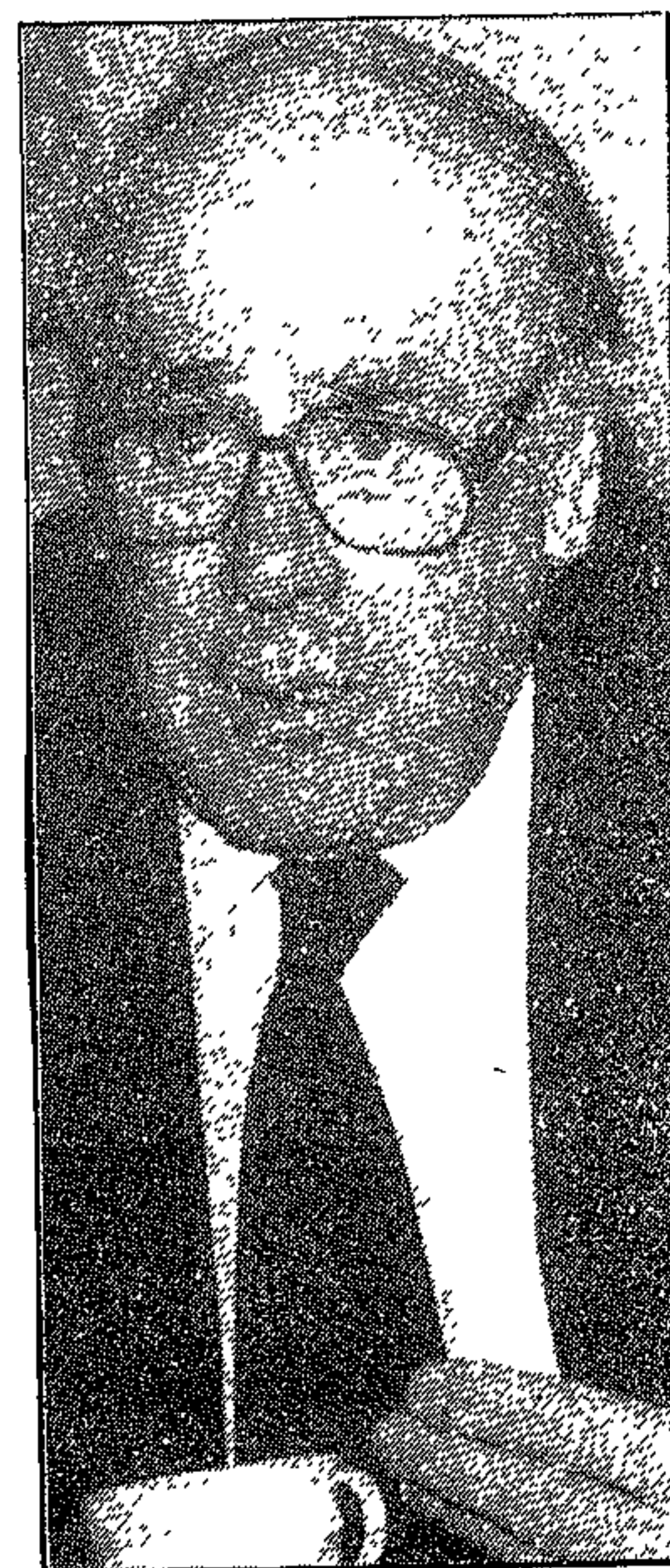
ANC regional executive member, Mr Jackson Tembu, told reporters in July that the regional executive would inform the local branch in Witbank that action against a businessman for letting premises to KwaZulu government and therefore Inkatha, was wrong.

Moosa Bhamjee told *Sowetan* at the weekend that his business was suffering.

"I have even spoken to Matthews Phosa and asked him as a lawyer how he thought I could evict people with whom I had a contract and he said I should find a way but the offices had to go.

"We have helped the ANC in the past. When Walter Sisulu came here we donated R12 000 to make the visit a success, but this is political intolerance and should be stopped," Bhamjee said.

The matter is now in the hands of the Peace Committee, but whether it will be resolved, or it will join the 95 or more others that are outstanding, remains to be seen.



Peace Committee chairman John Hall

Whites are 'in Accord for peace'

Chairman says they are grassroots people:

By Mathatha Tsedu
Investigations Editor

EIGHTY percent of the chairmen of the local dispute resolutions committees in the PWV are white

The chairman of the National Peace Committee, Mr John Hall, is also white.

So also are many officials of the Peace related structures all over the country.

As the violence affects black people, is the absence of black leadership in these institutions contributing to the failure of the accord to curb the violence, we asked Hall in an exclusive interview

"It is possible that the race of the people leading the peace initiative now may have something to do with it but I do not think so," he said.

"There is a logic about the abundance of whites in these structures and it is simply that it is very difficult to get anybody from the affected communities to chair and be seen as impartial by all the parties.

"I sometimes get worried when I attend meetings of the chairmen of the local dispute resolutions committees and find that over 80 percent of the people there are white."

He said, however, that the people involved in the peace initiative were grassroots people who were as much part of the communities as their black counterparts.

Hall also responded to accusations by certain sections of the black community who insist that white involvement in peace efforts, especially his own involvement, were merely to stabilise the situation for super profits of capital

"There is obviously an element of self interest in all this but the efforts are for the benefit of all people," said Hall. But whoever levels such an accusation will be cynical in the extreme.

"I was in the Peace Accord because of my chairmanship of SACOB I chaired, as you will obviously remember, the Peace Convention with Sam Motsuenyane.

"I was asked by the parties to chair and it takes tremendous amount of my time in addition to my normal jobs



Wives of the victims of violence meet to discuss their tragedy and the way forward.

The Peace Accord fails to bring harmony

Killings continue and yet a sterling document cites causes and remedies for all:

By Mathatha Tsedu
Investigations Editor

EVERYONE is agreed that the fanfare at the Carlton Hotel last September to launch the Peace Accord has not translated into effective curbing of violence.

And as more and more people die in train attacks, house attacks, random attacks and ambushes, the question everyone is asking is what did not go right.

The Peace Accord is a sterling document that cannot be improved. It lays down the causes of the violence, from political intolerance to economic issues such as unemployment and shabby housing.

It lays down, too, how these problems could be resolved. The protagonists should talk to each other, the private sector and Government should put money aside for social upgrading of affected areas and thereby create jobs.

The police, ANC, IFP and other organisations that have signed the accord, have pledged themselves to obeying the accord.

And yet the killings continue. And with that, the misery of those who have become internal refugees in the land of their birth.

People today sleep huddled in churches while their houses stand empty nearby or are being plundered by renegade killers.

Stand and wonder

Widows and orphans and indeed whole communities in Alexandra, Folweni, Boipatong, Mzimhlophe and others stand and wonder where it will all end

Political organisations have been asked to state their reasons why they think the accord did not work or is not working as it should

They blame each other.

What do you as a resident of an affected area think can be done to help stem the tide of killings in your area or other areas?

Why do you think the Peace Accord nearly worked but has so obviously failed?

Is it fair to expect peace to reign in a country where the majority are still powerless, where liberation movements still feel that the need for armed struggle to bring down the present oppressive regime is still there?

In a country where killers stalk the land virtually free to do as they want, and police seemingly seen as part and parcel of the problem, where there is no justice to speak of, can peace come? And if so how?

Write to *Sowetan* Peace Campaign and state your views and suggestions. Address your letters to Sowetan Peace Campaign, PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000.



Nelson Mandela has signed the Peace Accord

Hands-off — even if violence erupts: UN team

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ARG 1/8/92

Weekend Argus Correspondent

NEW YORK. — A team of officials from the United Nations is due in Johannesburg tomorrow to observe the planned week-long mass demonstrations and industrial action, but — as a spokesman emphasised — not to try to intervene if violence erupts.

The mission constitutes a further extension of UN involvement in South African internal problems, begun even before Codesa.

The government acquiesced in the dispatch of the UN team after Mr Nelson Mandela proposed the idea, according to officials in Pretoria and New York.

Cyrus Vance, the UN mediator, was said to have endorsed the proposal and obtained government assent.

One of the UN staff who accompanied him to South Africa, Hisham Omayad of Ghana, will head the mission.

It is believed to be the first time the UN has agreed to send staff members specifically to observe political demonstrations.

However, UN spokesman Francois Giuliani disputed a reporter's contention that it was an unorthodox action. As the government and the ANC agreed to it, it was an appropriate measure "when you have massive demonstrations of a political nature organised in a country like South Africa, where there are major problems of a constitutional kind," he said.

He appeared unclear about the precise modalities of the nine-person mission, which includes three Americans, a Japanese and a Portuguese. The only African other than the leader is Shola Omoregie of Nigeria. The remaining member is from Guyana.

Earlier, UN sources had said that most of the team would be Africans. It was not disclosed whether the South African mission was consulted about the composition of the group.

A senior UN official emphasised that regardless of nationality they must be considered independent.

Mr Omayada would report

back to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali "if there is anything to report," Mr Giuliani said.

"It is a UN presence and they are observers," he stated when pressed to say whether the group might intervene in case of acts of violence during the demonstrations, either by the demonstrators or by security forces — as one reporter put it, "if the police crack heads."

He also stressed that the group would be co-operating with the non-partisan National Peace Committee.

All caveats aside, diplomats in New York said the UN move was in sharp contrast to the hands-off attitude the world body was forced to take at the height of the political confrontation with South Africa, when Pretoria regularly invoked the Charter prohibition on "interference in the domestic affairs" of a member state.

Regardless of what Mr Vance reports back next week, there is still speculation that Mr Boutros-Ghali himself may visit South Africa in September.

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Protest 'will cost jobs'

THE mass action of the ANC alliance would further impoverish millions of South Africans who could least afford it, the National Party said yesterday.

The office of the party's secretary-general said in Cape Town that thousands of people would lose their jobs and prospects of obtaining work in the future would diminish. Thousands were also going to be subjected to dehumanising intimidation and even violence. — Sapa.

ARC 11/1/92

Action 'undemocratic'

(274)
JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC alliance's mass action plans were undemocratic and an abuse of human rights, the Democratic Party's Robin Carlisle said yesterday.

ARC 7/8/92
He said the campaign to occupy businesses was unlawful and an abuse of human rights, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions did not have a mandate to stage mass protests.

Fedsal to work on

JOHANNESBURG. — The Federation of South African Labour Unions has called for the safety of its 220 000 members during the general strike on Monday and Tuesday. ARG 118192

Fedsal's national executive committee had voted against the planned mass action "and their members in the banking, municipal, motor, transport, mining, industrial and other sectors will be going to work". (187) (274)

UN will monitor mass action: Vance

JOHANNESBURG. — United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance said yesterday UN observers monitoring next week's mass action campaign would work in co-operation with the Peace Secretariat.

A statement issued on Mr Vance's behalf said: "We are pleased to be able to respond to the request of the parties to provide observers during the period of mass action next week. As requested, there will be almost a dozen UN observers, working in close co-operation with the Peace Secretariat." — Sapa..

No quick fix, warn peace-brokers

STAR 1/8/92

JOE LOUW

(274)

THE peace process is alive and well in South Africa, despite an alarming increase in the level of political violence. This is the evaluation of an 11-man delegation of regional dispute resolution committees which met under the auspices of the National Peace Secretariat (NPS) in Pretoria this week.

But there were no "quick fix" solutions in the offing, the delegation said in a statement.

The peace-brokers took a hard look at what was described "a complicated, long-term process".

"A new realism has set in," said Peter Gastrow, NPS member and Democratic Party spokesman on law and order.

"Most of the romantic notions of peace songs and doves have been put aside and al-

though no one has given up hope, we all realise that peace is going to be hard work."

Despite a national and regional leadership undertaking "to hang in there", said Gastrow, the starkest judgment was that peace had not "produced the goods".

Provocative

"At grassroots level, people are living with violence and those who expected the local dispute resolution committees to produce fast and visible results were quickly disenchanted," Gastrow said.

"Many local participants have had a difficult time justifying their participation in

committees that do not bring peace."

National Peace Committee (NPC) member and chairman of the NPS, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, apportioned blame to the leadership of major political parties for "far too much war talk, provocative war trials and contravention complaints".

The ANC, he said, had assured the NPS that its planned mass action would be conducted "within the framework of the NPC — without violence".

The strike action by members of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union would be approached with a view to mediating, "even though it is not our aim to interfere in industrial disputes", Gildenhuys said.

Neither was the relationship between the police and the community good, Gildenhuys said, announcing more effective ways of following up complaints against the police.

Asked whether the NPC had been effective, Gildenhuys said there would have been more violence without the National Peace Accord.

A large number of peace structures — 59 local and 11 regional dispute resolution committees — had been put in place since the signing of the peace accord 10 months ago.

And while NPC structures were currently under "enormous pressure" to produce results, distrust was rife in violence-torn areas and many obstacles needed to be overcome, Gildenhuys said.

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the campaign was announced several alliance spokesmen talked about toppling FW de Klerk no later than December.

The impression created in the minds of the public was that De Klerk would be confronted by a combination of several forces – sit-ins at government buildings, work stoppages, marches in the cities, a general strike, total defiance of government – culminating in the collapse of his regime.

If the Leipzig strategy is no longer considered an option, something which was unrealistic from the start anyway, one question begs answering: What is the aim of the present campaign?

On his arrival this week from abroad, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the aim was the immediate transfer of power and installation of an interim government of national unity.

How the combined forms of mass action can result in the realisation of these goals the ANC leadership has not been able to explain clearly.

Most observers concede that the sort of pressures that the ANC and its partners can exert on the government through mass action are not likely to lead to its collapse or force it to make substantial concessions.

In fact, since the start of the campaign on June 16, the exercise has not drawn the huge crowds that were spoken about

THIS ISN'T LEIPZIG . . . But friends of the present regime would be



The might of Cosatu will bring the country to a standstill for the next two days. But government opponents can't expect FW's political head to roll when strikers down tools in the push for democracy this week, warns SEKOLA SELLO.

and are necessary to bear pressure on the government. This must have emboldened De Klerk.

The so-called occupation of government buildings – insofar as it has taken place on the Reef, the Eastern and Western Cape – has also been a rather damp squib.

Last week the organisers spoke of bringing the cities to a standstill. Nothing of the sort happened. Johannesburg and Durban drew 2 000 protesters each while Port Elizabeth had the biggest crowd, 15 000, but definitely not the size to bring any metropolis to a halt.

Critics of the ANC alliance see the poor attendances at rallies and street marches and the failure to bring the cities to a standstill as indicating failure of the

campaign. Nothing could be further from the truth.

There was too much hyperbole about the campaign. Speaking about "a general strike unprecedented in the history of this country" is the sort of language the masses like to hear. But, what are politics without a dash of propaganda and exaggeration?

Cosatu knows perfectly well that given the shape of the economy, it cannot sustain a strike for more than a week. No well-informed observer could have taken them seriously when they spoke of an indefinite general strike. That was never on.

What the events of recent weeks have done is to show the limitations of the alliance. And it would be folly for the establish-

28/9/92

(2-14)

Much ado about nothing

IN THE next two days SA industry will come to a virtual standstill as millions of workers countrywide heed an ANC-inspired stayaway.

But, after the downing of tools accompanied by the predictable ritual of denouncing the government and big business and making the already well-known demands, what will the strike achieve in concrete terms?

No doubt the strike will have as crippling an effect as last November's anti-Value Added Tax strike, if not worse. Last year an estimated three million people took part in the strike.

The anti-VAT strike drew concrete benefits from the taxman. Some basic foodstuffs which the government wanted to tax remained zero-rated.

This was by no means all that the workers, the majority of whom are underpaid, wanted – but their actions had tangible results.

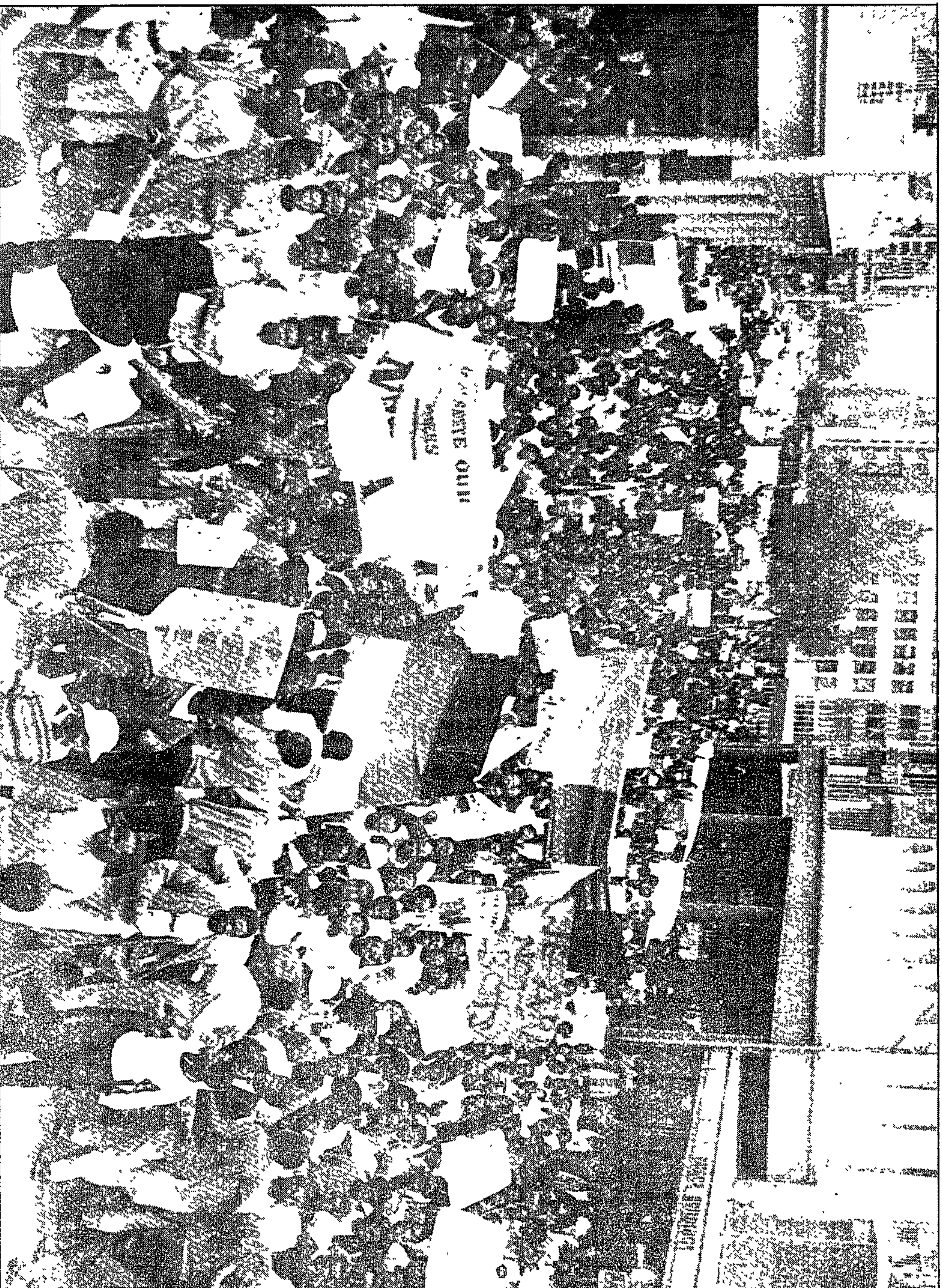
Can tomorrow and Tuesday's strike achieve tangible results as well?

Whereas the anti-VAT strike had a clear objective – to avoid the introduction of VAT and to exempt from taxation certain basic foodstuffs, medicines, electricity and water, the goals of the current strike are far more complex.

The ANC and its major alliance partners in the rolling mass campaign, the SACP and Cosatu, have acknowledged, one suspects rather reluctantly, that the campaign is not insurrectionist.

It is not insurrectionist in the classic sense of what happened in places like East Germany – the so-called Leipzig option – where masses stayed away from work and occupied government buildings until the regime was toppled.

While non-insurrection now seems to be the prevailing view in the tripartite alliance, at the time



foolish to cheer as they weather mass action and continue to warm the seats of government.

FW will take the mass action blows clinging on to the levers of power

clipper 2/8/92

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ment to draw any comfort from this.

If the ANC alliance cannot sustain a strike for more than a week, it is equally true that the establishment (that is big business and the government) are more vulnerable to any industrial strife. A two-day strike is far more damaging to them.

Typical of Pretoria and the captains of industry is to make a song and dance about the millions of rands workers lose in wages during industrial strife. This, does not wash. The simple truth is that blacks, even the most underpaid, will grit their teeth to survive two days of no work, no pay.

Big business is also hanging tough. Some are threatening dismissals should workers stay away.

Their calculation is that Cosatu is now vulnerable and ready to be bashed and weakened further.

If the economy takes another pounding as a result of the strike – as it is no doubt going to – the ANC and Cosatu should not be blamed for destroying the country's economy. Looking for scapegoats or trying to weaken Cosatu through dismissal of its members is not a realistic way to address the problem.

Ordinary members of the tripartite alliance, starry-eyed at the prospect of toppling the government, will be disappointed that De Klerk will survive this campaign.

The simple truth is that in this battle of attrition there are not

going to be any winners. Cosatu cannot or must not overplay its hand. It knows how weak the economy is and the consequences of damaging it further.

There was a time when mineworkers were the largest component of Cosatu. Today, after the retrenchment of thousands of their members, they are playing a secondary role to the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa).

The standoff between the ANC and De Klerk will continue for some time. After the ANC has played its trump card (the general strike) and exhausted itself, De Klerk will still be in government, battered and bruised no doubt, but still holding the levers of power.

Both the ANC and the government, like punch-drunk boxers, will get back to their respective corners, realise the futility of trying to knock out the other and decide that another battle plan is better than a slugging match.

Another equation that has been overlooked in the heat of mass action is that the ANC is already electioneering. Who says this may not be – in the scheme of things – part of the grand electioneering strategy?

Mass demo debate

Goldstone Commission invites public to hear experts

JOHN VILJOEN, Staff Reporter

LAWS controlling the obtaining of permission for mass demonstrations need to be simplified, according to Mr Niel Rossouw, Cape Attorney-General and member of the Goldstone Commission.

He made the comment yesterday during a Press briefing where he invited the public to an open sitting of the Goldstone Commission at which a multi-national panel will hold a report-back session on mass demonstrations.

The session will be held next Thursday at 11 am in Lecture Theatre 1 at the Breakwater Campus on the Waterfront.

The committee had taken the unusual step of allowing television cameras to film the open session, Mr Rossouw said.

Political organisations have been invited to the session for debate with the panel.

A committee of the Goldstone Commission was established to inquire into mass demonstrations and will attend the open session, listening to the debate rather than hearing evidence, Mr Rossouw said.

The committee's purpose was to study rules for mass demonstrations to be adhered to by marchers, police and municipal authorities, he said.

Mr Rossouw felt the committee's suggestions would provide a better basis for controls on mass demonstrations in the future.

Legislation governing protests should allow people to demonstrate, but with the minimum of disruption to traffic.

Mr Rossouw said the committee had to find ways to eliminate unpredictability during protests.

"When someone does something the other side does not expect, tension can arise which can lead to problems."

The panel had had responses from the Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC, Cosatu, the police, the Pretoria City Council and the Urban Monitoring and Awareness Committee.

The panel will be chaired by Professor Philip Heyman, a director of the Harvard Law School Center for Criminal Justice.

Other members are Professor C Flinck, of the universities of Rotterdam, Holland and Leuven; Dr P A J Waddington, a sociologist and author on policing techniques, of the universities of London and Reading; Professor C Shearing of the universities of Toronto and the Western Cape; Professor T Geldenhuys, associate criminal law professor at Unisa.

Professor Don Foster, professor of psychology at the University of Cape Town, Mr Charles Louw, a Cape Town advocate, and Mr C J van der Merwe, an attorney and president of the Natal Municipal Association and member of the National Committee for Local Government Affairs.

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APG 2/17/92

Weapons: FW

'had no reply' (274)

STAN 31819
President de Klerk had no answer when asked why he had legalised the carrying in public of dangerous weapons, ANC president Nelson Mandela alleged last night.

Mr Mandela was appearing on SABC-TV's "Agenda". He was asked whether, with South Africa poised on a knife-edge following the breakdown of negotiations, and mass action about to start, he and Mr de Klerk's "special chemistry" could save the situation.

He said it was wrong to imagine that negotiations between a liberation movement and the Government would proceed smoothly. Despite hiccups, "the clear picture is one of progress".

He differed with the State President on certain issues.

Between 1984 and August 1990, 5 000 people had been killed by people wielding assegais, knobkerries and axes, Mr Mandela said.

"Now, in the Transvaal, it was a criminal offence to carry these weapons in public. Mr de Klerk, knowing that these weapons had been used to kill people, changed the law to make it now legal..."

He had asked Mr de Klerk for an explanation. "He just has no answer". — Sapa.

New legislation on intimidation

274 TIM COHEN 327

PRETORIA — Tough legislation aimed at curbing intimidation, banning private armies and providing harsh sentences for the illegal use of certain weapons came into effect at the weekend.

A notice in the Government Gazette published on Friday brought into effect the Criminal Law Second Amendment Act and a separate schedule defined the classes of weaponry prescribed under the Act.

The schedule effectively includes AK-47s, hand grenades, rocket launchers, mortars and mines. A minimum five-year prison term will be imposed if a person is convicted of committing an offence with a weapon possessed unlawfully. 6/DA 3/8/92

A magistrate may also authorise the detention of people withholding information from the police about such weapons, subject to certain regulations.

The Act criminalises the training or equipping of military or quasi-military organisations which could usurp the functions of the SAP or SADF.

The Intimidation Act is also extended to criminalise indirect forms of intimidation.

Previously it was an offence if someone had been persuaded, with threats, to do something. Now it is an offence if the intimidator fills someone with fear.

Numsa workers jump strike gun

6/DA 3/8/92

DIRK HARTFORD

NUMSA members at several factories in Benoni jumped the gun on the union's national strike — officially due to begin today — and started striking on Friday.

Several Seifsa members have already given notice to the union they intend to lock out workers next week. Numsa is striking in the motor, tyre and rubber, and metal and engineering industries.

It will be impossible to gauge the support for the strike before Wednesday, because of the general strike. Even after that it could be difficult — depending on the extent of the mass action programme.

In the motor manufacturing sector, for example, Samcor has closed for the entire week by arrangement with Numsa shop stewards. So it is not actually clear if the workers are on strike or not.

If all Numsa's 250 000 members in the affected sectors come out, it will be the biggest industrial strike in SA's history.

Meanwhile, Seifsa denied last week that it had "bugged or made use of dishonest means" to get information on Numsa's strike.

Seifsa spokesman Hendrik van der Heever said the suggestion was laughable.

He said Seifsa had learnt of the strike plans through its members, who had received written notice that the strike would start today.

Seifsa also said Numsa was "lying" in alleging that Seifsa had not responded to its inquiries on irregularities in the Seifsa ballot. Seifsa is going ahead with an interdict against Numsa for ballot irregularities.

Sources in the motor manufacturing, and tyre and rubber, industries said they expected to meet Numsa this week to continue negotiation.

Sapa reports from East London that more than 2 000 workers at Mercedes-Benz in East London will strike from today, Numsa said on Friday.

A further 1 300 Numsa members in the region involved in the engineering sector would also go on strike over an industrial dispute concerning wages and working conditions, said Numsa's Border secretary Enoch Godongwana. Godongwana said the strike was separate from the two-day stayaway beginning today and would continue beyond that.

A Mercedes spokesman said the company could not comment on the situation as the dispute had developed in the national bargaining forum representing the seven motor manufacturers.

Protests ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ in Europe to support SA action

Aug 3/8/92

AAM calls for reappraisal

LONDON. — Demonstrations are to be held in London and most major European cities today to correspond with the start of the ANC's week-long campaign of mass action in South Africa, the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) said.

A spokesman for the London-based organisation said a big demonstration would be held outside the South African Embassy in the British capital to-night.

In a statement, the AAM said it would present a 12-page memorandum demanding a fundamental reappraisal of British government policy towards South Africa to the British Foreign Minister responsible for Southern Africa, Mrs Linda Chalker.

The organisation urged the European Community to send an urgent fact-finding mission to South Africa to establish how the Community could contribute towards ending political violence and creating condi-

tions for a resumption of constitutional talks.

Britain, as President of the European Community, should use its influence to put international pressure on the South African government to immediately respond to a range of measures for the ending of violence proposed by the Goldstone Commission, National Peace Accord structures, the ANC, church leaders and trade unionists.

"Such measures should include, in particular, action relating to hostels, the carrying of dangerous weapons, and special (security force) units such as Koevoet and Battalions 31 and 32."

Britain should further ensure there was rapid agreement on a mechanism for international monitoring and investigation of South African violence.

It should persuade the government to agree to a democratically elected constituent assembly to draw up and adopt a new constitution and for an interim government to rule during the transition. — Sapa.

FAC
town

Unions, employers agree on strike losses

THE impact on production of this week's mass action — particularly from Wednesday to Friday — will be limited by several agreements which have been reached between employers and unions.

National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) assistant general-secretary Mr Marcel Golding said at the weekend that agreements for

members have indicated they would open their factories on Saturday to make up for Monday and Tuesday.

Similar arrangements have been made in the retail sector. Various Natal employer organisations and Cosatu have signed a declaration to "ensure that the risk of violence and intimidation is minimised".

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'A-team' here for stayaway

CT 3/8/92

JOHANNESBURG — Seven members of the UN observer team — described as the "A-team from New York" — arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday and were quickly dispatched to posts around the country where they will monitor the ANC alliance's two-day stayaway.

The seven members join three other UN monitors who are already in the country after assisting UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance, who left South Africa on Friday.

Mission head Mr Hisham Omayad said the team members would act primarily as observers, although they would mediate between groups during the stayaway if called on to do so. He stressed that team members would act in accordance with the National Peace Accord



UN PRESENCE... Head of the UN monitoring team Mr Hisham Omayad (right) and team member Mr Shola Omotegbe of Nigeria address journalists after arriving yesterday.

structures and would be briefed by the chairmen of the local and regional dispute resolution committees. They would be free to go anywhere in their areas and observe all activities related to mass action. They could also attend meetings of the dispute resolution committees

The team was welcomed by NPS chairman Dr Antoine Gildenhuys, ANC head of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki and a government liaison officer.

"For us the most appropriate representation at the airport was that of the National Peace Secretariat, Dr Gildenhuys, with whom we are working very closely," Mr Omayad said.

The UN observer assigned to the Western Cape is Mrs Joan Seymour, a former member of the Unig group that oversaw the Namibian transition.

A senior political affairs officer with the secretariat's department of political affairs on Africa and the Middle East, Mrs Seymour arrived in the city last night and expects to be here until "at least Wednesday". — Own Correspondent, Sapa and Staff Reporter



CHURCH MARCH... About 500 churchgoers marched for peace in the city yesterday.

Picture: BERNY GOC

Heckling at peace service

A SERVICE for peace was disrupted by loud heckling and a walkout by about 40 people in St George's Cathedral yesterday.

The service was hosted by the Western Cape Council of Churches to pray for peace during mass action today and tomorrow, and conducted by Dr Lionel Louw, of the WCCC, and a lecturer in Social Sciences at UCT.

The service was preceded by a short march for peace from the Parade and was attended by about 500 people. In his sermon Dr Louw said that although the image of the leader of the oppressor had changed since the finger-wagging days of Mr F W Botha, the present leader (Mr F W de Klerk) was unchanged in substance. At this point groups of people began leaving, and others interrupted to object to his political references. The service was suspended for one minute to allow those who wanted to go to leave.

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return to compensate for lost production had been reached with various mines in the Anglo American and Rand Mines groups.

These agreements were aimed at Argus mines.

A spokesman for the Federation of Furniture Manufacturers, whose members employ about 35 000 countrywide, said some

members have indicated they would open their factories on Saturday to make up for Monday and Tuesday.

Western Cape employers expect workers to turn up from Wednesday. It is possible that shop stewards will be allowed to take part in city-centre demonstrations on Wednesday.

Similar arrangements have been made in the retail sector. Various Natal employer organisations and Cosatu have signed a declaration to "ensure that the risk of violence and intimidation is minimised".

They will jointly monitor the stayaway.

In the Eastern Cape it is likely that workers will work on Thursday and Friday and hold lunch-time demonstrations.

Coinciding with the start of the mass action, Numsa members in the metal, engineering, motor, tyre and rubber industries began a national strike over wage and job security demands — Own Correspondent and Finance Staff

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UN PRESENCE ... Head of the UN monitoring team Mr Hisham Omayed of Ghana (right) and team member Mr Shola Omolegbe of Nigeria address journalists after arriving yesterday, Friday, at

structures and would be briefed by the chairman of the local and regional dispute resolution committees.

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CHURCH MARCH ... About 500 churchgoers marched for peace in the city yesterday. Picture: BERRY GOOD

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Clamp on intimidation

NEW measures for a clampdown on violence, crime and intimidation have come into effect with the implementation of the Criminal Law Second Amendment Act, which came into effect at midnight on Saturday. (274)

The Act effectively ends the Government's recently announced indemnity from prosecution for the illegal possession of weaponry, firearms, explosives and ammunition.

The new legislation provides for a minimum five-year and maximum 25-year jail sentence for committing an offence while in illegal possession of certain prescribed weapons. It also enables the detention of people withholding information relating to weaponry. - Sapa.

Sowetan 3/8/92

malists in Johannesburg yesterday. Team member Shola Omorogie looks on. See page 2.

Masses all set to roll

Sowetan 3/8/92 (274) (100)
■ **ACTION STATIONS** South Africa gears itself as
the mass action campaign reaches a climax:

THE "rolling" mass action campaign of the African National Congress and its allies reaches a high point today and tomorrow with a two-day work stayaway expected to be heeded by millions of South Africans.

In what is expected to be a watershed week in South African politics, the stayaway will be followed on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday

by mass protests, including the occupation of Government buildings, throughout South Africa.

Tension, however, was running high at the weekend as mystery gunmen struck again in Johannesburg, killing five people at a taxi rank. In Natal the IFP held counter rallies.

See story page

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Staff Reporters

At least 13 people were killed in countrywide political violence yesterday, amid claims by the police of unprecedented intimidation by supporters of the ANC's mass action campaign.

The two-day stayaway which kicked off yesterday was preceded by bloody rampages in Empanjeni, Natal, and a large-scale clash on the East Driefontein mine near Carletonville on Sunday night which claimed a total of 14 lives.

Last night Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel said intimidation was "rampant" in many areas yesterday and that there had been countless

13 killed on day of clashes, 'rampant' intimidation

barricades, obstacles, stone-throwing attacks and illegal marches.

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow condemned the killing and intimidation which accompanied the stayaway and said rogue elements and "political hoodlums" should be firmly dealt with by their leaders and the SAP.

In its reaction, the ANC said the stayaway had so far been conducted in a "generally peaceful and disciplined manner with fewer incidents than on any normal

day", but had been preceded by attacks on ANC members and supporters in a number of areas.

In the worst violence yesterday, three people were killed and four policemen injured in a shootout in Dobsonville, Soweto. And in Natal at least seven people were killed in sporadic shootings.

Describing the Soweto shooting, police said a man drove up to a Casspir outside the Dobsonville police station at 4.15 am, saying a crowd of about 50 men had

attacked and stoned his vehicle at a filling station on the Roodepoort Road.

Three policemen got into a minibus and asked the driver to point out the scene of the stoning. The Casspir followed behind. The two vehicles arrived at the garage, stones were thrown and shots were fired from the crowd, he said.

One of the policemen jumped out of the minibus and into the Casspir while the other two took cover behind a slow-moving truck. More shots were fired from

the crowd and the police returned fire.

In a violence-monitoring report released in Johannesburg yesterday the ANC said the three killed in the incident were marshals and that the police had opened fire first.

In other violence yesterday:

● Seven people were killed in sporadic clashes in Natal. Three bus drivers, caught in ambushes on the North Coast, were reportedly among the dead. On Sunday night, 12 people were killed

in Esikhaweni, near Empanjeni.

● Four unknown gunmen shot and injured two journalists in Sebokeng before robbing them of their car.

● A Sky-TV crew filming mass action activities in Alexandra were fired on from the direction of the Madala hostel.

● The windows and roof tiles of scores of houses were damaged when a bomb exploded in a refuse container in an open field in Vosloorus Extension 2 on the East Rand. An unidentified man was

later found shot dead in the township.

● In Daveyton, also on the East Rand, the body of an unidentified man, who had been hacked to death, was found at 5.30 am.

● The body of a man who had been shot dead was found in Nyanga, near Cape Town, yesterday morning.

● Police fired teargas on two occasions to disperse protesters during a march on the Ga-Rankuwa Hospital to demand the reinstatement of fired workers.

● Nine people were admitted to the Cradock Provincial Hospital after the police opened fire on protesters blocking the national road to the north outside Cradock.

Emergency 'declared through the back door'

8/10/91 4/8/92
A STATE of emergency has been creeping in through the back door, with about 180 "unrest areas" declared in the PWV, Natal and the western Cape, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday.

The latest declarations in the PWV area had completed the SA Police's stranglehold on 20 townships in the area in preparation for mass action, the commission alleged.

In a statement, the HRC said human rights monitors had warned that government was planning to introduce the powers of a state of emergency without formally declaring one when the Public Safety Act was amended in 1986.

The amendment made provision to permit the declaration of unrest areas in addition to states of emergency.

The HRC claimed that this prediction was realised in August 1990, when certain townships were declared unrest areas following the lifting of the four-year nationwide state of emergency a few months earlier.

"An effective, partial state of emergency began creeping in through the back door. Most of the familiar powers of repression, including night-time curfews, returned to the affected townships," the

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BILLY PADDOCK

statement said.

The HRC said the justification given by the authorities for declaring unrest areas had been inconsistent with the fact that numerous areas in Natal had not been declared unrest areas despite high levels of violence.

"By contrast, the two most recent declarations — Bekkersdal, Kagiso, Munsieville and Swanieville on the West Rand and Daveyton and Wattville near Benoni — were made in view of such comparatively low-key circumstances that the declaration can by no stretch of the imagination be justified, even using the standards of the SA Police," the HRC said.

The commission said that a state of emergency, to all intents and purposes, was now effective in the PWV area, with 5 000 police and troops dominating the 20 townships.

"It is a state of emergency by stealth and achieves much the same purpose as an open declaration... to be condemned and rejected as a violation of basic human rights," the HRC said.

A government spokesman could not be reached last night.

...a skeleton staff to keep oper...



ANC action committee chairman André yesterday. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

ANC marching to Pretoria

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Pretoria's city council yesterday granted the ANC alliance permission to march from the city centre down Church Street to the Union Buildings, ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said.

"Tens of thousands" of people would take part in the march tomorrow, the focus of the third day of the mass action campaign, he said.

The city council said negotiations on the march took place in the spirit of the Goldstone commission's recommendations that applicants, police and local authorities co-operate in drawing up orderly plans for public protests. The application, brought by the Action Council's PWV branch, said between 50 000 and 70 000 people were expected.

The march, intended to compel government to comply with 14 ANC demands on government, was to begin at 10am and end at about 3pm. ANC president Nelson Mandela, who would lead the march, would address demonstrators at the Union Buildings.

Sapa reports that the ANC said Spoornet had offered to transport protesters to Pretoria free of charge. However, Spoornet could not be reached for comment.

'Strikes more effective than marches'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Urban black people felt strikes and consumer boycotts were more effective than marches and rallies, an opinion poll has found.

However, it showed that men were significantly more in favour of these actions than black women. It also established that a month ago more than a third of those surveyed were unable to say what "mass action" meant.

The poll, conducted by Research Survey's Omnichack among 800 black women and 500 black men at the end of June and beginning of July in the major metropolitan areas, found that 72% of men thought consumer boycotts and strikes were effective or very effective, but only 56% of women thought consumer boycotts and 55% felt strikes were effective or very effective.

While 64% of men thought marches were also effective, and 53% believed rallies were effective or very effective, 55% of women felt marches, and 49% thought rallies, were effective or very effective.

It found 11% of the men felt consumer boycotts, and

10% felt strikes, were ineffective or very ineffective, 19% of women thought consumer boycotts, and 21% felt strikes, were ineffective or very ineffective.

On the other hand, 25% of men and women thought rallies and 15% of men and 20% of women believed marches to be ineffective or very ineffective.

Among those who replied to a question about what mass action entailed, 32% thought it entailed protest marches, 25% strikes, 22% peaceful demonstrations, 20% consumer boycotts and 18% rallies, Research Surveys said.

Mass action 'uses economic terror'

MASS action embraced economic terrorism as a political instrument but neither politics nor the economy was served by it, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delport, said yesterday.

"The government is not going to be pressured or forced into political or constitutional abdication," he said at the annual Fedhasa conference in Cape Town.

The Inkatha Freedom Party charged yesterday the campaign was a bid by the ANC to gain political mileage it had failed to score in Codesa.

The New Unity Movement condemned mass action and the general strike as being conducted in the worst traditions of opportunism. — Sapa, Political Staff

From page 1

Mass strike

Industry spokesmen said the manufacturing industry was hit by a near-50% stayaway, while other sectors reported a good turnout.

All African schools were closed but attendance ranged between 40 and 90% at "coloured" schools.

The SA Labour Bulletin, which monitored the strike countrywide, said there had been a low turnout for work in most areas of the country, probably surpassing the anti-VAT stayaway in November last year. The exceptions yesterday were mining operations and the public sector, where absenteeism was at its lowest.

But labour and employer organisations supplied widely divergent assessments as to the effectiveness of the stayaway.

Cosatu claimed that the stayaway had been 74% effective in the Western Cape, 83% in Natal, 93% in the Eastern Cape, 73% in the OFS, 94% in the Western Transvaal, 93% in the PWV region, 92% in the Northern Transvaal and 94% in the Highveld area.

However, the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) said the total stayaway was not likely to have exceeded two million workers in the private sector, putting the stayaway figure at 15% in the Western Cape, 85% in the Eastern Cape-Border area, 20-75% in Natal and 90% in the Johannesburg-PWV region.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut agreed that the stayaway was one of the biggest to date, especially in urban areas.

But AHI chairman Mr J P Landman said the effect of the mass action on the economy had, however, largely been minimised by pro-active management reaction.

He said Cape Town, Durban, Maritzburg, Port Elizabeth and East London each had an absenteeism of 80% to 100%, and Bloemfontein, Kroonstad and Bethlehem a 90% stayaway.

Last night, political commentators were cautious in their analysis of the massive stayaway.

"The percentage of people who stayed at home does not tell us if they support the ANC alliance's cause, if they are happy about staying at home, or if they would vote ANC in an election," commented Witwatersrand University's

Professor Tom Lodge, who has written extensively on the ANC and the black struggle against racial oppression in the country.

The National Council of Trade Unions, the trade union arm of the PAC, said its members had been intimidated by supporters of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance in a number of centres, including Khayelitsha and Bethlehem.

In other political reaction to the campaign, the National Party said: "Instead of sitting back and observing the bloody and violent consequences of mass action from the heights of power and privilege, the ANC leadership should demonstrate their willingness to be constructive and call a halt to the mass action in the interests of the country."

Inkatha Freedom Party party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the ANC's mass action campaign showed that it would not be possible to hold free and fair election in SA at this stage.

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow condemned the killings and intimidation which accompanied the stayaway.

analysis of the massive stayaway, noting that transport difficulties, alternative plans arranged with employees and intimidation had boosted absenteeism. In the Western Cape, Africans heeded the ANC call for a stayaway in force, but the campaign drew a limited response among so-called "coloureds". Although two deaths were reported, police said there were only isolated incidents of violence.

To page 3

By ANTHONY JOHNSON Political Correspondent SOUTH AFRICANS stayed away in their millions yesterday in one of the largest strikes in the country's history.

But the first day of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance's national strike was marred by sporadic incidents of violence

and intimidation which left at least 10 dead and scores injured. A further 11 died on Sunday.

Two journalists covering the campaign in the Vaal Triangle were wounded by unknown gunmen, while a Sky-TV crew were fired on in Alexandra north of Johannesburg.

Monitors observing the mass action campaign countrywide were hopeful last night that the casualty rate could be kept down today despite the rising political temperature as a result of the strike.

An elated ANC-led alliance last night described the strike as a "phenomenal success", claiming a 90% stayaway figure involving four million workers.

A bullish ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, told a press conference last night: "The vast majority of South Africans today pronounced their unmistakable 'No' to the attempts by (F W) de Klerk and his colleagues to delay the birth of a democratic South Africa." The tripartite alliance last night "con-

demned unreservedly" all incidents of intimidation and violence linked to the strike and promised to take "appropriate" disciplinary action where members of the alliance were found to be involved in these actions.

But the government blamed the high rate of absenteeism on "rampant intimidation, illegal marches, countless barricades and stone-throwing incidents" related to the mass action campaign. And political analysts and employer organisations were cautious in their

Mass strike

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Employers prepared well to cope with stayaway

LOUISE MARSLAND

(274)

Aug 4/8/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Most employers were better prepared to deal with the stayaway yesterday than during previous mass action, a spokesman for the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) said.

Steps taken by employers had helped to cushion the impact of the stayaway on the economy so far, although the full impact on business had still to be evaluated.

Special arrangements involved:

- Use of temporary staff;
- Continued maintenance of essential services;
- Extra work to compensate for time lost;
- Taking leave; and,
- Re-arranged shift work.

Nonetheless it appeared from Sacob surveys as if the level of intimidation in several areas was high, and many workers were prevented from getting to work as a result of transport difficulties. This was especially so in the PWV region and Natal," the Sacob spokesman said.

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCI) said production for Monday would not be materially affected, although many members had reported that deliveries could not be made and expressed concern that this could have a negative effect if disruption continued.

"What is noteworthy is the fact that very few employers plan disciplinary action, but most are applying a no work, no pay policy where this is appropriate. The reluctance to apply disciplinary measures might indicate support and sympathy for the principles of peace, democracy and economic reconstruction, and the maintenance of good relationships between employers and employees.

"Early reports from employers show that management contingency plans were well prepared," a JCCI spokesman said in a statement.

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Government yesterday tightened the unrest regulations in 20 areas around the country, banning the carrying of all dangerous weapons in these areas.

The ban, which partially satisfies one of the 14 ANC demands put to government, outlaws the carrying of everything from assegais and knobkerries to petrol bombs.

The special Government Gazette issued late yesterday also bans the carrying of certain items in unrest areas if the circumstances suggest they are being carried as weapons. This list includes bricks, axes, hammers, screwdrivers, spades, spanners, chains and tyres.

The areas are Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Katlehong, Thokoza, Vosloorus, Tembisa, Alexandra,

Govt bans weapons in 20 trouble spots

Wattville, Sharpville, Bophelong, Boipatong, Evaton, Sebokeng, Kagiso, Munsieville, Swanieville, Bekkersdal and Daveyton. (274) (275) (276)

The ANC's list of demands includes a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons, including "cultural weapons", on all occasions in all areas. The effect of the regulations is that the former exception pertaining to cultural weapons no longer applies.

The ban does not apply to security force members on duty. Others needing to carry a licensed firearm for self-defence must apply first at a police station.

● A huge success - ANC ● Contingency plans reduced impact - Sacob

Staff Reporters (274) (158)

Violence mars stayaway

The ANC alliance yesterday hailed its stayaway as the most successful it has yet mounted — while the Government responded with reports of large-scale intimidation.

Big business said contingency measures helped cushion the impact of the first day of the two-day stayaway on the national economy — despite a 90 percent absenteeism recorded in metropolitan areas.

At least 13 people died countrywide yesterday, after more than 20 weekend deaths in political violence in Natal and on the Reef.

Minister of Law and Order

**More reports
— Pages 3, 5 and 13**

Hernus Kriel said rampant intimidation and countless stone-throwing incidents — all related to mass action — were reported yesterday.

The ANC-Cosatu-SA Communist Party alliance said in a statement that 4 million people had stayed away from work. "The overwhelming response of the working people ... is a clear demonstration of the ardent desire for democracy and peace," said the statement.

In spite of the Government's provocative actions to intimidate people by deploying security forces in townships, incidents of violence had been remarkably low and many victims were alliance supporters. The ANC would take disciplinary action against any of its members responsible for violence and intimidation, said the statement.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the success of the first day of the

strike had increased pressure on the Government to respond more comprehensively to the ANC's negotiation demands.

Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo said that if the Government did not respond to the demands, the alliance would continue mass action and reserve the right to call another general strike.

The NP, Inkatha Freedom Party and CP all condemned the events of the day and urged the ANC to call off mass action. NP secretary-

general Stoffel van der Merwe said the deaths and placing of barriers across railway lines and roads at black townships contradicted ANC leader Nelson Mandela's promise on television on Sunday night that mass action would be peaceful and free of intimidation.

Inkatha's Transvaal leadership said the mass action was a last-ditch attempt by the ANC to win what it could not win at Codesa.

CP leader Dr Andries ● To Page 3 ■

Violence mars stayaway

● From Page 1

Treurnicht said the Government would have to declare a state of emergency in view of the increased violence, planned murders of policemen and "obvious" attempts to make the country ungovernable.

The PWV industrial heartland and the eastern Cape were the regions hardest hit on the first day of the stayaway. Almost all bus and taxi services in the PWV failed to function, and township trains were almost empty.

Soweto schools were empty.

While business said contingency plans had muted the effects, economists said serious production and retail losses could occur if mass action continued this week with the planned sit-ins at factories.

The SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) said in

a statement that the extent of the stayaway had been influenced by intimidation, transport difficulties and the contingency plans made by employers.

Sacob said absenteeism ranged from 15 percent in the western Cape to 20 to 30 percent in southern Natal and Zululand, 55 percent in Maritzburg and 75 percent in the Durban metropolitan area, 60 percent in the eastern Transvaal, 85 percent in the eastern Cape/Border area and 90 percent in the Johannesburg-PWV region.

According to Sacob's preliminary estimates, the total stayaway is not likely to have exceeded 2 million workers in the private sector, which would include a large proportion of employees who made prior arrangements.

The Afrikaanse Han-

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry said the stayaway was "well over 50 percent" effective on the first day over large parts of the country. Some rural areas in the western Transvaal and north-eastern Transvaal reported only a 10 percent stayaway. Bophuthatswana was largely unaffected by the stayaway, except in the eastern parts. In the Cape, the stayaway was widespread in centres such as Uptington and Kimberley.

More mass action ahead

After the two-day stayaway ends today, further marches and mass action in the form of pickets and sit-ins at Government institutions are planned for the rest of the week.

Thousands are expected to join a march led by ANC president Nelson Mandela in Pretoria tomorrow.

The Pretoria City Council has approved the march through the city to the Union Buildings and will be closing off Brown, Prinsloo and Church streets from early tomorrow until lunchtime.

Vehicles left overnight on these roads will be removed.

The marchers aim to elicit a response to the list of 14 demands which the ANC said the Government had to meet before the organisation would go back to the negotiating table.

At noon tomorrow Mr Mandela will make a speech on the steps of the Union Buildings.

The ANC said buses would be made available from Soweto, the West Rand, East Rand, Vaal Triangle and Johannesburg to transport people to Pretoria.

The organisation said Spoornet had made trains available for Saulsville, Eerste-fabriek, De Wildt and Mabopane.

Spoornet was not immediately available for comment last night.

Further rallies are planned for today in centres around the country and marches are planned for the southern Free State, Border region, eastern Cape and PWV.

From tomorrow the occupation of strategic areas in cities and towns and of certain Government buildings is planned.

On Thursday and Friday the occupation of Government buildings is planned to continue in some centres, with action in industrial areas as well as factory demonstrations and occupations, marches, pickets and sit-ins.

On the East Rand, the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance in Tembisa has vowed to march to Kempton Park on Thursday and occupy Jan Smuts Airport and ground all aircraft, it was announced during a march to Tembisa Hospital yesterday.

Organisers also said there would be marches into the industrial areas of Isando in order to occupy factories.

The mass action campaign will culminate at the weekend with a Cosatu women's rally in Johannesburg on Sunday and an assessment of events by the mass action organisers.

UN observers 'not hijacked'

Staff Reporter

FEARS that the United Nations observers monitoring this week's mass action campaign could be "hijacked" by political organisations were misplaced, Mr Corrie Bezuidenhout of the National Peace Secretariat said yesterday.

The 10 UN observers, under the leadership of Mr Hisham Omayad of Ghana, have been working in close co-operation with the Peace Secretariat since their arrival at the weekend.

Mr Bezuidenhout was replying

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to questions about the Cape Town UN monitor, Ms Joan Seymour, who spent the whole of Monday with Black Sash and Urban Monitoring Awareness Committee (UMAC) monitors, who were apparently directed to riot areas by the ANC.

UMAC worker Ms Rachel Brown told the Cape Times that Ms Seymour teamed up with UMAC on the recommendation of the secretary of the Western Cape regional dispute resolution committee, Mr Retief Olivier.

She said the situation at Gra-

bouw would have been "a lot worse" if it were not for Ms Seymour.

Ms Seymour said last night that today she would meet the new chairman of the W Cape regional dispute resolution committee, Professor Jaap Durand, and police officers.

"I'm not only meeting UMAC but also other groups," Ms Seymour said and stressed that she would not be influenced by any single group.

Ms Seymour will observe today's march along the N2 to Grand Parade from a helicopter.

reported the matter to Hlabole in many instances. — Sapa.

Truth on violence starting to emerge

PRETORIA — The disinformation campaign on violence in SA was faltering and more of the truth was beginning to come out in local and foreign media, SA Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman said yesterday.

He was speaking on political violence at a Human Sciences Research Council conference on managing crime in a new SA.

He said reports of agencies such as the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission were not helpful because, while they rightly castigated Inkatha and the police for involvement in violence, they turned a blind eye to ungovernability.

Kane-Berman said the way had been opened for the international monitoring of violence.

If the police had nothing to hide, allowing international monitors to travel in Casspirs in the townships might help achieve a better balance in the outside world's view of violence.

GERALD REILLY

"For UN or other foreign officials to come under attack from stone-throwers, petrol-bombers and comrades with AK-47s would be one way for them to find out what the ICJ and the HRC do not tell them."

Most violent incidents were not due to politics but were ordinary crime. For instance, in 1990/91 80% of the 15 000 murders committed appeared to be unrelated to politics.

Kane-Berman said the police had killed as many as 650 blacks in political demonstrations since Sharpeville in 1960. No top ranking police officers and no politicians had paid the price for "those and other police shootings".

Prof L. Vogelmann and V. Stavrou, of Wits University's centre for the study of violence, told delegates that 94% of respondents to a survey on crime in Alexandra township had alleged that police were involved in political and other criminal violence.

about a unified strategy for improving health in southern Africa.

R20m redevelopment of sports club site could include hotel

PETER GALL

about 1,5ha, and some of the existing sports facilities will be retained," he said.

This portion of the project, expected to cost R7,5m, was dependent on the consolidation and re-subdivision of the land.

The units would be developed by Sage subsidiary Schachat, which was expected to be on site by early 1993.

The remaining 1,5ha was under negotiation. Four possibilities being considered included a hotel, restaurant facilities, offices or a sports club.

"The only common thread among these alternatives is that existing building structures will be used."

"The property has existing improvements including"

the DPF Investment group of companies, which is controlled by Delaney.

jected to Investec's right to examine his books covering the sales of flats.

ing a 5 000m² office block formerly used as research laboratories, a restaurant, a pub, conference facilities and an industrial kitchen," Drummond said.

"The Johannesburg City Council has a road servitude for 8 000m² of the land for the extension and re-alignment of Barry Hertzog Avenue, which is being widened."

Negotiations were under way with the council for compensation for the road servitude, which was expected to amount to hundreds of thousands of rands.

"It is hoped that this scheme will show property developers that a 'lateral thinking' approach must be adopted, and uses differing from historic land usage will result in successful, profitable developments," he said.

Death toll

regional and company level — to allow workers to participate in mass action while production continues.

Hundreds of thousands of workers are

From Page 1

Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) said there was no hard evidence of intimidation.

The ANC alliance said at a news conference yesterday that most people killed

Second day of violence pushes strike toll to 42

BIDAY 5/8/92

GAVIN DUVENAGE
and RAY HARTLEY

POLICE report at least 20 people were killed in various parts of the country yesterday, bringing to 42 the total number killed since the start of the general strike two days ago.

These included 10 people killed in renewed violence along the Natal coast, while five died in Alexandra township on the Reef and two more in the Cape.

Police said that by late yesterday they had arrested 30 people in 65 incidents of violence countrywide.

The Wild Coast Sun on the Natal and Transkei border was under siege yesterday as ANC members manned roadblocks and refused to allow people into the casino complex.

In another major incident yesterday, a potential clash between 40 armed AWB members and about 8 000 ANC supporters in Krugersdorp was defused.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that Local Government Minister Leon Wessels made an impassioned plea to ANC supporters marching on the Krugersdorp City Hall to negotiate at local and national level.

"Just as Mr Mandela, Mr Ramaphosa, Mr Naidoo, Mr Hani and yourselves cannot change ANC policy uni-

laterally, I am not in a position to change government and NP policy by myself," he said after receiving a memorandum from the marchers.

In Johannesburg yesterday ANC marshals had to intervene to keep protestors on Louis Botha Avenue from looting a butchery.

Reports last night said gunmen in Maritzburg had attempted to assassinate ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala during a mass action campaign march yesterday.

Ambush

A reporter said Gwala escaped injury after his car was shot at during the march in Edendale.

Sapa reported that four alleged members of township self-defence units were arrested by Pietermaritzburg police in connection with seven murders, including the deaths of three policemen, Sapa reports.

The SA Council of Churches on Tuesday called for a "vigorous investigation" of violent incidents which occurred during the two days mass action campaign.

Two policemen were slightly injured and a vehicle damaged when a mob stoned police in Dittloung, Olifantshoek.

Two of the Natal victims died in gunfire when police were ambushed near Tongaat. One policeman was wounded in the attack.

Three of the dead in Alexandra were burned and the other two shot, police said.

In the eastern Cape, nine people were arrested after the homes of two assistant police constables were razed by a mob near Beaufort West.

Two men were arrested in Soweto when they threatened a taxi driver with guns.

In Natal, 40 Putco buses were damaged by stone-throwers as they took commuters to work.

Ciskeian security forces clashed with protesters in Mdantsane, near East London, after shops were set alight.

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto was yesterday blockaded by burning tyres and a crowd of about 2 500, including dismissed hospital workers.

A spokesman said demonstrators made several attempts to enter the premises.

ANC alleges violence bias

(274)
Political Correspondent

THE ANC and SA Communist Party yesterday criticised the police and sections of the media for creating the impression that the mass action campaign was to blame for all the violence.

The ANC accused the SABC of misrepresenting the nature of the "Campaign for Peace and Democracy".

The SA Council of Churches called for a "vigorous investigation" of violent incidents during the two days of mass action, reports Sapa.

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Death toll rises to 34 on Day 2

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CT 5/8/92

Staff Reporters

THE country-wide death toll rose to 34 in the second day of mass action yesterday.

The toll excludes weekend unrest deaths and an attack on residents in Esikhawini township near Empangeni on Sunday night which left at least 10 dead.

Police said yesterday was characterised by incidents of intimidation, petrol bomb attacks and sporadic attacks on buses, taxis, commuters and police patrols and homes.

Police said they had uncovered no evidence to link the deaths to the ANC's mass action campaign.

In the latest incident three people were killed and four were injured when hostel-dwellers allegedly fired on an ANC funeral procession in Ratanda, east of Johannesburg yesterday afternoon.

Five people also died in Alexandra early yesterday morning.

In Natal police yesterday reported the death of at least 19 people since Monday morning in attacks which stretched throughout the province. The highest toll

Gwala escapes assassination

DURBAN. — Gunmen tried to kill ANC hardliner Mr Harry Gwala in Edendale near Maritzburg yesterday.

Police said it appeared shots had been fired from a passing minibus at a car carrying Mr Gwala, who survived the attack unscathed. The car's back window was shattered.

The incident reportedly happened after a crowd had marched from Wadley Stadium to Edendale Hospital opposite where Mr Gwala had addressed the crowd. — Own Correspondent

was in Umlazi, where at least eight people were killed since 2am Monday.

On Monday police reported two deaths in the Cape and three in Soweto, where three men died in a gun battle with police.

Police also reported finding two bodies in Reef townships.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehais yesterday said his organisation was investigating the death toll to see how many were actually linked to the mass action campaign.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said there had been regrettable incidents of stoning of vehicles and erection of barricades.

"We unequivocally condemn these actions and where members of our structures and organisations are found to be implicated the appropriate disciplinary action against those involved will be taken."

● Police came under fire in the city at Manenberg at noon yesterday at the intersection of Downs and Manenberg roads which had been barricaded.

After negotiations between police and protestors, barricades were removed.

Prince George Drive was closed to traffic from 11am yesterday to 5pm after incidents of stone-throwing.

Boipatong probe starts

PRETORIA — The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into public violence and intimidation will today begin its investigation into the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

The commission will be sitting at the Vereeniging Civic Centre from 10am. **CT 5/8/92**

The sitting will be chaired by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who will be assisted by, among others, Mr Justice P M Bagwati, former chief justice of India.

More than 40 people died in the Boipatong massacre when a large group of armed men attacked the township. — Sapa

Court delays strike ruling

COURT action to have a threatened strike in the metal industry declared illegal has been delayed until tomorrow.

Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (Seifsa) spokesman Mr Hendrik van der Heever said yesterday the federation, representing over 3 200 companies, launched the application against the National Union of Metalworkers of SA in Pretoria on Monday.

"There appears to have been major balloting irregularities, we were not informed of the ballot outcome and we have good reason to believe that the ballot was unsuccessful," he said.

Mr Van der Heever said there would not be a mass lockout. — Sapa **CT 5/8/92**

Six died

'R250m lost by strike' 04 CT 5/8/92

Political Correspondent

THE loss in earnings for the two-day national strike was about R250 million, the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob), estimated yesterday.

Sacob said the protest action would also have serious costs in terms of business confidence and future job creation.

The overall attendance at work yesterday increased by about five percent, it said.

Sacob believed the loss of earnings would affect spending power in various sectors of the economy.

Further production and retail losses could occur if mass action continued this week, it warned.

Marches

From page 1

the mass action campaign and caused the deaths of 40 people, scores of injuries and much damage to property.

This was in marked contrast to his statement on Monday night that specific acts of mass action had passed off "peacefully in the main", though he also said then that the campaign had created tension and made the political temperature "unacceptably high".

The ANC and the South African Communist Party disputed Mr Kriel's claims yesterday and accused the government as well as the SABC of lumping all incidents of violence and crime together to create the impression of widespread intimidation.

Adverts

The ANC also accused the government of a "massive disinformation campaign at taxpayers' expense" comprised of a series of advertisements against the strike.

The South African Council of Churches called for "a vigorous investigation" into the violence to establish how much was a direct result of mass action, how much was criminal and how much was the result of attacks on people who had peacefully taken part in the action.

National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said the mass action campaign had done nothing to assure people that future free elections would be peaceful.

CT 5/8/92
Tutu

Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the stayaway was "a victory for confrontation and intimidation as the ANC and its allies are trying to use force to obtain what they have failed to win through negotiations".

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who earlier criticised the stayaway plans, said the strike was a resounding success for its organisers.

"The government ought to admit that by and large it is the response of people who want to see an interim government in place. Since we do not have the vote this is one way we can make our point," he told reporters.

HUGE marches in Cape Town and Pretoria today will climax the ANC's mass action campaign.

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

In Cape Town the action will focus on the partial closure of the N2 freeway for a march from Langa to the city centre this morning and a "symbolic" occupation of the local offices of the Receiver of Revenue.

The highlight of the Pretoria action, which is to be led by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, will be his address from the steps of the Union Buildings.

Yesterday Minister of Law and Order Mr Herens Kriel blamed mass action for a "300%" increase in violence, while ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the government had used the SABC to spread disinformation linking violence and mass action.

Marches and protests took place

throughout South Africa yesterday in the second day of the national strike by between two million (the South African Chamber of Business estimate) and four million workers (the ANC estimate).

The countrywide death toll rose to 34 but it was not clear what deaths were linked to the stayaway.

In Maritzburg yesterday an attempt was made to assassinate ANC Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala, whose car was shot at from a passing minibus during a march.

One of the worst single incidents of violence happened near Heidelberg in the Transvaal, where three people were killed and three wounded when hostel-dwellers allegedly fired on an ANC funeral.

Six people were shot dead in Alexandra early yesterday morning, while one person was killed and two injured in an ambush near Richmond in Natal. Another 20 people have been killed in Natal since Monday.

Mr Kriel said last night that violence had increased by 300% during

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Police

Campaign organisers said yesterday they planned to occupy city centres and business districts across the country today in an attempt to move the campaign into "centres of white power".

Cosatu publicity secretary Mr Neil Coleman told Sapa that rumoured plans to block routes into cities today would depend on the actions of regional branches.

The police, however, said they were ready for new actions and accused organisers of not keeping to "democratic agreements".

Figures

Sacob said the overall attendance at work yesterday increased by five percent, while the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry, whose monitor found no hard evidence of intimidation, said absenteeism was about the same yesterday as on Monday.

The Chamber of Mines said the strike had not seriously affected production in gold and coal mines, while Sacob said special arrangements by employers had managed to cushion the impact of the stayaway on the economy.

Sacob also put worker absenteeism in the Western Cape at 15% and as high as 85% in the Eastern Cape and 90% in the PWV area.

cities

CT 5/8/92
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March on cities

UN team leader finds all round co-operation

STAR 5/8/92

The United Nations team monitoring mass action should not be considered as just 10 people, but as including all those involved in local peace committees, head of the team Hashim Omayad said yesterday.

Speaking at a Johannesburg press conference, he said with the support they were receiving, they could do more than 1 000 observers without co-operation.

Mr Omayad said it was the first time the UN had monitored strike action.

He spent the day monitoring an ANC alliance march in Krugersdorp, which the AWB threatened to disrupt, but the march went off peacefully.

UN team member Shola Omoregie spent the day monitoring Soweto, including negotiations at Baragwanath Hospital between marchers and the hospital administration.

(274) Enter (285)

An agreement was reached that a regional peace committee representative would in future attend meetings between management and hospital workers.

Mr Omayad said he was pleased his colleague Jose Campino could enter Ciskei to monitor the march there after being refused entry on Monday. — Staff Reporter.

Police Board 'lacks authority'

PRETORIA. — The newly-established Police Board was ineffective because it lacked real authority, said most delegates at a crime conference at the Human Sciences Research Council here yesterday.

The police, on the other hand, felt they were in a process of changing past errors.

Most speakers at the conference, attended by the police, correctional services, political parties and academics, felt it was difficult to change a 40-year

police culture that viewed the force as being above the law.

Executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations Mr John Kane-Berman said the police were unprepared for the era of change.

He said the police would have to be retrained not to see black people as the enemy of the state.

The police said it was difficult to gain the confidence of the ordinary man in the street because, although

they were trying their best to cope with crime, fear and intimidation were thwarting their efforts.

American criminologist Professor Norval Morris said there was no doubt people in the top structure of the police were serious about their purpose, but they too were struggling with a 40-year police culture.

He said the police must change from being reactive, to community protective, before matters could improve. — Sapa

ANC claim on Koevoet denied by cops

JOHANNESBURG — Allegations that members of the former Koevoet police unit were deployed in the south-eastern Transvaal last week were denied by police yesterday.

"Allegations that the Investigation Support Service Unit, or so-called Koevoet, is still functioning are devoid of all truth," a terse SAP statement said.

It said that individual members of Koevoet had been transferred to police stations on a decentralised basis.

'ANC dipped its hands in blood'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Professor Fatima Meer, one of Mr Nelson Mandela's biographers, says the ANC must also take some of the blame for violence.

"The ANC is not blameless the ANC has also dipped its hands in blood," Professor Meer, director of the Institute of Black Research at the University of Natal, told Technikon students and staff yesterday.

Speaking on Codesa, Professor Meer said both the ANC and the government desired to break the impasse in negotiations and work out a settlement.

An interim government could be in place by the end of the year if the government agreed that a two-thirds — and not a three-quarters — majority would be required by the future constitution-making body.

Many people had seen the stayaway as the ANC's "referendum".

Professor Meer cautioned, however, that while votes cast in the March

Cohen: Back Peace Accord

JOHANNESBURG. — United States Assistant Secretary of State Mr Herman Cohen said last night that "the violence question should not hold negotiations hostage".

Speaking at Jan Smuts airport before his departure, Mr Cohen said he was deeply concerned because the economic situation in South Africa had gone from stagnation into a downward spiral.

The downward economic spiral could not be reversed until there was an internal political settlement.

He was optimistic, however, as all the parties he had consulted during his visit — except the PAC — favoured an early return to negotiations.

Mr Cohen said ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had a "return to negotiations scenario very clearly in mind", but wanted the question of violence addressed first.

Although the violence was of great concern and should be addressed, Mr Cohen said he felt "the violence question should not hold negotiations hostage".

"We therefore call upon all parties to lend greater support to the National Peace Accord so that it can be implemented effectively."

In addition all parties should work to establish political tolerance of opposition groups. — Sapa

white referendum were secret, the stayaway was an obvious, public thing and workers' actions or omissions were open to interpretation as signs of political sympathies. This made them vulnerable to intimidation.

"The ANC is not blameless: Chris Hani himself was quoted in a Sunday newspaper, admitting their self-defence units have become uncontrollable ... the ANC has also dipped its hands in blood," she said, although

claiming it was in response to attacks that party supporters resorted to violence.

But the root of the violence lay with a "covert front" whose plotters were hard to identify, although it was the government, disadvantaged by Mr Mandela's "god-like reputation" and a "mythologised ANC", and an Inkatha Freedom Party with "insignificant support" which stood to gain from the destabilising actions of this front.

Training

"The members at the police stations are employed in groups of five or less and they will receive in-service training on an individual basis until such time as their training course commences."

The police statement followed claims by Driefontein ANC branch chairman Mr Yunus Cajee on Sunday that Koevoet members had been used on Friday and Saturday in house-to-house searches and general harassment of local residents.

Mr Cajee also said that members of the police unit on duty in the Driefontein area last week had used a foreign language.

The SAP said in response that they had begun to compile a syllabus and other training material for the group.

National death toll 35 in two days of political violence

At least 35 people were killed nationwide in political violence in the past two days.

In Natal, gunmen fired on the car of ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala in Edendale yesterday near Maritzburg.

STAFF 5/8/92
Last night Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel said the stayaway had caused a 300 per cent increase in violence since last week.

The ANC alliance maintains its campaign has been largely

peaceful.

In other violence yesterday:

- Three people were killed when hostel dwellers allegedly fired on an ANC funeral in Randburg, Heidelberg, police said.
- Twenty-seven people were

held for obstructing police after occupying the KwaThema police station on the East Rand.

- In Daveyton, Benoni, a man was shot and wounded. Elsewhere, police dispersed a stone-throwing crowd with birdshot.

Thousands stream in for marches on 'centres

of white power'

Mass action

STAR 5/8/92

Staff Reporters
and Sapa

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More than 1 000 policemen and Defence Force members were being deployed in Pretoria today in a move to ensure that the planned ANC march is conducted peacefully.

Many thousands of supporters were arriving by train and bus from the PWV area, the Far Northern Transvaal, the Eastern Transvaal and from Kwa-Ndebele.

The demonstration is part of the mass action campaign which the ANC has vowed to take into "the centres of white power" throughout the country today.

The march will wind through the city to the Union Buildings, where ANC president Nelson Mandela will speak.

● More reports

— Pages 3 and 6

● Opinion — Page 10

Many Pretoria traders closed shop, losing a third day of business this week.

In Cape Town, marchers were expected to move from Langa to the Grand Parade along the N2 freeway, while in Durban, thousands of people were expected to gather at the Durban City Hall at noon.

Key government buildings, factories and major retail stores have been targeted for occupation.

Tomorrow, ANC supporters in Tembisa are expected to march to Kempton Park to occupy Jan Smuts Airport. Factories in Isando may also be occupied.

The ANC said there were no marches or occupations planned for Johannesburg.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, proclaiming the past two days a "resounding victory" for the ANC, said at a press conference yesterday that today would see "new forms of protest", with marches and demonstrations held "in the centres of white power".

Mr Ramaphosa said despite "a massive disinformation campaign" by the police and the SABC, initial reports indicated that the "level of popular support" in the two-day stayaway had gone up since Monday.

"The alliance congratulates and salutes the people (for) a well-deserved victory. The ball is now squarely in the court of President de Klerk and his colleagues," Mr Ramaphosa said.

He said the alliance — which was still waiting for the Government's response to the ANC's 14 demands — reserved the right to embark on any form of mass action in future, including another stayaway.

targets cities

SACP hails people power

ANC 5/8/92

Political Shift

HUGE support for the mass action showed working people's determination to get rid of the white minority government, the South African Communist Party said.

The Western Cape branch of the party said action had been peaceful and the only fatality had been a result of police action.

"We condemn provocations by the SAP, including the use of live ammunition in Grabouw, which led to the death of one person," it said.

The party also condemned isolated acts of intimidation and violence and called on pro-democracy demonstrators to act in a disciplined way.

Efforts by the National Party, government and sections of the Press to suggest peaceful mass action was impossible conveniently forgot that more than 6 000 people had died in political violence since President De Klerk came to power, the SACP said.

It added, "The death toll nationwide in the past two days has been little different from that at the beginning of June before the mass campaign."

1 000 in township demo

ANC 5/8/92

Staff Reporter MORE than 1 000 placard-carrying Kayamandi residents marched from the township to Stellenbosch municipality offices.

A memorandum supporting ANC demands to the government was handed to officials.

About 1 000 ANC supporters in Mbekewen, Paarl, held a rally at the township stadium yesterday. It was addressed by local leaders of the ANC and Cosatu.

Shops and shebeens in both townships were closed between noon and 2pm.

Six shot dead in Alex squatter camp

ANC 5/8/92

The Argus Correspondent JOHANNESBURG — Six people, including a pregnant woman, have been killed in a bloody attack by gunmen on a squatter camp in Alexandra.

The slayings, which took place early yesterday, brought the known national death toll over the last two days to 34.

The attack on the "Traff" squatter camp, during which five shacks were

ruined, prompted a march by about 12 000 angry residents to the Alexandra Town Council offices yesterday afternoon.

They demanded the closure of Madala and Nobile hostels in the township and that the council evict "illegal residents" from homes in Belrut, an Inkatha stronghold in the township.

Police denied reports that they were involved in the shooting.



Picture, LEON MULLER, The Argus. FUELLING THE FLAMES: A youth tends the fire at a barricade in Mitchell's Plain yesterday afternoon.

Rent siege after mass action meeting

ANC 5/8/92

Tygerberg Bureau LOCAL issues were at the centre of mass action proceedings in Kleinrivier, Knolls River when about 400 people met at the township's community hall.

Yesterday's meeting, which continued without incident, culminated in a siege of the rent office next door during which community leaders put demands about rental arrears, water supply and house maintenance to the Regional Services Council.

Approached by an Argus reporter, an ANC marshal said, "We do not want to speak to the newspapers, because they twist stories and we believe they are run by the government."

But residents thought differently and mobbed the reporter to talk about their problems.

"Let's forget about the ANC for the moment and deal with what's going on here," said a man who claimed unemployment in Kleinrivier was between 75 and 80 percent.

"The houses belong to the council and we pay between R80 and R120 rent a month, but when something needs to be fixed, you can forget about it."

"If you lose your job and you cannot pay the rent, where do you go?" a man asked.

"If you are in arrears for two months, they take legal action and have you thrown out. If somebody else buys the house you are staying in, you are told sometimes, not even given written notice but told to be out within seven days."

when police stopped an illegal march, yesterday's march proceeded peacefully.

The 500 protesters, led by Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck and Grabouw ANC branch leaders, marched from a community hall, along the main road to the police station and handed over a list of demands

to the station commander, Lieutenant André Linde.

The demands included an end to police violence and that the policeman who fired the fatal shot on Monday be brought to book.

The marchers returned to the hall where Mr Van Eck addressed them.

ANC 5/8/92

'You have the right to defend yourselves,' ANC marchers told

EDWARD MOLOINYANE, Staff Reporter ABOUT 7 000 people attended a rally in Khayelitsha addressed by ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengem.

To wild applause Mr Yengem said people taking part in today's march would not be searched, because they had a right to defend themselves.

"We are tired of being teargassed while Inkatha is allowed to carry an assortment of weapons in public.

"We will not be searching people for weapons and if the Boers disturb us we will have to defend ourselves.

"We are not people of violence, but we will make Cape Town small tomorrow.

"But we are not saying when one of you is beaten by one Boer we should start looting shops."

In scathing attack on the PAC, Mr Yengem accused the organisation of siding with the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo by opposing mass action and urging people to go to work.

But people had showed support for the ANC by ignoring the PAC's call.

NEW STORE OPENING WINE OFFERS

THURSDAY 5/8/92 DIRECT CASH PAYMENT ONLY

Calm after the storm

ARC 5/8/92
(274)

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

IT was a relatively quiet day, nowhere near as full of smoke, stand-offs and mad dashes as her first day of observing mass action in the Western Cape.

But United Nations observer Ms Joan Seymour had anything but a rest, attending a series of meetings and an ANC rally, being mistaken for an ANC member — and being introduced with the name of a Hollywood actress.

Ever the diplomat, she declined to give journalists her impressions of what she had seen. But the senior political affairs officer, one of a 10-member UN group monitoring the mass action, was stirred by the ANC rally at Nyanga Stadium.

"I must say this is impressive," she told ANC regional executive committee member Mr Vincent Diba as she left.

Plans to introduce her to the crowd at the rally were dropped when she had to return to Cape Town.

Mr Diba, a former Robben Island prisoner, acted as Ms Seymour's translator during a fiery address by the secretary of Western Cape ANC, Mr Tony Yengem.

Wearing a blue cap and armband identifying her as a UN observer, she listened attentively as Mr Yengem criticised Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander for condemning mass action and advising the PAC to start its own programme of action.

She was introduced to civic association member Mr Johnson Mpa-kumpa, the survivor of an assassination attempt earlier this year.

He said: "I'm very pleased to see you. I think that by now you probably have the real picture of what is happening here." Ms Seymour did not comment.

After an early morning start and visits to Mitchell's Plain, Lavender Hill, Nyanga and Guguletu, she went to Mowbray to meet monitors from the Black Sash.

Then she left for Ravensmead and Kleinville with Regional Dispute Resolution Committee secretary Mr Rhet Oliver and Urban Monitoring Awareness Committee member Mr Sean Tait.

After a tour of Ravensmead the party chanced upon a group of about 50 marching behind an ANC flag.

But there was more urgent business in Kleinville, where residents had occupied municipal offices and the civic centre.

A civic co-ordinator, Mr Basil Nefdt, met her outside the civic centre and asked her if she wanted to speak to residents.

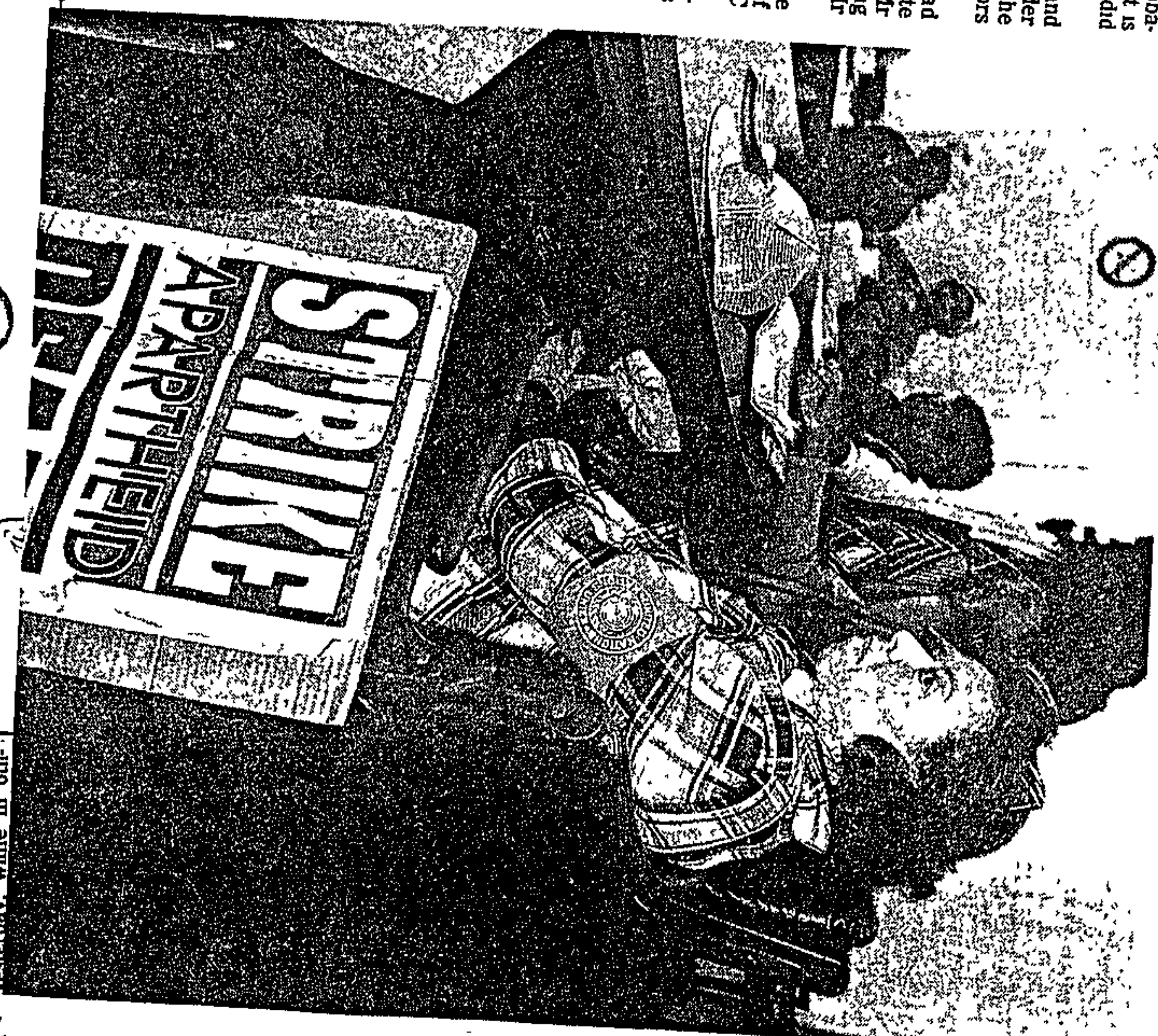
She said: "We don't want to disrupt anything, we just want to see what's going on."

As she entered the hall and walked on to the stage about 200 residents, apparently mistaking her for a senior ANC member, shouted "Viva ANC".

Mr Nefdt told residents why she was there, turned to her and said: "What's your name again?" Unruffled, she replied: "Joan Seymour".

In her soft voice she told residents she was pleased to have seen their demonstration.

Later Mr Nefdt introduced her to women in the municipal offices as Jane Seymour.



Death toll at 42 on second day of strike

THE second day of the ANC alliance's general strike — which officially ended yesterday — was at least as effective as the first day, spokesmen for both business and labour said.

Police said at least 20 people died in violent incidents yesterday, bringing the death toll over the strike period to 42.

While many employers are hoping today's mass action will not affect production, it is likely there will still be substantial disruption in major urban areas.

Sacob said about R250m had already been lost in earnings. But it said the overall economic costs of the action could be assessed only next week.

8/08/92 5/8/92
DIRK HARTFORD

Mass action organisers said they planned to occupy city centres and business districts across SA today in a bid to move their campaign into "centres of white power". Police said they were prepared for any new mass campaign actions.

Today's activities have been left in the hands of local and regional structures.

The focus of mass action today is a march through Pretoria's city centre to the Union Buildings, led by ANC president Nelson Mandela, and a march through the Cape Town city centre.

Organisers of the Pretoria march expect

about 70 000 people to take part.

Yesterday police in Pretoria placed pamphlets on cars along the route, warning motorists to remove the cars by this morning. If they were not removed, they would be towed away.

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In Cape Town, a freeway will be closed today to allow protesters to walk into the city from Langa.

In Durban, demonstrations are also likely to take place at major retail stores. Some deals have been struck — at both a

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Thousands take to the streets in mass protest

RAY HARTLEY

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AT LEAST 200 000 people took part in marches and demonstrations linked to the ANC's mass action campaign and a further eight people were reported killed in incidents countrywide yesterday.

Cosatu and the ANC claimed the numbers totalled 400 000.

Only one of the deaths was directly linked to the protests. A protester in Cape Town died after falling from a train.

Yesterday's deaths brought to 50 the number of deaths in unrest this week.

A joint Cosatu/ANC statement yesterday said more than 40 rallies, marches, occupations of government buildings and cities took place nationwide.

The biggest marches yesterday took place in Pretoria, where an estimated 70 000 people were led by ANC president Nelson Mandela to the Union Buildings, and in Cape Town, where at least 50 000 people marched into the city centre.

Businesses in Durban virtually shut down yesterday amid fears of occupation of premises and rumours of roadblocks.

More than 50 000 ANC supporters poured into central Cape Town, clogging streets. They lit a freedom flame and demanded an end to taxation without the vote.

Other marches and demonstrations took place in East London, Port Elizabeth, Maritzburg, Grahamstown, Bloemfontein, Bultfontein and Worcester.

A total of 412 people were arrested in four separate incidents related to mass action yesterday.

In Pietersburg, 200 marchers who evaded police roadblocks were arrested.

In Botshabelo, Bloemfontein, 58 people were arrested for picketing, while 14 were arrested for occupying the city's Department of Education and Training offices.

Fifty-four people were arrested when traffic police stopped a hijacked truck loaded with ANC supporters on its way to Pretoria. In Johannesburg's city centre 12 buses were abandoned, obstructing traffic.

About 1 000 people, led by the ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa and Amos Masekela, marched on John Vorster Square yesterday. They handed over demands for an end to police killings.

'Police failed to act on massacre'

The Argus Correspondent

VEREENIGING. — A petrol pump attendant has told the Goldstone Commission how police apparently ignored warnings of an impending attack in Boipatong, where 41 people were massacred on June 17.

He was giving evidence on the first day of an inquiry into the massacre.

Yesterday Mr A Chaskelson SC, counsel for the ANC, told the commission that evidence would be heard to support claims that the security forces were involved in the massacre.

Petrol pump attendant Mr

Meshak Theoane told the commission he was working at a petrol station on Boulevard Frikkie Meyer, between Kwamadala Hostel and Boipatong, when he saw two Casspirs chase after youths who had been burning tyres outside the township.

Several minutes later, the Casspirs returned and parked on a soccer field outside the township.

Between 9.30pm and 10pm a crowd of about 300 to 400 appeared on the Kwamadala Hostel side of the road. The men, who were carrying objects and were dressed in dark clothing, began crossing

the road in small groups.

As they headed for Boipatong, they passed not very far from the Casspirs. "If the police had been watching they would have seen."

Mr Theoane then pressed an alarm button and a police van arrived. Mr Theoane pointed out the crowd, which was by then on the edge of Boipatong, to a policeman, who looked at the crowd, then looked at his colleague and drove away.

Mr F Hattingh SC said the police would "categorically deny" that it in any way facilitated or took part in the massacre.

March did damage, says FW

CT 6/8/92

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PRETORIA. — Negotiation and not mass action was needed in South Africa, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking outside the Union Buildings here after the ANC's mass rally, he said it was undeniable that the march had "caused damage" and businesses had been adversely affected.

There was an urgent need for negotiations to be resumed with the ANC, Mr De Klerk said, adding: "I'm prepared to sit down tomorrow."

There was no need for Mr Mandela to have addressed him from the rally below the Union Buildings while his door stood open to him, Mr De Klerk said.

The government did not oppose the concept of a properly-elected Parliament that would act as a constitution-making body.

Pressed on how soon real negotiations would resume, he said all the communications between the government and the ANC "constituted progress".

Mr De Klerk confirmed

that there would be a second parliamentary session from October 12.

"Yes, you can expect at least some basic legislation to be submitted before Parliament."

"It will be constructive legislation aimed at assisting progress without us in any way trying to act unilaterally" — Sapa

Hundreds arrested as ANC mass action reaches climax and marchers flood cities

STAR 6/8/92

Staff Reporters

Tens of thousands of marchers streamed through the streets of Pretoria and Cape Town yesterday as the ANC alliance's mass action campaign reached its climax.

The ANC said more than 850 demonstrators were arrested country-wide. Police put the figure at 630.

Summonses

In most cases, police said, those arrested would be released after being issued with summonses to appear in court. Most of the arrests were for trespassing and holding illegal gatherings.

Pretoria was clogged as between 50 000 and 70 000 people in festive mood marched to the gardens of the Union Buildings where they were met by smiling ANC leader Nelson Mandela. He reflected the mood in his attire — a trendy tracksuit and bright blue cap of the United Automobile Workers' Union of America.

Protests

The huge marches in Cape Town and Pretoria, along with a gathering of several thousand people in Johannesburg and Durban, marked the biggest mass action protests yet as the ANC and its partners demonstrated against the Government.

The marches, mirrored by smaller events in rural centres, were

Trader told he would die

Hillbrow shop owner, the corner of Edith Cavell and Pietersen streets at about 7.30 pm by six men.

A man, who claimed to be a member of the ANC, had gone into the shop on Monday and threatened Mr Mallam with a firearm. Crime Staff.

Mr Mallam was shot dead outside his shop at

predominantly peaceful, marred only by isolated incidents.

In Johannesburg, a march by about 3 000 Cosatu and ANC supporters disrupted traffic in the city centre and many shop owners closed their doors fearing intimidation in the wake of the two-day national stayaway.

Earlier, the Johannesburg CBD was disrupted with traffic blockages and closures of intersections by vehicles, including Putco buses.

Police in Johannesburg arrested 54 protesters who allegedly hijacked a truck and ordered the driver to transport them to Pretoria.

Groups of youths and other gangs tried unsuccessfully to hijack buses on the Golden Highway and in Sebokeng to ferry them to the Pretoria march.

In Cape Town, where up to 50 000 people marched to the Grand Parade, marchers slashed the tyres of 21 vehicles, including police cars. Workers in Pretoria poured on to roofs

and balconies of office blocks to watch the parade.

A man who took his lunch break on a Church Street pavement, beer in one hand and sandwich in the other, quipped: "I'd rather be watching rugby, but this is almost as much fun."

The only time anger flared was during a tussle between policemen and marchers, who grabbed the South African flag outside the Reserve Bank. The flag was re-hoisted by police.

Pretoria police spokesman Major Andrew Lesch said: "On the whole we would like to thank the people for their behaviour during the march."

However, both Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers and the Pretoria City Council criticised organisers.

Several participants in tattered SA Defence Force uniforms had been seen armed with AK-47 rifles, Mr Scheepers said in a statement. The fact that some of the protesters were armed was an extremely serious con-

travention of prior agreements, he said.

The Pretoria City Council said it took in a "very serious light" the ANC's non-adherence to time limits, routes and crowd control.

After the march, Mr Mandela shook hands with SAP Internal Stability Division head Lieutenant-General Johan Swart.

The men warmly congratulated each other on the conduct of both the police and marchers.

Estimates of the size of the march varied.

The Star team estimated about 60 000 marchers, the ANC 70 000 and the police between 50 000 and 70 000.

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More reports
— Page 15.

Some posters and banners took a humorous and unexpected turn. One, depicting a gravestone, read: "NP: RIP-offs".

One group of marchers was led by a one-legged man who hopped purposefully along with the aid of a crutch.

A lone Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier, wielding a wooden AK-47, led another group, stopping only to strike a pose for hungry cameras.

● Sapa reports that 55 people arrested in Warmbaths were later released and all charges were dropped, a police spokesman said.

NEWS 200 people arrested in Pietersburg town march

Mandela calls for interim rule now

■ **70 000 STRONG**

Government urged to abandon its policies for the sake of peace and democracy:

Sowetan 6/8/92

By Monk Nkomo, Kenosi Modisane and Correspondents

IN ONE OF THE biggest marches Pretoria has yet experienced, about 70 000 yesterday joined the ANC's "peace and democracy" protest march to the Union Buildings.

A heavy police presence greeted the thousands of ANC/SACP/Cosatu protesters as they arrived in Pretoria. More than 1 000 police and SA Defence Force personnel were deployed around Brown Street, where the march started, and along the route to the Union Buildings.

Meanwhile, thousands of pupils in major centres throughout the country stayed away from school to join protest marches. However, there was normal schooling in coloured and Indian areas and at black schools in the Northern Transvaal where schooling went back to normal after the two-day mass action campaign.

At the Union Buildings a heavy police presence of about 200 men armed with rifles, handguns, batons and police dogs awaited the marchers where a crowd of about 1 000 had already gathered shortly after 11am.

The streets of Pretoria were jammed with people milling along the route to the Union Buildings and most businesses had closed their doors by noon.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived at 1.25pm.

A nonracial democracy

Addressing the crowd at the Union Building grounds, he said the vision of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance was to fight for a nonracial democracy in South Africa.

Amid chants of "Away with De Klerk now" from the crowd, Mandela said the alliance was committed to negotiations.

He added, however, that the successful stay-away by about four million people on Monday and Tuesday and the massive crowd that attended yesterday's march, was an indication to the Government that it should "abandon its present path and follow the path of peace and democracy".



NOT DETERRED: This man on a wheelchair would not let his handicap stand in the way and joined the march by about 70 000 people on the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday.

PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

(274) (102)
Mandela said the two events were also a clear indication that an interim government should be installed immediately.

In Johannesburg about 1 000 ANC and Cosatu supporters marched to John Vorster Square police headquarters in Johannesburg yesterday to hand over a memorandum.

The marchers toyi-toyed their way to the police headquarters.

In his address after a "communication breakdown with the police", the ANC's Mr Amos Masondo told marchers their delegation could not enter the police station to present their memorandum because a senior police officer had refused them entry.

Later nine people were allowed in to hand over the memo. The crowd then dispersed peacefully and marched back to Cosatu's offices.

In Cape Town marchers occupied offices of the Transkei embassy, Post Office and Department of Home Affairs and the Receiver of Revenue offices.

ANC spokesman Mr Cameron Dugmore said other official buildings in the city centre could

also have been occupied. The 50 000-strong crowd also marched past Parliament's Plein Street gate.

In Maritzburg a large crowd gathered on Market Square, renamed "Freedom Square" by the liberation movements.

Jovial mood

The crowd was watched by police and army personnel while a helicopter hovered overhead. Its mood was jovial with many toyi-toying and singing freedom songs.

About 200 people were arrested in Pietersburg during a march to occupy Government buildings. Police said yesterday no permission had been given for the march and that those detained were taken directly to court for appearance.

ANC officials said the arrests were acts of intimidation and that there was nothing illegal about the march.

At Mankweng in the Far Northern Transvaal, students and staff at the University of the North, Sadtu and Nehawu members handed in a memorandum to the local education authorities.

Mass action becoming

Star 6/8/92

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The concept of "rolling" mass action lets the African National Congress have its cake and eat it, writes Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON.

THE ANC and its allies have introduced a new term to South Africa's — and indeed the world's — political lexicon. "Rolling mass action" is, it seems, here to stay, and it defines itself as it rolls along.

The current campaign of protests, rallies, marches, strikes, occupations, theatricals and civil disobedience is proving to be like nothing South Africa has ever seen before. From the earliest days of pass law protests, defiance campaigns and stay-at-homes (another piece of political jargon peculiar to South Africa — the rest of the world calls a strike a strike), resistance activity has been centred around events with a clearly defined purpose and duration. Thus a certain strike was a

"success", another protest a "flop".

Rolling mass action, by contrast, is nebulous and inconstant, and its effect is therefore difficult to gauge with any degree of comprehensiveness or certainty.

On any day one can enter a township which is going about its business quite normally, while another nearby is in a state of near-anarchy, its access points controlled by youths of school-going age.

A patient can turn up at a hospital and find all quiet one

week, only to return and find it "occupied" the next.

Mass action in some form is taking place somewhere, every day, but in fits and starts.

There is reason to believe that the ANC itself did not know exactly what practical form its invention would assume. We are now beginning to see it in operation, and time will tell whether it is proving to be a more or less effective weapon than the concentrated, "short sharp shock" approach of old.

However, it is already evident that rolling mass action is

in many ways an ingenious political construction, from the ANC's point of view. It has the priceless advantage of interpretative elasticity. It cannot be judged according to the success or failure of one event, or the single response of a particular community in a specific area. A poor turnout for an "occupation" in Vereeniging is quickly

offset by a successful demonstration in another area; because it "rolls", the mass action has no demarcated beginning, middle or end.

The general strike just passed is an unusual element of the new tactic in that it did provide a focal point, but ANC leaders pointed out early on that it did not signal the end of the cam-

paign. Indeed, some went further: at the ANC's policy conference earlier this year, many leaders insisted that mass action would roll on even if the Government met all of the organisation's 14 conditions for restarting negotiations. Announcing the end of the strike this week, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa added the rider that the organisation would consider having another one if conditions demanded it.

In the acrimonious aftermath of Codesa 2, the ANC decided it had to prove to the Government

that the organisation still had power to wield. Getting its supporters on the streets in numbers offered the only counterpoint to the fact that after nearly two years of negotiations, President de Klerk's administration retains 100 percent of State power. Rolling mass action was the strategic result: a "have your cake and eat it" tactic to be accelerated and slowed down according to circumstances, but a permanent presence nevertheless.

One potential danger for the

ANC inherent in the programme, however, has been the expectation it has created among militants within the organisation's constituency. There is a view, notably among the youth, that the campaign will logically end with the toppling of the Government, *a la* Eastern Europe. Hence the "Leipzig Option" enjoyed brief currency as a fashionable phrase. It is evident, especially after the successful but truncated national strike, that this is an unrealistic aim. More strategically minded heads in the ANC alliance see the new tactic as an incremental pressure-builder — and point to apparent Government concessions on negotiating positions as proof of its efficacy.

a fact of life

41 unrest deaths ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ in 3 days ^{STAR 6/8/92}

Staff Reporters

The death toll in countrywide political violence since Monday had risen to at least 41 by last night, including the killing of a young choir girl, according to the police.

Thirteen other choir members were seriously injured in the attack.

In Natal at least 23 people have been killed.

Four people were killed and a policeman was injured in unrest-related incidents near Durban on Tuesday.

A man was shot dead yesterday while getting out of a taxi in Boksburg. Police said the victim lived in Ndlovu hostel, Vosloorus, and was on his way to work when he was shot by a man using a 9 mm pistol.

Police found several 9 mm cartridges at the scene. They also found a stolen .32 revolver on the dead man.

Twenty limpet mines, explosives, fuses and an electronic detonator were found yesterday when an arms cache fell from an earth-moving machine's jaws in a quarry at Muldersdrif.

Albert Mawhungu, who works at Wille de Bruyn's Sandworks, was operating a mechanical shovel when he lifted a tin trunk buried in the ground.

He saw aluminium foil parcels inside and told Mr de Bruyn, who called the police.

Police spokesman Major Henriette Bester said the arms cache contained 18 SPM limpet mines, two mini-limpet mines, 18 fuses, 6 kg of plastic explosives, one 10 m safety fuse, 12 MUV2 fuses and one KP Shot exploder.

Police said they would arrange for Mr Mawhungu to receive a reward.

focus on mass action

SINCE MONDAY this week television viewers worldwide have seen massive numbers of people marching behind ANC, Cosatu and SACP banners for "peace and democracy" in South African towns and cities.

Yesterday Mr Nelson Mandela marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria and behind him were thousands of supporters.

"Our people have voted on their feet and have given a resounding 'yes' to peace and democracy," said ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on Monday, the first day of the organisation's week of action.

Arguably, this could mean. If (the past three days until yesterday) have not proved that the ANC has the support of "the masses", all it needs is to realise its purpose - to turn those marching numbers into actual votes for a new government.

That, precisely, is what the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance says it aims to achieve: the end to white minority rule and free and fair elections for a constituent assembly.

However, the axiom about South Africa's mainstream (black) liberation politics is its divisiveness.

This has been underscored many times by criticism, rather often bitter attack, on each other's approach to "the struggle".

The PAC and Azapo are considered part of the broader liberation movement alongside the ANC and claim to have constituencies.

While this is so, the ANC has always come under constant fire from its two sisters for initiating certain actions.

Notably, it got hammered for participating in Codesa, which Azapo and the PAC said would simply not deliver liberation.

Then on June 17 the Boipatong massacre hit world headlines; the ANC angrily withdrew from the negotiating process and gave the Government 14 demands and resolved to mobilise mass action for majority rule.

The PAC and Azapo went on record as saying the ANC's withdrawal vindicated their positions. They ran short of publicly saying - although the Government did - the ANC needed an excuse to break off talks.

However, the ANC did not march out of Codesa and indulge itself in rhetoric only; it mobilised its members and confronted the Government from another front.

Mr Carl Niehaus, a spokesman of the ANC, put it this way: "More people, in spite of the harsh economic climate, have responded to our campaign than those who voted 'yes' in the whites only referendum."

The Government said the ANC was indulging in emotional politics and charged that only 80 000 people participated in the marches.

In the background, the PAC and Azapo said

Sowetan 6/8/92

The number of workers who supported the ANC alliance mass action campaign could very easily translate into a powerful democratic vote, argues Political Reporter

Themba Molefe: (274)



Protesters shout anti-Government slogans during a march in Krugersdorp on Tuesday.

mass action was intended to revive Codesa and refused to join the ANC's campaign.

However, instead of drawing support behind them, more than 80 percent workers rallied behind the ANC on Monday and Tuesday.

By the end of Tuesday, the ANC alliance said four million workers had observed the strike call, thus a victory for peace and democracy.

The question here, however, is whether the ANC is the premier liberation organisation it claims to be. At present, they do hold the upper hand in black politics.

Early in July Mandela told *Sowetan* that the PAC and Azapo had made no contribution to major achievements secured by the ANC, such as the release of prisoners and ensuring the Government conceded to the demand for a constituent assembly.

This was Mandela's rare public attack of the two organisations "Tell me just one action

that has been started by the PAC and Azapo in the past two years," he said.

Whether the two organisations directly answered this question in their responses remains anybody's judgment.

Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadameng concluded that no one organisation could claim victory over campaigns of the broad liberation struggle.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai called on the ANC to re-commit itself to the Patriotic Front of liberation movements.

Ramaphosa put it this way on Monday: "Even at this late stage we call to the PAC, Azapo and Nactu to join the majority of the people and participate in this national campaign for peace and democracy."

Is it, therefore, a classic case of the egg and the chicken? Who joins whom as the mass action rolls?

Unkown at Civic Centre

CLIVE SAWYER

Municipal Reporter

MORE than 1 000 SA Municipal Workers Union members occupied the heart of city government today, taking over the Civic Centre concourse as part of the mass action campaign.

Singing echoed through the centre as the workers prepared to hand a memorandum to executive committee chairman Mr Dick Friedlander and mayor Mr Frank van der Velde.

The document calls on the city council to guarantee job protection, reject unilateral local government restructuring and ensure there will be no retrenchments or privatisation.

In terms of an agreement between the union and council management, workers from outlying depots came to the Civic Centre for the protest and were due to leave by 9.30am.

They agreed the occupation of the concourse would be "a political protest but should not be seen as industrial action".

Workers will not be paid for the hours they spend demonstrating and a union request to use council vehicles to travel to and from the Civic Centre was refused.

Following yesterday's ANC-alliance march through the city centre, which started late, city council spokesman Mr Ted Doman said organisers of future marches would be told firmly to stick to agreed times.

In spite of the breach of the agreement to disperse by 3 pm, the council had no serious complaints about the running of yesterday's march.

According to the agreement, marchers were meant to leave the Grand Parade for their circuit of the city at 1 pm, but groups were still arriving at that time.

Councillors and officials will hold a formal post-mortem on the demonstration today.

Considering the size of the crowd, it was no surprise the event ran over time, said Cape Town Chamber of Commerce human resources manager Mr Charl Adams.

"We shall have to learn to live with things like this, but hopefully organisers of such events will stay in the limits agreed with local authorities."

Many businesses closed early to allow staff to get trains and buses home before the marchers left the city.

See pages 2 and 3.

UN monitors 'yet to see violence' during protests

27/4/92

The Argus Correspondent JOHANNESBURG. — After three days of monitoring the ANC alliance's mass action campaign, the 10 United Nations monitors have yet to see an incident of violence, said group leader Mr Hisham Omayad.

However, Mr M G Ramcharan, who is monitoring events in Natal/KwaZulu, had been taken to the scene of Sunday night's Empangeni massacre, in which 12 people were killed.

The group sent to South Africa is the first UN delegation to monitor mass protests. It is due to leave at the weekend and will report to UN Secretary General Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali.

Some of the monitors have been involved in confrontational situations but negotiations involving the peace committees, police, right-wing groups, ANC alliance members and the monitors appear to have averted a number of clashes.

Mr Omayad, who was in Pretoria with Shola Omoregei and Rehana Ahmad-Haque to monitor yesterday's march to the Union Buildings, said it went off "very well", especially considering the large crowd.

"We were very pleased with the march and what we saw," he said.

Representatives of the regional and local peace committees, including National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonio Gildenhuys, were also at the Pretoria march.

Mr Bert Ramcharan, the UN monitor in Durban, said he and his colleagues aimed to be a calming influence, not to carry out investigations or influence events. "My appeal constantly is for peace, companionship and for fellowship," he said.

BUT WHERE NOW FOR THE ANC?

DESPITE the unexpected avalanche of support in the coloured and Indian communities for this week's general strike, the National Party is not giving up hopes of winning the favour of these potential voters.

The African National Congress has hailed the coloured and Indian support as a victory. "It gives the lie to the much-touted assertion that these communities support the NP and the policies of President FW de Klerk," said ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Support for the strike in coloured and Indian residential areas ranged from 80 percent on the Witwatersrand to 50 percent in the western Cape, according to figures compiled by the ANC, independent monitoring agencies and academic sources.

The NP's chief director of information, Piet Coetzer, countered that Ramaphosa's statement merely illustrated the ANC's concern about the progress being made in black communities by the NP. He insisted that the number of people who had stayed away from work could not be taken as a barometer of support for the ANC in these communities.

"On the second day of the strike, I attended a very successful launch of an NP branch in a coloured township in the western Transvaal. About 100 people were present," he said.

At the heart of the ANC and NP's claims and counter-claims lies the per-

Indian and coloureds hearts on their sleeves

W/ Mail 7/8 - 13/8/92
A surprise of the stayaway was the strength of Indian and coloured support. But the National Party is not giving up, reports

PAUL STOBER

ception that the coloured and Indian communities are essentially moderate and have yet to align themselves decisively with either of the major political players. Both communities offer sizeable blocs of votes and they will be especially influential in elections for regional and local government.

Chairman of the Mitchell's Plain branch of the ANC, Achmat Semaar, explained why the huge coloured township — where De Klerk received a mixed reception at an NP mass meeting earlier this year — had experienced an unprecedented level of support for the general strike: "People are tired — tired of abject poverty, the lack of housing and high rates. They say that all De Klerk does is make

promises. (Minister of Health) Rina Venter has talked about R400-million in poverty relief, but as far as we know none of it has reached Mitchell's Plain."

Semaar said the willingness of local businessmen — who are usually regarded as conservative — to close shop during hours negotiated with the ANC was an indication of the depth of popular support for the strike.

But he added that the number of people who stayed away from work was not necessarily an accurate reflection of the level of support for the ANC — a view echoed by executive member of the ANC's Eldorado Park branch, Eugene Robson.

Said Robson: "Some people are willing to support a passive action, and a stayaway is passive. We also have mass unemployment in our area."

Both men pointed out, however, that the success of the strike illustrated the ANC had a much broader base of support in their areas than their signed-up membership suggested. They admitted the NP had members in their townships, but described their presence as "invisible".

Robson dismissed intimidation as a reason for the show of support: "There are 13 000 licenced firearms in Eldorado Park. I would think very carefully before using intimidation." The heavy police presence in the township had further ruled out any chance of intimidation taking place, he added.



Spot searches ... Members of the SADF search Alexandra residents for weapons

Photo: GUY ADAMS

Vance believed to favour 'observer force'

WASHINGTON — UN special envoy Cyrus Vance is believed to have recommended that the Security Council send a small observer force to SA to help "augment" existing institutions like the Goldstone commission and the national peace accord machinery. (274) (304A)

Diplomats said Vance's report on his 10-day mission to SA was in Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's hands yesterday and could be distributed as an official UN document as early as today.

In the document, Vance is said to advocate placing fewer than 200 observers, on a basis that is not intrusive, to help smooth

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SIMON BARBER
the way for agreement on an interim government as soon as possible.

Their function would be to help foster a climate for successful negotiation, in part by acting as an important incentive for all parties, including the police, to refrain from actions that might lead to violence or throw further obstacles in the path of negotiations.

It seems certain that they will work in concert with the Goldstone commission and the peace accord, as well as other peace mechanisms agreed between the parties.

Western officials made clear that the force would be even-handed and that a key part of its brief would be "not to do for the South Africans what they should be doing for themselves".

The Security Council is scheduled to hold consultations on Cyprus today. Boutros-Ghali may take the opportunity to brief the council on Vance's conclusions.

As for formal action on the report, the council is expected to try to reach consensus behind the scenes and then swiftly adopt an implementing resolution, perhaps early next week.

Funding for the operation would then have to be approved.

Police promise 24-hour hostel watch

By Zingisa Mkhuma

Commission of Inquiry
into the June 17 Boipatong massacre

Police have given an undertaking that the Iscor-owned KwaMadala hostel in Boipatong near Vanderbijlpark will be kept under 24-hour surveillance by the security forces.

The undertaking from Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe was made at the second preliminary hearing of the Goldstone

Mr Justice R J Goldstone said the commission had been informed by counsel for the police that General van der Merwe had undertaken to ensure.

- A continuous police presence to monitor the comings and goings of all persons at the KwaMadala hostel.

- The SAP would take all reasonable steps to

monitor the situation at hostels and their surroundings which were currently known to be sources of unrest.

The SADF had given an assurance to the commission through its counsel that it would also maintain a round-the-clock presence in the vicinity of the KwaMadala hostel and the Boipatong area.

The Star yesterday noted a heavy security police presence outside

KwaMadala hostel.

In Meadowlands, Soweto, four police Caspurs were seen in the vicinity of the local hostel.

In Dobsonville, a police truck stood next to the hostel which was recently partly demolished by local residents. There was no visible sign of security forces at Dube and Nancefield hostels.

All the hostels mentioned, except for KwaMadala, are not fenced off.

UN observers STAR 7/8/92 calm hotheads

(274) ~~274~~ ~~274~~
The UN monitoring team has been observing this week's rolling mass action, MICHAEL SPARKS reports.

THE MONITORING team has yet to see an incident of violence or intimidation and is very pleased with the conduct of protesters during the mass action campaign, including Wednesday's march in Pretoria, according to the team leader.

Hisham Omayad believes the monitoring can be successful and achieve a great deal, even with just 10 people from the United Nations involved in the actual monitoring.

Earlier this week he said: "This is more than a public relations exercise on the part of the UN. Our 10 people have been provided with the infrastructure and support they need in all the various regions.

"If the UN had 1 000 observers without the co-operation of people on the ground, we would achieve less than we have been able to with only 10, but with the full backing of the regional peace committees," he said.

Some of the monitors have been involved in confrontational situations, but negotiations involving the peace committees, police, right-wing groups, ANC alliance members and the monitors appear to have averted a number of clashes.

One such incident happened in Krugersdorp on Tuesday when the AWB laid a charge against an illegal gathering and march to the town hall by the ANC alliance.

After much negotiating, the march went ahead, with verbal abuse and vulgar gestures by the rightwingers.

Asked whether this mediation brought into question the team's objectivity, Mr Omayad said: "We are not here as passive observers, we are interacting with all sides." Action to ensure peace did not contravene their mandate, he added.

Shola Omoreigi was also involved in a difficult situation outside the Meadowlands police station, which was surrounded by a crowd of 1 500 alliance supporters. After tense negotiations, a delegation was allowed to enter the police station to present demands.

Wits/Vaal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee co-chairman Rupert Lorimer said it was incidents like these which enabled monitors to "see the Peace Accord in action".

After his first morning of monitoring, Mr Omayad said he wanted to focus on the National Peace Accord and its implementation. "What is in (the Peace Accord) is very valuable," far more so because it was put together by South Africans, he said.

"The peace committee structures are permanent and have been effective. We are only here temporarily," he added.

Another Wits/Vaal committee co-chairman, Andre Lamprecht, gave credit to the UN group when he said: "We must recognise the significance and the international legitimacy that the UN Security Council has given to the Peace Accord and the role of the Peace Accord by sending a delegation to this country."

The monitoring group, sent by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is the first ever sent by the world body to monitor protest action in a country. □

Thousands march as mass action campaign rolls on

B/DAY 7/8/92

MARCHES on police stations, businesses and government offices involving tens of thousands of people continued to take place throughout the country yesterday in support of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance's mass action campaign.

Demonstrations, marches and sit-ins took place in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, Maritzburg, Umtata, Kempton Park and Cape Town, adding to Wednesday's 682 marches which resulted in almost a thousand arrests.

Police said at least 41 people have died nationwide during the three days of mass action.

About 40 people were arrested and three injured in incidents across the country yesterday.

More than 7 000 marchers converged on the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court to hand over to chief magistrate Nicholas van der Merwe a list of demands including a call for President F W de Klerk to resign.

ANC PWV region spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said security forces had opened fire on the demonstrators, injuring three.

In downtown Johannesburg there were three marches involving hospital workers, the Construction and Al-

ADRIAN HADLAND

lied Workers' Union and the SA Students' Congress.

Police confirmed that nine marches had taken place in Pretoria without incident, seven of which were to police stations.

Mamoepa said the Department of Education and Training offices in Springs had been occupied, as well as the offices of the Receiver of Revenue, the NP and the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

He said eight people had been arrested after marching on the Evaton police station, while the NUM office in Carletonville had been surrounded by security forces, preventing a march to the local DET office. One student had been arrested but was later released.

Cosatu Pretoria region spokesman Jackie Masemola said marches had been planned to Maizecor, the Mamelodi city council and administrative offices in Pretoria.

More than 200 people who were arrested in Pietersburg on Wednesday appeared in court yesterday charged with violating municipal by-laws. Police said some of the accused could not pay the R300 bail and had been remanded in custody.

Further incidents were reported in

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Port Elizabeth — where thousands of workers staged sit-ins at suburban shopping centres, Cape Town, Umtata, Stellenbosch, Maritzburg, Benoni, Olifantsfontein and KwaThema.

CHARLIE PRETZLIK reports that ANC Alexandra spokesman Teboho Mosonogi alleged that Inkatha was "directly linked" to Wednesday's incident in which a youth choir in Alexandra was shot at and two people killed.

Mosonogi accused the police of being slow to respond to the attack on the choir.

Inkatha central committee member Themba Khoza told a news conference that the deaths and destruction during the mass action campaign "had not come as a surprise to me".

Khoza said government shared some blame for the deaths as it had "allowed the ANC to go ahead with its mass action".

The Human Rights Commission has reported that 86 deaths and 176 injuries were recorded between Wednesday last week and Tuesday this week. HRC commissioner Max Coleman said the death toll was only marginally higher than the weekly average of 80 recorded since March.

He said security force action during the period had resulted in 11 deaths, 40 injuries and 639 arrests.

Tutu 'proud' of events

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu told a packed hall of about 3 000 students of the University of the Western Cape yesterday that he was proud the mass stayaway had been relatively peaceful — and he encouraged his audience to pursue "the noble struggle to freedom".

He said he had been "fearful" of what might happen during the general strike. However, those who had died were "not just statistics.

Even the death of one human being diminishes us all."

Violence was preventing a non-racial democracy from coming about.

"What they are saying by the term black-on-black violence is that blacks are not ready ... Yes, there is violence because of rivalry between groups but whatever the cause, the government is responsible for ending it." — Staff Reporter, Sapa

Civic Centre occupied

(274)
CT 7/8/92

MORE than a thousand municipal workers occupied the Civic Centre concourse for two hours yesterday.

A memorandum calling on the council to commit itself to providing concrete solutions to the country's socio-economic problems was presented to a council delegation led by Mayor Mr Frank van der Velde and executive committee chairman Mr Dick Friedlander.

Demands were that the council aid negotiations to bring down the high cost of food, assist drought relief, place a moratorium on retrenchments and halt all privatisation efforts.

Mr Van der Velde said "The demands for peace, democracy and economic restructuring are exactly what this council stands for." He added that the council had pledged themselves to "fight as hard as we can" to hasten the day when the Mayor of Cape Town would be elected by all the city's people.

● In Maritzburg almost 400 taxis blocked the streets yesterday at lunchtime to protest against the traffic authorities. ANC Natal Midlands secretary Mr Sifiso Nkabinde addressed a crowd of about 5 500 in the city centre.

● In Johannesburg police on Wednesday witnessed a minibus taxi driver allegedly trying to force a car driven by a woman off the freeway between Pretoria and Johannesburg



CLOSING RANKS . . . Almost 400 taxis jam the streets of Maritzburg in protest against alleged harassment by traffic authorities.

The driver was arrested in Bramley after a chase and a tense confrontation with a crowd of 130 people ensued, police said.

The police who had given chase were surrounded by a crowd and threatened. Police reinforcements arrived and the crowd was dispersed.

● Students yesterday brought the University of Transkei in Umtata to a standstill, locking out lecturers and administrative and security staff.

● About 50 armed members of the IFP yesterday confronted 2 000 members of the Construction and Allied Workers' Union marching down Commissioner Street, Johannesburg. According to a police spokesman, the IFP members were armed with sticks, lengths of pipe and spears.

Police escorted the group back to the Wolhuter Hostel in Jeppe. — Staff Reporter, Sapa

Police praise actions of ANC's marshals

Staff Reporter

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POLICE yesterday praised ANC organisers and marshals for "doing their best" under difficult circumstances during Wednesday's mass march and said "certain elements" used marches as a vehicle to commit crimes.

Police spokesman Colonel Anthony Dewhurst said police accepted the right of people to stage peaceful protests but there was the danger that criminals would commit crimes and instigate violence.

On Wednesday the ANC handed over to police three men who allegedly broke a shop window to steal clothes and an alleged thief. They were later released because of lack of evidence.

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Dr Allan Boesak, the Western Cape leader of the ANC, said the men were not ANC members.

Colonel Dewhurst said it was important that people stick to the conditions and routes agreed on.

"The damage to police vehicles, where tyres were punctured and slashed, are examples of what can happen when criminal elements take advantage."

Policemen had to endure being spat upon, sworn at and insulted every time marches took place.

Shopkeepers had to close their shops for fear of theft and many people were afraid to go to work.

"We are living in a culture of intimidation," Colonel Dewhurst said.

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Avoiding the golf option

Holding high office does not mean that one has power. When Eisenhower succeeded Truman in the White House in 1953, it was widely expected that Ike would be very effective in the Oval Office because of his unprecedented popularity.

But the down-to-earth Truman knew better, and made a folksy prediction about the early days of Ike's presidency: "He's gonna sit there and he's gonna say 'Do this' and 'Do that' — and nobody's gonna do a damn thing." And so it proved. Ike took a long time to impose himself, avoided many tough issues, and preferred golf to governing any day. The point is that even the most powerful man on earth has to do more than simply issue orders: he must lead.

For a while, after he was released in February 1990, it seemed that ANC president Nelson Mandela was the most powerful man on earth — not in terms of nuclear weapons or economic power, but because of his peculiar status as martyr to apartheid: the world's most famous political prisoner. Even now, his pronouncements are widely received with an uncritical awe other politicians dream of.

We cannot know what Mandela himself thought was the extent of his power to heal the nation, but he seems to have overestimated it. He went to Natal and exhorted the province's warring blacks to "throw your weapons into the sea." It was a stirring call — and it was ignored.

Statements this week from the ANC/Cosatu/Communist alliance are uncomfortably familiar. Mandela made a special call for mass action to be peaceful; other senior alliance leaders gave assurances that intimidation of people who wanted to work would not be tolerated. Communist leader Chris Hani talked of "maximum discipline" and his party condemned intimidation and vandalism. Reports from the first two days of mass action suggested that the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi was not abroad.

In many areas roads were barricaded with rocks and burning tyres. Buses serving Port Elizabeth townships were stoned and services had to be suspended. Newspapers were burnt and a TML senior editor was harassed. On the Khayelitsha railway line in the Cape, one train was stoned and another blocked by a sleeper — a clear attempt at sabotage. In Durban a petrol bomb was thrown at a police vehicle.

It was claimed that some Soweto children making their way to school were told they would be killed if they did not turn back; in some

schools teachers turned up and waited for pupils; in others pupils sat without teachers. Many principals decided to take the week off.

Near East London, shops were set alight and there were fears of a bloody confrontation between Ciskei troops and ANC marchers. Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto was reported by its superintendent to be under siege on Monday by a crowd that tried to enter the grounds, blocked the old Potch road and burned tyres. Motorists were warned to stay out of Cape Town on Wednesday, if possible, because of the planned march from Langa.

If this constitutes peaceful demonstrations, maximum discipline and an absence of intimidation, we would be interested to know what would happen if the ANC called on the kids to burn a few tyres and try to derail a train or two.

Not that SA is in anarchy; we are not trying to construct a horror story. In many places protest was peaceful and the police seem generally to have been admirably behaved. Many hospitals and other essential services continued their work and many businesses managed to carry on. On Monday and Tuesday we saw a stayaway, not a general strike. After the first 24 hours of the strike far fewer people had died than might have been expected — and knowledge of the presence of UN monitors may have had a positive effect.

The point is that what the ANC/Cosatu/Communist leaders said would happen, in terms of method and behaviour, did not happen.

They can be forgiven for claiming the victory of a huge stayaway — indeed, it is politically essential that they do this — but they have had very little to say about the way their instructions and exhortations about discipline have been ignored in so many places.

The ANC will protest that it is not responsible for unruly elements, criminals, thugs, wild teenagers, insurrectionists and drunks. Precisely: so why make their dark work easier by in effect proclaiming an open season on the order of society?

Politicians should not issue unrealistic calls, but nor should they turn a blind eye to reality. The duty of Nelson Mandela, in particular, is to beware of fulfilling the prophecy, when he finally gets to high office, that Truman sketched out for Eisenhower. ■



MASS ACTION

Sound and fury

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FM 7/8/92

The ANC and its allies hoped this week's mass action would do for them what the referendum in March did for President F W de Klerk: consolidate wavering support and give direction to the negotiation process.

Leaders of the alliance believe it did. They say the millions who stayed away from work on Monday and Tuesday voted with their feet — or was it their pay packets? — to support the alliance's various demands.

After the first day, the strike was declared a "phenomenal success" based on an alliance assessment of a 90% stayaway. Estimates by employers varied considerably in different regions. Sacob says it ranged from only 15% in the western Cape to 90% in the PWV.

There is little doubt that it was effective but many thousands of workers would probably not have stayed at home had they been given a free choice.

ANC watcher Tom Lodge, of Wits University, says the success of the stayaway is not a clear indication of ANC support. The PAC and its affiliated trade union grouping, Nactu — neither of them exactly friends of government and big business — alleged widespread intimidation of members by ANC and Cosatu supporters.

The Inkatha Freedom Party claimed there was extensive intimidation and its supporters were attacked by alliance followers.

Evidence of intimidation was widespread and included the stoning of vehicles. Roads and rail lines were blocked in some areas and there were attacks on people and property, especially in Natal where the death toll in interparty clashes was by far the highest.

Rogue ANC "self-defence units" (SDUs) — condemned by SACP chief Chris Hani in a *Sunday Times* interview he later attempted to soften — clearly had a busy two days. The level of violence and disregard for rules that had apparently been agreed on for protest marches, such as the carrying of dangerous weapons and adequate notice to the police and local authorities, were often ignored.



Ciskei's Gqozo ...
please help



Hani ... danger
signs flashing

In some cases the police also apparently flaunted the recent guidelines from the Goldstone Commission on the handling of demonstrations. In one, a protester at Grabouw was shot dead because, according to a police spokesman, he was allegedly about to throw a brick at a policeman.

The situation in Ciskei was reported to be the most serious. Military ruler Oupa Gqozo threatened to use force to stop a planned march from King William's Town to Bisho. He asked for assistance from the SADF. This apparently caused deep furrows on the brows at Foreign Affairs.

UN monitors — one was barred from entering Ciskei — had a busy time criss-crossing the country to keep tabs on trouble spots. It is hoped their assessment will contribute to restarting the negotiation process rather than give fresh ammunition to rival factions.

The widespread violence flew in the face of ANC leader Nelson Mandela's plea for calm and discipline; it must surely have negated whatever political gain the alliance hoped to squeeze from the stayaway.

Political tension in areas that were relatively calm has been heightened by renewed confrontation. The eastern and western Cape are good examples. The ANC may find that instead of consolidating its support, mass action has made large sections of black communities radical to a point where continued "street struggle" will be preferred to negotiating a political transition. The situation is exacerbated by elements in the alliance leadership who favour a Leipzig Option (insurrection) over negotiations.

Hani's *Sunday Times* interview is probably the clearest indication so far from within the alliance that there is serious concern about the rise of the almost uncontrollable radical youth gangs in the townships. It could be that Hani, arguably the alliance's most astute politician, realises that tough action will soon have to be taken against the

rebel units by the ANC, the security forces or both.

If not, the SDUs could become warlords in some areas and threaten not only the negotiation process but even the ANC by barring it from townships and undermining the confidence of supporters who expect the ANC to protect them against tyranny.

With violence showing every sign of growing rather than abating in the days ahead, the ANC faces a serious dilemma. It is possible that hawks in the alliance have decided to fight back, after the failure of mass action, until the strike to meet expectations (*Current Affairs* July 31). If so, they could attempt to keep tension high through increasingly provocative actions. As the *FM* went to press, the ANC's western Cape leaders were planning a mass march into Cape Town along the N2 highway, the main route to the airport.

One of the ANC demands for returning to the talks table is an end to violence or at least steps to end it. When government took steps last week by flooding Vaal Triangle townships with security forces to "stabilise the situation," however, the ANC accused it of intimidating residents on the eve of the strike.

It appears that only co-operation between the ANC and the security forces will bring violence under control and possibly end it. ■

TRANSPORT

Lots of money

Barely days before the SA Rail Commuter Corp (RCC) was due to occupy a new office block outside Johannesburg on April 1, Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed tried to put a stop to the move. He acted on the advice of the Office for Privatisation. But a five-year lease, which could cost the RCC (and commuters and taxpayers) R3m more than the rent at the previous offices, had already been signed.

The chairman of the Policy Unit for Public Enterprises and Privatisation, Pieter van Huyssteen, has confirmed to the *FM* that he was asked by Welgemoed "to investigate certain aspects (of the RCC) and advise the Minister." Van Huyssteen would not comment on his findings; he said he had handed them over to Welgemoed. But it is understood that Van Huyssteen investigated the RCC's financial programme, its personnel situation and its contract with Transnet.

The proposal to the RCC board that the corporation should not renew its rental contract in the Wesbank House building in Braamfontein and that it should move to a

11 500 jobs to go as BP losses grow

LONDON. — British Petroleum had its darkest day for decades as it cut its dividend for the first time since World War 1, reported a substantial first-half loss and said it was cutting 11 500 jobs.

The loss and redundancies were the result of a cost-cutting and asset sales programme, for which the company made an exceptional charge of \$1 billion (\$5.3 billion).

The charge transformed a second-quarter net profit of \$107 million (\$567 million) into an unprecedented \$812 million (\$4 303 million) net loss. The first-half loss was \$717 million (\$3 800 million) compared with an \$834 million (\$4 420 million) profit in the 1991 period.

The second-quarter dividend was halved to 2.1p (11.1c). BP's shares fell 10p (53c) to 196p (R10.39) yesterday.

Last clue today to win R20 000

TODAY the last clue for The Argus/Steers R20 000 in cash Stick-a-Pic competition is on page 7. Clues from last Monday and Tuesday are also reprinted on that page so those who failed to get their copies of The Argus on those days, as a result of distribution difficulties,

Ramaphosa warns of more mass action

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has warned that South Africa would face another lap of "rolling mass action" unless the government heeded the call for an interim government, constituent assembly and embarked on constructive steps to end violence.

Speaking during a visit to Empangeni, Mr Ramaphosa indicated that this week's mass action campaign, "which has successfully brought this country to a standstill", would be taken further unless demands were met.

He was reacting to President De Klerk's announcement on Wednesday that he was prepared to resume talks.

Addressing more than 70 000 ANC supporters who marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Wednesday, Mr De Klerk said there was an urgent need for negotiations to be resumed.

"I am prepared to sit down tomorrow," he said.

The naked truth?

DIXON (Illinois). — A prisoner is suing for what he says is his freedom under the First Amendment to worship in the nude. The lawsuit by Mr Jesse Loden asks for \$3-million from the Illinois Department of Corrections and from 13 people who work at the Dixon Prison.

— Sapa-AP.

However, Mr Ramaphosa threw the ball back into the government's court yesterday, saying that any new talks would depend on the government response to ANC demands.

"We will talk to Mr De Klerk only when he is ready to give us our freedom", said Mr Ramaphosa.

Recent reports indicated that the government, the ANC and the IFP might meet under the auspices of the National Peace Commission to discuss violence.

Also speaking at Empangeni yesterday, the secretary-general of Cosatu, Mr Jay Naidoo, said organised labour would continue to support the ANC demands.

Expressing Cosatu support for continuing mass action, Mr Naidoo said that being voteless, the black people had no other means to express political aspirations.

SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Chris Hani told cheering residents at Esikhawini township that democratic elections would soon be held and they should mobilise numbers to ensure a democratic government.

Mr Hani and Mr Naidoo were accompanying Mr Ramaphosa on a fact-finding mission to investigate the killing of 11 people in Esikhawini on Sunday night.

Health strikers take over office

SHARON SOROUR, Labour Reporter

ABOUT 60 striking members of the Health Workers' Union occupied the manager's office at the hospital central laundry in Pinelands today.

The strikers occupied the Cape Provincial Administration premises at Barn, according to union shop steward Mr Isaac Ngame. Police monitored proceedings.

Mr Ngame said they were demanding that management open the staff tearoom to allow the strikers to hold a meeting.

About 80 of the workforce of 309 have been on strike at the laundry for about seven weeks. Mr Ngame said management locked the tearoom because they said it had been damaged by the strikers.

"This is not true. We asked the manager to show us what damage had been caused, but he refused," said Mr Ngame.

At 10am the group was still in the manager's office, singing and chanting, while police, management and union officials negotiated.

Police vehicles were on the premises but the atmosphere was calm.

Non-strikers and workers from other Cape Provincial Administration institutions carried on working. Mr Ngame said strikers would not interfere with non-strikers.

About 20 singing and chanting strikers stood outside the building. They said they would occupy the office until their demands were met.

The Health Workers' Union is demanding permanent status for all workers, a R724 minimum monthly wage and a 15.3 percent increase.

The manager refused to comment.

● See page 7.

End of road for chauffeur

NICE. — Police have arrested the chauffeur of a Franco-Lebanese millionaire on charges of stealing four paintings — by Matisse, Degas and Modigliani — from his employer's French Riviera home. Together valued at R100-million, they were snatched a week ago. — Sapa-Reuter.

Tutu hails 'tremendous day for SA'

SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter

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ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has led a standing ovation at the University of the Western Cape for "the people of South Africa" for marching peacefully in the country's cities.

Referring to reports that 40 people had died in the mass action so far, he said one death was "one too many".

Addressing about 2 000 people on campus yesterday, Archbishop Tutu, who is chancellor of UWC, said: "These are not just statistics, but someone's father, mother, brother or sister."

"We have to say we want zero deaths because the death of one

human being diminishes every human being."

Nevertheless, Wednesday was a "tremendous day for our country".

He said: "I am very glad to have been proved wrong."

"I was fearful of what was going to happen during this period ... but I was wrong and I am proud our people proved me wrong."

It was important to register the "victories of humanity".

Archbishop Tutu said the turnout was a "tremendous spectacle" and impressive especially because "of the dignity with which our people carried themselves".

He said the "struggle is a just

struggle for freedom; not for black people only but for all people".

Violence was to be expected in any country's transition period but, whatever the cause, the government had the primary responsibility of resolving it, he said.

The report by British academic Dr Peter Waddington had described police action in the wake of the Boipatong killings as "inefficient", but blacks knew the "brutal efficiency of the police".

"We urgently need a professional police force which is apolitical and neutral and which acts as a peacekeeping force and law-enforcement agency," he said.

Local activities planned as mass action winds down

Staff Reporters and Sapa

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The ANC alliance's week-long programme of rolling mass action is beginning to wind down as it enters its fifth day today with local activities organised by affiliated organisations.

The week's activities will be assessed tomorrow, and the last day, which coincides with National Women's Day, will focus on church activities.

The ANC and its allies, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party, yesterday rejected arguments that the turnout this week had been the result of intimidation.

The alliance said more than 300 000 people took part in 100 rallies and marches on Monday and Tuesday and "close on 400 000" took part in more than 40 rallies, marches and "occupations" on Wednesday.

Police said the rate of daily unrest-related incidents had tripled in the past week, and that on Wednesday, when an estimated 110 000 people took part in mass action, eight people died, 26 were injured and 953 people were arrested.

However, the Human Rights Commission said in its Weekly Repression Report that the

death toll over the past week had been 86. "compared to the weekly average of 80 over the past five months".

Meanwhile, mass action protests continued across the country yesterday with a host of sit-ins, marches and demonstrations.

Thousands of people, some of them armed with sticks and knobkerries, marched on the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court in the largest demonstration yet in the East Rand town.

The ANC claimed 20 000 people took part and that police shot and injured three demonstrators. Police said about 8 000 people took part and that three complainants, who alleged they had been shot, had handed in ball-bearings to the police.

In Johannesburg, possible bloodshed was averted yesterday when police prevented a group of about 50 armed Inkatha Freedom Party supporters from attacking about 300 protesting construction workers in Jeppestown.

● The loss to commerce caused by the mass action campaign in Port Elizabeth was described as "astronomical" by chamber of commerce director Anton Vlok.

Fall in, ANC tells self-defence units

13/8/92 7/8-13/8/92

The African National Congress'

self-defence units, criticised for

violence, murder and intimidation of

the very people they're supposed to

protect, will be drilled into shape by

the ANC. By EDDIE KOCH

THE African National Congress this week began a top-level probe into reports that self-defence units, including fighters from Umkhonto weSizwe, had run amok in various townships around the country.

"An internal commission of inquiry is sitting at this moment and taking evidence from members of rival self-defence units in the Vaal townships and will make urgent recommendations direct to Nelson Mandela about how to deal with this problem," said Tokyo Sexwale, chairman of the ANC's powerful PWV region.

Sexwale said the commission, administered by the office of ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, would examine evidence that members of an ANC-run unit in Sebokeng was responsible for the murder of a union shop steward and other killings in the township earlier this year.

The commission will also consider strong recommendations from Chris Hani, secretary general of the South African Communist Party, about the need to impose discipline and political control over maverick elements that have taken over defence units in various parts of the country.

Hani urges that recruitment of members for these units be carried out with much more caution and that political organisations "must be seen to be punishing people who act contrary to the aims and objectives of the democratic movement and of the self-defence units".

Other proposals include:

- The need to establish political control and a clear line of command over the units. "I have heard of examples where some self-defence units have tried to exact a special tax on business people with some implied consumer boycott if they don't comply. Political organisations must curb any such tendency immediately."

- Strong action against members who use weapons to settle private disputes. *The Weekly Mail* has reported cases where former MK fighters have attacked, and killed, other activists during jealous tiffs over women.

- "Weapons in the hands of defence units must never be used to settle political differences ... even if leadership has become extremely unpopular the only way to settle political differences is through the proper democratic chan-

nels."

- The leadership of community groups must exert effective control over the units and this should include regular reports from the units and checks on the "material" they use.

- Thorough screening must take place to ensure that "jumpen elements open to manipulation" and those with a track record of militant rhetoric are excluded.

"We have seen an alarming revival of kangaroo courts and kangaroo justice and even the horrifying necklace. It is extremely important to note that the entire national liberation movement

has taken a very strong stand against the barbaric method of killing by necklacing," says Hani.

"Some elements have used defence units to obstruct the police when the police have been engaged in justifiable crime prevention activities. Defence units must never be seen to be sheltering criminals."

Most of these proposals have been outlined in a recent edition of the SACP journal, *Unsebenzi*. While making frank criticisms of some self-defence units, both Hani and Sexwale believe the units cannot be disbanded.

"There can be no question that the formation of these units has contributed to saving many lives in a situation of escalating violence," said Hani.

Sexwale notes that the police have lost all credibility in most townships around the country and that residents, faced with a huge increase in violence since the unbanning of the ANC, will arm themselves to protect themselves.

"Unless we try and give them some form of direction, chaos will reign," said Sexwale.

However, provisions of the National Peace Accord — which prohibit political parties from having their own armed units — have made it difficult for the ANC to exert the amount of discipline required to control the units.

"The National Peace Accord has forced us to leave the running of self-defence units to members of the community who often lack military and political experience. This opens the situation to a number of elements who are not subject to our discipline," said Sexwale.

"Ideally, the security forces should protect the people, or at least co-operate with the self-defence units in providing some kind of law and order in the townships. But with the existing police force this can never happen. Instead, they go around kicking down doors, kicking around peoples' jaws and pushing old women around."

Sexwale said that if the commission found evidence that members of the self-defence units were involved in murder and other serious crimes they would be expelled from the organisation.

ANC told to carry 'traditional weapons'

W/Mail

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By CARMEL RICKARD
IF Inkatha members continue carrying "traditional weapons", should African National Congress members do the same? ANC southern Natal general secretary Sbu Ndebele says they have no choice.

"It is our tradition too. If the police allow Inkatha to carry dangerous weapons, we will have to do likewise."

While the call has proved popular with many Natal ANC supporters, it has come in for criticism. Durban's Legal Resources Centre says the idea is irresponsible and reckless.

The ANC head office has reaffirmed its policy that people "cannot come to marches armed in any way", and Inkatha says ANC members were carrying such weapons even before Ndebele's call.

Ndebele warned several times that the ANC in his region would begin carrying "traditional weapons" as a strategy to make police disarm Inkatha. He says patience ran out last

month when a group of armed Inkatha Freedom Party supporters confronted ANC members at the start of a Durban city centre march.

The ANC was planning to try Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a mock trial and IFP supporters aimed to stop the "trial". Police intervened and prevented a fight, but Ndebele says the group should have been disarmed long before they reached their destination.

After that incident Ndebele called for ANC members to carry weapons. They were first seen in great numbers this week at a march of more than 10 000 people in Inanda outside Durban. Many in the crowd were kitted out with spears, sticks, shields, axes and pangas. They marched in regiments, singing traditional fighting songs and brandishing their weapons. A number also wore skins. Many people appeared to enjoy the opportunity to combine traditional and political feelings.

During the ANC's mass action in

central Durban this week, a number of marchers again carried such weapons. In a speech to thousands of protesters, Ndebele said "traditional weapons" would become a part of ANC marches.

They would be carried at all gatherings in the future as long as the police allowed Inkatha to bear such weapons in public. Ndebele said later that he was against the bearing of these weapons, but felt that the new strategy was the only way to stop them from being carried by Inkatha. "The day the IFP marches without these arms, the very next day so will we," he said.

Legal Resources' Howard Varney said he understood ANC frustration with police failure to enforce laws barring the carrying of such weapons in public. However, the ANC response — calling on its members to bear weapons — was quite unacceptable.

Varney added: "Weapons' bearing in the current climate is nothing more

than a show of strength and an act of intimidation, regardless of which organisation is behind it."

Varney said if ANC members were to bear arms in the same way as Inkatha, it would further entrench a culture of weapons, violence and intolerance. "It may well be that this trend may become unstoppable."

The IFP's Ed Tillett also criticised the ANC move. "Two wrongs do not make a right. We disapprove of our members carrying non-traditional weapons. When it was made unlawful to carry non-traditional weapons we began taking steps to ensure only sticks and shields are carried in future. Last Saturday's march in Durban showed the message has now reached most supporters."

Meanwhile, the ANC head office says there must be a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public. If the government banned weapons in particular areas only, as happened this week, instigators simply moved elsewhere.

Pupils swap books for barricades

W/Man 718 - 13/8/92 (274)

By PORTIA MAURICE

PUPILS put their books aside to rally to the African National Congress-led mass action campaign on Monday and Tuesday — but in many cases the entire school week was lost to distraction and apathy.

Most urban African schools reported total stayaways on the first two days of the week — as pupils heeded a decision by education bodies like the National Education Co-ordinating Committee that they boycott classes.

At coloured and Indian high schools, attendance hovered at 50 percent and below. There was much confusion as divided staff dilly-dallied with their consciences, in some cases teaching depleted classrooms with five or so pupils. At schools which were more organised, those pupils who pitched ran cultural “awareness” programmes.

However, many township schools failed the acid test of discipline on Wednesday and Thursday — politicised pupils were enticed by huge city occupations and drifted out of play-

grounds late morning. Such actions “create curiosity” among pupils, South African Democratic Teachers’ Union (Sadtu) Soweto general secretary Veli Mnyandu said.

A Department of Education and Culture official in Port Elizabeth described the first two days of the strike as “not so normal”. Local Sadtu spokesman Ampie Williams said schools in the largely coloured Northern Areas had experienced stayaways of up to 90 percent while about 50 percent of teachers heeded the call.

Although teachers at the Indian high school, Woolhope High in Malabar, reported for work, there was no teaching on Monday and Tuesday. Many Northern Areas pupils joined a mass march yesterday to commemorate the 1990 uprising in the area.

Universities like the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape effectively closed shop for the two days.

“Universities have a primary res-

pensibility to education and a decision to close even for a day or two cannot be taken lightly,” said UWC rector Jakes Gerwel.

“One of the major campaigns on the agenda of the democratic forces in the country this year is that of rebuilding and strengthening the culture of learning in our educational institutions.

“There has been a studied avoidance on the part of responsible education actors of measures which would disrupt the schooling or academic programme and undermine the culture of learning,” he said.

“It is therefore an indication of the gravity of the social and broad political concerns of the universities for them to have decided on closure for the two days.”

Adding its voice to the call for “peace and democracy now”, the South African Students’ Congress (Sasco) called for the restructuring of governing structures such as university councils. Thirteen campuses were targeted. — Ecna, Sasnews and Sapa

...ANC CAN PULL A CROWD, BUT WHAT NEXT?

and we're coming inside

WJM and 7/8-13/8/92

does enable the ANC to claim that it has won widespread endorsement in this "black referendum".

By the end of the week, President FW de Klerk was looking increasingly like former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev in the days before the coup attempt of August last year: sandwiched between rightwing security forces, whom he is unwilling or unable to pull into line, and rising popular discontent.

Like Gorbachev, he enjoys enormous international standing, but at home he appeared this week to be losing control of the forces he himself let loose through his reforms. Also like Gorbachev, this takes place against a deteriorating economy that can only add to the pressures mounting against him.

Both men faltered when it came to facing up to the final consequences of the reforms they had started; in De Klerk's case, it was an inability at Codesa II to accept full democracy.

The major difference, however, is that Gorbachev appeared incapable of dealing with the rising tide of forces against him and of dealing with popular discontent. Not so De Klerk: he has Mandela and others to deal with as representatives of popular discontent.

Mandela spent out this week what he believes De Klerk now has to do: move towards an interim government of national unity, commit himself to a democratically elected constituent assembly and take steps to curb violence. The ANC appears willing to talk, but not until more progress is made in meeting these demands.

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Cosatu and the ANC are now making it clear that they are aware of the government's intention to simply ride out this week's activities, and that they will therefore continue the campaign in the coming weeks. A revitalisation of the campaign to force employers to stop deducting Paye (Pay-as-you-earn) tax from workers' salaries is on the cards and ANC-aligned civic organisations are also set to intensify grassroots campaigns.

Word from the alliance is that even if formal talks resume between the ANC and the government, nothing short of concrete agreement on an interim government and a timetable for constituent assembly elections will halt the campaign of "rolling mass action".

Employers are tired of having to bear the brunt of political disputes, but withholding workers'

pay for days missed makes them vulnerable to further political campaigns and as a result, large employer bodies are increasingly leaning on the government to make concessions.

Following the recent collapse of the tentative accord between Cosatu and the employer body Saccola, top businessmen have been consulting the government in a bid to exert pressure on it to speed up the political transition. Business sources predict that this behind-the-scenes lobbying will gain momentum in the wake of the strike.

Regional branches of the ANC and Cosatu will be meeting this weekend to assess the week's actions and to plan ways of taking the campaign forward. "This has been a decisive week and we will now be going back to the drawing board. Our people have been galvanised and, although the government is making the right noises, the mass action will have to continue." This week was only one peak in the campaign, said Cosatu representative Neil Coleman.

FOCUS ON THIS WEEK'S STAYAWAY

THE political tide turned this week as the mass action campaign took off with the country's biggest-ever general strike and the largest series of protest marches.

The desultory start to the campaign in the past few weeks was forgotten as between three and four million workers stayed away from work, and between 200 000 and 400 000 people took part in some of the biggest protest marches the country has ever seen. The numbers were hotly disputed, but not the assessment that the action was far more successful than expected and that the African National Congress emerged from the week considerably strengthened.

Just last week, the campaign seemed doomed to failure and warnings were given that the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) were risking their credibility.

But not only did the strike get the support of more than three million workers, but subsequent mass action during the week attracted a great deal more support than expected. This in the face of stern opposition from the Pan Africanist

Your door is wide open, FW

W Med 7/8 - 13/8/92

Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and Inkatha, and a barrage of criticism from most of the media.

Strike observers say even Nactu-organised factories showed a very high level of absenteeism — though Nactu attributes this to intimidation and a lack of transport.

With absenteeism estimates ranging from 76 percent in the western Cape to 95 percent in the PWV, the ANC alliance is on a high. Even passive support translated on Wednesday into active support that cannot be dismissed as the result of intimidation. Mass demonstrations in Pretoria, Cape Town and King William's Town drew crowds of the size last seen during the euphoric weeks just after the release of Nelson Mandela.

The African National Congress' Cyril Ramaphosa told the huge crowd massed in Pretoria on Wednesday: 'We are at the door of the Union Buildings — next time, FW de Klerk, we will be inside your office.' For the first time, the message could not be dismissed as bluster.

By ANTON HARBER and MONDLI MAKHANYA

When ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa told the crowd massed in Pretoria, "we are at the door of the Union Buildings — next time, FW de Klerk, we will be inside your office", the message could not, for the first time, be dismissed as bluster.

The government and the security forces were quick to attribute the large numbers to intimidation, saying the campaign served only to delay the resumption of negotiations.

However, there was little evidence of intimidation and most of the violence of the past week appeared to be organised attacks against ANC supporters and participants in the general strike. This does not mean one can dismiss fear as a motive for many people staying at home, but it

A strike as the iron grows cold

Guardian (in w/Mat) 7/8-13/8/92

SOUTH AFRICA'S week of mass action began on Monday much like any other week: three unarmed blacks were killed by the police only hours after 30 had died in another spasm of township violence. Against this background, the general strike called by the ANC — and which four million people (90 per cent of the mainstream black workforce, are reported to have obeyed — could hardly be said to be disrupting the peace. With 6,000 violent deaths in the last two years, and new serious allegations against the security forces, there is hardly any perception of peace for most South Africans. Our correspondent Philip van Niekerk, with another journalist, was himself shot and wounded on Monday by men who robbed them and stole their car. That, too, is an everyday hazard. The government of President F.W. de Klerk, against whom the general strike was directed, is also the government which has failed to curb the violence. The current breakdown of political negotiations was precipitated by the killings at Boipatong, where the police have been shown by the recent inquiry to be "woefully incompetent" at best. Black rank-and-file pressure upon Nelson Mandela to withdraw from negotiations had already intensified when the National Party stiffened its position after its success in the white referendum. In these circumstances, Mr de Klerk's lament that the ANC may be encouraging violence has all the pathos of a crocodile in tears.

This is not to minimise genuine fears that the disorder could worsen. These are shared by Mr Mandela, who stressed over the weekend that some ANC self-defence units are "out of control" and appealed for restraint and no intimidation. Mr Mandela has been boxed into a corner: he can only escape from it if the mass action forces enough concessions from the government to justify his return to the negotiating table. Significantly the strike was opposed not only by the Inkatha Freedom Party but by the more radical black movements, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation, who claim it is really designed to spur a resumption of negotiations. The thrust of Mr Mandela's remarks over the weekend was indeed in that direction. But there is still a useful, positive contrast between his talk of "genuine hope" and other more militant calls.

On the most hopeful forecast, the general strike will have been a set-piece demonstration of black strength — Mr Mandela's own referendum — after which Mr de Klerk may appear statesmanlike rather than weak in offering more concessions. The talks between the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the business community only narrowly failed to avert the strike. The presence for the first time of UN observers to monitor the situation is also an important step forward. The international community, having exerted pressure from outside for so long, will do well to exercise a more positive influence inside the country. It is still just possible — because the logic is so overwhelming — to act on the assumption that the mainstream leadership on both sides seeks a negotiated road to a new multi-racial future for South Africa. But there is very little time left to prove it.

Masked white hacked open girl's head, Goldstone told

'Child-slasher'

(2714) ~~2714~~
AAG 8/8/92

■ A survivor of the Boipatong massacre told the Goldstone Commission that a white man attacked a three-year-old girl with a panga.

VEREENIGING. — A white man wearing a balacava hacked open a three-year-old girl's head with a panga during the June 17 Boipatong massacre, a witness told the Goldstone Commission yesterday.

Mrs Florence Molefe, 39, of Slovo Park told the four-man committee hearing evidence on the massacre that she, her sister Miriam and Miriam's husband Pule Lekabe and their daughter Mita were attacked in their shack.

After Paul Lekabe ran from the shack, said Mrs Molefe, she tried to take Mita from her sister when a white man wearing a balacava lunged at the baby's head and cut into her mother's arm.

According to a document submitted yesterday by African National Congress counsel Mr Arthur Chaskelson, the child is in hospital awaiting brain surgery.

Mrs Molefe said the white man had spoken Zulu with a "white accent" and when she called for her brother he had told her "the dog is dead". Her brother had died of stab and hack wounds. She said that another white man had been present.

Asked by Mr J J du Toit, SC, for the commission, how she knew they were white, she said she could identify white men by their larger build. And the balacavas exposed their faces.

Mrs Molefe and her sister took Mita and fled to a rubbish dump behind the squatter camp. From there they had seen two armoured Casspirs moving north. The occupants of the vehicles had done nothing to stop the attack.

A witness who gave his name as Nthombeni said he saw a camouflaged Casspir with the identification marks "T2" on the back door escorting attackers down Bapedi Street shortly after they had attacked his home.

Mr P Hattingh, SC, for the SAP, denied this could be the case, saying the only "T2" vehicle in the area had entered the township after the attack. It was dark green and the "T2" markings had been on the side, not the back.

"I know what I saw and I abide by what I said," replied Mr Nthombeni.

Mr Meshack Theokane, a petrol attendant at a

garage between Boipatong and Kwamadala hostel, said two policemen he informed of the pending attack took no action to prevent it.

Mr Edison Themba Koti, 28, said he saw men carrying loot including television sets in the direction of the Kwamadala hostel followed by two Hippos.

A Slovo Park witness, who commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone ruled could be identified only as Ms A, said three white men armed with guns and spears and wearing balacavas, exposing only their faces, took part in the murder of her brother and mother.

Mr Hattingh has categorically denied police participation in or facilitated the attack.

Mr A W Mostert, counsel for the SADF, told the commission the only SADF members in the township on the night of the attack had been members of the Vaal Commando, an active citizen unit with "limited jurisdiction". Its primary function was to guard Iscor, a national keypoint.

Evidence relating to allegations of security force participation is being heard first. Judge Goldstone said it was the most important issue as it was relevant to the national and international reputation of the SADF and SAP.

The hearing continues on Monday. — Sapa.

Week to remember

TRUMP for the peacemakers — that is the overriding outcome of this week's mass action campaign.

What could have been a catastrophe for South Africa in terms of escalating violence and destruction turned out to be a relatively peaceful exercise — thanks to courageous efforts behind the scenes to cool it.

The heroes who saved the day through on-the-spot negotiation and cool heads were people across the political spectrum and beyond — ranging from Foreign Minister Mr Pk Botha to the ANC's Mr Chris Han, National Peace Secretariat officials, policemen exercising commendable restraint in the face of fierce provocation, street marshals who controlled marching crowds, and United Nations observers whose presence clearly encouraged restraint.

For several days during the ANC alliance's stayaway campaign and huge protest marches in all major cities and elsewhere, the country was poised on the edge of an abyss. One false move, one provocative action at the wrong moment, could have resulted in chaos.

The fact that the worst did not happen brought a countrywide sigh of relief. One can sense it everywhere, one can almost hear it. There is relief in the air, tension and fear have vanished.

Quickly forgotten are the many hairy moments and ugly scenes. In spite of the relatively calm and peaceful outcome of the mass action, there were some scenes of violence, intimidation and unrestrained hooliganism by unruly elements.

At least 48 people have died in political violence across the country since Monday — and police claimed the daily rate of unrest-related incidents of violence had tripled during the mass action campaign of the past week.

The South African Chamber of Business (Saco) estimated the blow to the economy as R250 million in lost income.

Grim incidents during the mass action campaign included vicious attacks on policemen and other law-enforcers, the burning of vehicles and houses, and attacks on journalists.

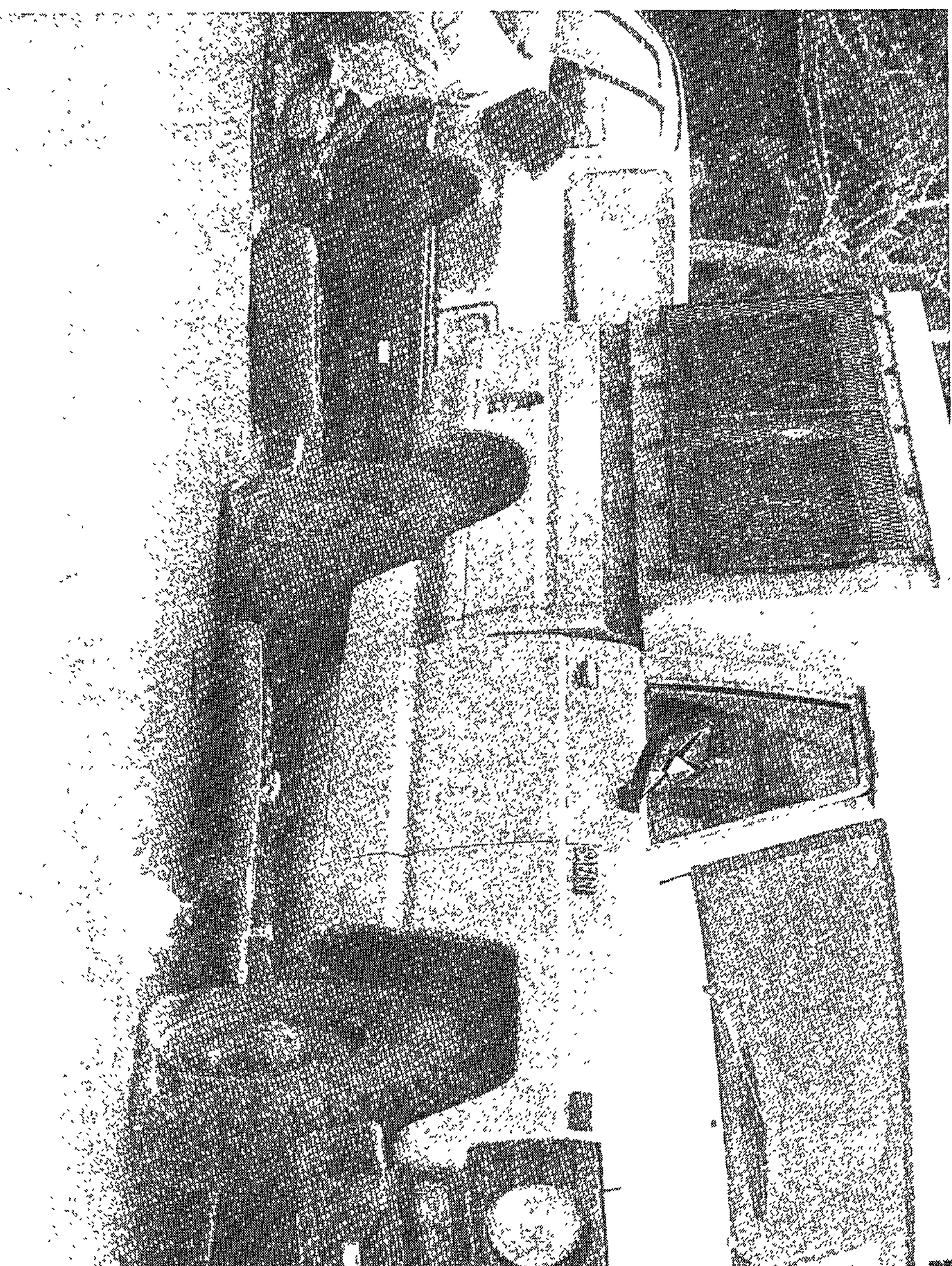
The attacks on journalists resulted in a warning from Campaign for Open Media chairman Mr Raymond Louw that South Africa could become stigmatised along with Yugoslavia and South America as one of the most dangerous territories for journalists if attacks on the media continued.

One of the hairiest moments this week was when frantic negotiations prevented a major clash and bloodbath between ANC/SACP marchers and Ciskei security forces.

Thousands of marchers led by Mr Han and other were heading for Bisho in the face of

South Africa has survived the week of mass action — now, the scene is set for negotiations to be resumed. This report by **FRANS ESTERHUYSE**, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent.

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☐ **PUNCTURED:** Two of the 17-odd cars, including three police vans, whose tyres were slashed opposite the CID offices in Corporation Street during the mass action.

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earnings from Ciskei that they would be topped by military forces and police if they crossed the border.

Ciskei troops armed with R4 rifles and light machineguns already had been deployed along the road to Bisho, inside Ciskei, to await the arrival of the defiant marchers.

The situation was defused and a threatened floodbath prevented only after last-minute negotiations involving Mr Botha, National Peace ecretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, Jr Hani, members of the Ciskei military council and Brigadier J M Meintjies of the South African Police. Some of the negotiations took place in the presence of UN observer Mr José Ampu.

At Krugersdorp, a violent clash between ANC demonstrators and members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) was prevented by on-the-spot negotiations involving Local Government Minister Mr Leon Wessels, PWV peace commission chairman Mr Rupert Lorimer, UN observer Mr Hisham Onayad of Ghana, AWB members and a strong contingent of police.

There were also other incidents where on-the-spot negotiations — on a less-dramatic scale — prevented violence or cooled rising tempers. In Cape Town, quick action by ANC marshals topped violent elements who had broken shop windows and started looting.

Analysts and political observers say these

and other incidents this week showed clearly that the United Nations presence during this week's mass action campaign had a positive influence and helped defuse an over-heated political situation in South Africa.

This may well become the pattern of the future, with increasing help from the international community to guide South Africa towards a peaceful political settlement.

Such help — possibly in the form of an international monitoring group in South Africa — has been suggested by Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

And there are indications that such a role for the international community also may be recommended by UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance whose report on his 10-day mission to South Africa is expected on Monday.

According to reports from Washington, Mr Vance is believed to have recommended that the UN Security Council send a small observer force to South Africa to help augment bodies like the Goldstone Commission and the National Peace Secretariat.

Meanwhile, Idasa's Dr Alex Boraine said they would draw up a firm proposal for a national monitoring organisation that would be independent of the national peace accord.

This proposal emerged from a recent Idasa-

sponsored workshop in Johannesburg at which 90 delegates, representing more than 30 monitoring organisations, discussed ways of curbing South Africa's endemic violence.

Dr Boraine said the final proposal for a national monitoring organisation would be presented to the national peace committee, along with recommendations on logistics and budget. He said Mr Vance's recommendations to the UN Security Council would almost inevitably lead to an international monitoring group in South Africa.

"If the joint efforts of the international and national monitoring forces can save one life, we can create a more peaceful climate, then even the tragedy of Boipatong will create more determined action to make further Boipatongs impossible," Dr Boraine writes in the latest issue of the Idasa publication, *Democracy In Action*.

He told Weekend Argus yesterday that, from the ANC perspective, mass action had made a "resounding point", namely, that the ANC was a force to be reckoned with.

"However, that point has been made now and, hopefully, Mr Mandela will return to the negotiating table with a renewed mandate and renewed confidence.

"It is also clear that Mr De Klerk must have got a very strong reminder that he could not

bypass the ANC alliance and if he wanted mass action to stop, the only alternative was a swift return to the negotiating table. For this to be meaningful and to prevent future collapse, he will need to come with fresh proposals in the hope that the present impasse can be overcome."

On the question of preventing future breakdowns in negotiations, Dr Boraine said that if any open-ended negotiations it was almost impossible not to have a risk of breakdown.

There had to be a restoration of a level of trust. At present, suspicion was high on both sides — the ANC and the government.

If the present distrust continued, South Africa would have to resort to outside mediation to hold the parties together in the event of future breakdowns.

Dr Boraine suggested such a mediator — a person accepted and respected by all sides — like Mr Vance.

■ One ominous development towards the weekend: Voices inside the ANC say enough is not enough — and, there may be more mass action.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa indicated there could be another lap of "rolling mass action" if the government did not heed the ANC's demands for an interim government, a constituent assembly and "constructive steps to end the violence in the country.

ANC urged to disband rogue units

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CT8/3/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Ministry of Law and Order has urged the ANC to disband its self-defence units in the light of admissions by SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani that they are running riot and are feared by the communities they are supposed to protect.

Mr Hani was reported in the Sunday Times yesterday as saying that in many areas, self-defence unit members had no conception of democratic tolerance.

**UN'S
'A TEAM'
ARRIVES
IN SA**

See PAGE 2

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday it was in the ANC's interests for members to come forward and tell police about the illegal activities of self-defence unit members.

According to yesterday's report Mr Hani said some units committed atrocities in their own communities.

A special ANC commission had begun investigating the units.

Mr Hani said that if the units, which were associated with the ANC, were seen as "bully boys", the ANC would lose membership.

● The ANC was "reaping the whirlwind of its own making", Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary-general of the National Party, said in response to the Sunday Times report. He urged the ANC to act decisively against "these hoodlums".

● Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at a rally near Estcourt in Natal yesterday that the "third force" in South Africa was the ANC's armed wing, uMkhonto we-Sizwe, and that it should be disbanded. — Sapa

Armed whites block

EAST LONDON. — Armed white men, many voicing threats of death and bloodshed, barred the way into Despatch yesterday when about 200 mass action demonstrators attempted to march into the town. The demonstrators backed down and went home at 2pm after a spokesman vowed that "many thousands of people" would march into Despatch next Friday "to occupy the factories".

ANC regional president Mr Linda Mui challenged the AWB "to block all the streets" of the town then.

The armed men stood a kilometre from the marchers, holding rifles and shotguns in bags. Armoured police vehicles stood between the groups.

Among the whites was local AWB leader Mr Bar-end Mostert, who said repeatedly, "Shots will be

fired if those people come into this town."

Internal Stability Unit commander Brigadier Wynand van der Merwe, acting as mediator, responded to threats of violence with an offer to lead a contingent of demonstrators into Despatch.

"I will walk in front of them, and if there is to be any shooting I will be the first man to be shot," Brig Van der Merwe said.

He proposed that 100 demonstrators be allowed into Despatch, "every one of whom will be accompanied by a policeman".

"Will the police have handcuffs and will the demonstrators be handcuffed to the policemen?" one of the men asked.

The issue was still unresolved when the marchers postponed their action. Mr Mostert vowed to fight to have the postponed march declared illegal.

Police said last night the armed white men had not been arrested as the police "did not want to exacerbate an explosive situation".

A spokesman for Brig Van der Merwe denied he had been aware of any threats of violence.

Marchers

● About 300 people marched in central Cape Town yesterday to present a list of education-related demands to the government.

● Police at Warrenton in the Northern Cape have strongly denied allegations by the ANC that they made use of AWB members to prevent groups of Ikhukseng residents marching to the town on Wednesday. Police had acted against marchers who would not disperse.

● The Bophuthatswana government yesterday claimed its Bloemfontein consular representative

was forced to sign a document by the leaders of an ANC alliance protest march on Wednesday.

● Bophuthatswana police yesterday confirmed they briefly detained 49 students on Thursday night after about 300 students sealed off the University of Bophuthatswana's campus.

● About 50 members of the SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union picketed outside the Pick'n Pay head office in Claremont for three hours yesterday.

A management spokesman said several of the demands on a memorandum presented to him were already under discussion. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa

Patience keeps the peace

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THE ANC march to Bisho this week was a recipe for conflict — but turned out to be a success story for National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

The battle lines were clearly drawn when Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo vowed not to allow an ANC demonstration on Tuesday to spill into Ciskei from King William's Town.

Into the fray ventured Gildenhuys. He patiently shuttled between the marching demonstrators — said to be 30 000 to 50 000-strong — and the Ciskei Legislative Assembly to find a solution.

ANC supporters began to gather in King William's Town's Victoria Park at 9 am. A few kilometres away at Ciskei's border, police guarded a roadblock.

ANC national executive committee (NEC) member the Rev Arnold Stofile said roadblocks were also set up around several nearby towns.

Asked if the ANC was not afraid that Ciskei security forces might open fire on the protesters, Stofile said it would be a "welcome surprise if they did not use live ammunition".

SACP general-secretary Chris Hani, who led the march, warned that

FLYING the UN flag, National Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys kept conflict in Bisho bay on Tuesday, OTHER WAUGH reports.

the use of violence against the demonstrators would have serious implications for the peace process.

At 11 am the leaders of the march — Hani, Cosatu assistant secretary-general Sam Shilowa and NEC members — were introduced to the crowd.

Police used their vehicles to block off side-roads along the 5 km route.

Gildenhuys, with peace secretariat members Deon Rudman and Gert Myburg in a car bearing a United Nations flag, set out on the first of several trips between demonstrators and Gqozo.

Hani was told that Gqozo had given the ANC three options: hand over their memorandum at the border; march 100 m into Ciskei and hand over the document; or leave the crowd at the

border and send a delegation to deliver the memorandum.

Ciskei soldiers carrying light machine-guns and policeman armed with teargas formed a human barrier across the border.

At 1.35 pm Gildenhuys told Hani: "We are still negotiating." Hani replied: "We are pushing ahead."

As the demonstrators reached the border at 2 pm, news came that the South African Government wanted "to play a facilitating role".

Hani was asked to contact Foreign Minister Pik Botha. Gildenhuys accompanied him across the border to make the telephone call.

Almost two hours later, at 4.25 pm, Hani emerged from a hotel saying: "It is a stalemate."

Botha was unable to get hold of Gqozo.

At 4.50 pm Gildenhuys was told on a field telephone that "the police are concerned about the fading light. If no decision is taken by the marchers, police will take action."

It was agreed at 5.35 pm that the demonstrators could march into Bisho stadium, and the crowd toyi-toyed down the road to the stadium with the soldiers running ahead.

'This is just the start' — alliance

SOUTH 8/8-12/8/92
By Rehana Rossouw

WHILE clearly in a celebratory mood on Wednesday night, the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party warned supporters to prepare for a "tidal wave" of mass action to force the government to accede to their demand for an interim government.

The tripartite alliance has not yet outlined its plans to follow up this week's three days of action, but it is believed the marches, occupations and demonstrations will continue.

"Our protests are open-ended," the alliance said in a statement.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela saluted people for their "determination to advance towards peace and democracy against all odds".

"Despite a massive wave of government propaganda, police harassment, teargassing, shootings, and vigilante attacks on those embarking on mass action, hundreds of thousands of South Africans have taken to the streets in the last three days of rolling mass action," Mandela said.

The ANC estimated four million workers stayed home on Monday and Tuesday and that over 100 rallies and marches were held, involving over 300 000 people.

It said almost 400 000 people participated in Wednesday's occupation of cities in South Africa.

"This therefore means that about three-quarters of a million people actively participated in taking to the streets over these three days," the ANC said.

Mandela said Wednesday's action marked a first in South Africa's history.

Cape Town, Pretoria and Durban were brought to a standstill for hours while Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban were also severely affected.

"What happens next, and what form the campaign for Peace and Democracy takes, depends on how the government responds to our demands which address the crucial obstacles in the path of negotia-

tions," Mandela said.

"The outcome of the mass action campaign must not allow any of us to become dizzy with success.

"The campaign for Peace and Democracy must become a tidal wave which will thrust our country into a future where justice prevails, peace is assured and democracy becomes a way of life."

Mandela said white South Africans witnessed the determination of black people to move rapidly towards democracy.

"This is a devastating reply to the propagandists who have tried to claim that support for our mass action was due to factors such as people's lack of access to transport and fear of intimidation.

"In fact, these actions were taken in the face of massive intimidation by the state security forces, the state propaganda organs and threats by employers."

Political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans said the strike should send clear signals to whites.

"White people must realise that South African blacks will not be satisfied with a constitution in which minority groups will have special powers to reject legislation passed by a government which has an overall majority of support of the electorate," said Kleynhans.

Propaganda

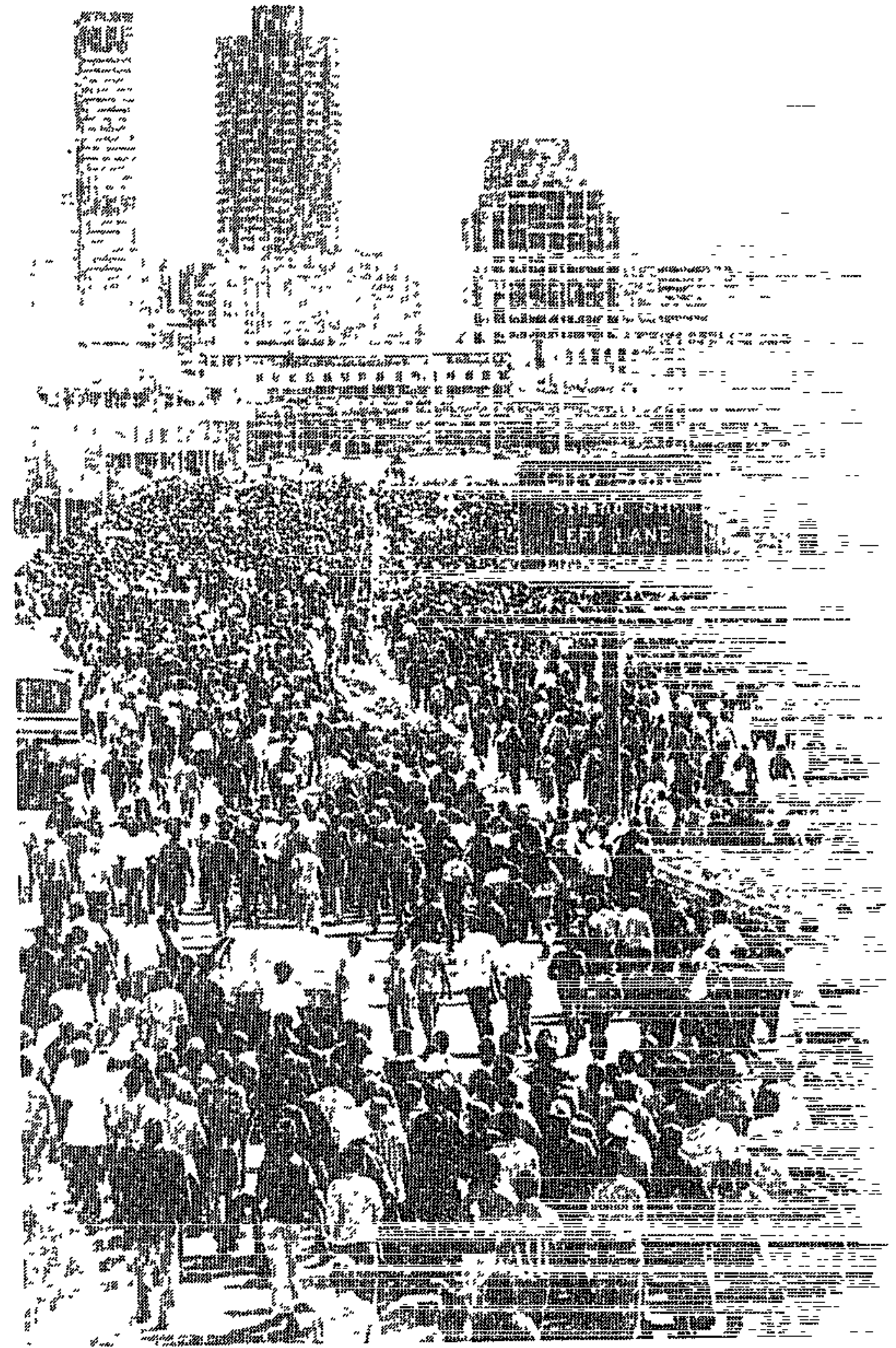
Transkei leader Major General Bantu Holomisa said the mass action campaign had been a "resounding success despite massive propaganda aimed at distorting the real objective" of the campaign.

Cosatu Western Cape secretary Mr Jonathan Arendse said the action had "sent a powerful message to De Klerk".

"If, after today, he still chooses to ignore demands of the democratic forces, it would just be another demonstration that he is not fit to govern," Arendse said.

"There is no talk of stopping the action now, this is encapsulated in our campaign slogan — 'the exit gate for De Klerk'."

Arendse said organisations allied to the mass democratic movement



THE TAKING OF CAPE TOWN: Part of Wednesday's huge crowd
Photo Yunus Mohamed

in Cape Town would be meeting on Saturday to assess the protests held so far and plan more action.

The government's response to the week's events was muted, confined to two statements by Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel and a brief statement by President De Klerk on Wednesday night.

Saying violence had increased by 300 percent this week, Kriel insisted mass action had been achieved "by the use of massive intimidation".

He said only about 80 000 people had attended rallies — "less than 0,2 percent of the population".

ANC vows to keep up the pressure.

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□ The ANC-Cosatu-SACP's mass action is poised to continue until the government agrees to genuine democratic change. This report by **VUYO BAVUMA**, Weekend Argus Reporter.

THE African National Congress has no choice but to articulate the frustrations and fears of people who want a political solution to the country's problem, ANC Western Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said yesterday.

This is also why hundreds of thousands of people support mass action, he said.

"We are trying to reflect the problems affecting the man in the street. The issues include poverty, gangsterism and violence ravaging their lives.

"People want to vote for their own political parties. They want an end to the endemic violence and tension in the country, but instead crises are getting worse day by day," Mr Yengeni said.

The ANC felt it was imperative to champion the fears and the aspirations of the people in a peaceful way. "Mass action is an attempt to channel the anger of the people in a constructive way, not destructive means. We don't want the people to run amok and explode in anarchy.

"The programme is also to show the regime that we have strength and that it should take us seriously.

The ANC planned to continue with the mass action and would encourage local zones to tackle grassroots issues.

"Mass action won't stop until the government makes a concrete agreement on the principle of majority rule and elections for a constituent assembly.

"We want to mobilise the people for the elections which will be the greatest political event ever seen in the country," Mr Yengeni said.

R250 million in lost wages, but 'real price has yet to be paid'

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ARG 8/8/92

South Africa is counting the cost at the end of the first week of the mass action campaign.

Weekend Argus Reporter
PATRICK FARRELL reports...

THE real cost of the stayaway would only be felt in a few months, according to the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob).

Sacob chief economist Dr Ben van Rensburg said yesterday about R250-million had been lost in wages on the two days of strikes, but the real figure in lost revenue from reduced "investor confidence" would only be felt "down the line".

"We only calculated Monday and Tuesday as these were official strike days. By Wednesday, most people were back at work." He said the strike had been replaced by "peaceful protests with minimal disruption to business".

At the end of the first week of the mass action campaign, South Africa is sitting back, taking a breather and wondering what's next. While the ANC and its allies are claiming success, the government is claiming a massive increase in violence because of the campaign.

At least 10 people died and scores more were injured around the country on Monday, the first day of the stayaway.

In the Cape Peninsula and Boland, three men were killed, one by the police in Grabouw. A train coach was damaged, a security guard hut was petrol-bombed and burning barricades were set up in township streets.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut said the strike was one of the largest seen in the country and put the stayaway figure for the Western Cape at 80 percent.

Cosatu claimed the stayaway had been 74 percent effective in the Western Cape while Sacob put the figure at 15 percent.

Political commentators were cautious in analysing the first day of the stayaway. "The percentage of people who stayed home does not tell us if they support the ANC's cause or are happy at staying at home," said Professor Tom Lodge of the University of the Witwatersrand.

By Tuesday, the death toll had risen to 34, but police said they had no direct evidence to link the deaths with mass action.

They said the second day was characterised by incidents of intimidation, petrol-bomb attacks and sporadic attacks on buses, taxis and police patrols.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus

Kriel blamed mass action for a "300 percent increase in violence". The ANC accused the government of lumping all incidents of violence together.

On Wednesday, huge marches took place in Cape Town and Pretoria. In the Mother City, a symbolic march from Langa along the N2 to the Grand Parade re-enacted the pass-law march of 1960 to the Caledon Square police station.

A 15 000-strong crowd marched along the highway and joined thousands of others at the Parade, where a peace and democracy flame was lit.

The Receiver of Revenue offices were symbolically "occupied" for 10 minutes, but police prevented another group from occupying Telkom's offices.

Marshals tried to keep a tight rein on the crowd and two men who allegedly stole during the march were paraded before the crowd. Most marchers were orderly, but at least two shops were looted.

A man on his way home was killed when he fell off a train organised to take marchers home and a number of police vehicles had their tyres slashed.

On Thursday, the Civic Centre was occupied by more than 1 000 workers who handed a memorandum to Mayor Mr Frank van der Velde.

THE Natives are restless – and it seems there's no way of stopping them now.

Decades of being deprived of a vote has finally forced them to vote with their feet.

Indeed, the stomping of the toyi-toyi echoed down the corridors of white power at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, in Cape Town's House of Parliament and through TV speakers throughout the world.

The United Nations monitoring group had never seen a thing like this before.

Most whites, grown used to carefully mediated images of mass action in their own media, were stunned into disbelief.

Even ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who addressed the crowd outside the Union Buildings this week – and who has observed the resistance of his people through the key-hole of Robben Island – most of his adult life – was taken aback by the enthusiasm of the crowd.

The message was clear: The natives are restless and they're marching on. This message has not only

☐ **MY WAY**
With Khulu Sibuya

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Listen to the drumming!



reached FW de Klerk and his Cabinet, but the rest of the country, especially those who all these years have lived the lie that there can be peace and

security in SA while blacks are denied the vote.

The message to the ANC and its allies was also loud and clear: The natives on the ground are getting impatient with the snail's pace at Codesa. They want an interim government that will work out a new constitution soon.

Words, words, words are fast becoming meaningless. Action, the natives want action.

On more than one occasion I heard the word "intimidation" being bandied around by

government as a result of the success of mass action. These words sound like

the stuck record of the SABC's olden-day

Current Affairs programme. It's a word central to

the Nat's propaganda baggage. Yet, if mass

action had failed, Natspeak would have turned around and said: "You see, we told you so."

It remains ridiculous for the Nats to still say:

"The ANC has intimidated people from going to work. They forced millions to join them on a march."

You have to be blind or blinkered not to get the message being drummed out by those marching masses.

And in the same vein:

Did the government and its allies not intimidate thousands of whites to vote "Yes" in the referendum?

Many employers will privately agree and, of course, the CP has ample evidence to prove this.

What about those organisations like the IFP, PAC and Azapo who distanced themselves from last week's mass action?

The IFP, predictably even in these changing times, still sings the master's tune.

Listening to their man Themba Khoza outlining the catch-all "intimidation"

of IFP members, one could not help but wonder whether he monitored the mass action himself – or whether he simply expressing the views of

his leaders.

This week's mass action also proved to the PAC and Azapo, once and for all, that they do not command the same following as the ANC. After this, one would expect them to revive the patriotic front and work with the ANC instead of against them.

We are about to reach the final destination in our fight for liberation and, as history has shown, this is the time for a concerted, united effort.

It helps little that we have Mandela representing the ANC, Makwetu the PAC, Nefolovhodwe Azapo, De Klerk the National Party and white South Africans, and Buthelezi the IFP.

We need one leader for all the people of this country.

Until this happens, the natives will continue to march – and that does not augur well for our beautiful, tragic country.

It is too terrible to contemplate South Africa repeating the mistakes made by Frelimo and Renamo in Mozambique and Dos Santos's MPLA and Savimbi's Unita in Angola.

AST weekend South Africans were given an overdose of newspaper advertisements related to the week of mass action.

This particular manner of sharing a viewpoint and selling ideas is catching on in our society. It was a method much used during the whites-only referendum, and has now emerged again at the time of what some have called the "black referendum".

Among advertisements placed by the government, the ANC and the SAP was one from the NP that made use of our society's current Olympic Games fever.

The advertisement invited us all to "get back into the spirit of the Olympic Games, the spirit of peaceful competi-

Let's level these playing fields

It declared: "The National Party welcomes political competition in SA - it makes everybody perform at their best. But in the Olympic spirit of peaceful competition, we ask all South Africans and their political leaders to compete in peace."

The analogy is an interesting one and I thank the NP. However, I would contend that the government is not holding up its end of the bargain, and needs to be challenged to move toward making a true analogy possible.

For example, to speak of "the spirit of peaceful compe-

dition" assumes that the competition in SA is a fair one, giving everyone equal chance to "perform at their best". But how can this be when one of the contenders, the NP government, wishes not only to race but act as referee? That certainly is not within the spirit or the practice of the Olympic Games.

Perhaps we need to remind this government that speaks so highly of the spirit of the Games that in Barcelona, international referees are being used to ensure as well as monitor that spirit. Perhaps we need also to remind them that

By Rev FRANK CHIKANE, General secretary of the SA Council of Churches.

When anyone violates the rules at the Olympics, he or she is disqualified.

And perhaps we need to remind them that investigations into violations are not performed by the team concerned, but by competent international experts. It all helps to get the picture and the analogy straight.

If we look to Barcelona, the makeup of the SA team is an indication of inequality in resources and assets in SA. It is

not a reflection of the total population of the country, but of the privileged minority. To use another game analogy, the dice are loaded against the black majority every time.

Many of those in the "competition" in SA who support mass action take serious exception to a government that uses their tax money to suggest, in another of last week-end's advertisements, that a national strike "is so unnecessary". Taxpayers' money should not be used to advance a government's sectarian viewpoint. It is made worse when the said government repre-

sents only a minority of South Africans.

Not long back the government made an error in using assets at its disposal for its own and not for the benefit of the whole nation. This was when army reserves were called up against the threat of mass action just before June 16.

It seems to many black people that when you undertake a legitimate democratic protest action the government will use the army to stop you.

The army in this case is not used for the security of the state, but to stand by particular political positions. This, of

course, fits into the milieu of the old order when the security of the state was equal to the security of the white minority. It does not fit into the days when we talk of "peaceful competition".

Again, during the era of negotiations, taxpayers' money was used for an exclusive whites-only referendum to test whether or not De Klerk had support for his reform programme. Organisations whose support comes mainly from the disenfranchised majority do not have taxpayers' money to test their numbers. They have to resort to mass demon-

strations.

It is unfair of the NP government to use the assets of taxpayers' money and the security forces for their own particular party political support system. No wonder they can welcome "political competition in SA."

To me there is no doubt that the vast majority of the people of this country, both black and white, want to see fair political competition in what the NP advertisement calls "the spirit of the Olympic Games". But if everyone is to "perform at their best" we need a levelling of the playing fields for all the participants.

Thank you NP for your analogy. Now let us see your government move toward making it possible.

UN's blueprint

for peace

S/Times 9/8/92

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THE release of United Nations secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali's report this week signals unprecedented international intervention in the resolution of South Africa's political conflict.

Mr Boutros-Ghali has clearly outlined a plan to deal with violence and has told feuding political parties in South Africa what steps need to be taken to break the talks logjam.

Having both welcomed the intervention of the world body, the government and the ANC are now under enormous pressure to abide by its recommendations.

The UN plan to end violence centres on increasing the investigatory powers of the Goldstone commission and beefing up National Peace Accord structures. An initial

group of 30 UN monitors will be stationed in South Africa to ensure that the peace-accord structures function more effectively. It will also ensure that parties which breach the accord will immediately face international censure.

To ensure that it remains abreast of developments in South Africa, the UN will send a mission to the country every three months.

In his report, which followed the visit of UN representative Cyrus Vance to South Africa, Mr Boutros-Ghali identified the release of remaining political prisoners as a key to breaking the talks deadlock.

The secretary general said he was convinced that this gesture on the part of the government would improve the political climate and create the necessary trust to get negotiations going.

The report, which has already received the backing of the US, Britain, Russia and Zimbabwe, places pressure on the government to take steps to end violence and remove obstacles to negotiations.

In calling for early resumption of talks and by backing the Codesa process, Mr Boutros-Ghali has put pressure on the ANC to

By MIKE ROBERTSON

end its talks boycott.

While in South Africa, Mr Vance arranged a meeting between the ANC's international head, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee on this matter.

The government has in principle already accepted the need to release remaining political prisoners.

But it is understood that Mr Coetsee is pushing for a general amnesty. In terms of this, policemen and military people involved in actions such as the Goniwe murders would also be granted amnesty.

Mr Coetsee is also said to want to resolve issues relating to ANC arms caches and continued recruitment by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Mr Mbeki said yesterday he expected talks on the release of political prisoners to be concluded within the next few days.

He said the question of a general amnesty would better be handled by an interim government and should not be dealt with by just one of the parties which wished to excuse itself or its agents of misdeeds.

For the major players there are aspects in the report that will both please and trouble them.

The government will welcome the UN's decision to support the work of indigenous bodies, such as the Goldstone commission, to deal with violence. For the moment calls made by organisations such as the PAC for an international peacekeeping force go unheeded.

Also pleasing for the government are: the call for an early resumption of talks; the UN's decision not to interfere in the task of negotiating the details of a new constitution; and the backing from the UN for the Codesa process.

On the downside for the government is the rebuke it received from the UN for not implementing Goldstone commission recom-

Next Steps In S. Africa

TOWNSHIP political violence rocks South Africa, constitutional talks have collapsed, and bitter recriminations go on between the white minority government and the African National Congress. These events stand in bold relief to the optimism that prevailed in the country only months ago. But it would be wrong to conclude that a full regression into civil disorder or worse is under way. South Africans committed to the peace process and a reconstructed nation are trying to ensure that the slide is reversed.

It helps to look to that future moment when South Africa's staggering economic problems and the legacy of racial disparities fall to a new multiracial democratic government. Measured against that prospect, the current political turmoil begins to lose resolution. As dismaying as things are now, they shrink against the necessary job of undoing apartheid's deeply embedded injustices and building a truly democratic and equitable order. That is reason enough for leaders on all sides to turn from incendiary rhetoric and seek to resolve the crisis. *Guaranteed when necessary*

That means first that the government must go beyond condemnation of township violence. President Frederik de Klerk must credibly guarantee all South Africans that his security forces will be brought under control and will no longer serve as accomplices in the continuing murders and revenge killings. Given the poisonous relations between the government and ANC supporters, it may take an international presence or body to help bring about that result.

But ending the persistent black-on-black violence is hardly the responsibility of government forces alone. Blame for the carnage must be shared by all the factions, including Zulu supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the police, and even grassroots sympathizers of the ANC. They all share responsibility for what happens next.

Resuming the transition to democracy also means removing all impediments to a resumption of constitutional talks. Some accommodation to power-sharing during the transition period, once a distasteful prospect to Mr. de Klerk's government, is an alternative that can no longer be avoided. Secretary-General Butros Butros Ghali has signaled the United Nations' willingness to play a role as mediator, observer, or fact-finder in getting the process on track. All sides, if they wish to claim a legitimate place in the next South Africa, should accept his offer.

Boutros wants to boost Peace Accord

STAR 10/8/92

By Mike Littlejohn
Star Bureau

NEW YORK — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali proposes that South Africa receive international observers to help reinforce the year-old National Peace Accord and accept an "eminent and impartial person" to keep Codesa on track.

In a report to the Security Council based on the recent mission to SA by special envoy Cyrus Vance, Mr Boutros-Ghali on Friday recommended the deployment of 30 UN observers.

They should serve in various parts of South Africa in close association with the National Peace Secretariat and could be supplemented by representatives of organisations like the Commonwealth, EC and OAU.

Mr Boutros-Ghali urged the Government to speedily appoint justices of the peace and establish special criminal courts envisaged in the National Peace Accord.



Boutros-Ghali . . . recommends deployment of UN observers.

He said he was heartened by statements made to Mr Vance of the major parties' determination to return to the negotiating table as early as possible.

Mr Boutros-Ghali called for the immediate release of all political prisoners, fair and objective reporting by radio and television, and better co-ordination and greater "transparency" for the Codesa process.

GRIS

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THE government is locked in crisis talks after the Goldstone Commission threw down the gauntlet on allegations of security force involvement in violence and dirty tricks.

It is understood that the State President met at least one senior government minister last night in a bid to deal with the politically explosive issue

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk said the President would not respond to the Goldstone proposals until they had been carefully studied and the issue had been discussed with various ministers.

Discussing the urgent need for a no-holds-barred probe into all alleged security force killings inside and outside the country, Mr Justice Goldstone said. "Unless the SADF and the SAP are fully investigated by a neutral and reliable body, they will have no prospect of receiving the trust, confidence and cooperation of the South African public."

In the past the government has turned down demands for a judicial probe into alleged hit squad activities and charges that it was implicated in state-sponsored terrorism.

However, with both the government

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FILE

From page 7

No amnesty unless 'full disclosure'

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CT10/8/92

Own Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC would not accept a general amnesty for security forces, government officials and ministers unless, at the very least, there was a full disclosure of their activities, a senior ANC source said yesterday.

At the same time government's linking of a general amnesty to the release of prisoners was unacceptable, as the release of political prisoners was a clear commitment by it in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Accords during 1990, he said

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone at the weekend called for an amnesty to allow him to fully investigate the activities of the SA Defence Force, the SA Police and the military wings of the anti-apartheid movements

Prisoner link rejected by ANC

His call expresses the frustration the commission is having in getting to the causes of violence around the country

The ANC source was not specifically discussing Mr Goldstone's call for a general amnesty, which he said muddled the water after government had proposed this during bilateral talks with the ANC on the prisoner issue

Mr Goldstone was reacting to UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali's

call on all parties to accept a general amnesty to resolve the violence crisis

The ANC source said amnesty, which the ANC did not oppose in principle, should also have a cut-off date, to be negotiated, after which any crimes committed would not be subject to amnesty

However, a Justice Ministry spokesman said the ANC had proposed a general amnesty several months ago. The government was willing to discuss it.

According to another ANC source, Mr Coetsee has mentioned defining a new category of political offender, as the government argues that offences like murder are common law crimes.

It is expected that draft legislation helping to resolve the amnesty/political prisoners issue will be ready for the short October parliamentary sitting if the politicians have resumed full-blown constitutional negotiations by then

Parties back probe into security forces

ARG 11/8/92 (234) (274)

Political Staff

THE National Party and other leading political players have backed the United Nations call for a Goldstone Commission investigation into the security forces, the KwaZulu Police and the military wings of the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress.

But it became clear yesterday that Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's call for a general amnesty to encourage members of these organisations to testify about unlawful conduct will be controversial.

There is concern that a preemptive amnesty would provide an escape route for those responsible for killing high-profile activists such as the Cradock UDF leader Matthew Goniwe.

The ANC and the Democratic Party want full disclosure of the details of crimes committed by

security force members who may receive amnesty or indemnity.

Backing recommendations in a report by the UN Secretary General, Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali, Mr Goldstone said at the weekend that unless the police and the Defence Force were fully investigated, "they will have no prospect of receiving the trust ... of the South African public".

National Party security spokesman Mr Hennie Smit said yesterday that the NP supported in principle Mr Boutros Ghali's call for an investigation.

The security forces, and especially the police, would provide an objective and professional service to the public only if an impartial inquiry removed mistrust about them, he said.

The inquiry would also have to examine the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's military wing Apla.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus and PAC foreign secretary

Mr Gora Ebrahim said they would react to Mr Boutros Ghali's proposal once they had studied it fully.

DP leader Mr Zach de Beer welcomed Mr Goldstone's call for an investigation and said a finding by a person of his "high authority" would convincingly settle the issue of alleged security force involvement in violence.

IFP spokesman Mr Walter Felgate said that although the Goldstone Commission had no real grounds for probing the Kwazulu police, the Kwazulu government would co-operate.

In another statement yesterday Mr Goldstone explained his view that a general amnesty would assist an inquiry into security forces and political armies.

He said amnesty for political prisoners would encourage members of all organisations to disclose any unlawful conduct.

1 800 killed in 6 months

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — About 1 800 people were killed in political violence in South Africa in the first six months of this year.

This has been disclosed in the latest edition of the Innes Political Briefing. (274)

The political parties must take concrete steps against offenders within their ranks, the publication recommended.

"Although all major parties are involved in the violence, Inkatha supporters seem to be the main instigators," it said. CT 11/8/92

Watch on cops

Now big business volunteers to help keep peace

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — About 100 businessmen have volunteered to help the National Peace Secretariat monitor politically sensitive activities by security forces and political organisations.

Barlow Rand industrial relations executive Mr Jan Hiemstra, who heads a sub-committee of the secretariat looking into the involvement of business in the peace process, said yesterday that the businessmen would be involved on a part-time basis.

He said the police and SANDF had agreed to co-operate with the monitors, who would concentrate on observing but who could get involved in facilitation if called on to do so.

The business monitors would help to bolster the secretariat's efforts to implement provisions of the peace accord.

The scheme to use monitors from the business and professional world was still in the planning stages and would be discussed further at a meeting of the peace secretariat at the end of the month.

Employer organisations, including

Sacob and the Chamber of Mines, had helped recruit the 100 volunteers. Mr Hiemstra said more volunteers were expected from the legal profession.

The monitors would probably be linked to the emergency phone lines of local dispute resolution committees.

They would report their findings to the committees or, if necessary, to higher authorities, such as the attorney-general, Mr Hiemstra said.

The offer by big business comes after the United Nations report at the weekend suggested that the activities of the SANDF, the police, the KwaZulu police and private armies such as Apla and Umkhonto weSizwe be investigated. The UN recommendation has been endorsed by Mr Justice Gubbins, whose commission is investigating the cause of the violence.

Meetings

Azapo and the Democratic Party have welcomed the UN-Goldstone probe, but the PAC and the KwaZulu government have balked at it.

The proposal is expected to come under the spotlight at meetings of the cabinet and the ANC's national working committee tomorrow.

The government and the ANC are under pressure to accept the recommendations of UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

● New gov-PAC talks soon — Page 5



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BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, August 11 1992

Work begins soon to make trains safer

RAY HARTLEY

WORK to make urban trains and stations safer — following Goldstone commission recommendations — would begin soon, the SA Rail and Commuter Corporation said.

Corporation MD Wynand Burger told a news briefing yesterday they had consulted community groups, including the Soweto Civic Association, about introducing a rail guard corps acceptable to the community. It would be operational by the end of the year.

There had been delays in upgrading stations due to unexpected problems concerning water and sewerage systems and the procurement of additional land, but he gave an assurance this would now proceed speedily.

He said the rail guard, which would receive proper police training and wear a distinctive uniform, would initially be limited to the southern Transvaal region, but would be extended to the rest of the country later.

As much as R200m would be spent on the guard in the next financial year.

Metro Services senior GM Koos Meyer said about R2,765bn would be spent on train security nationwide by the year 2000, if next year's R250m budget was escalated by 15% annually to compensate for inflation.

Burger said the SARCC was asking government for an extra R88m this financial year to speed up the process, and commuter fare increases to cope with increased expenditure on security and inflation were being considered.

Electronic surveillance equipment was

being investigated for train compartments and the entrances and exits of stations.

Train coaches would be made safer by altering windows and doors to make it impossible to throw a person off a moving train and fireproof seating was being investigated.

The provision of interleading doors between carriages — as recommended by the Goldstone commission — was being investigated, he added.

Sapa reports Burger said a lot of progress had been made on the remaining Goldstone commission recommendations. These were:

□ The number of Spoornet security officials would be increased from 377 to 741 countrywide;

□ SAP officers deployed on stations and trains would soon be appointed "authorised officers" by the corporation to control access to stations. Policemen and Spoornet security personnel are already empowered to conduct searches; and

□ SAP facilities at stations would be improved countrywide.

□ R11m had been allocated for on-board communication systems between train drivers and controllers as well as security centres;

□ A further R7m had been set aside for on-board public address systems as well as communication systems at stations; and

□ Burger said the corporation was also researching the viability of walk-through search apparatus.



SA Rail Commuter Corporation put
announce further steps to end train

New push for peace summit

WILSON ZWANE

THE national peace committee meets in Johannesburg today in an attempt to remove obstacles to a summit between President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

UN observers Hisham Omayad and Shola Omorie — in SA to monitor the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance's mass action campaign — will attend the meeting.

The summit, regarded as an opportunity for the three leaders to give fresh impetus to peace efforts, was scheduled for July 30 but was postponed after Buthelezi refused to attend.

Buthelezi cited Mandela's alleged violations of the peace accord at a recent UN Security Council meeting and the existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe as reasons for staying away.

Natal violence pushes death toll to 10

RAY HARTLEY

TEN people died in unrest-related incidents around the country yesterday and violence flared up in the Murchison area of Natal.

The bodies of seven people who died in renewed violence in the township near Port Shepstone were found yesterday. Police did not reveal the causes of death.

The latest incidents follow the discovery of two bodies at the weekend.

In another incident, two men were shot dead by police who intervened to stop a gunfight between two taxi drivers at Ivory Park near Johannesburg yesterday. Police said they shot the driver of one of the taxis after he opened fire on them, and later shot the man who replaced him at the wheel.

The body of a woman who had been shot in the head was found in Alexandra yesterday.

day. Inkatha central committee member Themba Khoza said the woman, Soalega Miga, was an Inkatha youth leader.

A Cape Town policeman was in a critical condition last night after he was shot by a suspect in the KTC squatter camp, and a police patrol came under fire in Khayelitsha near Cape Town yesterday.

The KwaZulu police yesterday supported a call by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa for a commission of inquiry into the killing of 11 people at Esikhawini in Natal a week ago, Sapa reports.

Police said yesterday the PAC's military wing, Apla, carried out two attacks on farms in the Elliot area on Monday. No one was injured in the attacks.

Demos: ANC thanks the cops

Political Staff

THE ANC yesterday thanked all Capetonians, including the majority of the police force, for ensuring that its "week of action for democracy" was a success.

Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said: "The Cape Town City Council, members of the general public, the majority of the police force and, of course, our marshals and organisers did much to make sure that events were disciplined and peaceful."

"Despite the panic raised by the NP and sections of the press and media, we believe that the 'pro-democracy campaign' has succeeded in communicating to a wider public the seriousness of the national crisis we face and the urgency of resolving it as soon as possible."

The strike, followed by the massive marches had given tens of thousands of otherwise voiceless South Africans an opportunity to cast their vote.

"Without a shadow of doubt, the people who participated voted a mighty 'no' to violence, minority rule and NP dirty tricks ... and an overwhelming 'yes' for peace and democracy."

Mellowside to crowd

STAR 11/8/92

(274)

(274)

IN THE townships during the mid-1980s the very sight of a police van — or “mellow yellows” as they came to be known — was sufficient provocation to spark off an incident of stone-throwing and tear-gas, rubber bullets and buckshot.

During last week's mass action campaign the police and protesters seemed to be co-operating far better.

In Krugersdorp the police seemed to have a harder time restraining about 30 AWB supporters, while not having to

take any action against the 5 000 supporters of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance.

The AWB was angry that the illegal gathering was allowed to go ahead. The armed group of shouting and gesticulating AWB members could not convince the police to take action against the marchers.

Indeed, Krugersdorp station commander Colonel Arthur van Rensburg said it would be “unwise” for the police to do anything, because if they took any action the protesters were likely to swarm through the sub-

urbs, wreaking havoc.

It is certainly a far cry from the days before the unbanning of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

For their part the ANC marshals also seemed to have been on their best behaviour. On a number of occasions, marshals, addressing the policemen in the road as “com” — short for commander — asked them to move aside to allow a taxi to offload supporters outside the stadium.

The Krugersdorp march was the first to the Conservative Party-controlled town hall, and when the delegation negotiated

In stark contrast to previous years, the police seem to have acted with admirable restraint during the mass action campaign. MICHAEL SPARKS reports on what some observers believe could mark the beginning of a new trend in the style of policing protests.

their way inside, that too was historic.

The 5 000 marchers sat in the parking lot in front of the hall for much of the afternoon, with just a few senior policemen visible. Police had to come forward only once — when the AWB members tried to enter the hall to object to the ANC

delegation going inside. After the marchers left, a large police contingent was seen behind the building where they had remained out of sight throughout the afternoon.

After the march, Wits/Vaal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee co-chairman Rupert Lorimer commented: “The po-

lice behaviour was impeccable,” but added “there is no doubt that the presence of the United Nations monitors has made everyone behave better.”

Even Mr Mandela was moved to thank the police for keeping a cool head during the march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Wednesday, despite reports that some in the crowd were provocative.

The liaison officer between the Witwatersrand police commissioner and the regional dispute resolution committee, Colonel Zirk Gous, agreed there

had been a change in policy since the ANC was unbanned in February 1990.

“Before then, the police were used to combat political expression,” he said, whereas now the police were freer to use their discretion and combat crime.

“We are trying to move towards community policing, where we take cognisance of the norms of the community. But if anyone endangers the peace, then we will act,” he added.

This discretion enabled the police to allow 128 illegal

marches from August 3-5, in addition to the 90 legal marches countrywide, Colonel Gous said.

“In a situation like that we have to choose between allowing an illegal march to take place, or breaking it up, which would mean everyone would run rampant through the town.”

But the apparent change in the policing of protest activity does not, as several observers point out, necessarily extend to other areas of the SAP's work. In the past three weeks, seven more people have died in police custody. □

control

Amnesty: Goldstone offers help

274 Political Staff
CT 11/8/72

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday made his commission available to assist political parties in working out the details of any amnesty that would lead to full disclosure and combat violence.

The commission had not considered the detail of any amnesty when it made the call for one at the weekend but had raised it as a way to get to the bottom of the violence and start the process of reconciliation.

It had "raised this issue because it is of the view that members of all the relevant organisations should be encouraged to come forward and make full disclosure of any unlawful conduct in which they may have been involved", Mr Goldstone said.

The ANC said that while it was not against an amnesty in principle, this had to be accompanied by full disclosure.

Businessmen volunteer as 'peace monitors'

ABOUT 100 businessmen have volunteered to help the national peace secretariat monitor politically sensitive activities by security forces and political organisations.

Barlow Rand industrial relations executive Jan Hiemstra, who heads a subcommittee of the secretariat looking into the involvement of business in the peace process, said yesterday the businessmen would be involved on a part-time basis.

He said the police and SADF had agreed to co-operate with the monitors, who would concentrate on observing but who

RAY HARTLEY

could get involved in facilitation if called on to do so.

The business monitors would help to bolster the secretariat's efforts to implement provisions of the peace accord.

The scheme to use monitors from the business and professional world was still in the planning stages and would be discussed further at a meeting of the peace secretariat at the end of the month.

Employer organisations, including Sasob and the Chamber of Mines, had helped recruit the 100 volunteers. Hiemstra said more volunteers were expected from the legal profession.

The monitors would probably be linked to the emergency phone lines of local dispute resolution committees.

They would report their findings to the committees or, if necessary, to higher authorities, such as the attorney-general, Hiemstra said.

PAC, KwaZulu say no to UN violence probe

274 11/8/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE PAC and the KwaZulu government yesterday balked at the prospect of a full-scale UN-backed Goldstone probe into alleged violence by their security arms — the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and the KwaZulu Police (KZP).

However, Azapo and the Democratic Party welcomed the proposed no-holds-barred investigation into allegations of violence and dirty tricks by the security forces and private armies. PAC spokesman Mr Waters To-

boti said they "emphatically" rejected the proposals since the commission sought to address violence and intimidation.

"Apla is not involved in any violence and intimidation and can therefore not have its activities investigated."

Inkatha Freedom Party president and KwaZulu Minister of Police, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said it would be a waste of time and money to investigate his organisation.

He "would urge that any investigation of the KZP focus on the false accusations against the

KZP as well as on the police force itself".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer welcomed the proposal, saying: "Unless the SADF and the SAP are fully investigated... they will have no prospect of receiving the trust... of the South African public".

Azapo secretary-general Mr Dan Nkademeng said his party in principle welcomed the UN report and would make further recommendations once the report had been studied.

● New govt-PAC talks soon —
Page 5

Unrest policy claims soar

ADRIAN HADLAND

INSURANCE claims related to unrest had doubled in the past six months to about R135m and were expected to rise further, SA Special Risk Insurance Association executive chairman Oosie Oosthuizen said yesterday.

Claims since March had risen by 25% compared with the preceding six months, while the amount claimed had doubled from R66m to R135m over the period, with indications of a continuing upward trend.

The bulk of the claims had been paid out for damaged or destroyed buildings, houses, buses, trucks and cars. Most of the incidents had happened in township areas.

Oosthuizen said premiums had been adjusted in April this year with increases affecting certain types of risk, including fire damage insurance. "Due to the recent spate of incidents, in certain black areas we also had to increase the premiums according to geographical criteria," he said.

FW, Mandela, Buthelezi 'to meet'

STAR 12/8/92

Staff Reporters
and Sapa

President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi are expected to meet face-to-face in the next four weeks at a National Peace Committee (NPC) summit to review the 11-month-old National Peace Accord (NPA).

"We expect to have that meeting within the next four weeks," NPC chairman John Hall said in an address to journalists at a plenary session of the NPC in Sandton yesterday.

The session failed to break a deadlock over a complaint by the IFP

over statements made to the United Nations Security Council by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The matter was referred for arbitration — which is expected to be completed within in two weeks.

The IFP has claimed Mr Mandela's remarks to the UN, alleging IFP complicity in violence, contravened the NPA. This resulted in the postponement of a meeting of NPA signatories on July 30.

After "heated discussion" it was generally agreed that a summit of Peace Accord signatories be held near, or on, September 14.

But SA Communist

Party official Essop Pahad said yesterday he thought such a meeting of the three leaders was "unlikely".

The three leaders last met at the signing of the NPA in September.

The NPC said it was intended at the proposed meeting to review progress made through the NPA and present a five-point plan aimed at reinforcing structures and ensuring "grass-roots level awareness of the document".

Resolutions expected to be put to the the meeting include:

- Commitment to a plan to make the NPA more effective.

- Determination of

"leadership concern areas."

- A review of the issue of hostels and squatter camps.

- Monitoring and liaison to re-establish the credibility of the police within township communities.

Yesterday the NPA delegates also agreed to streamline the arbitration process — possibly by having a panel of seven attorneys from the NPA legal team adjudicate such matters.

The meeting was attended by UN observers Hisham Omayad and Shola Omoreigi who came to the country to monitor last week's ANC-led mass action campaign.

Govt slates marches by ANC alliance as illegal

GOVERNMENT yesterday accused the ANC of violating the law by staging 58 illegal marches earlier this month.

The Justice Department said yesterday the staging of marches by the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance on August 3 and 4 contravened laws and was contrary to the national peace accord and the agreement which the alliance reached with police last month.

The matter would be referred to National Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys, it said.

The department's statement came a day after QwaQwa's ruling Dikwankwentla Party pulled out of the peace accord, citing the ANC's "attitude and behaviour" as a reason.

Party leader Kenneth Mopeli said the ANC was "making a mockery of the whole spirit of the peace accord".

The Justice Department said the

B/DAY 13/8/92

WILSON ZWANE

peace accord stipulated that signatories should inform appropriate authorities in good time about the "date, place, duration and route of each march" they organised.

There was also an interim agreement between police, the ANC, SACP and Cosatu on how mass demonstrations should be conducted.

The Goldstone commission's Judge Richard Goldstone said on July 23 that police, the ANC, Cosatu and SACP had agreed that "proper notice and bona fide negotiations are preferable to applications for permission to ensure that public demonstrations are held and conducted peacefully".

The department stressed that the peace accord and the interim agreement between police and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance did not amend or supersede existing legislation.

The 58 marches staged by the alli-

ance were, therefore, unlawful.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the department's statement showed how unchanged its attitude was regarding control.

Marcus said instead of "crying foul", the department should work on the implementation of the Goldstone commission's recommendations on the handling of demonstrations.

Meanwhile, Gildenhuys told the Bophuthatswana national executive council yesterday the 30 UN observers expected in SA should be able to "inhibit any inclination among ANC supporters to violent actions", Sapa reports.

A Bophuthatswana government statement said he was referring to last week's largely peaceful mass action campaign when 10 UN observers managed to ensure no violence occurred at all the major events and most of the smaller ones.



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Hospital staff accused of attacking protesters

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

FOUR people were seriously injured yesterday after being attacked while picketing outside Hillbrow Hospital. They have been hospitalised.

Dismissed health workers picketing outside the gates alleged they were attacked by hospital workers.

Johannesburg National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) branch secretary Bongani Tfino said about 30 people armed with knives, pangas and spears were let out of the gates by a hospital official.

"We lay the blame squarely at the feet of the hospital's chief superintendent Dr Trevor Frankish because he gave the instructions for the workers to be allowed out and looked on as the attack took place," Tfino said.

Nearby police had not intervened and the attackers returned to the hospital, he said.

Frankish last night "categorically denied" that he was in any way involved. The attack was "spontaneous". He promised an immediate internal investigation.

Sapa reports talks aimed at normalising the situation at Baragwanath Hospital will be held between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the Soweto Action Committee in Johannesburg this morning.

The Cape Provincial Administration announced agreement had been reached with the Health Workers Union. Its members would return to work by noon today.

US business group plans financial boost for peace

The American Chamber of Commerce has launched a campaign to raise R1 million for the National Peace Accord (NPA).

The chamber is calling on domestic and international businesses to donate, and hopes to raise the money by October.

Chamber executive director Michelle Cohen said the chamber felt a need for the peace process to continue.

"We're mailing invitations to about 350 companies and hope to net at least 60 (com-

panies). The first 60 companies would be founder sponsors which we hope will continue to sponsor the peace initiative." *STAR 13/8/92*

The money will be used to assist the NPA in setting up and maintaining conflict resolution structures in communities plagued by violence.

NPA official Val Pauquet said it was very encouraging to see the chamber putting its weight behind the peace accord. — Staff Reporter.

ANC opposes 'troika' concept

Political Staff

274

The ANC has condemned alleged attempts to portray the planned September gathering of leaders under the National Peace Accord as a meeting of a Government-ANC-Inkatha Freedom Party "troika"

It stressed in a statement yesterday that its president, Nelson Mandela, President F W de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet merely as signatories of the peace accord — among many other signatories.

STAN 13/8/89 2
Reports suggesting the three leaders were to meet "exclusively" were "mischievous and unhelpful" and were calculated to revive "the discredited concept of a troika form of leadership in the affairs of South Africa".

"The ANC has repeatedly expressed its opposition to the concept of a troika, and will not be inveigled into any situation that seeks to legitimate it," said the statement.

The organisation's statement follows press reports yesterday that the three leaders would meet "face to face within the next four weeks" at

a National Peace Committee (NPC) summit to review the National Peace Accord (NPA) signed in September last year.

NPC chairman John Hall confirmed the summit was expected to be held soon.

The ANC said the NPC had agreed to convene a meeting of all the signatories of the NPA in which parties would "hopefully revitalise the accord", and that the decision had been taken despite attempts by the Government and the IFP "to reduce the NPA to a meeting of the troika of leaders"

NEWS Group leaves after 10-day stay • State mum on IFP members' deportation

SOWETAN Friday August 14 1992

Mass action week Went well - UN

By Victor Tsui

LEADER of the United Nations Security Council monitoring team Mr Hisham Omayad says his delegation was impressed by the way mass action week went.

He said this before flying out of Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. The UN team and officials of the peace secretariat planted an olive tree outside the airport to symbolise peace and faith in the future of the country.

Omayad and his group completed a 10-day stay during which they monitored the mass action led by the ANC-

AIRPORT CEREMONY Tree planted

as symbol of peace and faith in future:

led alliance.

The 10-member team were observers in major centres where the general strike took place.

"We are very pleased with the co-operation we received from all parties concerned," said Omayad.

"We would also like to thank the National Peace Committee for making their services available to us."

The impression gained by his team was that "the mass action was peaceful".

Omayad's File

Nationality : Ghanaian
Title : Director, Department of Political Affairs
Birthdate: July 1934
Family status: single
Education: BA (Hons) history - University of Ghana 1957.
Date joined United Nations: 12 November 1964.

APARTHEID

DEATHS AND INJURIES

THIRTY-ONE people were killed and 28 injured between August 5 and August 11. These figures are lower than last week's of 86 and 176. The Human Rights Commission (HRC) reports that the death toll is one of the lowest weekly figures recorded in the past six months.

Five people died in police custody, bringing the total number of deaths in police custody this year to 79.

VIGILANTE ACTIONS (274)

TWENTY-SIX people were killed and four injured in the PWV and Natal during the past week. The HRC reports that in the Natal Midlands on August 6, the leader of the African National Congress' Table Mountain branch killed and two other people injured when they were ambushed in the area.

Wimani 14/8-20/9/2

FM 14/8/92

(274)

chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who heads the KwaZulu Police (KZP), thought it would be a waste of time and money.

There seems little doubt that a probe is needed and that it could provide a massive boost to the peace process.

Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman says something like this is needed to restore public confidence in the security forces. Government has made a similar point. Provided the truth is uncovered, says Kane-Berman, such an investigation should expose the real culprits in the violence.

His comments follow the weekend declaration by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone that his commission of inquiry into public violence is willing to undertake such an investigation. Government and the ANC have been slow to respond to the Goldstone offer — they were both due to decide formally whether to submit their forces to independent scrutiny on Wednesday. Not to do so would, by implication, suggest they have something to hide.

Furthermore, if one of the parties accepted and the other refused the dissenter would be at a severe moral disadvantage.

Kane-Berman points out that both the SAP and KZP have been subjected to systematic campaigns to discredit them. Equally, the ANC's MK has in the past committed itself to making SA ungovernable, and Apla had pledged itself to assassinating and destroying members of the security forces — a subject government intended raising at its meeting with the PAC this week.

"A probe into these claims and just which of them are true and currently applicable would go a long way to clearing the air," says Kane-Berman. He stresses, however, that any investigation would have to be independent and should be undertaken by a South African — not an international body.

The bottom line, he points out, is that levels of violence have risen since the signing of the National Peace Accord and it is essential to do everything possible to turn the tide.

FM 14/8/92
LAW & ORDER

To clear the slate

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's recommended probe into security forces and political armies has received a largely positive reception by the main players — government and the ANC. While they are now seeking clarification on certain details — including the mandate of such an investigation — the PAC (in exile) seems to have rejected the idea out of hand, and Inkatha's

CP rebels 'will talk to anyone, even the ANC'

Political Staff

THE five MPs who broke with the Conservative Party are prepared to negotiate for a system of regional government as a stepping stone towards an independent Afrikaner homeland — and will talk to anyone, including the ANC, if necessary.

The five are Free State leader and MP for Heilbron Mr Cecil Pienaar, Potchefstroom MP Mr Andries Beyers, Bethal MP Mr Chris de Jager, Standerton MP Mr Rosier de Ville and Ermelo MP Mr Moolman Menti.

Mr Beyers said today an Afrikaner homeland was not the group's immediate bottom line, but an "eventual ideal". A system of regional government could be a vehicle towards attaining this ideal.

Mr Beyers said today an Afrikaner homeland was not the group's immediate bottom line, but an "eventual ideal". A system of regional government could be a vehicle towards attaining this ideal.

ANC 14/8/92

Mr Beyers said their first priority would be to talk to a wide range of people and organisations who "are moving away from the idea of a unitary state" and their own supporters and proponents of the Afrikaner "volksstaat" option.

After consolidating their support, they plan to hold a meeting of supporters "soon" to decide whether to form a new political party or remain a movement.

The dissidents announced their resignation last night after a marathon meeting of the CP's chief council.

The split places a question mark over the political career of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, with some CP members feeling he should resign.

ANC halts talks

But lines of communication with government stay

Political Staff

AFTER an unsuccessful secret meeting between top-level ANC and government delegations on Sunday, the ANC has refused any further meetings.

But the organisation has kept open the lines of communication with the government by saying that any "practical implementation" of its demands can be addressed through the office of its secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

The ANC said the Sunday meeting — arranged by the government — was "fruitless" because there had been no visible movement by the government.

The ANC national working committee (NWC) met yesterday and endorsed a recommendation by the national executive committee (NEC) that any further request for meetings with the government be refused.

There is unhappiness in some ANC circles about the meeting, who say it was a transgression of a decision by the NEC in June that any resumption of negotiations could take place only after the situation had been reviewed by the body.

ANC spokesman Saki Maccozuma said the meeting was not viewed as a transgression of the NEC decision because the ANC negotiators had not entered into discussions with the government.

The ANC, however, denied that the talks signalled the resumption of negotiations.

"Prior to this encounter the ANC had been given the impression that the government was willing to respond positively in writing to the 14 demands contained in our memorandum of June 23, 1992. In the upshot it emerged that there has been no visible movement on these issues on the government's part."

"The meeting was consequently fruitless," the NWC said.

The meeting on Sunday was between ANC negotiators Mr Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma and Joe Nhlanhla. The government team included Minister Roelf Meyer, Director-General of Constitutional Development Niel Barnard, constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers.

It is understood that the meeting was sanctioned by ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Constable tells probe of threats

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A special constable told the Goldstone Commission inquiry on the Bopating massacre that police threatened him with violence after he refused to change a statement alleging police complicity in the attack.

Constable Ntseka Xaba said a police captain threatened to hit him after he insisted that during the attack on June 17 he saw two men, wearing camouflage clothes and carrying machine guns, walking behind a Casspir.

Under cross-examination yesterday, Constable Xaba said the two men were white.

The constable said that a Vanderbijlpark police captain told him to "correct" his statement by saying that he had seen the Casspir from a greater distance than he had indicated.

Constable Xaba said he was also told by the captain, whose name he did not know, to say that he had seen the Casspir at 9 pm, and not at 11 pm.

Police counsel P Hattingsh put to the constable that he had deliberately distorted his account of the discussion. He also put to Constable Xaba that he was wrong about when he heard shooting, since the massacre had finished by 11 pm.

Constable Xaba said that the wall clock he read the time from could have been faulty.

District Six: Expulsions, expropriation denied

Municipal Reporter

RUMOURS that land or houses in District Six would be expropriated or their owners expelled were unfounded. District Six steering committee chairman Mr Clive Keegan told a Zonnebloem Residents' Association meeting.

An independent residents' selection study group will be set up to find far ways of deciding who should be allowed to return to a redeveloped District Six.

A community land trust, and a companies Act, will be set up as soon as all parties have commented on a set of principles guiding redevelopment.

A few members of the audience of

about 100 occasionally interrupted speeches by Mr Keegan and two city council planning officials, claiming redevelopment would bring slums and a high crime rate.

Mr Keegan said the aim of redevelopment was to provide high-quality, low-cost housing for about 30 000 people on 50ha. A large proportion of the housing would be for rental.

The planning process was an opportunity for "retribution" and to show what could be done to renew inner-city areas.

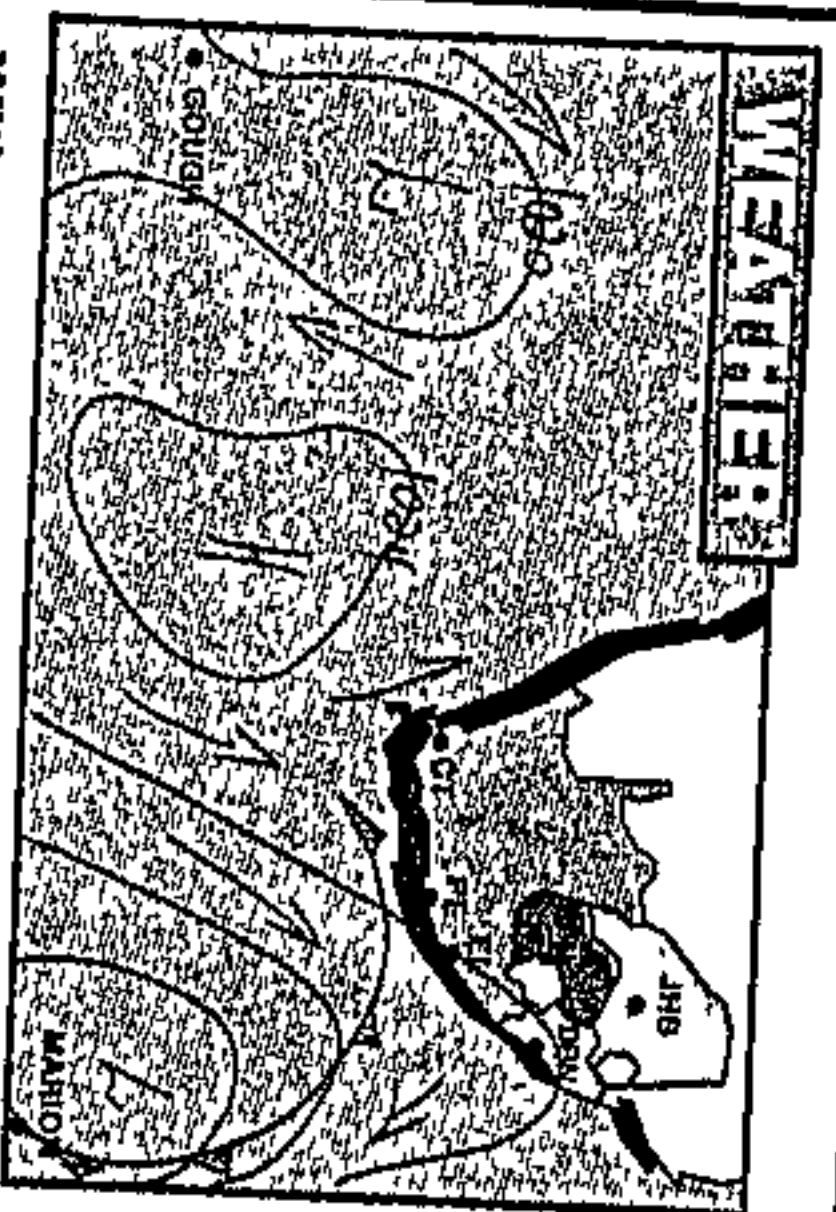
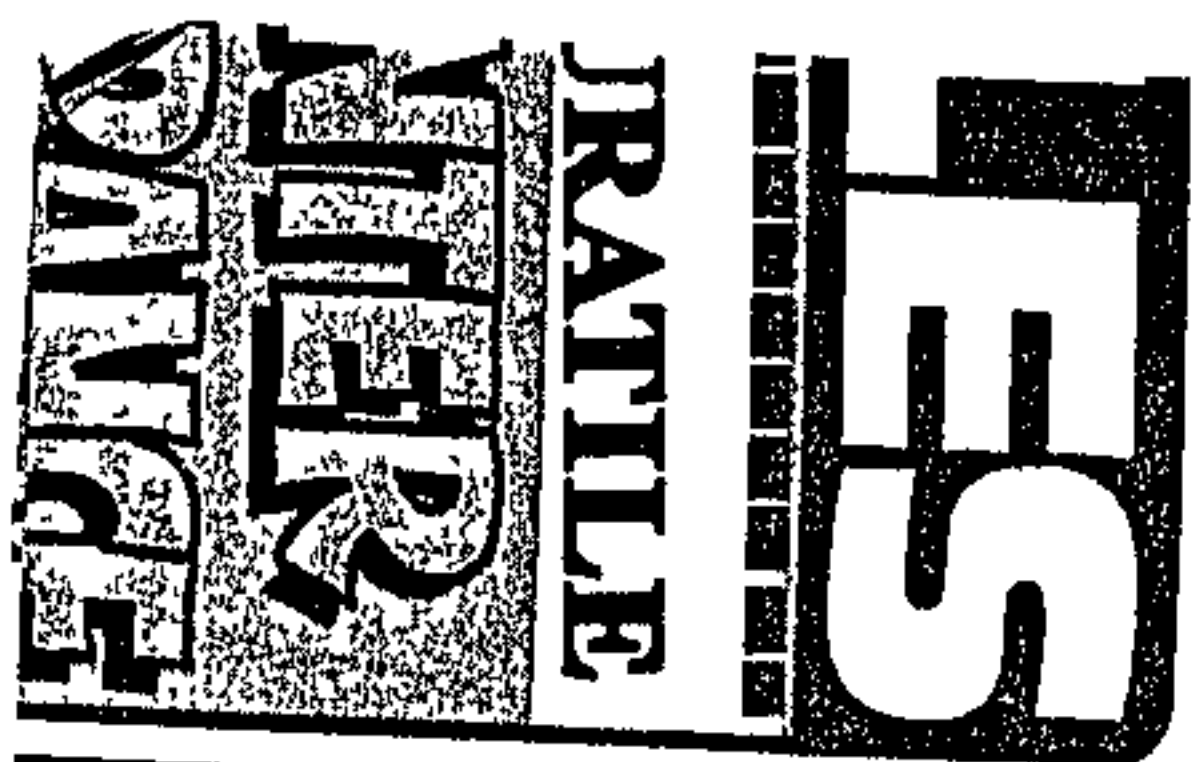
Deputy city planner Mr Peter de Toll, who presides over the District Six technical working group, said the area should be planned in the context of the

future of Culemborg, Wingfield and other State-owned land.

Plans to set up the community land trust and the section 21 company would give the Zonnebloem Residents' Association a chance to be part of the planning process.

Assistant planning director Ms Amanda Young said it was proposed that community organisations and "establishment" bodies such as the Provincial Administration and local authorities have equal representation on community land trusts.

The community land trust would administer pooled land in perpetuity, keeping housing affordable and preventing speculation.



With the cold fronts passing south of the country, it will be fine and cool.

Fine and warm

WEATHER forecast for the Cape Peninsula and Boland

SA's violence on agenda at Windhoek summit

BIDAY 14/8/92
SHARON WOOD

WINDHOEK — The violence in SA and the stalemate at Codesa will be scrutinised by the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) at its annual summit in Windhoek.

SADCC information officer Kgosinkwe Moesi said at a news conference yesterday SA was an area for concern and both the SADCC council and the summit would look at the role the organisation could play in facilitating change in SA.

Moesi said the SADCC acknowledged SA had a very powerful economy and there needed to be a rearrangement of relations if the guiding principles of SADCC were to be met. These were balance, equity and mutual benefit.

But the liberation movements of SA were at one with the SADCC, he added. Representatives of the ANC were taking part in the summit, but would not be signatories to the treaty, or have voting rights.

A treaty, to be signed on Monday, will create a legally binding instrument which will enforce obligations if they are not met by member countries. Moesi said the SADCC would

set up a tribunal to settle disagreements between member countries.

This could not be described as a regional parliament yet, but the SADCC was looking at creating a regional government and other associations to express the collective will of the region. "The thinking of the community is not simply confined to the economic community," he added.

Reuter reports that he said harmonising economies in southern Africa was the first step towards regional integration.

"The first thing we will have to deal with is to harmonise our macro-economic policies. Then we can work towards the free-trade zone, a customs union... even a regional parliament," he said.

In addition, the treaty did not specifically address establishment of a regional defence force, Moesi said.

"We are thinking of a community that is not simply confined to economics," he said.

"We are talking about co-operation in security, diplomacy and monetary

affairs, so in time some of these things will be established."

The summit is also to focus on programmes in food security, transport, the environment and land management because of the drought in the region, Sapa reports.

Both council and summit would review measures set up under a regional drought task force to alleviate effects of the drought and decide if extra outside assistance was necessary, Moesi said.

Moesi said the theme document, delivered at the donor conference in Maputo earlier this year, could be seen as a blueprint for the future economic integration of the region.

The document set out a development integration process, with the SADCC as the co-ordinator and regulator of the process. Eventual goals were monetary and fiscal regional integration, the eventual elimination of tariffs and freer movement of capital and labour throughout the region.

SADCC would identify practical and pragmatic programmes and there would be a timetable outlining what would be achieved during the next few years.

Different ways to keep the peace

STAN 14/892

274

THERE are many questions that Cyrus Vance, the United Nations special envoy to South Africa, has left unanswered. Would he recommend peace-keeping forces or international monitors? In what way would the international monitors relate to the SAP, the SADF, and other organs of the security network in the country?

These are pivotal questions because the success of international monitoring depends to a very great extent on the close collaboration and co-operation between these external actors and the security apparatus.

The fundamental problem the UN faces seems to be finance. By 1989 almost a half of its budget was going to peace-keeping efforts.

There are five ways in which the UN can involve itself in attempting to curb and eventually end political violence in this country.

Firstly, an international peace-keeping force, including soldiers, police and civilian administrators, could be deployed in the areas of greatest conflict to physically separate the combatants. This could be applicable to rural areas of Natal.

International experts could also help to administer the SAP and SADF.

A variation is to create a domestic peace-keeping force under international control. These could include the SADF, Umkhonto we-Sizwe, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (APLA), IFP and defence forces of the TBVC states. This force could then be trained by UN or other international experts, and would serve directly under a designated international committee or representative.

After the transition, this force could be turned over to the new government as the core of a new, national, non-partisan police force.

In another scheme, the SAP and SADF are left intact but control over them is transferred to an international committee or representative. They could then provide the necessary expertise and training to transform the security forces into effective, non-partisan peace-keeping forces.

Another possibility is to allow the government in power to administer the security forces on a day-to-day basis, but invite the international community to monitor them.

These international representatives could then sit in the governing and policy-making bodies of the SADF and SAP.

With complete access to all necessary information they would report any human rights violations, participation in violence, or evidence of political violence to the Government, the National Peace Committee and/or the international community.

Lastly representatives from the international community could be invited to observe the violence and make public, but not official, reports and recommendations.

With this alternative, the interim government in place could avail itself of international community advice and recommendations, but would be under no obligation to act on them.

What should be clear to all is that it is South Africans of all colour, creed, religion and sex that will at the end of the day have to solve their own problems. The UN, EEC, OAU and the Commonwealth can only act as facilitators for propitious conditions for peace.

South Africans should also recall that the UN peace-keeping forces have been in Cyprus for almost 30 years. Initially they were to be there for only six months. □

● *Lebona Mosia teaches in the International Studies Unit at Rhodes University*

Press to blame - IFP

■ Unfair reporting on violence alleged:

By Janet Connor

THE media was to be blamed for much of the township violence, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members told the Germiston Dispute Resolution Committee meeting on Wednesday.

Fielding questions from the group of local political, business and religious leaders were representatives from the media and a National Peace Committee staffer.

Although many committee members expressed displeasure with Press coverage because of perceived political bias, they agreed the Press was necessary.

Specifically under fire was *Sowetan*, who

Sowetan
14/8/92

Inkatha Freedom Party members criticised for being "an ANC mouthpiece" and contributing to township violence by reporting unfairly.

Other concerns raised by the members of the dispute resolution committee were:

Did the Press manipulate peace process by deciding the newsworthiness of it?

Did the Press contribute to violence by publicising it?

Should the public warn the Press on the ramifications of printing certain stories?

And finally, when reporting on peace and positive steps, people should be considered as one body and not political factions because this ignored the grassroots spirit.

THE GREAT unanswered question of South Africa's political future is whether there are "third force" elements in and around the security network, fuelling violence and bedeviling negotiations. The answer is of supreme importance if rogue elements are out of government control, a negotiated settlement might not be worth the paper it is written on. Such elements would not be bound by any agreement.

This is a terrifying prospect. It could spell years of turmoil. It is almost too horrifying to face up to the possibility that ruthless men, accountable to no one, are in large part dictating our future.

Most black South Africans believe, passionately, that powerful blocs within or formerly related to the security forces are deeply implicated in the ongoing bloodshed. Most whites, with equal passion, reject this.

Rogues who could scuttle a settlement

The international community has, in recent months, begun to lean towards the former view.

In its latest edition the London-based journal *Africa Confidential* says bluntly that there is now little doubt that a complex network of security force-related individuals are actively destabilising black townships with the object of weakening the ANC and sabotaging a political settlement. It is suggested that President de Klerk faces an acute dilemma, on the one hand he would like to establish political control over the security forces but on the other he needs them as an insurance policy in case negotiations fail.

Africa Confidential describes Mr de Klerk as an "almost immobilised captive of a powerful clique of securocrats". The jour-

14/8/92

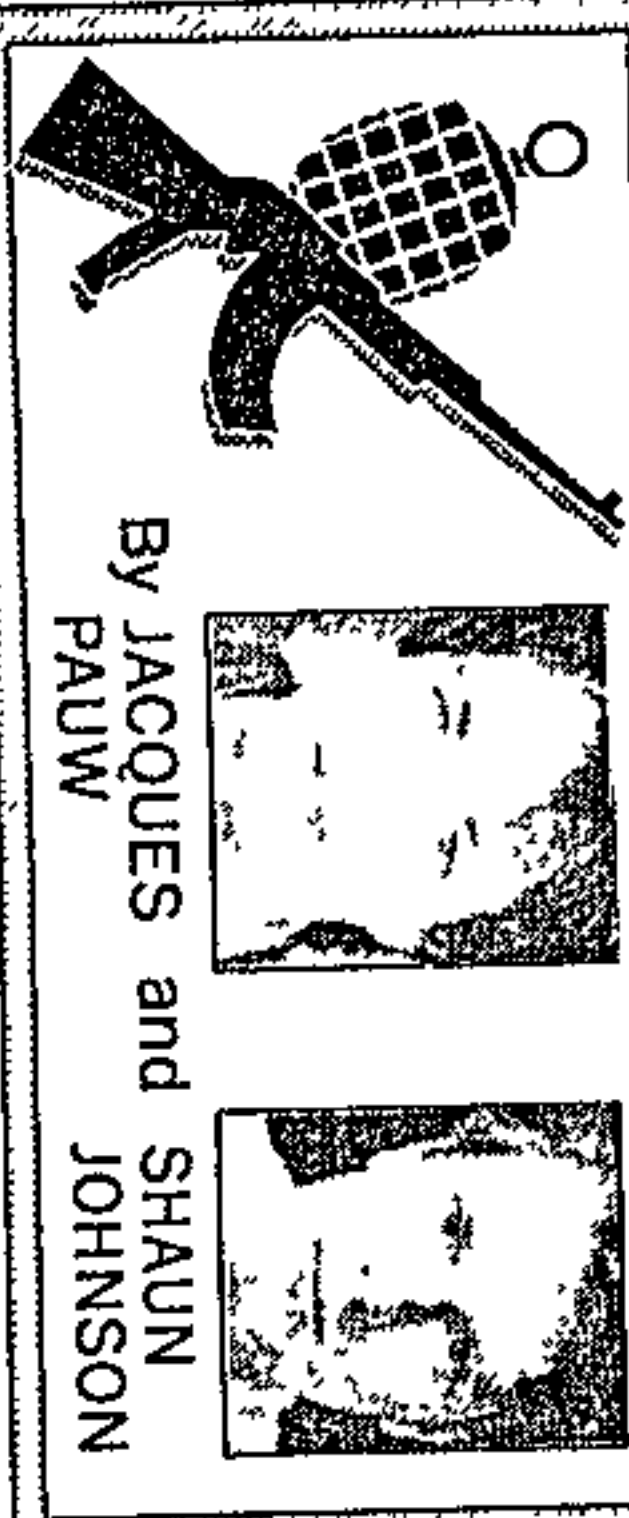
Star 14/8/92

The Star is investigating allegations of so-called "third force" activities — any illegal activities which have the effect of stoking violence and instability, and thereby holding peace hostage. On this page are startling revelations of trafficking in guns — the instruments which underpin the horrific levels of violence in South Africa today. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON argues that the negotiations process itself depends on exposing the truth about "third force" activities.

Mr de Klerk has commissioned the National Intelligence Service to investigate how these elements are undermining political initiatives, and to make recommendations on how they can be isolated.

The reason that the South African public is schizophrenic on the "third force" issue is that hard evidence of such activity has been piecemeal and often contradictory, besides the conviction of police captain Brian

A SPECIAL Star INVESTIGATION



Mitchell in the Trust Feed case, little real clarity has been forthcoming. For example, the inquiry into the Civil Co-operation Bureau was lamentably inconclusive, investigations into train massacres have petered

out, probes into the "Gonwe signal" and the Dirk Coetzee plot have yet to produce comprehensive results, and an over-worked Judge Goldstone is still trying to reconstruct what happened at Boipatong. Suspicion is

rife, proof at a premium.

The Star believes that the public must be told as much of the truth as can be uncovered, as soon as it is uncovered. Exposing "third force" activity is not a party-political matter: it threatens the incumbent Government just as much as it does future administrators of our country. We use the term "third force" in its widest sense — any activities which are intended to, or have the effect of, exacerbating the instability of the transition period. "Third force" activity does not necessarily need to be co-ordinated. Early evidence uncovered by The Star even suggests that financial and political motives can often overlap. There may be many "third forces", acting in many different ways.

This newspaper has for the past month been conducting a countrywide investigation into reports of widespread "third force" misdeeds. We begin today to publish the results of our endeavours, in the belief that by putting pieces of a puzzle into the public domain, other pieces might emerge.

The Star's investigation has centred thus far on activity in the eastern Cape. In the course of our inquiries a welter of mysterious information has emerged. It relates to the running of guns — the final destinations of which have yet to be established — the Gonwe killings, the activities of police and military elements in the "war" against political opponents, rampant corruption, smuggling and illegal trading. It puts in the spotlight individuals who have been involved at various levels in security force structures. □

MASS ACTION FM 14/8/92

Catharsis

(274)

The ANC is hailing the week of mass action as endorsement of its policies. It can now re-enter negotiations looking and feeling tough enough to face down its militants.

Nelson Mandela's "poll" — on an analogy with F W de Klerk's referendum — started with a two-day general strike which achieved an estimated 90% support from the black workforce.

This was followed through the rest of the week by marches, the occupation of buildings, shops and offices and blocking roads in towns and cities around the country.

The relative peacefulness — by SA standards — of the exercise was arguably assisted

Continue

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 14/8/92

ted by the presence of UN monitors. Though government and the security forces cried foul and accused the ANC-alliance of winning support through violence and intimidation, the coercion factor seemed less significant than claimed. The Human Rights Commission accused the authorities and parts of what it termed the "State-owned media" of hysterical accusations: "Our records show the death-toll in the first week of mass action was 86 compared with a weekly average of 80 over the past five months. Victims have been predominantly ANC supporters and members" (274)

Security force actions accounted for 11 deaths (the highest figure for a long time), 40 injuries and 639 arrests, it said.

The mining industry seems to have been unaffected by the stayaway.

It was unclear how much was lost in production, as many enterprises had made various alternative arrangements. At any rate, the motivation for the mass action remains questionable against a backdrop of recession and rising unemployment.

Rand Afrikaans University's Professor Albert Venter points out that the mass action has left South Africans more confident now than they were a week ago: "In the first place, little or no damage was done to property — even the occupation of buildings was only symbolic. Secondly, it demonstrated that the so-called Leipzig Option will not topple the government the way it did in Germany.

"At the same time, Mandela has demonstrated to his own hardliners, the PAC, Azapo and the IFP, the extent of his support. Mass action was as much a test of this as it was anti-government."

However, he stresses, the time for mass action is now over. It is impossible to maintain such a campaign and at the same time negotiate in good faith. ■

Action call on public transport safety

TYRONE SEALE
Staff Reporter

CALLS for urgent measures to ensure safer public transport have been made by transport, business and community leaders.

They say last year's 11 000 deaths on roads countrywide, poor policing and soaring crime on trains are areas of concern.

The calls were made yesterday at a symposium on safer public transport staged by the Mitchell's Plain branch of the National Institute for Crime

Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (Nicro).

Panelists who drew attention to growing problems in public transport nationally were railway crime prevention specialist Colonel John Parker, Metro security manager Mr André Roets, Golden Arrow Bus Services deputy general manager Mr Nico Prinsloo, senior traffic inspector Mr Tony Howes, Cape Town Chamber of Commerce assistant director Mr Albert Schuitmaker and Cape Areas Housing Action Committee chairman Mr Joe Marks.

Mr Roets said that while the SA Rail Commuter Corporation was in the initial stages of a R250 million upgrading of stations throughout South Africa, vandalism was costing the corporation R108 000 a month.

The upgrading had been inspired by the corporation's own planning and by recommendations in Goldstone Commission reports.

Mr Roets called for greater vigilance among commuters and invited victims and witnesses of crime to use the corporation's toll-free, anonymous

complaints services.

Colonel Parker said that in the Western Cape only 293 policemen were assigned to the security of 617 000 commuters daily.

During the first six months of this year police apprehended 1 047 suspects on trains in and around Cape Town, but had not solved all of the 35 serious assaults, seven murders, four attempted murders, six armed robberies, six rapes and 174 thefts of firearms reported by commuters in this area during this period, he said.

ARC 14/8/92

274

UN team leaves with 'hopes up'

CT 14/18/92
JOHANNESBURG. — United Nations observers left yesterday, saying they had high hopes for peace here. (S) (274)

"I am very hopeful, particularly from what we saw last week," said Mr Hashaim Omajad, leader of the 10-member UN team which monitored the mass action.

His team had brief talks with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday. — Sapa

Flushing the guilty out from society's sewers

ARG 15/8/92

■ The net seems to be drawing tighter around whoever it was who butchered Matthew Goniwe and his three colleagues on that fateful night in the Eastern Cape in 1985, writes political commentator **SHAUN JOHNSON.**

IN a country known for its inability to solve political murders — who killed Robert Smit, Rick Turner, and so many others? — it would be naive to expect that, just because extraordinary evidence has been turned up, the Goniwe case, indeed, will be solved.

However, there is reason to be hopeful, not least because more and more people who inhabited the dark security force-linked underworld in and around Port Elizabeth are getting scared, and are starting to talk.

They certainly believe the investigation will not fizzle out like so many others before it, and have a shrewd suspicion that if a culprit is to be named, it is likely to be someone from their grubby ranks rather than the elevated echelons.

The Goniwe investigation has come to mean something beyond the painful, desperate desire of the activists' relatives and friends to know the truth. It is a symbolic case against which current proposals for a general amnesty should be tested.

I have argued before that the purpose of identifying those responsible for these — and all other — unconscionable acts of barbarity is not retribution. Putting the murderers in jail will not bring Goniwe back to life, and will not contribute to the spirit of reconciliation without which the new South Africa cannot be born.

The purpose is disclosure and the laying to rest of the screeching ghosts that nightly wake South Africa from its fitful sleep. Without exorcism, the wailing will never stop.

There is, it seems to me, a workable and, on balance, a just way to apply an amnesty and at least wipe the bloody slate cleaner. It could be

agreed by all sides that an amnesty for political crimes will come into effect on, say, September 1.

Between now and then, anyone who has been involved in such crimes would have to come forward (to a specially-appointed commission, perhaps) and fully disclose their deeds. This information would be made public, but the individuals would be indemnified from prosecution for any acts committed before the cut-off date.

The only condition would be that if it subsequently emerged that the disclosure was incomplete or incorrect in any way, the indemnity would be revoked.

To use the Goniwe case as an example, if the culprits came forward they would be identified and the sordid mystery unravelled immediately and without further cost — but, they would not be charged.

If they did not come forward within the specified period, the investigation would run its course and the full weight of the law would be brought to bear.

In passing eventual sentence, it would be considered an aggravating factor that the killers had spurned the chance to come clean.

The choice facing the guilty would be stark — confess, repent and start life anew, or be hunted down. All the political criminals hiding in the darker reaches of our country would have to decide, once and for all.

The practical political benefits of such a scheme are obvious. We have scattered across South Africa today a terrifying number of people who have taken part in murders and never been caught.

Obviously, having once killed, the chances are that they will kill again, whether for political or financial gain, or plain habit. They have broken society's taboos, they live under the shadow of discovery, and they are lost to the new South Africa.

Such an amnesty would offer them a chance, perhaps the only chance, of finding a way back into civil society.

Once having been indemnified, their future behaviour would be severely constrained. The glare of public knowledge would, hopefully, immobilise their baser instincts.

If they chose the option of rehabilitation, they would spend the rest of their lives trying to prove themselves worthy citizens.

How much better a prospect that is for all of us than having them in society's sewers, wreaking havoc. Among others, participants in "third force" activities would be shown an escape route from the corners they have chosen to inhabit.

I would not dare to presume to speak for Matthew Goniwe's wife. I do not know whether she would accept that her husband's murderers should escape physical punishment. It is certainly her right to demand revenge.

However, our history is so bloodstained and so labyrinthine that I cannot imagine another way of washing our hands and cleansing our hearts, so that we might start again.

I hope that this plan, or any plan which achieves similar aims, is taken up.

But, unless and until that happens, it is the moral duty of the politicians, officials, media and everyone else to pursue the killers in each and every case, and not to stop until they are found.

War of words over shootings

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CT 15/8/92

Johannesburg Bureau

POLICE have accused the ANC of trying to score political points by implicating them in a pre-dawn gun battle in Ivory Park squatter camp and inflating the death toll.

"It is very clear that the ANC will not hesitate in making statements to discredit the SA Police before even verifying the facts," police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce said yesterday.

He said four people had been killed and seven injured in what appeared to have been a battle between rival taxi organisations.

The ANC last night reduced its figure for the death toll from 18 to five, saying residents had inflated the number by including those who had been injured and those who had run away.

However, it said it "strongly re-

Refugees flee new outbreak of violence

DURBAN. — Scores of people, mostly women and children, are fleeing from the Fakazi area near Adam's Mission on the Natal South Coast where renewed violence has broken out.

Refugees have said a man was killed following the murder of a schoolboy earlier this week. But police have said they received no such report.

In Umlazi yesterday two men were injured when their house was attacked by a gunman.

Police have reported that at least one man died and three were injured in unrest incidents on Thursday. — Sapa

pudiated the callous statement made by the police that the ANC was trying to score political points" and reiterated residents' claims that police had been present during the attack.

"Five people died and clear statements were made about the presence of a police Casspir. This is what police must account for," the ANC said in a statement.

At the dusty squatter camp of about 70 000 people yesterday, residents blamed the fighting on rival groups battling for control of the taxi trade in the fast-growing settlement.

Some residents told reporters that the security forces and Zulu-speaking men had been involved, while others believed the adversaries were taxi owners waging battle over the route.

Representatives of the competing taxi organisations met in Pretoria yesterday afternoon to discuss the crisis.

Yesterday's shootings follow the killing of two minibus drivers and the driver of a private taxi in Ivory Park on Monday.

Democratic Party MP Mr Rupert Lorimer, a member of the National Peace Committee's Witwatersrand/Vaal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, visited the scene of the shooting yesterday.

Mass action: 'We were ready to talk to ANC'

The government allowed mass action to go ahead, so the ANC should return to the negotiating table as soon as possible, Minister of Constitutional Development,

Roelf Meyer, nght, told **Rehana Rossouw**.

REHANA ROSSOUW: What is your response to the ANC's week of mass action? Some people described it as a black referendum and said the response showed that blacks overwhelmingly supported the ANC's demands.

ROELF MEYER: From the government's perspective the mass action was not necessary because the door was always open for negotiations and there was no need for additional pressure to bring about negotiations.

Do you expect the ANC to take a tougher bargaining position now, or do you think its leaders will be more able to return to negotiations and make compromises, if need be?

The mass action campaign was probably meant to build a support base (for the ANC) more than anything else. For that reason we had not opposed the idea. I don't think mass action will make it easier to force us to make compromises at the negotiating table.



So you don't think you are going to be facing tougher ANC bargainers when negotiations resume?

If I read Mr Mandela's speech correctly (at the Union Buildings), he was not trying to gain points for negotiations. It would be totally wrong and detrimental for negotiations if that had been the approach of the ANC. I don't expect them to take that approach.

Two weeks ago the government partially met the ANC's demand for a ban on carrying dangerous weapons. Why did this take so long, and are there any other concrete plans as regards, for example, hostels, which would clear the obstacle of violence and make way for negotiations?

There are some practical difficulties in this regard. I know from past experience some of the difficulties that occurred with the hostel situation. In certain ways the ANC could be of help to resolve them — where we need community involvement and approval. If we act in any way against a hostile situation to improve the situation it could have

problem with our constituency as the ANC has'

negative effects and not solve anything. I would advocate that in this regard they come back to the negotiating table.

As far as the constitutional demands are concerned, the ANC is emphasising the constituent assembly as a departure point. We are saying there should be a transitional constitution to provide for a constitution-making body. I believe we are not that far apart from each other. The ANC's demands around the constitution making body are the key stumbling block in getting us back to the table.

Transkei's military ruler, General Bantu Holomisa, himself a securocrat, believes that security-minded elements in the cabinet and state apparatus are calling the tune in government policy now. In his view, people like yourself and the state president are being either sidelined or won over by hardliners. Your comment?

This is absolute nonsense. The president is calling the tune and the ministers in each portfolio. No minister would allow himself to be dictated to by outsiders. I certainly will not be dictated to by outsiders.

So who influences government thinking most? Is it the Broederbond, military intelligence, or the NIS? Is there a longterm strategy with a set of coherent goals?

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We have a cabinet government; the state president is absolutely rigid about this. The final decisions on matters of government are taken jointly by politicians. This happens every day. I can confirm it absolutely. Yes, there are advisors but the decisions are only taken by politicians.

Today, as far as government policy and decisions are concerned, there are no outside influences. I will not go along with a decision I can't live with.

The government refused to concede a 70 percent majority principle for constitution-making at Codesa 2, and then agreed to this after negotiations had already broken down. Why the change? Was there a deliberate move to stall negotiations?

This is an incorrect perception. In working group two, before things broke down, there was a proposal from the National Party of 70 percent. But then the ANC came with something new, at the very last moment, about a referendum. If I look back at things I feel the ANC was forcing a deadlock.

So the government had no ulterior motive — you had no reason to stall the talks?

We are able to keep pace with the negotiations. We were, in fact, prepared to move faster so that we could pass legislation before the end of the parliamentary session. It's a pity. I think the true picture is that the ANC alliance decided not to continue. It's not the government

that is at fault.

An interesting factor is that although Cosatu was not a member of Codesa — it was decided Codesa would be made up of political parties and structures — they suddenly appeared one day and said they had instructions to come and participate and that they were doing that under the banner of the ANC and SACP. That raises questions of who is influencing the ANC.

Are there changes you would suggest for the structure and openness of the negotiation process, changes that might help to avert deadlock, public confusion and ignorance?

The openness of Codesa is a complaint on our side as well, we have the same problem with our constituency as the ANC has. We have to look seriously at how to involve the public in what we are doing.

We have to open negotiations — not physically in the negotiating rooms — but get the results to people quicker. There can be no negotiations through public demonstrations and pressure. I don't believe that when we sit and negotiate the public eye can be there all the time. We wouldn't be able to reach compromises and we'll deadlock again.

I believe the ANC has a problem with taking their constituency along. The problem is that our constituency as well doesn't like compromises. The major problem with our constituency at the moment is the mass action. It went down badly in their minds. That's why we didn't interfere with the mass action. We allowed it to go ahead.

30 observers would be 'peanuts', UN told

MIKE LITTLEJOHN

NEW YORK — The Security Council will be asked to approve a far more ambitious UN operation in South Africa than the 30 observers proposed by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, according to diplomats in New York. But a call for up to 400 observers has apparently been dropped in favour of a more general resolution.

Also, under the new plan, the mission's mandate would be expanded to monitor the situation everywhere in the country and help to avert violence from whatever source.

The council scheduled closed-door consulta-

tions yesterday and should be ready to act on a resolution by Monday, a sponsor of the proposals said. Jose Luis Jesus, of Cape Verde, co-ordinator of the effort, said it would be "peanuts" to dispatch only 30 observers. However, the sponsors would not specify how many UN staff would be adequate.

It was not clear whether the South African Government would accept an operation of the dimensions envisaged, or whether the Western powers would be willing to underwrite the cost.

'Local govt move caused rift in Alex'

STAR 16/7/92
(278)
Pretoria Correspondent

Protest against the establishment of a local authority in Alexandra and the subsequent boycott led to a rift between different political organisations in the area, a committee of the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

IFP branch chairman in Alexandra Lucas Khoza told the committee, chaired by advocate R Nugent, that a number of "hostile" organisations were against the establishment of a local authority in the area. They had urged people not to take part in or stand for election.

Mr Khoza said Alexandra used to be peaceful with different ethnic groups co-existing.

Things took a turn for the worse when the Government announced in 1982 that there would be elections for local authorities throughout SA.

"The elections were turned into a political issue by some organisations in the area."

This resulted in Alexandra being divided into two zones, one belonging to the IFP and the other to the ANC.

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UN will play key role

C/pren 16/8/92

UNTIL a few months ago this observer, like numerous other observers and even members of the government, did not foresee any role worth mentioning for institutions like the United Nations in SA's settlement process.

The failure at Codesa II and the tragic events at Boipatong have changed all that.

Indications are that the UN, in very close co-operation with the Peace Committee and the Goldstone Commission, will play a key role.

In this regard the ANC alliance has played a clever tactical role. Agreement was initially reached on the Cyrus Vance visit. He had not even completed his discussions when it was announced that UN "ob-

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The UN are poised to play a greater role in the peace process, especially by way of the Goldstone Commission and the Peace Committee. This would mean a major rethink by the main players on their general conduct. By Prof WILLIE ESTERHUYSE of the University of Stellenbosch.

(274)

servers" would monitor the mass action.

Nobody should be so naive as to think that the next steps would not include intermediating, facilitating and adjudicating roles for the UN.

Should the Vance proposals be accepted, these new developments must be perceived in close relationship with especially the activities of the Goldstone Commission.

In fact, if there is a body with credibility in SA, it is the Goldstone Commission. Neither the State, nor the ANC, the IFP or whoever are pres-

ently able to ignore or discredit this commission.

The big question is whether the issue of the expected UN involvement in SA, and the support which the organisation proposes to render to the Goldstone Commission would be a good or a bad development.

For one thing, UN involvement by way of the Goldstone Commission and the Peace Committee will hopefully ensure that intimidation will be contained. It could also have a positive effect on the countering of violence.

In short, the ANC alliance will discover that it cannot make accusations at random, wash its hands in innocence and expect the international community to accept its version of events.

The IFP will realise that finger-pointing and pious self-justification will not relieve it from responsibility for acts of violence committed in its name.

The government will find that delaying action against those who knowingly or unknowingly sabotage the process could cause it to fall very hard from its throne of high morality.

Nothing can hit the present government harder than the impression that it is politically sanction-

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Premiums set to rise sharply

LIFE insurance policy premiums particularly for young people will increase because of AIDS, a spokesman for Southern Life said at a seminar on AIDS yesterday in Johannesburg.

The insurance industry had recognised that the HIV virus, which can lead to full-blown AIDS, "is going to become a killer of young people in a big way", Paul Tryuys said.

The industry's ability to provide life assurance to the average man in the street might become endangered, he warned, unless it introduced changes.

Testing applicants for the HIV virus itself would become common.

"The second thing that will happen is that there'll be a steady increase in the premiums that young people will have to pay."

"Even though a young person might be tested negative and is given life assurance, the younger he is the more likely it is he might still become positive because he has not changed his (social) behaviour." — Sapa.

SACC probe into

ANC under way

8/09 17/8/92

AN SA Council of Churches (SACC)

team which plans to visit ANC camps to test claims of maltreatment and disappearances also wants to inspect government installations used in the covert war against the ANC.

SACC Justice and Social Minister director John Lamola said the SACC had been given the go-ahead two months ago to begin interviewing people who claim family members had gone missing in ANC camps in Africa. The ANC had camps in Angola and still has a presence in Uganda and Tanzania.

Lamola said the SACC was planning to visit the ANC's camps once a full list of missing people had been drawn up. He said the SACC team had been in contact with a number of ANC dissidents who had returned from exile complaining of maltreatment.

"Our intention is to go with a list of names. The visit will involve international church figures," Lamola said.

He said the visit to the camps, permission for which was granted by ANC president Nelson Mandela last week, would probe alleged human rights violations committed by the ANC in exile.

"We have stood against human rights violations of the apartheid regime. We

should not overlook what has happened outside the regime," he said.

Lamola said the SACC wanted to visit government installations used during the undercover war against the ANC, in particular Vlakplaas police camp, which renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee said was used as a base for attacks on anti-apartheid figures.

Meanwhile, the commission of inquiry appointed by the ANC to investigate conditions in its camps had not completed its report and would sit for another day, a source close to the commission said.

The source denied that the commission had named ANC administrative official Mzwai Piliso as being primarily responsible for abuses in the camps.

The source said the commission's terms of reference were limited to an investigation into conditions of detention, allegations of maltreatment and complaints about loss of property.

The ANC said a report would be submitted to Mandela and that there would be no comment on the issue until he had studied and made public its findings. The ANC said it had committed itself to publicising the findings when it set up the commission.

Buthelezi issues fresh appeal on peace to ANC

MSINGA — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday issued a fresh invitation to ANC president Nelson Mandela to join him in a bid to end the carnage in the country.

Addressing the people of Msinga and neighbouring districts in Natal, Buthelezi also rejected the concept of a trioka consisting of him, Mandela and President F W de Klerk ruling the country.

"I want no alliance with the ANC... All I have said is that unless Dr Mandela, Mr de Klerk and myself come together to combat violence, violence will flourish."

"I say today to Mandela, yet again, act against the violence with me. I say to him, have the courage to go back to your very own suggestion that you and I should share platforms to combat the violence."

He also slammed the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa. "The going is going to get tough because of political tensions created by the ANC's refusal to go back to the negotiation process."

Meanwhile, eight people were wounded in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, when attackers armed with AK-47 and R-1 rifles fired on the police but missed their target, wounding bystanders instead.

The wounded were treated at a clinic in the township. On Saturday, two bodies were found, police said in their daily unrest report. One had been shot and another hacked and stabbed to death.

On Saturday night a commuter was shot dead and another seriously wounded when they were attacked by unidentified gunmen on a train in Soweto between Phomolong and Dube stations.

No arrests were made. Two bodies with hack wounds have also been found at Ivory Park, Midrand, where a taxi war claimed four lives last week.

ARG 17/8/92 (274)

Unrest 1 lives

8 injured in gun attack on police

The Argus Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — Eight people were wounded, four seriously, in a hail of bullets aimed at a police vehicle in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, at the weekend.

Since Friday at least 21 people, including seven policemen, have died in political violence. Dozens have been injured.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Wikus Weber said the Alexandra shooting happened at about 9pm on Saturday. A police vehicle that stopped on the corner of Vasco de Gama Street and Pretoria Main Road was fired at by gunmen armed with AK-47 assault rifles, R-1 rifles and shotguns.

Lieutenant Weber said the police did not return fire and withdrew because their vehicle was not bullet-proof. None of the policemen was injured.

Police reinforcements later found seven men and a woman had been wounded.

They were taken to Alexandra Clinic and four of them were later admitted to Tembisa Hospital. The others were treated and discharged.

Earlier on Saturday, police found the bodies of two men in Alexandra. One had been hacked and stabbed and the other shot.

In another attack, an unidentified man was stoned and injured.

On the East Rand, police found the bodies of two men yesterday who had been hacked and stoned in Tembisa.

Four people were killed and six others, including two children, were wounded in a gun attack in the Ivory Park squatter camp, near Midrand, which police said was linked to a taxi war.

In Soweto, an unidentified man was shot dead and another seriously injured on Saturday night when gunmen opened fire on a train between Phomolong and Dube stations.

Late on Friday afternoon, Assistant Constable J Z Mtimkulu, 26, was shot and wounded by three men at Merafe Station. A police spokesman said he was in a satisfactory condition in Baragwanath Hospital after being hit in the leg and arm. The gunmen escaped with his service pistol and 15 rounds of ammunition.

In their unrest report for the 24 hours ending at midnight on Saturday, police said a policeman was stabbed in the neck with a bottle in Kagiso, near Krugersdorp. Police fired teargas to disperse stone-throwers.

At Riverlea station, west of Johannesburg, a man was slightly injured when he jumped from a moving train after being attacked and robbed.

At Sharpeville, in the Vaal Triangle, gunmen fired at the police station and a bottle store. No injuries were reported.

In Langa, near Cape Town, police found the body of an unidentified woman. They arrested a suspect and used teargas to disperse people throwing stones at their vehicle.

Three policemen and two members of a gang were killed at Sokuhulu Reserve, Kwa-Mbonambi, near Empangeni, in a shoot-out on Friday.

Govt profits by paralysis

STAR 17/8/92

(274)

THE negotiation process has twice stalled primarily as a result of the plague of violence. If negotiations get back on track, as we all hope they will, they are unlikely to survive a third break.

To assess whether the cycle of violence can be broken, the inherited social context (that is, apartheid) is of relevance. But our social environment cannot, on its own, account for the current pattern of violence and the exceptional levels it has reached under De Klerk's presidency.

Pre-1948 versions of apartheid and violence have plagued us for centuries, yet our history has never before seen the kind of orchestrated mayhem we are now experiencing. We must therefore distinguish contextual historical conditions in which violence occurs from strategically planned violence designed to serve an immediate political purpose.

There cannot be a shadow of doubt that those who act as catalysts for the current spate of violence do so as a way of influencing the transformation process.

I use the word "catalysts" advisedly because, in times of change,

it is usually sufficient merely to provide the spark. The rest can be left to retaliation or apartheid's legacy including ethnicity, political intolerance, racism and a general disregard for human life.

In other words, to identify some of the main culprits does not require proof that they are participants in every act, we rather need to focus on what they do to trigger off a chain of events (exemplified by the Trust Feed massacre) and, perhaps more importantly, what they do not do to stop it (exemplified by, among others, the Swanenville and Bekkersdal massacres).

Our first claims of the existence of a third force were met with scepticism, even by anti-government local and international media. But these are no longer dismissed as wild assertions. Nor can it any longer be doubted that the gangs which spray death on the trains, at taxi-ranks, on funeral vigils, et cetera, are highly trained professional hit-men. By and large, the targets of their mass killings are random and they seem to take a breather whenever De Klerk tours foreign capitals.

Two questions need probing: ● If there is insufficient proof of

direct or indirect involvement in the violence by the Government, is it aware that some of its state structures are involved and, if so, what explains its paralysis to deal with them?

● Can we possibly expect the existing security establishment to fight an effective war against the violence in the light of the reality that its command structure, composition and, above all, its mind-set are, by and large, in the same mould as before?

Since it is extremely rare to catch a culprit red-handed with a smoking gun, the search for complicity often takes us along the route of circumstantial evidence.

An accumulation of evidence established in judicial proceedings, government commissions and uncontradicted media reports leads to the irresistible conclusion that President de Klerk has been fully aware that levels of his state apparatus have been connected with the orchestration of much of the violence.

Looking at the revelations of the past year alone, his oft-repeated cry — "give me the evidence and I will act" — has a most hollow ring.

Murder, kidnapping, systematic destruction of evidence, death squad killings, and more, have not only gone unpunished, but those implicated by the courts have retained their jobs in the security establishment, received golden handshakes or promotion.

Police officers named by the court in the Trust Feed case as having been involved in a cover-up of the slaughter of innocents by an SAP/Inkatha Impi are not even suspended. Generals linked to poisoning projects and to orders to kill and burn political opponents are left in place.

Scores of attacks, over a period of more than a year, are launched from the same hostels leaving hundreds dead. But from the Government came no order (solemnly promised to us by De Klerk more than once) to monitor, to fence, to raid for weapons. And no one is convicted. The carrying of murderous weapons is deliberately legitimised (at the same time as the full ANC is unbanned) in the full knowledge that it is causing endless slaughter.

Public resources are corruptly channelled to Inkatha to finance anti-ANC activity and to create a

police-directed trade union centre in opposition to Cosatu, yet the police officers and Ministers concerned retain high office. Numerous government commissions — Harms, Hienstra, Goldstone, Stafod, O'Donovan — expose obscene levels of conduct by the police and army (including mass killings described by Mr Justice O'Donovan as "slaughter") and virtually nothing happens. And so it goes on and on and on.

Since complicity in criminal violence by levels within the state structures is, beyond a shadow of a doubt, known to De Klerk, we cannot be blamed for concluding that there can only be one of three reasons (or a combination of them) for his paralysis:

● He does not want to risk the political consequences of acting against influential segments of his security establishment.

● It suits his political purposes to drag his feet because the violence serves to weaken the ANC and to spread the perception that its black constituency is not ready for modern democracy.

● He lacks the same sense of urgency about the killings that he would have undoubtedly displayed

if only a minute percentage of the massacre victims were white.

Today, you can count the number of convictions for the thousands of black dead on not much more than the fingers of one hand. We are forced to conclude that this is because those committing these acts of violence form part of the same forces still dealing with their old political "enemy".

While I served in the top echelons of Umkhonto we Sizwe we found government forces extraordinarily efficient highly professional, highly successful and ever-ready with contingency plans. And this showed up in our high casualty rate. They were fighting the "terrorist" enemy and had the political will to pursue their total strategy.

This underlies the essence of the problems. It is only a government of national unity taking complete command of the security establishment and flushing out the criminals within its ranks that will begin to see an end to the slaughter.

But immediate practical steps to end the violence remains key for the resumption of negotiations. The ball is squarely in the court of the Government. □

Opinion

By ALLISTER SPARKS

DEEP in the Matabeland bush a strange and moving ceremony took place last week that was full of meaning for South Africa at a time of debate about a general amnesty.

It was Zimbabwe's National Heroes' Day and thousands of people of all races gathered at a place called Pupu, scene of that country's equivalent of the Battle of Isandlwana, for a ceremony conducted according to ancient African religious rites to propitiate the dead of a century of interracial and intertribal violence.

The dead of all the conflicts from the colonial wars to the war of liberation, and all the atrocities between and since. To appease them so that the living can overcome their country's long legacy of conflict. It may sound esoteric and other-worldly, and indeed it was a profound spiritual occasion, yet it was also down-to-earth. Twelve years after independence, after Robert Mugabe surprised the whites with his call for racial reconciliation, Zimbabwe finds it cannot live with all the unexorcised ghosts of its past.

Truth and acknowledgement

There is too much unatoned guilt, too much unpurged anger and grief, for real reconciliation and nation-building. So representatives of all the affected sectors of Zimbabwe's population, from aged sons of Lobengula's regiments to white settlers, Zipra and Zania guerrillas and the Minister of Security who sent the ruthless Fifth Brigade into Matabeland in the 1980s, gathered in Pupu to lay those ghosts.

Their means for doing so was truth and acknowledgement. To stand together and admit what was done and read out the names of those who died at one another's hands through catharsis to put the past to rest.

It is a need that is fundamental to the healing of a nation's wounds after times of great conflict. The Germans know that, as do the priests of all the great

To heal SA we need to get to the truth

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religions. There are two powerful plays running in Johannesburg which carry the same message: Ariel Dorfman's "Death and the Maiden" and Athol Fugard's "Playland", both stressing the corrosive force of suppressed guilt and unrequited anger. South Africans should ponder this lesson at a time when the Goldstone Commission is urging a general amnesty for political offenders, and the government, spurred by the latest disclosures that top officials may have been involved in the assassination of Matthew Goniwe and three black activist colleagues in 1985.

Ghosts will haunt us

The ANC, which has its own skeletons in the cupboard of exile politics, may end up agreeing despite initial objections. Britain, the United States, even the United Nations, are all in favour. All are keen for a settlement and they don't want the fear of retribution to get in the way. Sweep it all under the carpet, is the chorus theme. In the interests of reconciliation.

But beware. The ghosts will haunt us, as they have haunted Zimbabwe. One can't have a Nuremberg trial after a negotiated settlement, but indemnifying the guilty isn't the same as suppressing the truth of what happened. The facts must come out. The victims and their families are entitled to at least that much appeasement. We cannot have national reconciliation on the

basis of covered-up crimes, for that is to build on foundations of deceit and corruption. And we cannot hope to have an open democracy if we start with an official suppression of the truth.

The Matabeland ceremony is an object lesson. Pupu, 150 km north-west of Bulawayo, is the site of a battle between Major Alan Wilson's pioneer column and Lobengula's elite Mankamen regiment in the Ndebele War of 1893.

Tore down shrine

The pioneer column was closing in on Lobengula, and the Mankamen turned to fight a rearguard action to give their chieftain time to escape. Wilson and his 39 men perished in the fierce battle, but 3 000 of the Ndebele warriors fell before their Gatling guns. The whites, being the ultimate victors in the war, built a shrine to the victims of what they regarded as an heroic last stand, but to the Ndebele it was also a place of heroic resistance.

Seventy years later Pupu was the scene of more interracial violence as Zipra guerrillas fought their war of liberation against white Rhodesia. The guerrillas tore down Wilson's shrine and put up their own to their war dead. Meanwhile the villagers suffered from the depredations of both sides. Ten years on and there was more killing, as Mugabe sent his notorious Fifth Brigade to crush what he believed was incipient rebellion in Matabeland.

Now representatives of all these elements have gathered at Pupu. The ceremony was conducted by aged priests and elders of the Mwali cult, an ancient African religious sect still untouched by Western faiths. It was attended, too, by the Chief Rabbi of Bulawayo and representatives of most of the country's Christian denominations.

Both sides of battle

For weeks Mwali priests, some more than 90 years old, consecrated the ground with secret rituals before any outsiders were allowed on it. At the ceremony the elders conducted a valediction for the dead.

They read the names of those who died on both sides in the battle of 1893. Zipra commanders read the names of their dead, and finally there was the roll, gathered by an organisation called the Masela Trust, of those who perished in the repression of the 1980s.

After this there was the symbolic slaughtering of two black and two white goats. Then a feast.

Among those present was Jeremy Brickhill, a white Zipra commander who was blown up and grievously injured by a car bomb in Harare in 1987 — seven years after the war had ended.

After months in hospital and dozens of operations to reconstruct his shattered body, Brickhill went to see the South African agents who had blown him up — in Chikarube Prison, where two were under sentence of death, and in Johannesburg. Like Dorfman's Paulina Salas and Fugard's Gideon le Roux, Brickhill felt a compelling need to hear the truth. "I had been to school with some of these people. I had to find out why this happened," he told me.

"I bore them no ill-will. I felt no need to take revenge. They, too, were victims of a process they didn't understand. But I had to speak to them. I had to know. For me, going to that prison and bringing it all out was the equivalent of what we are doing at Pupu."

LETTERS

By Robert Fox

SAP's new eye in the sky monitors hotspots

By Andrew Whitlock
Crime Staff

279

Police action in unrest and other areas can now be monitored from afar with sophisticated electronic equipment recently acquired by the police.

Generals or commanding officers can control events in the field through the Locus Command and Control Integrator.

The system had been used in Soweto for the past three weeks and has proved highly effective, according to SAP spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn.

"The system is compatible with all existing police and emergency services systems, he said.

"It's a pity we didn't have this new system before Boipatong, because we would have had a record of everything that happened," said Colonel Halgryn.

The technology of Locus was more advanced than that currently used in Europe and would catapult the SAP into the league of American-style policing.

The system used a geographical information system to pinpoint locations, incorporated infra-red photography, and fully

integrated police and emergency services.

Colonel Halgryn could not disclose the cost of the system, but said the SAP would approach the Government to subsidise the project.

Andrew Phillips, marketing manager of Irene Commercial Enterprises, the company supplying the camera equipment, which is fitted to police helicopters, said the camera was effective over a radius of 60 km.

But it could zoom in at closer range to photograph licence plates, as well as people and policemen at a particular crime scene.

The images were relayed at three-second intervals and could be monitored by generals who wanted to keep an eye on the action and give commands to their officers.

Mr Phillips said any reservations he had about SAP members not being able to handle the new equipment were soon dispelled. "The motivation and enthusiasm of the SAP members involved in flying the helicopter and operating the camera equipment increased dramatically," he said.

Buthelezi offers new peace bid

MSINGA.— Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday issued a fresh invitation to ANC president Nelson Mandela to join him in ending the carnage in the country.

Addressing the people of Msinga in Natal, Chief Buthelezi also rejected the concept of a troika with him, Mr Mandela

and President F. W. de Klerk ruling the country.

"I want no alliance with the ANC. I have never wanted to rule with Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela. All I have said is that unless Mr Mandela, Mr de Klerk and I come together to combat violence, it will flourish.

"I say to Mr Mandela, yet again: act against the

violence with me. I say to him: have the courage to go back to your very own suggestion that you and I should share platforms to combat the violence. I say to him: have the courage to put South Africa first and help me act against the violence instead of fanning the flames by refusing to enter into any peace agreements."

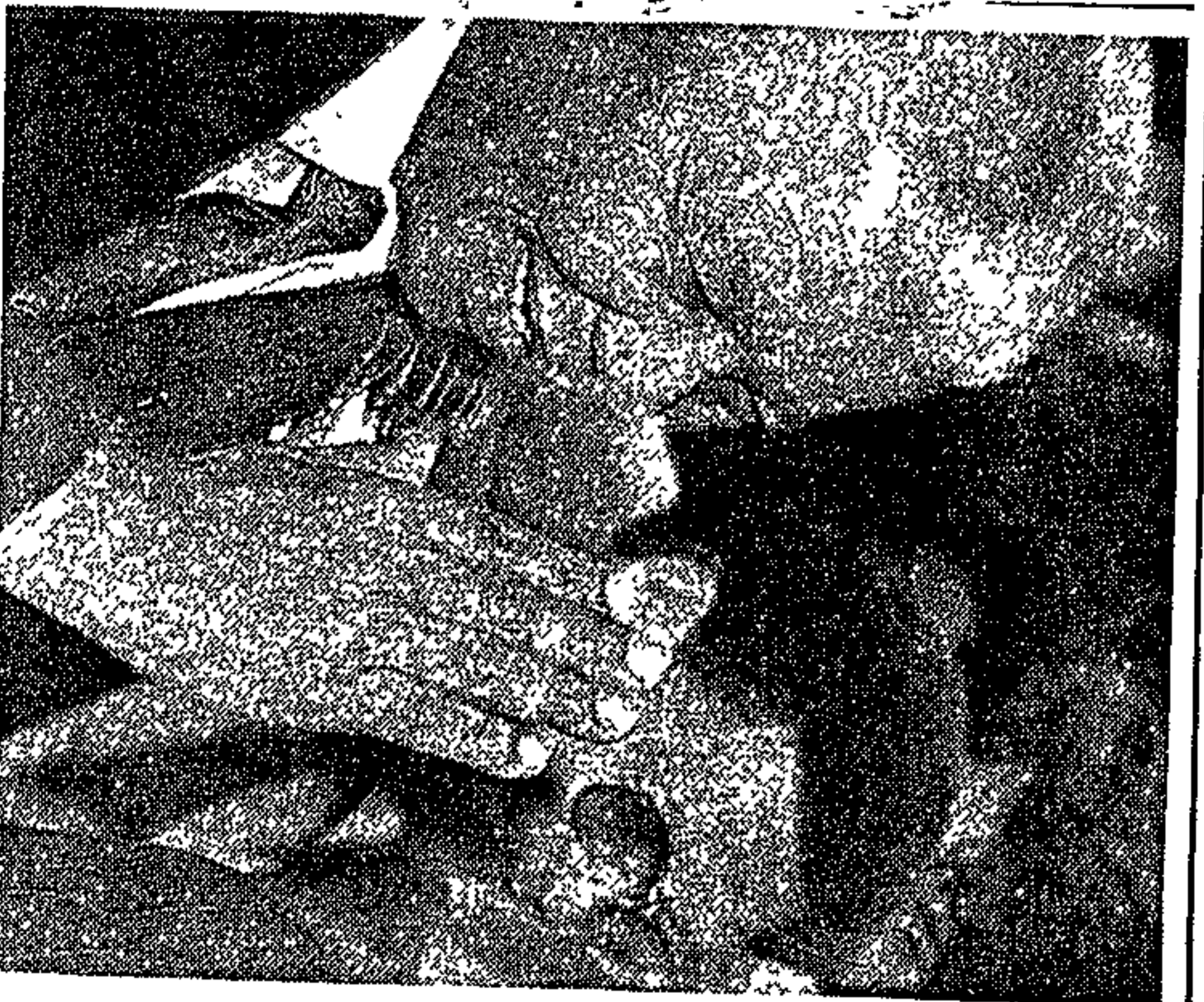
Buthelezi offer to Mandela

MSINGA, Natal. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Sunday issued a fresh invitation to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to join him in ending the carnage in the country.

Speaking here, Chief Buthelezi also rejected the concept of a troika with him, Mr Mandela and Mr F W de Klerk ruling the country.

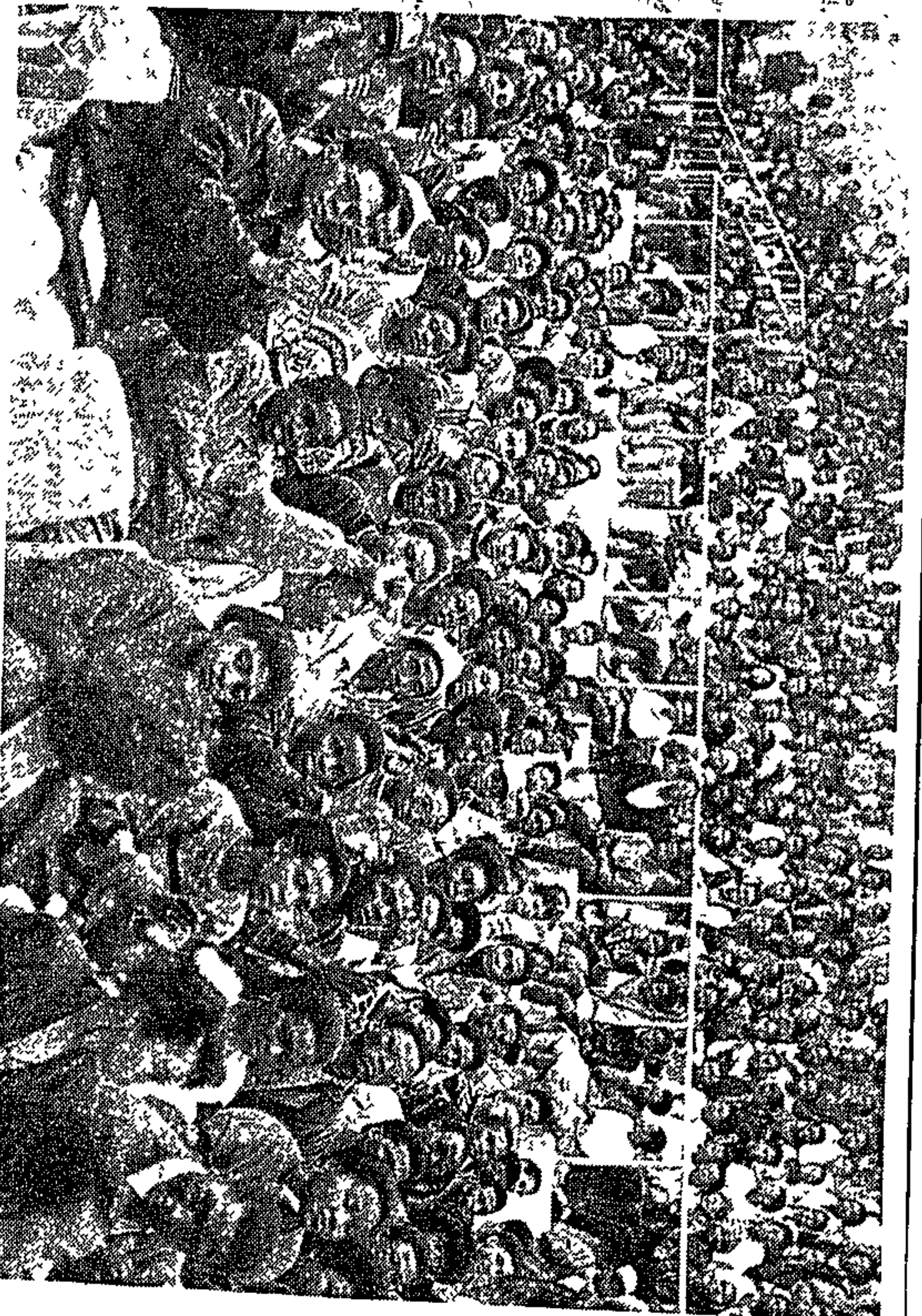
"I want no alliance with the ANC. I have never wanted to rule with Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela. All I have said is that unless Mr Mandela, Mr De Klerk and myself come together to combat violence, violence will flourish."

● The West Rand branch of the Pan-Africanist Congress is prepared to mediate at "branch level" between fighting groups in the region, chairman Mr Ntsundeni Madzunya said in Johannesburg yesterday. — Sapa



Pictures WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus.

HERE'S TO YOU: Mr Mandela acknowledges applause at the Peninsula Technikon yesterday. ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Alan Boesak is on his left.



ENRAPTURED: Part of the large crowd of staff and students who gathered to listen to ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at the Peninsula Technikon yesterday.

Mandela pledges all help with armies probe

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has promised the Goldstone Commission "every assistance" with its proposed investigation of security forces and liberation armies, including Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He told a packed hall at the University of the Western Cape last night that the ANC "welcomed" the proposed investigation of the Defence Force, the South African Police, the Kwazulu Police, Mkomoti we Sizwe,

the PAC's armed wing Apla and other agencies.

"The investigation into all these forces will be conducted by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and the South African Council of Churches, and we will afford them every assistance.

"But the most difficult challenge is to bring all the security forces under a central command and place control in the hands of a multi-party commission."

"All this is necessary so that we can end the bloodletting and move

forward to peace and democracy in South Africa."

Delivering the keynote address at the Ruth First 10th anniversary commemoration, he said it was vital to relentlessly pursue the truth about allegations of assassinations by the State.

Touching on the amnesty issue, Mr Mandela said: "Already government ministers are clamouring for amnesty."

"While we do not oppose it in principle, it is the province and sole responsibility of an interim govern-

He said it was critical that the truth about past crimes be revealed.

"Not for revenge, but to ensure that we do not carry such festering sores into the future."

In an earlier, wide-ranging speech to the staff and students at the Peninsula Technikon, Mr Mandela repeated an earlier allegation that President De Klerk was "directly involved" in violence — by allowing the carrying of dangerous weapons, and by failing to act on undertakings to fence and convert hostels.

CT 18/8/92
**Policeman,
baby among
victims** (274)

PRETORIA. — Twenty-eight people, including a baby and a KwaZulu policeman, died in incidents of unrest over the weekend, police reported.

A baby and a man were killed in a grenade attack in Boboyi.

Also in Boboyi, Port Shepstone, a man was shot dead by security force members when he allegedly fired on them.

A youth died in Magabeni, Umkomaas, in a grenade attack.

KwaZulu police said 20 people, including a policeman, were killed in Natal.

The KwaZulu policeman was shot while out with his girlfriend.

A man and a woman were killed in a shooting at Sebokeng's Hostel 5.

Violence again flared in the Ivory Park squatter camp when gunmen fired on mourners, killing two. Four people died there on Friday.

Police have made three arrests in connection with the attacks, believed to be part of a taxi war. — Sapa

CT 18/8/92

F W violence: 'Ample evidence' — Mandela

(274)

MR Nelson Mandela yesterday repeated his charge that President F W de Klerk was involved in violence and said he had ample evidence of this.

"If I am wrong you must tell me. It is serious to accuse a head of state of being involved in killings," he said in an address to 2 000 staff and students at the Peninsula Technikon.

He warned that those who supported the NP had short memories.

"The NP is a racist organisation and it will never change. The way to a greater South Africa is through the democratic movement and not through the NP."

One could count on one hand the number of cabinet posts the NP had given to English-speakers since it had come into power. "Why would it now give real power to blacks?" he asked.

NP denies 'killing' tag

Political Correspondent

THE National Party yesterday lashed out at Mr Nelson Mandela for accusing President F W de Klerk for being involved in "killings", saying that if anyone should do more to control violence it was the ANC president.

Mr Mandela said yesterday in a speech at the Peninsula Technikon that Mr De Klerk's culpability lay in his relaxation of regulations banning traditional weapons and the government's failure to speedily meet prom-

ises to upgrade and fence hostels.

NP director of information Mr Piet Coetzer said Mr Mandela had ignored the fact that the Goldstone Commission had found no evidence that Mr De Klerk or any government member were involved in violence.

He said it was "cynical" for Mr Mandela to make "this kind of noise" about axes, pangas and assegais "while his organisation was directly responsible for bringing weapons of war like AK-47s into this country". — Sapa

He said the ANC had to move away from the image that it represented the aspirations of one ethnic group.

"If you look at the power structure of the ANC you will see it is still run as an organisation fighting for the rights of one ethnic group and not of the whole community," he said.

Mr Mandela ran through the movement's top leadership and said they were all Africans.

"While we say we are non-racist, the structures don't reflect other sections of the community.

"The ANC has to be controlled and run by, and must reflect, all sections of the community."

STAR 18/8/92 (274)

Mandela: FW linked to killing

BELLVILLE — ANC president Nelson Mandela repeated his charge yesterday that President F W de Klerk was involved in violence.

Addressing Peninsula Technikon students and staff, Mr Mandela said there was ample evidence of this.

"If I am wrong, you must tell me. It is serious to accuse the head of state of being involved in killings."

He then recounted the history of killings since 1984, saying that by August 1990, 6 000 people had died in killings that involved axes, assegais, pangas and kerries.

In the Transvaal the carrying of these weapons in public was illegal and one could be instantly arrested for it, but in August

1990 the law had been changed to make it legal to carry them. Mr Mandela said he went to Mr de Klerk's office to ask him why this had been done.

"He had no answer to that question. The only conclusion I can reach is that F W de Klerk wanted to give the capacity to killers to kill."

Similarly, in dealing with the hostels, Mr de Klerk had agreed to upgrade them to family unit-sand fence them.

"Now it is August and he hasn't moved. If he had done so, many lives would have been saved. I ask, why would the head of state make an undertaking to leaders and fail to carry it out? He would know it would lead to more people being killed." — Sapa.

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Hostels: Minister to testify

Political Staff

THE Minister of Local Government and National Housing, Mr Leon Wessels, is to give evidence to the Goldstone Commission on the government's attitude to the future of township hostels.

Mr Wessels said earlier this year that the government had allocated R294,6 million for the upgrading of the hostels into family units.

After the commission said in July it was distressed that some of its recommendations on the hostels had not been implemented, Mr Wessels's department said representative working groups would discuss their future.

Yesterday, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the committee investigating the role of the hostels had asked Mr Wessels to give evidence in Pretoria on August 25 on "the present policy of the government with regard to the upgrading and/or conversion and/or closing of hostels".

UN, C'wealth monitors for SA

By BARRY STREEK

ABOUT 30 United Nations and 12 Commonwealth observers are to be deployed in South Africa soon to monitor the situation.

The UN Security Council decided late on Monday night to send the observers

following a report by Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali on the visit to South Africa by UN envoy Mr Cyrus Vance.

The government found the report and the Security Council decision to be acceptable, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Mr Awie Marais, a spokesman for the minister, said a decision had not yet been made how many UN observers there would be as this had been left to the secretary-general to decide.

He expected that his figure would not differ too widely from the 30 recommended by Mr Vance.



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burg where a 74% drop in company profits for the six months to end-June was announced.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Cosatu plans 'tax rebellion'

COSATU is making plans for a "tax rebellion" campaign in which pressure will be put on employers to withhold from government PAYE payments by employees who do not have the vote.

The trade union federation is to put the idea to its alliance partners, the ANC and the SACP, at a meeting on Sunday.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said yesterday the tax monies collected should be redirected to a special trust fund for safekeeping until a "democratic" government had been installed.

The money could then be used to provide basic services to impoverished communities, Coleman said.

The proposed campaign formed part of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's mass action, which began on June 16 and which was aimed at the speedy establishment of a new government and an "end to the mismanagement of taxpayers' money".

Coleman said the modalities of the trust fund had yet to be discussed with all interested parties, but basic socio-economic

services, such as education and housing, were likely to be priorities.

"We don't intend making this a Cosatu campaign... we would like to involve many forces, including churches, consumer and human rights organisations, business and political parties," he said.

Coleman said the seeds for the tax rebellion were sown among Cosatu members by last year's disclosures of government's funding of Inkatha.

The constitutional structures of the Cosatu-ANC-SACP alliance would meet in Johannesburg on Sunday to discuss the proposed campaign and other mass action-related activities.

He said if the alliance endorsed the campaign, the union federation would approach employers to "discuss workers' demands for their taxes to be redirected".

Saccola chairman Bokkie Botha said yesterday the employer body would have to discuss the issue with Cosatu and look into the legal ramifications.

fat said in a statement.

Anyaku and UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Chali had agreed the groups would work closely with each other and the national peace accord, it said.

Meanwhile, SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pk Botha said in Pretoria yesterday the government found the UN resolution passed on Monday was "acceptable in its main components". — Sapa-Reuter.

Commonwealth to appoint own observers

LONDON — The Commonwealth said yesterday it was organising about a dozen observers to help monitor the violence in SA.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku was asking governments of the 50-nation organisation to suggest candidates for the observer group, which would arrive in SA at the end of September, the Commonwealth Secretary-

a not been lent to calling a psychologist to testify in mitigation.

Harding stood clutching the hand of her daughter Amanda as she was told that she would be released on her recognisances on condition she reported to the Somerset West police daily and was not to obtain a passport.

Petrus Marais of the Office for Serious Economic Offences appeared for the State.

The accused's mo-

Police 'failed to intervene when ANC man was killed'

POLICE had not intervened when former ANC guerrilla Lot Phalwane was shot dead in Alexandra on Monday, ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

"During the shooting a police Casspir was seen driving past the house but, despite the gunshots, it did not stop," Mamoepa said in a statement.

Police spokesman Lt Wilkus Weber yesterday denied the police were involved in any way in the killing.

"A murder docket will be opened and the case will be fully investigated," he said.

The ANC PWV region and the Alexandra branch of the organisation plan to investigate the killing, which Mamoepa said was "not criminally motivated".

In a separate statement Mamoepa said the ANC welcomed a ceasefire between rival taxi organisations in the Ivory Park area. The ceasefire was brokered by the North East Rand dispute resolution committee on Monday after a weekend taxi war claimed at least eight lives.

The committee's vice-chairman Pieter Geldenhuys said yesterday a formal agreement was to be signed between the Ivory Park, Alexandra and Tembisa taxi associations by Sunday, Sapa reports.

Police said yesterday the house of a community councillor was petrol-bombed in KwaThema, and a woman was stabbed to death in Alexandra.

31st 9th 1991

Without ^{CT 19/8/92} (274) peace, scant recovery

IF SOUTH AFRICA did not attain political stability, calm and peace, a marked economic recovery would be further delayed and the general forecast of a 2% to 3% economic growth rate for 1993 could prove too optimistic, Sanlam CE Pierre Steyn said last night.

Addressing businessmen at the Strand last night he pointed out that the real GDP could show a decline for the third year this year.

"For a really steady expansionary phase an increase in fixed investment is a prerequisite.

And this needs acceptable political and socio-economic reform".

"It is estimated that nearly 69 000 work opportunities have been lost because of the drought," Steyn added.

— Sapa-AP

Commonwealth to send observer team

LONDON — The Commonwealth said yesterday it was organising a team of about a dozen observers to send to South Africa as part of international efforts to stem the violence.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku is asking governments of the 50-nation organisation to suggest candidates for the observer group, which would travel to South Africa at the end of September, the Commonwealth secretariat in London said in a statement.

"The secretary-general is hoping to constitute a group of prominent Commonwealth citizens and it is expected they will

STAR 19/8/92
work in quiet, non-public ways in order to make a practical contribution to help end the violence," the statement said.

Chief Anyaoku said last month that he had presented proposals to South Africa's main political groupings about ending township violence, including sending a Commonwealth observer mission.

More than 6 000 people have been killed since 1990 in violence in the black townships, largely between supporters of the African National Congress and its main rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The United Nations Security Council voted on Monday to authorise its own observer group

to South Africa.

The Commonwealth secretariat said Chief Anyaoku and United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had agreed that the groups would work closely with each other and agencies set up under the National Peace Accord.

The accord was signed by all South Africa's main political parties, trade unions, religious groups and civic organisations.

The Commonwealth observers would liaise with the South African authorities and encourage communication between the different groups and parties affected by the violence, the secretariat said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Pat Hlongwane is a spy - ANC

Sowetan 19/8/92

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

AFRICAN National Congress legal adviser Mr. Matthew Phosa last night reiterated his organisation's allegations that the Returned Exile Committee chairman, Mr. Patrick Hlongwane, had been a police spy.

Phosa was speaking on the *Sowetan* Radio Metro Talkback Show hosted by DJ Tim Modise.

"It's a pity that Hlongwane is not with us here (in the Johannesburg studio). He might have recognised my face," Phosa said.

He said he met Hlongwane in Kampala where he had allegedly confessed to the killing of "many activists" while a police spy in South Africa.

Speaking from an SABC studio in Durban, Hlongwane, denied the allegations.

He said the organisation tortured

him and forced him to confess that he had been a police spy.

"I left the country because I wanted to talk with the ANC about their communist Freedom Charter, and not to be put in a concentration camp where people were treated like slave," Hlongwane said.

He compared the ANC's prison camps in Quatro, Angola, to Hitler's concentration camps.

Phosa said Hlongwane had not left the country to join the ANC because he hated the organisation.

"We should not waste our time with people like Hlongwane especially at the time when our country is in the process of reconciliation."

Phosa.

Mpho Mazibuko, Sebokeng.

"I can only answer questions related to Quatro (ANC prison in Angola) and not whether I poisoned people in Lusaka," Hlongwane.

"We should avoid having untutored people like Hlongwane on the air," Brian Lareng, Dobsonville, Soweto.

"Pat must tell our people why so many people were nearly killed."

"I hate to answer stupid questions from stupid people. Here I'm dealing with a monster (ANC). The ANC has burnt my home and has necklaced my mother?" Hlongwane.

next Talkback topic

THE South African soccer team, after credible performances against Cameroon, was brought down to earth with a bump when it was thumped 4-1 by a vastly superior Zimbabwean national squad on Sunday.

What measures must be taken to bring the country's squad up to international standards? What do you think is wrong with South African soccer?

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

ANC seeks meeting over alleged police complicity

BIDAY 20/8/92

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC's PWV region is organising a high-level meeting with the police to discuss a growing number of allegations of police complicity in violence, regional spokesman Ronny Mamoepa said yesterday.

He said the police were often present at the scene of shootings, but failed to take statements from witnesses. He accused the police of shooting at residents of Selby hostel on Tuesday.

"The police failed to apprehend the perpetrators but immediately opened fire on the hostel inmates who were giving chase," he said.

Fourteen hostel dwellers had died in five separate attacks since mid-July, he said.

"In all incidences police conduct has revealed an unwillingness to respond. Where they responded, the police surrounded or subjected the hostel to a search after an attack, taking no statements from wit-

nesses," Mamoepa said.

Police said yesterday they had been fired on when they tried to intervene in a gun battle at the hostel.

Automatic weapons and three other firearms were seized in a raid on the hostel, after a gun battle which left three dead and 11 injured, police said.

Sapa reports the SAP again complained yesterday the ANC was not abiding by the national peace accord, and that its allegations were designed to increase antagonism towards policemen.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Lt-Col Dave Bruce's comments followed the shooting of Umkhonto we Sizwe member Lot Phalwane three days after his return from exile in Nigeria.

The ANC said Phalwane was shot dead in Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg, on Monday evening

and that a police Casspir driving past at the time had failed to stop.

The statement that a police Casspir was in the area at the time of the shooting "is a well-known ANC ploy designed to create the perception that the police were, in some way or the other, involved". The Human Rights Commission (HRC) said yesterday violence reverted to "its usual intensity" last week following the departure of UN monitors. Seventy-two people died in the week ending Tuesday, it said.

Sapa reports a man was killed and five others wounded in an attack on commuters at Nancefield station in Soweto yesterday. In another incident, two three-year-old children were burnt to death at a house near Scottburgh on the Natal south coast.

Five men were killed in Umbumbulu near Durban, bringing the total number who died in unrest on Tuesday to eight. A five-year-old child was among the people killed.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

DEATHS AND INJURIES

SEVENTY-SIX people died and 72 were injured in the past week — all in the PWV and Natal regions. This represents a 50 percent increase in the number of deaths and injuries reported last week, according to the Human Rights Commission.

Vigilante-related actions accounted for 57 of the deaths and 38 injuries.

For the second week running, Natal's death toll (36) exceeded that of the PWV (21).

A notable feature of reported incidents in both regions is that attacks occurred during or after Inkatha Freedom Party gatherings.

SECURITY FORCES

ONE person died in Natal while three people were injured — one in the eastern Cape and two in Ciskei — in security force actions this week, according to the HRC.

Twenty-two people were arrested during the week: 10 people were arrested during a security force raid on the Mandela squatter camp in Tembisa on August 16, 11 people were arrested

in Sebokeng, and one person was arrested in Umlazi, Natal.

For the first time in six weeks, security force action in the PWV resulted in no deaths or injuries.

HIT-SQUAD ACTION

ANDRE MAASDORP DE VILLIERS, who had reportedly disclosed information about the police's "Hammer" unit, was gunned down on his eastern Cape farm on Tuesday. This brings the total number of people killed by hit squads this year to 56.

Where do foreign missions fit in?

W/M at 21/8-27/8/92 (274) (2)

By PHILIPPA GARSON

LOCAL monitoring groups are accusing the National Peace Accord structures of sidelining them in the peace process. They are particularly unhappy about the proposed international observer teams slotting into NPA structures instead of linking up with them.

This will embroil the international monitors in the politics of the "flawed" NPA, denying them independence and access to non-aligned parties with first-hand experience of violence, say the domestic monitors.

According to United Nations Resolution 772, passed this week by the UN Security Council, the proposed international mission will co-ordinate with and strengthen the existing structures of the NPA.

While local monitoring groups, such as the Human Rights Commission (HRC), Black Sash and End Conscription Campaign, are in the process of co-ordinating their efforts into a national networking body, facilitated by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative to South Africa (Idasa), the NPA is setting up its own monitoring structures into which the international teams are likely to slot.

The UN, Commonwealth and European Community have been in contact in the past week to co-ordinate the sending of observers. A representative of the Commonwealth

Secretariat in London said the aim of the different international initiatives was to "work separately but in conjunction".

The Organisation of African Unity has yet to announce its plans on the international monitoring mission.

A senior UN official, who participated in the 10-member UN mission earlier this month, said the fact that the earlier mission was able to link up with existing peace structures had allowed it to make "significant impact". Given the financial constraints limiting the size and extent of the UN mission, linking up with the peace committees of the NPA was of "critical importance", he added.

Rand Mines industrial relations executive Jan Hiemstra, who is co-ordinating the NPA's monitoring initiative, confirmed that the international teams would most likely fit in at this point. The peace secretariat and representatives from the regional peace committees will meet next week to get the process off the ground.

"What we have in mind is to put together panels of volunteers from the business and legal communities and other individuals recommended by the local dispute resolution committees," Hiemstra said.

The envisaged panels, which will need to be approved by the local and regional peace bodies first, will con-

sist of up to 100 people, depending on the level of violence in the regions concerned. They will be called on in groups of four or five to monitor events.

It is envisaged that the international monitors will link up with the NPA by accompanying panelists on their monitoring expeditions.

Monitors aligned to Idasa and the NPA's monitoring committee will meet next week to set up a working relationship and to avoid possible conflicts.

Ettiene Marais, of the Idasa-sponsored Policing Research Project, said the NPA tended to underplay the role that local monitors, with years of experience and extensive contacts on the ground, could play. In instances where the NPA initiatives had worked particularly well, local monitors had been involved, he added.

One of the problems with the NPA is that it excludes political parties like the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

An HRC representative commented that "political bickering" was one of the major problems in the NPA. It was vital, she said, that the international teams were independent of this and at the same time had sources close to the ground.

● See "Benchmarks" column on PAGE 31

Vicious cycle of violence to soar — expert

STAR 2/18/92

By Bronwyn
Wilkinson
Crime Reporter

(274)

As the death toll from violence doubled in the seven days ending on Tuesday compared with the previous week, an expert yesterday predicted a grim picture of escalating violence.

According to Human Rights Commission figures, 76 people were killed and 72 injured around the country this week, compared with 36 deaths and 26 injuries last week.

Natal — where 45 people died — was the worst-hit area, followed by the Reef with 25 fatalities. Six people were killed in the rest of the country.

The director of the Project for the Study of Violence, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Lloyd Vogelmann, said violence was steadily increasing and would continue to do so.

"We might have the odd period where there is a slight and temporary drop in violence, but generally I can only see a

gradual and steady increase.

"As more people are killed, there is retribution for those deaths and retribution again for the second cycle of deaths, and violence gets caught up in an ugly, ever-more vicious spiral," he said.

Mr Vogelmann attributed the alarming rate of increasing violence to several factors.

"Desperation has set in. There are no co-ordinated structures to speak of, no sense of forward movement and an overwhelming sense of marginalisation and fear," he said.

"At the moment, revelations about the security forces and the police are exacerbating already-existing feelings of desperation, mistrust and animosity."

Unless noticeable progress was made towards getting stalled negotiations back on track the only possible future was one of increased violence, with deaths becoming progressively more brutal.

"With a continued stalemate, there is absolutely no hope of any improvement," Mr Vogelmann said.

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Shoot for the moment

W/Mail 21/8-27/8/92
● From PAGE 24

nificant?

Am I glad? Happy that the violence has occurred? Happy to have sensational pictures? No, no, and no. Before you begin to think *me* too pious, let me confess that when covering these things, I do get excited. There is something about the sound of gunfire, the tension of an imminent confrontation, the sight of a bloodthirsty mob, the fear of the unpredictable, that makes the adrenalin pump. If I see a dead person, or see a person shot, I feel very little personally for him/her at the time. The adrenalin is pumping; the horror and revulsion along with a real dose of fear, particularly where conflict is involved, are suppressed while the journalist/technician is working.

That the job is dangerous is without question, particularly nowadays with the incredible proliferation of guns. Ten years ago, only the police had guns. The township residents generally had an understanding of, and showed support for, our role in publicising the abuses of apartheid and their struggle to end it. Now the lines separating friend and foe are no longer clear and with the proliferation of firearms has come an unprecedented outbreak of anarchic thuggery in many townships — the shooting of Taylor and Van Niekerk being an example. These places and these people are scary.

Unlike Kuus, or Weinberg, I am salaried, and stand to make no significant extra earnings as a result of violent images. I suffer depression from what I see, and experience nightmares. I feel alienated from "normal" people, including my family. I find myself unable to relate to or engage in frivolous conversation. The shutters come down and I recede into a dark place with dark images of blood and death in Godforsaken dusty places. The excitement and adrenalin soon fade, and I fall asleep with memories made sharper by the routine of processing, printing and examining the frozen horror.

So what is it that makes me do it?

I am following my obsession. Perhaps it has something to do with growing up in a country with a perverted system of oppression and slowly realising the degree and the horror of that perversion. My disgust with the system and with the apathy of the community around me for not more vigorously defying it result in my desire to show the desperate images of the suffering it has caused.

The work is brutalising and press photographers, myself included, have been known to display incredible callousness and cynicism. This is a defence mechanism, but I am not too cynical to believe that the collective work of photographers does ultimately affect the consciousness of the community, and hopefully achieves some good. If I had grown up in this country classified as a non-anything, and treated in the brutally inhumane way the majority of our people have been, my obsession would have been very different. It wouldn't be a camera I'd be shooting with, but then it wouldn't be journalists I'd want to shoot.



Shooting life on the frontline

A photographer dodges gunfire among the shacks during the recent 'war' in Johannesburg's Alexandra township (top)

Drama as a man hit in the leg by a bullet is hastily carried from the scene by his comrades (bottom)

Photographs by
KEVIN CARTER

PROCOLOR PHOTOLAB

The Johannesburg City Council and the Johannesburg Publicity Association, in conjunction with Procolour Photolab, will be running a photographic competition encompassing the Arts Alive programme.

A full programme of the Arts Alive programme will appear in the respective media as follows:

Weekly Mail - Friday, August 28
Business Day - Friday, August 28

Below follows a sample programme of select events that could be photographed. The month of September offers a full range of activities for all interested entrants.

SUBJECT	DATE	CONTACT
Fountain Fans - Jazz Band	3/9	Godfrey Moloi 495 1142
Busking	5/9	Sue Jameson 788 1130
Prayers for the Nation	6/9	Deborah Pead 486 2322
Contemporary Landscape Art	8/9	Orania Ogilvy 788 4805
Poetry In the Park	10/9	Julia Meintjes 29 496
Window on Community Theatre	12/9	Suzette Le Seur 673-8059
Nation Building Choirs	13/9	Julia Meintjes 29-4961
Johannesburg Popss	18/9	Alison Simpson 714-5656
Egoli Bonanza Street Parade	19/9	Petru du Preez 880-4945
Indlamu Multicultural Festival	23/9	Ken McClelland 337 4565
Melville Mardi Gras	26/9	Dernck Dennis 728 4735
International Kite Festival	26/9	PR Dynamics 884 4770

For further information, please contact Julia Meintjes, Johannesburg Publicity Association, (011) 29-4961

RULES

- Entry forms are available at your nearest Procolour Photolab outlet.
- To qualify for entry, all photographs must be processed and printed at Procolor Photolab in Braamfontein.
- One 40 x 30 cm photograph, with the accompanying entry form, is to be submitted to the Braamfontein Branch of Procolor Photolab, by Monday, October 5, 1992.
- Each photograph submitted must be accompanied by a separate entry form.
- The winner will be notified telephonically on Monday, October 19, 1992.
- The judges decision is final and no correspondence will be entered into.

'Defence unit link in security attacks'

CT 22/8/92

PRETORIA. — There had been a substantial increase in attacks on the security forces since the implementation of Self-Defence Units (SDUs) in black townships in 1990, South African Army chief Lieutenant-General George Meiring said yesterday.

Addressing a medal parade at army headquarters, General Meiring said despite denials that SDUs formed part of the ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe

(MK), activities were already being veiled in the guise of SDUs.

It would not be far-fetched to believe MK would later be concealed in total in SDUs, he said.

There were a large number of established SDUs, members of which received crash course training by MK in Alexandra township outside Johannesburg. In addition, members of the Boipatong SDU had recently been arrested in Bethlehem

after allegedly committing murders in the area, General Meiring said

The attacks on security forces occurred especially in areas where established SDUs existed.

South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani had reportedly said "proposals were being awaited on how to get better control over these SDUs".

New role for two former

Africa leaders

STAN 22/8/92.
TWO former African
leaders could be ap-
proached to arbitrate in
a dispute between the
Inkatha Freedom Party
and the ANC. (274) (11)

As a result of the dis-
pute, the IFP has indi-
cated it would not attend
a meeting on September
14 of political groups
which signed the Nation-
al Peace Accord. (11)

The dispute arose
after the IFP objected to
statements by ANC lead-
er Nelson Mandela in his
speech last month to the
UN Security Council.

NPC chairman John
Hall yesterday said it
was a "sensitive issue at
this stage". It is under-
stood the ANC has
agreed to the arbitra-
tors. — Political Staff.

Five-point plan to end the violence

JOHANNESBURG. — A five-point plan to bring peace to violence-ridden areas would be finalised at a National Peace Executive meeting on Monday, National Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall said yesterday.

Speaking at the Human Sciences Research Council's conference on political violence, a disillusioned Mr Hall said he was concerned at the inability of the National Peace Accord, its structures and the security forces to cope with the violence.

"Anarchy is rife, people are being killed every day and we are becoming injured to it.

"The local and regional dispute resolution committees are by and large not working."

The programme would involve:

- Identifying "leadership concern areas" where peace accord structures and security forces could no longer cope with violence;

- Committing appropriate political leadership, human and other resources to the areas to revive local and regional dispute resolution com-

mittees;

- Identifying hostels involved in violence;

- Identifying squatter camps involved in violence, and

- Undertaking "monitoring liaison" which included negotiations between peace accord structures and affected communities over the deployment of security forces and international monitors.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus could not confirm that the ANC supported the five-point plan last night.

Mr Hall said he knew of about 20 business organisations who were keen to plough resources into strife-torn areas, but were holding back because of the violence.

"I'm sick and tired of it. We've got to break through that barrier and take resources to the community."

● Sapa reports that Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said in a statement yesterday that the National Peace Secretariat could go ahead and establish operations centres at major violence flashpoints around the country, as suggested by UN special representative Mr Cyrus Vance. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Policeman killed in widespread violence

CT 24/8/92 2742

DURBAN. — At least eleven people, including a police officer, were killed in political violence in Natal at the weekend.

A group of gunmen opened fire on Malagazi residents, killing at least four people, and in Empangeni three people were killed. Among the dead was off-duty policeman Constable L S Mazipoliko. Three other people were seriously wounded.

At KwaMbonambi's Sokhulu Reserve, attackers wounded the chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

On Saturday, gunmen killed two in a minibus taxi near Umkomaas.

The bodies of a man and a woman were found at Table Mountain near Maritzburg.

A man was seriously hurt when he was stabbed and thrown off a train

between the Orlando and Nancefield.

At Power Park, Soweto, an explosion caused extensive damage to the house of Mr M Maseko, deputy mayor of Soweto. Mrs Maseko was injured slightly.

In Alexandra township Mrs Elizabeth Nykane was wounded by two gunmen on Saturday night. Her husband, Abraham, returned the fire.

A train coach was set alight at Philippi Railway Station and a house was petrol-bombed in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein.

The burnt body of a young black woman was found in a field in Silverton, Pretoria.

● At George a petrol bomb caused slight damage to the home of a policewoman at the weekend. — Sapa

Goldstone holds on to erased police tapes

ARG 25/8/92

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Mr Justice Richard Goldstone has yet to decide who should investigate the police erasure of the Boipatong tapes, following his order that an electronics agency with Defence Force links should stop their probe.

It is understood the tapes are likely to go to an independent expert in Britain, since they were made by Racal, a British firm. Mr Justice Goldstone is keeping the tapes in the meantime.

The judge ordered on Saturday that Grinaker Electronic Agencies should halt its investigation into the wiping of the tapes after finding the company was a major SADF contractor and recipient of at least five non-repayable government grants.

Police told the Goldstone Commission last week that the tapes, which recorded police movements on the night of the June 17 Boipatong massacre, had been accidentally erased.

Local Government Minister Mr Leon Wessels is expected to appear today before a commission committee investigating the role of hostels in township violence.

But a source in his department said: "Mr Wessels will not be able to give much more than housing policy and spell out the contents of the document (prepared for the committee)."

This is the second time the commission has had difficulties with government witnesses.

Last week, during a committee hearing into the SADF training of 200 Kwazulu men in the Caprivi, SADF chief General "Kat" Liebenberg said he knew nothing more than details in a document prepared for the committee by his officers.

Thumbs-up for peace bodies at flashpoints

ARG 26/8/92 (274)

PRETORIA. — The government has said that the National Peace Secretariat could go ahead and establish operations centres at major violence flashpoints around the country, as suggested by United Nations special representative Mr Cyrus Vance.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said the immediate establishment of operations centres — to be staffed around the clock — was made possible through time-

ous legislative and budgetary arrangements.

The centres would also “provide properly serviced venues in troubled areas”.

He said further details would be released later by the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

Mr Vance also recommended that there be adequate financing and full-time staff for the various peace structures.

Third Force exists - officer

A FORMER senior officer in the SADF Military Intelligence has broken cover to support claims about a current Third Force network made up of serving and former members of the State's security apparatus.

Sowetan 25/8/92
He has told American and British newspapers that this Third Force is today actively fomenting black-on-black violence, sabotaging the negotiations process, and planning to retain an independent power base irrespective of any negotiated settlement.

~~(S)~~ ~~(S)~~ ~~(S)~~ ~~(S)~~ (274)
Colonel Gert Hugo is the second most senior source from within security circles to have gone public on the Third Force.

He says he knows from direct experience that such a network is now operating, with the support of top figures in the security forces.

Sowetan 25/8/92

Lawyers criticise cell death inquests

THE objectivity of certain inquest magistrates in dealing with deaths in detention was questioned by a Johannesburg lawyer yesterday.

Speaking at a Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) news conference, attorney Lawley Shein, who regularly represents the families of deceased prisoners, called for all inquests into deaths in detention to be heard by "at least a Supreme Court judge".

Shein pointed out that magistrates started their careers in the Justice Department as prosecutors, and some retained a "civil servant attitude". **BIDAY 25/8/92**

However, LHR attorney David Dison said the current failure of the inquest system could be blamed on an extreme case overload, rather than subjectivity of presiding officers.

The reason cell deaths continued on a regular basis — 80 this year — was because the inquest system simply did not work, Dison said.

He called for a special unit to

STEPHANE BOTHMA

investigate alleged deaths of detainees at the hands of police.

The LHR called yesterday's news conference after Shein failed in his bid to have the inquest of Bethuel Maphumulo conducted by a judge rather than a magistrate.

Maphumulo, 31, handed himself over to the Soweto Murder and Robbery Unit on December 11 1990, in connection with theft, on the understanding that bail would be granted at his first court appearance.

Three days later he was dead. The police explanation was that Maphumulo had drowned in a swimming pool while attempting to escape.

But two post mortem reports — one by the state pathologist and one by independent pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman — indicated the cause of death was "multiple injuries" and the fracture of the hyoid bone in the neck.

At the time, Gluckman said such a

fracture was highly suggestive of manual strangulation.

"Despite Shein having pointed out the contradiction between the police version and the post mortem report, the Attorney-General has left the matter in the hands of a magistrate when there is a prima facie case of murder," said LHR Witwatersrand regional director Ahmed Motala.

LHR claimed that Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee earlier gave an undertaking that a judge would conduct the inquest into every death in detention in respect of which Gluckman had prepared a report, and sufficient evidence existed to warrant it.

However, Witwatersrand Attorney General Klaus von Lieres SC said yesterday he had no knowledge of such an undertaking.

Coetsee's undertaking only extended to four specific files handed to him by Gluckman earlier this year, said Von Lieres.

FW urged to admit to hit squads

BIDAY 25/8/92
PRESIDENT F W de Klerk had to admit publicly to the continued existence of hit squads or continue to face embarrassing revelations about their operations, leading human rights figures said yesterday.

And the ANC called on the Goldstone commission to advertise a witness protection programme.

RAY HARTLEY

Meanwhile, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) director Brian Currin has called former Military Intelligence colonel Gert Hugo — who has claimed first-hand knowledge that hit squads are still operating — a reliable and accurate source.

Hugo told several overseas publications a "third force" was actively fomenting black-on-black violence, sabotaging negotiations and planning an independent power base.

Currin said government was not investigating the third force because it

claimed it did not exist.

Human Rights Commission spokesman Max Coleman said more than 100 activists and their family members had been killed in two years, confirming the existence of "highly professional hit squads".

He said it was a well-established fact the CCB was still operating.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said past activities of the security forces had to be made public for the political process to go forward.

The Law and Order Ministry was in meetings yesterday and no spokesmen could be reached for comment.

Nest egg plan by MPs 'is off'

Political Staff

A MOVE by government MPs to feather their nests before the current Parliament is replaced by an interim government was off, said NP chief whip Keppies Niemann.

Details of a wide range of proposals to change pensions, gratuities, tax and medical aid schemes were in a letter sent by Niemann to other parliamentary parties' chief whips.

But an angry Niemann yesterday said the matter had simply been raised as a matter of routine following representations from MPs.

New claims on 'third force'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Claims by a former senior military intelligence officer that present and past members of the security forces are operating as a "third force" in violence drew strong reaction yesterday. **CT 25/8/92**

Colonel Gert Hugo, who was in the SADF's military intelligence section and served in Transkei's army, made these claims in an interview yesterday. The interview was published in the Star, the Independent in London and the Christian Science Monitor in the United States.

Colonel Hugo, who is in hiding, told the newspapers that a "third force" was today actively fomenting black-on-

To page 2

crack of dawn

12

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SI



From page 1

Hugo

black violence, sabotag- ing the negotiations pro- cess and planning to retain an independent power base irrespective of any negotiated settle- ment

He said this was born in the early '80s under the protection of former president Mr P W Botha's State Security Council and operated on the basis of minimal po- litical accountability. Colonel Hugo was re- ported as saying this was now out of control and the disbandment of units such as the CCB and "Hammer" had no effect because their original design allowed them to operate independently.

He said these units were cut off from their sources of intelligence and told they must iden- tify and act against po- litical targets.

He alleges President F W de Klerk and his ministers "don't know even half of what is go- ing on today", and says the government faces an acute dilemma — in moving to re-assert con- trol over rogue elements the government could risk losing the suspport of the security forces as well the exposure of po- litical figures.

In its reaction, the



'THIRD FORCE' ...

Gert Hugo

CT 25/8/92

ANC called on the Gold- stone Commission to ad- vertise its witness pro- tection programme.

Mr Brian Currin, di- rector of Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), said Colonel Hugo was a reliable and accurate source.

Mr Currin said the government was not in- vestigating the possibil- ity of a third force be- cause it had publicly claimed there was no such thing.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said past ac- tivities of the security forces had to be made public for the political process to go forward.

The Law and Order Ministry was locked in meetings yesterday and no spokesmen could be reached for comment.

March on Bisho mooted

By Esther Waugh (279)
Political Reporter

Several actions, including another march on Bisho, are being considered by the ANC as part of the next phase of the organisation's programme of rolling mass action.

The plan was discussed at a tripartite alliance summit on Sunday and will be considered at a national executive committee meeting next week and at the alliance's campaigns forum.

Campaigns organiser Ronnie Kasrils yesterday told The Star that several regions had already planned actions for the fourth phase, aimed at installing a new government.

STAR 25/8/92
The ANC eastern Transvaal region had already embarked on a consumer boycott following dismissals during the national general strike on August 3-4. Also planning was a march to the electrified fence between Mozambique and South Africa next month.

The occupation of Cape Town's city centre on October 12 to coincide with the opening of the special session of Parliament was being planned.

The Border region had decided to march on Bisho on September 9 after a similar protest on August 4 when 50 000 demonstrators marched to the Bisho stadium.

The last phase would continue to focus on the ANC's 14 demands on

violence and transitional arrangements, but would include demands for the release of political prisoners.

Mr Kasrils stressed that the plan was still under consideration and it was still to be decided whether the proposed actions by the regions would be co-ordinated nationally, and whether other actions would be arranged to coincide with the Bisho march and the occupation of central Cape Town.

The fourth phase would continue until a new government was installed, he said.

A positive spin-off from the mass action had been the "revitalisation" of branches and a boost in morale.

NEWS *It was a major gamble, but the ANC had to use only strategy left to them*

Mass action was a necessary tactic

Sowetan 25/8/92

(274) (153) (118) (100) (100)

By Vincent Maphai,
Professor of Political Science,
University of the Western
Cape

■ MASS ACTION *The ANC could not*

go back to the talks without making a strong political statement:

WITH the much publicised mass action over, some stocktaking is necessary. Since the referendum, nothing has captured local and international interest like mass action.

The stakes were clearly high. It was a major gamble by the tripartite alliance. The Government watched anxiously as the entire programme unfolded.

When the threat of mass action became a reality, the State and business unleashed a propaganda war.

One got the impression that until the 'monster' of mass action was conceived, South Africa was a tranquil paradise.

Suddenly, possible violence and retrenchment were sources of concern to the State and business. The hysteria was understandable. Important implications would follow from either the success or failure of mass action.

Mass action as a tactic

Was mass action necessary, as the Alliance believed, or could issues be resolved 'peacefully' through negotiation, as the Government maintained? Three factors of mass action as a tactic: a strategy and a right are pertinent.

Firstly, mass action was a necessary short-term tactic. Ironically, if anything was going to save the talks at all, it was mass action. A stage had been reached where the ANC could not return to the talks without a major political statement.

The collapse of Codesa 2 underlined the Government's cynicism towards negotiations, in general, and a contempt for the ANC, in particular. The Boipatong massacre rubbed salt into the wounds. To return to talks unconditionally would have earned the ANC derision from its supporters, at the mildest, and rejection, at worst.

Inevitable outcome

Mass action was an inevitable outcome of the Government's unwarranted overconfidence.

Secondly, mass action is a strategy. It has always been one of the ANC's four 'pillars' of the struggle, three of which had virtually collapsed since February 1990. The armed struggle is no longer a serious option.

Global economic sanctions have all but disintegrated South Africa's international isolation is now something of the past.

Quite clearly, mass action is the only remaining weapon at the disposal of the oppressed. If this weapon fails, the Government's willingness to negotiate will be diminished substantially.

stantially. Parties negotiate for as long as they are pressured to do so.

What threatens the negotiation process is not mass action. On the contrary, talks collapsed because the ANC and the international community eased pressure on the Government far too soon.

For example, last year, the ANC withdrew from talks and issued an ultimatum to the Government. This decision was quickly rescinded, before it had any effect.

Simply mischievous

To contrast mass action with 'peaceful' strategies, as the Nationalists do, is simply mischievous. Unlike the armed struggle, mass action is a peaceful strategy. Naturally, it can become violent and has done so in some cases.

Yet, the obligation is not to abolish mass action. Rather, all involved must ensure that it remains peaceful.

Thirdly, in any democratic society, peaceful mass action is a right taken for granted. During a recent Democratic Party Convention in New York, various interest groups and lobbyists took to the streets to draw the delegates' attention to their cause.

There are certain parallels between the referendum and mass action. In both cases, the leadership had lost some credibility.

Street demonstrations are a normal sight in the Western world. Overall, mass action is not simply about pressuring the Government to negotiate. It is a measure ordinary people may employ against any government - present, interim or post-minority rule.

Against this general background, it is necessary to evaluate the recent protest action, its impact, implications and potential. A number of commentators have dubbed the events as a black referendum. This is an overstatement.

There are certain parallels between the referendum and mass action. In both cases, the leadership had lost some credibility. It could no longer

assume the support of its constituency.

The referendum and mass action were designed to demonstrate support and power. Furthermore, the failure of both tactics would have plunged the country into an even greater crisis than one which existed already.

Yet there are important differences. The referendum was about one specific question. The mandate to President FW de Klerk was clear: 'proceed with the reform process'.

It is not clear what kind of ANC mandate should be read from mass action. Mass action was over a range of sometimes contradictory issues: To resuscitate Codesa, to topple the Government and to protest about the Boipatong massacre, to name a few. For this reason, it is difficult to assess the success or failure of mass action.

Equating mass action with a referendum is inappropriate for another reason. It reinforces stereotypes that blacks vote on their feet. A democratic vote takes place by secret ballot, not in marches. Mass action should not become a substitute for proper elections and mandates.

One thing is certain. The ANC has demonstrated an ability to mobilise its constituency with relatively short notice. It survived State propaganda and displayed a high degree of discipline and organisation. The country-wide coordination of mass action was impressive.

Seizure of power

The mass action effort could help the ANC recover some lost ground. By frightening off foreign investment after all formal sanctions have collapsed, mass action can keep disinvestment going indefinitely.

However, mass action will not result in the seizure of power. The structure of Codesa places definite limits on what may be achieved. Negotiation often results in power-sharing.

For the ANC, the outcome must have brought relief. The success of mass action, or the perception of such success on the part of ANC's supporters, was crucial if Mandela was to return to Codesa with a modicum of respect and dignity. Furthermore, the ANC regained the moral high-ground from the PAC and Azapo. Both had urged their supporters to ignore the boycott call.

Tomorrow, Maphai looks at the Government's attitude towards negotiations and the collapse of Codesa.



ANC placard-carrying supporters demonstrate against the violence.



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STAR 25/8/92

EC ministers to visit SA

274

LONDON — European Community foreign ministers will visit South Africa next month in a bid to encourage the resumption of peace talks, the EC said in a statement yesterday.

The foreign ministers of Portugal, Britain and Denmark will meet President F W de Klerk, ANC leaders and church representatives during the September 2-3 visit.

The decision to visit SA was

taken in principle at the EC's Lisbon summit in June.

But member states wanted to make sure it took place "only if it could help the search for a solution to the violence and the resumption of the negotiation process", said the statement.

The SA Government said yesterday it would hold exploratory talks with the ANC and the PAC during the next 48 hours.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Peace centres get go ahead

274

CT 26/8/72

PRETORIA. — The National Peace Secretariat could go ahead and establish operations centres at major violence flashpoints around the country, as suggested by United Nations special representative Mr Cyrus Vance, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said in a statement yesterday.

The immediate establishment of operations centres, which would be staffed around the clock, was made possible through timeous legislative and budgetary arrangements, Mr Coetsee said.

The centres would also "provide properly serviced venues in troubled areas where incipient problems may be diffused".

Further details would be released later by the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat. Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, Mr Coetsee said.

Mr Vance also recommended that there be adequate financing and full-time staff for the various peace structures and more consistent and substantial political support for the National Peace Secretariat and Committees as well as Regional Dispute Resolution Committees. — Sapa

Peace Accord
STAR 26/8/92
not working
chairman

By Monica Oosterbroek

The National Peace Accord has been ineffective in stopping violence, National Peace Committee (NPC) chairman John Hall said yesterday.

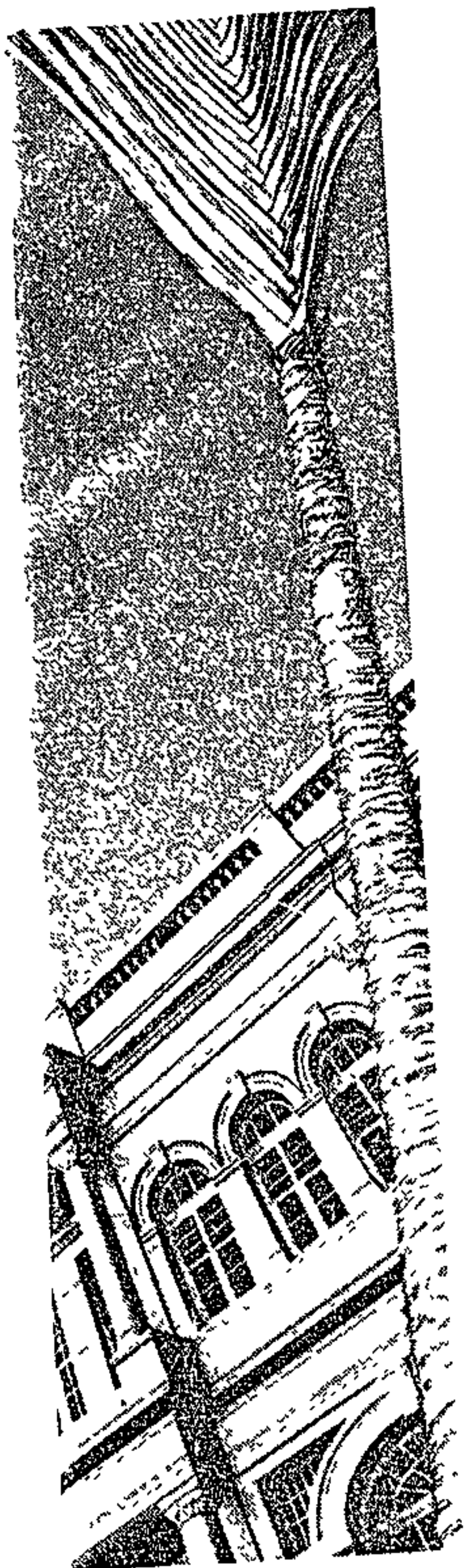
Speaking at the Human Sciences Research Council's conference on political violence, Mr Hall said in a short speech he was "sick and tired" of the inability of the accord to achieve peace.

"The local and regional dispute resolution committees are not working," Mr Hall said.

"Anarchy is rife, people are being killed every day and we are becoming immune to it".

He said the NPC had decided on new tactics aimed at co-ordinating the peace process.

● The National Peace Secretariat had been given the go-ahead to set up operational centres at major flashpoints around the country, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced in Pretoria yesterday.



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56/8

36R92

DP demands third force probe

8/10 PM 26/8/92 BILLY PADDOCK

THE DP called yesterday for an urgent judicial inquiry into all covert activities, because allegations of a third force were becoming increasingly believable.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew said in a statement there were so many inexplicable incidents of politically inspired violence and ample evidence of abuse of power in the security forces that former military intelligence officer Col Gert Hugo's revelations this week made the need for a probe urgent.

Andrew said Hugo's claim that covert units operated independently of the rest of the intelligence community confirmed what the DP's research department had already deduced.

President F W de Klerk needed to grasp the nettle and order a "full investigation and a full disclosure".

'Assassins must face trial'

8/10 PM 26/8/92 PATRICK BULGER
STATE-backed killers would have to stand trial when a new government was in place, but that government could pardon them, the ANC's official journal Mayibuye says.

"The ANC has said that it is not opposed to a general amnesty in principle. A negotiated resolution of any conflict entails a measure of reconciliation. But this cannot be a pious forgive-and-forget operation.

"What is being forgiven and forgotten has to be fully disclosed. Trials and pardons can (then) follow.

"The criminals cannot forgive themselves. Only a representative government can consider this ...

"The decision to have such an amnesty cannot be taken by an elite. It affects those who have lost their loved ones and society as a whole ... There are those out in hell already — and they want to pull the rest of

the country with them," Mayibuye says.

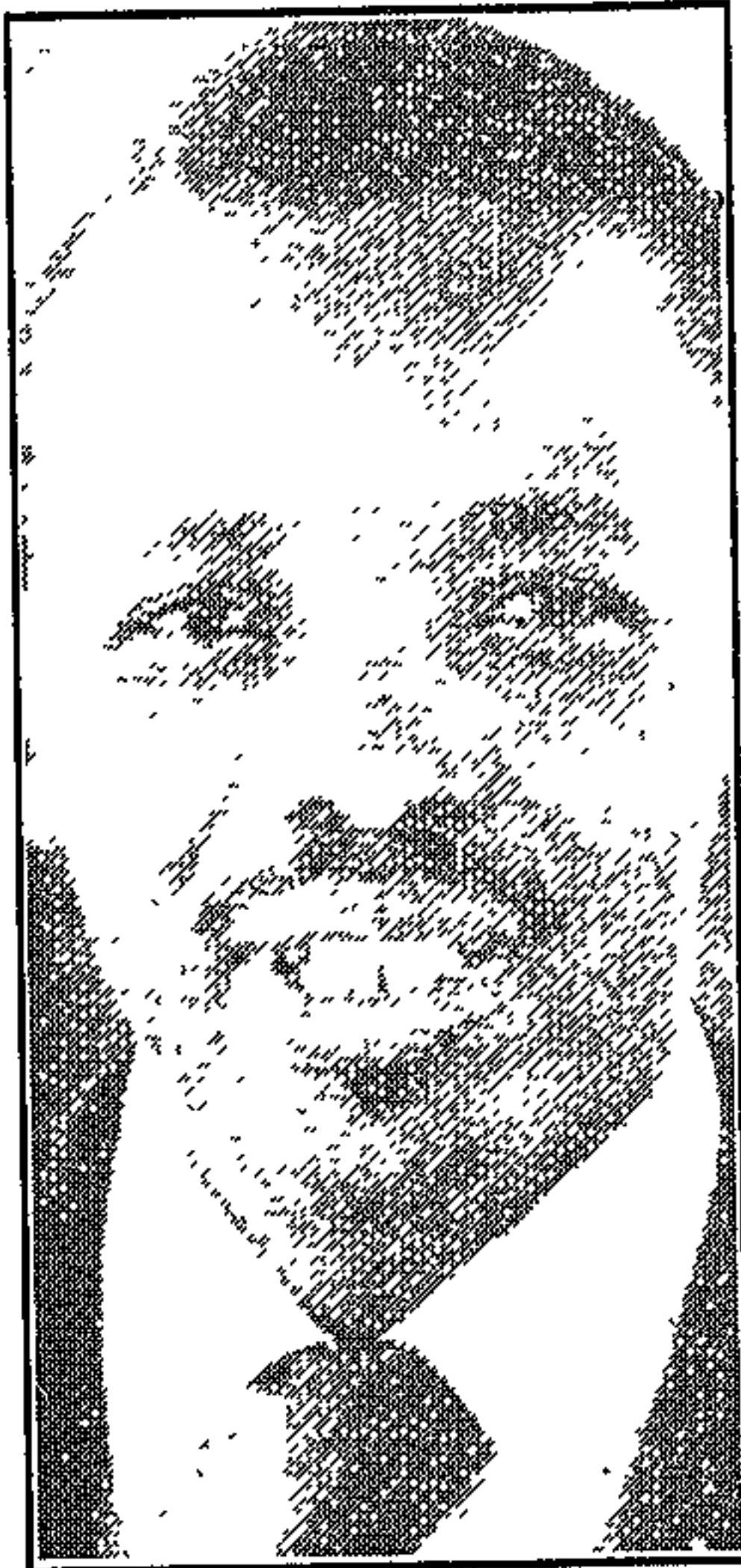
Mayibuye also says the ANC and its allies will hold a week of mass action in October.

It quotes ANC campaigns head Ronnie Kasrils as saying: "We are now in phase four of the campaign for peace and democracy. We must keep the tap open for mass action to continue rolling."

Mayibuye says the next phase of mass action will unfold around the issues of interim government and a constituent assembly, the SABC, hospital workers homeland repression, food prices and the drought, and political prisoners.

It says a conference of forces which support the demands will be held in October and that a week of mass action will be organised.

ANALYSIS *Political analyst looks at mass action*



Oupa Gqozo



FW de Klerk



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Mass action a warning to Codesa participants

Sowetan 26/8/92

By Vincent Maphai
Professor of Political Science,
University of the Western
Cape

THE GOVERNMENT'S attitude towards negotiations and the subsequent collapse of the talks confirmed suspicions of the anti-Codesa lobby.

Yet, when thousands heeded the boycott call, questions were raised about the level of support enjoyed by the PAC and Azapo.

The objections raised by these organisations against mass action are serious. However, their response was questionable. They were allegedly never consulted about this measure.

Furthermore, mass action was partly about revitalising Codesa. It was, therefore, unfair to expect PAC or Azapo supporters to risk their lives and jobs in order to save the very institution whose death they would have preferred!

Rescue a "jilted lover"

■ NO BIRTHRIGHT Mass support

should not be regarded as the sole

preserve of one party:

Gqozo and Buthelezi. Ironically, they have always reminded the world that the ANC was surrounded by "sell-outs" inside Codesa.

The significance and consequence of mass action, or its failure, need to be appreciated beyond what was intended by the ANC. The action has reinforced the concept of accountability. In some respects, mass action was a warning to all Codesa participants, including the ANC.

Find a compromise

Often outgoing and incoming elites easily find a compromise provided their interests are guaranteed. Usually such concessions are possible if the "rank and file" claims are ignored or forgotten.

Recent mass action may have set

274
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‘If mass action is used for narrow party political objectives, it has the potential to divide the community’

De Klerk's conceding to one of the ANC's demands as a matter of urgency - an interim government.

The Government could use the existence of an interim government to argue that mass actions such as general strikes and appeals for sanctions

Peacemakers not *Sowetan 26/8/92 (274)* 'coping with chaos'

■ Violence disillusion Peace Committee chairman:

THE National Peace Committee was not effective and was not coming to grips with the violence, committee chairman Mr John Hall said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking at the Human Sciences Research Council's (HSRC) conference on political violence, a disillusioned Hall said he was concerned at the inability of the National Peace Accord, its structures and the security forces to cope with the violence.

"Anarchy is rife, people are being killed everyday and we are becoming inured to it.

"The local and regional dispute resolution committees are by-and-large not working."

He felt, however, the National Peace Accord was a wonderful document and the committee had identified new means

of "getting to grips with the violence".

"The new theme of the committee would be "peace through co-ordination" and was aimed at:

- * Identifying areas where violence was rife,
- * Allocating resources to the identified areas, and
- * Monitoring and liaising with communities to re-establish confidence in the police.

The Peace Accord must move into the communities. Political leaders must focus on where it is happening. It is time we pursued peace through co-ordination."

Hall said he was sick and tired of the failure of the Accord to achieve peace.

"We must break the cynical barriers and take resources to the community,"

- Sapa.

Minister gives evidence

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CT 26/8/92

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Housing Minister Mr Leon Wessels became the first cabinet minister to give evidence before the Goldstone Commission yesterday, after it was agreed he would not be cross-examined or be liable for recall.

The agreement was reached just before the presentation of his evidence, which consisted mainly of a lengthy report on the government's hostel policy.

Mr Wessels had earlier expressed reluctance to be cross-examined in circum-

stances resembling an adversarial court proceeding. Instead, questions arising from Mr Wessels's testimony were gathered from the representatives of the groups present and were put by the counsel for the commission.

In his report, Mr Wessels said a sum of R324,6m had been made available for the upgrading or conversion of the 177 hostels owned either by black local authorities or provincial authorities.

The government's approach was that the conversion of the hostels had to be the

result of consensus obtained after negotiations between hostel dwellers, surrounding residents and other interest groups.

The negotiations process had been completed at 38 hostels and was proceeding at 65 others.

Planning proposals had been finalised at 24 hostels and were in the process of being finalised at 14 others.

Projects had been approved at five hostels and had been requested at 13 others. Construction was in progress at one hostel.

Thursday August 27 1992 SOWETAN

NEWS Strategies to peace

Peace Accord has failed, says chairman Hall

■ Conference speakers cite difficulties
in trying to end rampant violence

Sowetan 27/8/92

(274)

Sowetan Correspondent

THE National Peace Accord has been ineffective in stopping protracted violence in South Africa, National Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall said this week.

Speaking at the Human Sciences Research Council's conference on political violence on Tuesday, Hall said he was "sick and tired" of the inability of the accord to achieve peace.

This sentiment was echoed by various other speakers at the conference who spoke of the immense difficulties and complexity involved in achieving peace. The tone of the conference was one of despair with little hope of a solution.

"The local and regional dispute resolution committees are not working," Hall said.

"Anarchy is rife, people are being killed every day and we are becoming immune to it."

Focus on moving forward

He said the NPC had decided on new tactics aiming at moving into the communities and co-ordinating the peace process.

The new objectives would be to identify areas where violence was rife and allocating resources to crisis areas.

The committee also planned to monitor and liaise with communities to re-establish confidence in the local police force.

Professor Laurie Schlemmer, of the HSRC, said there would be no peace until people learnt to accept each other's opposing points of view.

The basis of any civilised, democratic society was an unwritten social contract, giving people reasonable welfare and the freedom to belong in the society, he said.

"Only once we have established the rules of the game and everyone is assured they will have space can we even begin to deal with the violence," Schlemmer said.

Mr Steven Friedman from the Centre for Policy Studies argued that there would be no civil society until violence was stopped.

"And there will be no miraculous end to violence - a Catch-22 situation," he said.

Go-ahead for last round of mass action

THE joint secretariat of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance has endorsed a programme of action for the last round of mass action to force the government to comply with its demands.

The programme includes the disruption of Parliament when it reconvenes in October, a march on Ciskei, a campaign to put pressure on employers to withhold from government PAYE payments by employees who do not have the vote and occupation of national buildings.

CT27/8/92

**Killings:
Rail
boycott
threatened**

— PAGE 2

The joint secretariat of the alliance endorsed the programme at a meeting on Sunday. The programme is the last phase, which has been dubbed Exitgate, of the alliance's mass action campaign.

National co-ordinator of the alliance's campaigns committee, Mr Mandla Dhlamini, yesterday said "although leaders of the alliance had endorsed the programme, the ANC's national working committee and Cosatu's central executive committee would meet tomorrow and Friday "to rubber stamp the programme".

The ANC's national executive committee and the SACP's central executive committee will meet next week.

It is understood that the alliance plans to march on Ciskei's capital Bisho on September 9.

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NEWS

Doubts over 'third force'

■ Violence theory discounted:

274 285 Sowetan 28/8/92
THE theory of Third Force involvement in the ongoing political violence was discounted yesterday by the director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, John Kane-Berman.

Speaking at a national security conference at the Nasrec complex outside Johannesburg, Kane-Berman said research at the SAIRR suggested a worldwide disinformation campaign on the violence in South Africa.

One of the features of this campaign was the Third Force theory, yet no hard evidence had been produced to prove the existence of a third force.

Suppressed facts

He charged that organisations such as the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission suppressed facts about the violence which did not support their theories.

Kane-Berman claimed the objective of the campaign was to give United Nations status to one-sided reports.

These reports tended to point the finger at the hostels and security forces as the causes of violence.

By discrediting and demoralising the security forces, he claimed, these would be put under joint Government and African National Congress control, leaving Umkhonto we Sizwe with a free hand.

He concluded by saying the disinformation campaign was beginning to falter. - Sapa.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

DEATHS AND INJURIES

FIFTY people died and 71 were injured last week. This death toll is lower than last week's total of 76 deaths, while the number of people injured remained constant, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) reported.

VIGILANTE-RELATED ACTIONS

DURING the past week 35 people were killed and 36 injured in the PWV, Natal, and the eastern Transvaal, according to the HRC.

VIOLENCE

Train passengers have once again become the targets of attacks in the PWV: nine people died and 33 were injured in train attacks this week.

Eight people died and 22 were injured during four attacks on Soweto trains, while eight people were injured in an early morning train attack in Johannesburg on Tuesday. One person was killed and three injured during two attacks on East Rand trains.

This week three people were killed and two were injured on the East Rand in other vigilante-related actions, while one person died in the Vaal.

A 10-year-old child was injured when a hand-grenade was thrown into the house in the West Rand township of Bekkersdal.

In Natal nine people died and three were injured in attacks in Folweni, Ndwedwe and Umkomaas, on the Natal south coast. Eight people died in the Natal Midlands — six during an attack on the home of a headman in Richmond. Four people were killed and one injured in an attack in Malukazi,

Durban, while two people died in Empangeni, on the north coast.

In the eastern Transvaal eight people were injured when a group of gunmen opened fire on a crowd of soccer supporters in Nthoroane on Sunday, according to the HRC. Police said that after the attack a minibus, which had been waiting nearby, picked up the attackers and sped off, the HRC reported.

SECURITY FORCE ACTIONS

ONE person died, eight people were injured and eight were arrested during security force actions this week.

An African National Congress member was killed and three people were arrested in Natal during a police raid on a house in Murchison on the south coast. An arms cache was reportedly found in the house.

Five people were arrested in Soweto, while in Ciskei eight people were injured during security force operations, according to the HRC.

Eight die in Natal night rampage

CT 28/8/92

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PRETORIA — The official SAP unrest report put the countrywide death toll at six and the injury figure at 17 for yesterday, but the death toll was closer to 19.

In incidents not included in the unrest report, eight people were killed when a group of men went on the rampage in Natal on Wednesday night, and five people died when commuters were attacked on an East Rand train.

The killing of eight people in Esikhawini township on Natal's North Coast led to renewed calls yesterday for

the Goldstone Commission to investigate. ANC Northern Natal chairman Dr Aaron Ndlovu also reiterated a call for the permanent presence of United Nations violence monitors in that region.

He said witnesses to the killings identified one of the attackers as a KwaZulu policeman — whom he named.

● Yesterday ANC PWV spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa warned of a boycott of commuter trains if rail killings continued unchecked.

A delegation from the SA National Civic

Organisation, the SA Communist Party and the Congress of SA Trade Unions yesterday inspected Johannesburg railway station where eight people were shot on Tuesday.

While the delegation was visiting the station, police reported that three commuters had been killed that morning.

● A man and a woman were shot and injured by police in Phola Park yesterday afternoon, after the police were attacked by residents at the conclusion of a crime-prevention operation in the area.

Leaders 'not promoting peace accord'

The country's top political leaders are not doing enough to promote the Peace Accord and its message of political tolerance.

That is the view of the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

He was speaking in an interview yesterday in Pretoria, on the last day of a two-day meeting of chairmen of the NPS's 11 Regional Dispute Resolution Committees.

The NPS and its regional and local structures are responsible for the day-to-day implementation of the almost year-old National Peace Accord.

Dr Gildenhuys said he had a message for South Africa's political leaders: "Tell your followers about the Peace Accord and ask them to respect it."

"The message is not always getting through to the middle leadership, or even to the lower leadership, that they should allow people to exercise democratic political rights in every part of the country."

The fact that the Peace Accord signatories had not met since they signed it on September 11 was no excuse. — Sapa.

Fences won't solve hostels issue – IFP

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The Inkatha Freedom Party has supported the Government's rejection of a recommendation by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone that hostels in troublespots be immediately fenced to help prevent violence.

Giving evidence before a Goldstone committee looking into the role of hostels in township violence, IFP central committee member Walter Felgate said problems could not be dealt with through barbed wire.

The Department of Local Government and Housing has also rejected fencing as a step to curb violence, saying such a move would be counter-productive and would exacerbate the isolation of hostel dwellers, embittering them further.

Mr Felgate said IFP policy on hostels was that they were a necessary "transitional mechanism" between apartheid and

the new South Africa.

"Any attempt to remove them would have adverse effects on social stability. Hostel dwellers are human beings and they are exercising their right to be where they are. Those rights should be protected."

Shortage

Mr Felgate said the IFP would prefer to see hostel upgrading programmes conducted under the auspices of the National Peace Secretariat's local dispute resolution committees. He conceded that these were not yet operational.

He asked, however, that the Goldstone committee meet with the secretariat to inquire how it thought the hostels issue should be approached.

The IFP policy was much the same as that spelt out for the committee by KwaZulu Minister of Interior Emanuel Sithebe, who said the demolition of existing accommodation at a time when there was a critical hous-

ing shortage would be "nothing short of criminal".

In addition, the economic contribution made by hostel dwellers in urban areas was so great that their absence would probably result in a collapse of rural economies in many parts of South Africa.

The reality of South Africa was that its business and industries largely depended on migrant labour, as did the rural economies.

While it was not suggested that present hostel accommodation was satisfactory, the right to choose to make use of such accommodation should be respected, Mr Sithebe said.

The "glib acceptance of culpability" of hostels and their inmates, without due regard to the new social threats to hostel dwellers in changing political circumstances, ought to be avoided, Mr Sithebe said.

The ANC will present evidence to the committee on September 8 to give its policy on hostels.

STAR 28/8/92

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BUSINESS DAY, Friday, August 28 1992
Warning of worst
Scenario for SA
CAPE TOWN — If the violence in SA
was not solved, the country could de-
scend into a state of disintegration
characteristic of Yugoslavia at pre-
sent, sociologist Professor Heribert
Adam said yesterday.

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characteristic of Yugoslavia at pre-
sent, sociologist Professor Heribert
Adam said yesterday.

Speaking at a function of the UCT
Graduate School of Business Associ-
ation, Adam said there were already
signs of the emergence in SA of
"motiveless" "recreational killing"
which had been found in Yugoslavia
"Whether SA goes the Yugoslavian
route of disintegration and ethnic vio-
lence is an open question and depends
on the policy choices made," he said.

If dogmatic nationalisms rein-
forced separatism, or if history did
not allow for a federalistic solution,
the ground could be laid for seces-
sionism and disintegration.

Adam, of Simon Fraser University,
Vancouver, Canada, said it would be
unwise to try to split the ANC/SACP/
Cosatu alliance before a settlement
was reached, as the alliance was es-
sential to achieve a broad legitimacy
for the new constitution.

The worst scenario would be if the
ANC were to fall apart and ANC
president Nelson Mandela was de-
nounced as a sellout and stooge.

Top brass welcomes new SAP structure

PRETORIA — Top police officers yes-
terday welcomed the sweeping
changes in the structure of the SAP.

Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der
Merve said the general staff associated
itself "wholeheartedly" with the changes
and were part of their planning.

The most senior officer affected by the
early retirement initiative, Deputy Com-
missioner Gen H P M de Villiers, said in an
interview yesterday the perception that
some of the 18 officers affected could not
or would not be party to the new plans was
wholly incorrect.

He conceded some loss of morale could
be expected below general staff rank, as
could be expected in times of uncertainty,
but discounted the long-term effect.

De Villiers, who would have retired at
the end of May next year, offered to ad-
vance his retirement so the new structure
could be implemented on January 1 1993.

He said he did not regret that more
blacks were not drafted into the general
staff earlier, but added that he thought the
time was ripe now. There were already
several very senior black officers and their
addition to the general staff would be for

TIM COHEN

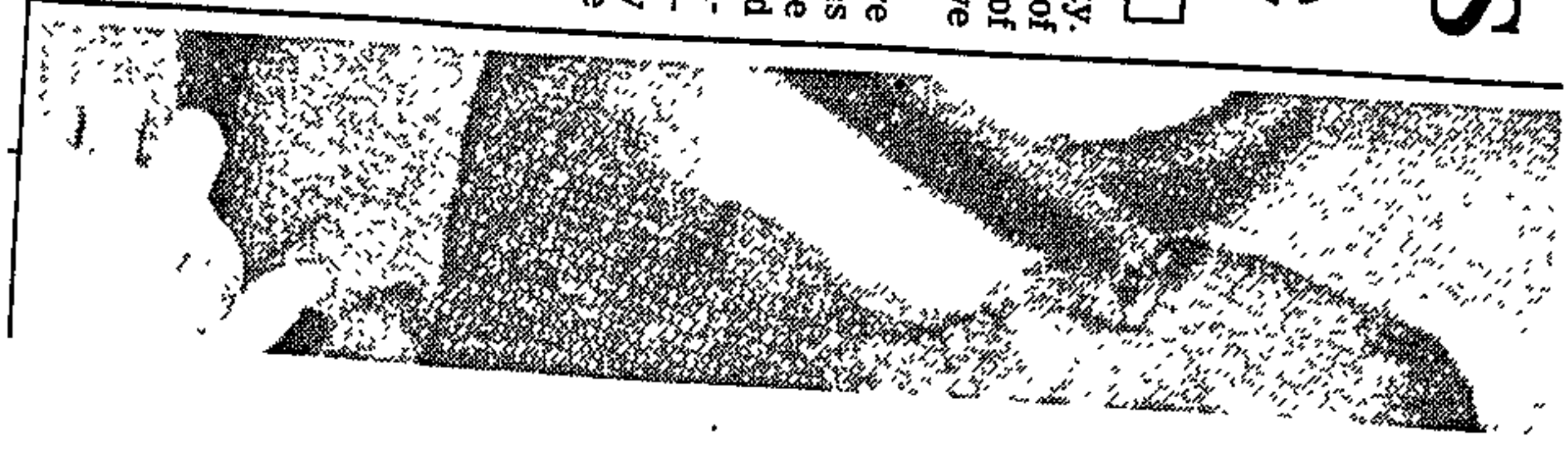
the good of the force and the community.
He regretted "this terrible criticism of
the force", which was staffed by people of
quality who had tried their best to serve
the whole community.

Van der Merve said the new structure
would involve the devolution of power as
fully as possible to the various regions. The
command structure at head office would
be "considerably reduced" and the com-
mand structure at some regions "drasti-
cally increased". The internal stability
division, active in unrest areas, would be
strengthened by almost 1 600 men.

Van der Merve also announced that a
section called "efficiency services" would
be created. It would include a national
inspectorate, which would conduct "value
for money" audits.

The new structure would also replace
police officials performing administrative
duties with civilian personnel.

This would free about 13 000 trained
members, who would be added to the
"functional stream" of the force over the
next two years.



President Nelson Mandela was de-
nounced as a sellout and stooge

several very senior black officers and their
addition to the general staff would be for

“functional stream” of the force over the
next two years.

38 308

31 891

AIDS inquiry appeal

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE SA Law Commission yesterday appealed to the public to submit evidence for its investigation into the legal and ethical aspects of AIDS.

The investigation was appointed by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee in March.

Matters that would receive attention include legal questions concerning HIV testing, notification of infection, and discrimination against infected people. Meanwhile, DP Health spokesman Mike Ellis yesterday criticised the “debacle” within the government AIDS unit in recent months.

“With 400 new cases occurring daily, every day that the prevention programme fails to operate fully means the lives of more South Africans are threatened,” Ellis said.

National Health director-general Dr Natalie Stockton said the department could not comment on the findings of an independent investigation into “internal problems” because former AIDS unit head Dr Manda Holmshaw had appealed against the findings. Stockton said the AIDS unit had been dissolved as a separate entity.

Violence kills 6 229 study

810A4 28/8/92
RAY HARTLEY

NEARLY 6 229 people — about 8,5 a day — died in 5 700 incidents of political violence since July 1990, says a new study released today by the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

The HRC says vigilante actions were responsible for 5 060 of the deaths while 352 died as a result of security force action.

The report names 126 people killed by hit squads during the period. “Hit squads are characterised by the clear possession of expertise in the use of weapons, explosives and chemicals.”

“They are highly focused in their objectives, which are to eliminate identified and designated political opponents,” the HRC says.

Right-wing violence claimed 44 lives in 207 incidents.

“An extraordinary feature of right-wing attacks has been the diligence with which the state has investigated them, and the extremely high rate of

success it has had in making arrests and obtaining convictions.

“What is clear is that the capacity and ability exists for the solution of crimes of political violence.”

Of those killed, 346 were commuters, 295 of whom were killed on trains, the HRC says. About 16 936 people were arrested.

The study lists 49 “major massacres” in which more than 10 people had been killed at one time.

Of the 5 700 incidents analysed in the report, 1 730 were security force actions, 2 782 vigilante attacks, 225 hit squad assassination attempts and 207 right-wing attacks.

The organisation says the political affiliation of about half of those killed since July 1991 could be determined. Of these 274 were ANC supporters while 234 supported Inkatha.

Zimbabwe freezes SA taxi services

THEO RAWANA

THE Zimbabwean government had put a hold on all cross-border operations by both its own and SA taxis following feuds between the two sides, National African Federated Transport Organisation (Nafco) president Peter Rabali said yesterday.

Rabali said 50 of his association’s minibuses, which operated between Johannesburg and Harare and Bulawayo, had been badly affected by the decision.

In the meantime an arrangement will be followed whereby Zimbabwean bus operators will drop passengers on their side of the border and SA taximen will pick them up on the SA side.

The reverse will apply on the SA side of the border and the arrangement will stay in place until Zimbabwean and SA operators reach an agreement.

Safcor

SAFETY MEDICINE EDUCATION

Minister de

Hostels 'not the cause of violence'

PRETORIA. — The removal of hostels would have an adverse effect on stability and the economy in South Africa, an Inkatha Freedom Party representative told a committee of the Goldstone Commission investigating the future of hostels here yesterday.

Mr Walter Felgate, a member of the IFP central committee, called on the commission to develop an understanding of the valuable role hostel-dwellers played in holding poverty at bay in rural areas.

Mr Felgate said the IFP believed that about 300 000 people, each supporting between 10 and 12 dependants, lived in single-sex hostels.

He argued that thorough investigation would show that the presence or absence of hostels was not the cause of the violence. CT 28/8/92

The Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association vice-chairman, Mr Zakhele Mlambo, told the committee that hostel-dwellers did not want to be surrounded by 10-metre-high fences "as if they were animals".

The committee sits again on September 8. — Sapa

Goldstone asks SAP man to visit flashpoint

DURBAN. — The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry has asked senior SAP officer Lieutenant-Colonel H M Heslinga to travel immediately to northern Natal to report on the situation there following renewed killings, particularly in Empangeni's Esikhawini township.

The request follows attacks in Esikhawini on Wednesday in which eight people were killed and one person seriously injured.

Unrest monitors report the death toll in Esikhawini this month alone has topped 31.

KwaZulu Police spokesman Colonel Moses Khanyile said Esikhawini was "quiet but tense" yesterday.

● The ANC has expressed concern at threats of an Inkatha attack at the weekend funeral of two activist members killed two weeks ago in Sokhulu near Richards Bay. (274) (272) (274)

A Northern Natal policeman, Warrant Officer Jacobus Steyn, was released on R1 000 bail last Saturday in connection with the deaths.

● The official police unrest report for the 24-hour period to midnight on Thursday said one man had died of gunshot wounds at Murchison.

In a gun attack on a minibus in Springs, one man was injured.

Two men had been found with head wounds between the Driehoek and Geldenhuys stations near Germiston.

A policeman was injured by stone-throwers at Phola Park squatter camp.

● Transkeian military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday security would be tightened in Umtata in the wake of riots this week that killed one man and closed down businesses. ET 29/8/92

3 die in Reef unrest attacks

PRETORIA. — Unrest claimed the lives of three people, the SAP said in its unrest report for the 24-hour period ended at midnight on Monday.

The body of a man who had been necklaced was found in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle.

In Alexandra near Sandton, police found the body of a man who had been hacked and stabbed to death. In Katlehong on the East Rand, a man was shot dead.

● Two policemen were injured when youths threw stones at a police vehicle at Garankuwa in the Northern Transvaal.

● Police searched the ANC offices in the strife-torn township of Alexandra and the nearby Zulu M1 Hostel yesterday morning.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Colonel Frans Malherbe said the action was a continuation of the police's efforts "to stop violence and the high rate of crime in Alexandra".

The ANC said at least 50 police vehicles had been counted near its offices.

● A total 2 313 people were killed by firearms between January and the end of May this year, police said yesterday. — Sapa

Human rights report slams vigilante groups

(274) ARG 29/8/92

Weekend Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Vigilantes and counter-attacks against vigilantes are responsible for the majority of politically-inspired murders recorded in South Africa between July 1990 and June 1992, the Human Rights Commission reports.

In a publication "Checkmate for Apartheid?" the HRC states that vigilantes were implicated in 2 782 incidents and security force members were allegedly involved in 1 790.

The HRC defined vigilantes as private armies formed by members of black local councils and homeland administrations, whose participation in these "apartheid structures" had alienated them from the community.

The vigilante groups emerged in the mid-1980s, the HRC noted, adding that members were drawn from "traditional and conservative elements, from the unemployed and even from criminal gangs".

The HRC alleged that vigilantes' initial targets were those opposed to homelands and black councils, adding that "during the general destabilisation period of the last two years, the targets have become much less selective".

Between July 1990 and June 1991 there were 884 vigilante-related incidents in which a total of 2 640 people died, the HRC alleged.

In the subsequent 12-month period, incidents ascribed to vigilante action totalled 1 898, with 2 420 people dying.

The HRC noted, however, that in its tally of vigilante-related incidents, these included "retaliatory or pre-emptive" action taken by targets of vigilantes.

Turning to security forces, including the South African and Kwazulu police forces as well as municipal police forces and the South African Defence Force, the HRC said between July 1990 and June 1992 these forces had been

involved in 1 790 incidents — or 31,4 percent of all incidents recorded.

A total of 352 deaths were attributed to the security forces, as well as about 3 281 injuries.

The HRC attributed 696 incidents of political violence to "other" parties, 225 to hit-squad attacks and 207 to rightwing attacks.

Hitsquad attacks had resulted in 124 deaths and rightwing attacks in 44 deaths.

In line with the human rights group Amnesty International's report a few months ago, the HRC pointed to the SAP's singular lack of success in bringing most of those involved in political violence to book.

But the HRC also noted that "an extraordinary feature of rightwing attacks has been the diligence with which the State has investigated them, and the extremely high rate of success it has had in making arrests and obtaining convictions".

Why we will not go away until the 'third force' does

Star 29/8/92

274

A CRITIC of The Star remarked this week: "You've got the third force on the brain. Why don't you go on to something else?" Many people seem to feel this way, and so the question is worth answering.

In recent weeks all three newspapers in The Star's stable — Saturday, Sunday and daily — have been digging like mad, trying to get nearer to the truth on "third force" activities in South Africa. This has been done in the strong belief that if we do not achieve clarity on the issue, the much-prized negotiations process will be bedevilled indefinitely.

The reasoning is simple: if, as the avalanche of allegations suggests, there is today in our country a shadowy network of security force-linked individuals stoking violence and intervening in the political process according to its own uncontrolled agenda, we as a nation are being held hostage. "Dirty tricks" — that curiously benign phrase which encompasses acts of murder — can shatter the stability of entire communities. Without stability there is no trust; without trust there is no negotiated settlement. Trust feed is a case in point: it will take years, perhaps decades, to remove the poison that one night of police-inspired carnage pumped into the veins of the community. Killings lead to killings lead to killings.

Star readers have now heard detailed allegations of gun-running, of cynical manipulation in volatile communities, of hit squads. We would like powers greater than ourselves to establish whether these allegations are true, and the authorities to act accordingly and urgently.

If we can be convinced that the issue has been probed to the full, and the allegations shown to be unfounded, well and good. But this has not yet happened, and that is why we will not leave the issue alone. The "third force" is not one story among many others of equal weight; it is not a royal scandal which titillates but means

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN Johnson



IF THERE is in our country today a shadowy network of security force-linked individuals acting according to their own agenda we, as a nation, are being held hostage.

little. It is eating away at the already-frayed fabric of our society.

White South Africans, in particular, have been conditioned by decades of mutant democracy. We have developed a remarkable capacity for credulity, not really wanting to know disconcerting things and therefore banishing them from our minds.

The authorities have not helped themselves in the matter of "third force" allegations. If the mountain of circumstantial evidence is just that — circumstantial — it would have been easy enough to cast doubt on its meaning, at the very least. One example among many: Military Intelligence chief General "Joffe" van der Westhuizen's name appears on an alleged "death warrant" signal. If the signal is a fake, one would expect the implicated man to say so — a plain and simple "It's not true". But he has chosen to maintain an inaccessible silence. Further, one would expect the State President — the general's commander-in-chief — to ask him. The general surely cannot decline to take De Klerk's

calls, as he has done so contemptuously with our journalists.

Instead, we have had silence, and the general's name continues to pop up in suspicious circumstances. He remains head of MI, wielding the vast power that goes with the position, and when two of his agents are caught in London up to no good, his department is asked to investigate itself. It does so and finds one of its members guilty. Of what? Of "acting according to his own agenda".

Forgive me for sounding conspiratorial, but "acting according to its own agenda" is precisely what the "third force" is accused of. We, the public, are not allowed to know what that agenda was — and, sadly, many in this country seem not to be too interested in knowing.

No wonder some foreigners think of white South Africans as the Serbs of Africa. To want to get to the bottom of the "third force" is not to exonerate the State's opponents: their misdeeds — in camps in Africa, in horrific political violence — must be exposed with vigour. But we are hearing a cacophony of claims about an evil force operating right here and now, disempowering the politicians and ruining our prospects of peace. Surely we must make its investigation a priority, and surely we should not stop until the job is done.

Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel has done something big with the police, even if it is belated, unilateral and limited. He has had the guts to call a problem by its name, and he has made a start. Now for the "third force"; now for similar courage from President de Klerk on the matter of the military. De Klerk says he is concerned about allegations of security force misdeeds. The time has come for us to ask the president (as the Bishop of Bradford did of King Edward VIII, who had expressed an "awareness" of social problems) that he "give more positive signs of that awareness".

No third force - Kane-Berman (274)

THE theory of third force involvement in the ongoing political violence was discounted on Thursday by the director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, John Kane-Berman.

Speaking at a national security conference at the Nasrec complex outside Johannesburg, Kane-Berman said research at the SAIRR suggested a worldwide disinformation campaign on the violence in SA. *CIPren 30/8/92*

One of the features of this campaign was the third force theory, yet no hard evidence had been produced to prove the existence of a third force.

He charged organisations such as the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission of suppressed facts about the violence, which did not support their theories.

He claimed that by discrediting and demoralising the security forces, they would be put under joint government and ANC control, leaving Umkhonto weSizwe with a free hand.

We will 'fight' them in the streets

By PORTIA MAURICE

SUPPORTERS of the African National Congress-led alliance are gearing up to launch a new offensive for peace and democracy on South African streets next week.

After failed talks with the Saccola-led business community, a fiery ANC leadership this week adopted a militant stance on mass action, calling on the "battle-ready" masses to "rise up in their millions" and force government to negotiate in good faith.

"The trains have already left the station and only the government can stop them by meeting our demands. The ball is now squarely in their court," Congress of South African Trade Unions general secretary Jay Naidoo told a Johannesburg press conference yesterday at which the alliance unveiled new plans for its Peace and Democracy Now campaign:

●Monday and Tuesday: a complete withdrawal of labour with rallies, marches and pickets at local level.

●Wednesday: countrywide occupation of cities and towns. "They will occupy those towns and they will march through those towns," ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa warned.

●Thursday and Friday: "Sectoral actions by workers and others," to be determined at local level.

●Saturday: regional assessment meetings and report-backs.

●Sunday: celebrations of National Women's Day as well as prayer services for

peace and democracy.

The movement and its allies are demanding that government:

●Accept its proposals for an interim government and a one-chamber Constituent Assembly.

●Take steps to end the violence by banning dangerous weapons, phasing out hostels, charging those responsible and confining to barracks special forces of the police and army.

●End unilateral restructuring, retrenchments and Value-Added Tax on foodstuffs.

"The heart of the problem lies in the regime's unwillingness to live with democracy and its inability to address the gravity of the situation," Ramaphosa said.

"Our march to democracy is unstoppable," he said, calling on business, the white community and security forces to "take a stand on the side of the oppressed".

South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani warned the campaign would "build up to a crescendo", and would be called off only once the government had agreed to negotiate "in good faith" and to "give in to the demands of the people".

More than 1 000 people have been arrested so far in marches, demonstrations and occupations organised by the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance. Government buildings, supermarkets and key installations such as parliament have been targeted. Mass marches in Pretoria and Johannesburg are planned for tomorrow.

Naidoo said, however, that a planned

march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria was "still under discussion". Responding to rumours that President FW de Klerk would be unseated and replaced by ANC president Nelson Mandela, Ramaphosa grinned and said Mandela "would be installed as head of state only after democratic elections by our people".

Naidoo said plans for nationwide tax defiance — an attempt to press employers to divert money paid in PAYE taxes to a "fund for a future South Africa" — were still underway, and Cosatu hoped to convene a conference in August to discuss practical steps to this end.

The alliance pledged to keep all protests peaceful and disciplined but its activities would not be deterred by threats of violence from "the state or its surrogates".

"With our right to peaceful demonstration goes our inherent right to determine its nature and its aims," Ramaphosa said. "Wherever violence has raised its head it has been provoked and initiated from the government's side," he said, adding an appeal to protesters not to respond to provocation.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said during the week the success of the organisation's action did not lie in the number of people participating, but in their ability to gain access to buildings targeted for occupation.

He said the PWV Regional Action Council had planned the action to involve fewer people so that access to the targeted buildings would be easier.

Goldstone task force wins ANC backing

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ARC 3/18/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress pledged its full support to the new Goldstone Commission strike force but said it would monitor the activities of police officers seconded to the unit.

The ANC has reservations about the lack of independence of the task force and the fact that the police officers, although directly responsible to the commission, will remain SAP members, said spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus.

The task force announced by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone on Saturday will include police officers and lawyers, who will

investigate political violence and intimidation.

Members of other State departments and the commission will be called in when necessary. United Nations observers will monitor the task force.

The move has been hailed by the Ministry of Justice, the ANC, Democratic Party and Inkatha Freedom Party as the initiative that could finally control violence and clear the way for the resumption of the negotiation process.

Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee said the measure was among the most important steps introduced to counter violence.

He said the government would be ready today to start

choosing task force members.

Mr Niehaus said the force, which is to be deployed in the next few days, was "not as independent as we would like, but we hope the international monitors will be able to inspect the behaviour of the police officers and keep them in check".

The ANC was prepared to adopt a "wait and see" attitude on the inclusion of the police officers, "but we will keep an eye on them as well," he said.

"We are still discussing the ANC's involvement — if any — in this investigation force, and still have to clarify the logistics"

Mr Niehaus said the ANC would try to make the task

force's job as easy as possible and members would be instructed to support investigations. "The ANC pledges its full support here. It would be silly not to"

Democratic Party spokesman on law and order Mr Peter Gastrow said the party was prepared to accept that policemen appointed to the task force would be people of integrity, with a standing and recognition in the community.

"There is also the positive factor that they are directly answerable to the commission and not to the SAP as far as the investigations for the commission are concerned," he said.

Goldstone talks hope

CT 31/8/92

Goldstone
From page 1

Although several police officers had been identified for the task, Captain Kotze said details would be released later.

Mr Justice Goldstone said on Saturday that while the police officers would remain members of the SAP, they would be given special duties as full- or part-time members of the commission's staff.

The selection of suitable officers would be done in consultation with the commission, the attorneys or advocates would be employed on a full-time basis to assist and monitor investigations.

Mr Justice Goldstone said he expected the proposals to enable the commission to:

- Swiftly monitor incidents of political violence and intimidation
- Respond promptly to reports from committees and National Peace Accord structures.
- Investigate any unlawful activities of armed groups within the country's borders.
- Ensure that appropriate steps are taken to anticipate and prevent incidents of political violence and intimidation.

Mr Justice Goldstone also recommended that the commission investigate the role of the armed wings of the ANC and the PAC — UMKhonto weSizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army — could play in reducing political violence and intimidation.

DURBAN. — Both the government and the ANC have given their official backing to the Goldstone Commission's proposals for a mould-breaking task force to probe political violence — giving rise to fresh optimism that talks could be resumed soon.

Hopes of an early resumption of negotiations have been fuelled by indications that last week's release of master Soviet spy Dieter Gerhardt heralds the start of a new government initiative on political prisoners that will help to clear the impasse.

Responding to Mr Justice Goldstone's weekend statement, Democratic Party law and order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said that if the proposals were accepted they were "far-reaching enough to justify the belief that violence is now going to be tackled effectively and, therefore, that the road towards negotiations has opened up again".

Crucial to the negotiating process will be the meeting of the ANC's three-day national executive committee which begins "somewhere on the reef" today.

It is expected to respond in full to the proposal, but yesterday spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC would give its fullest support to the new team.

Government sources confirmed that it too was backing the plan, which Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee has described as one of the "most important steps" ever taken "to counter the violence".

The Inkatha Freedom Party spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos said yesterday "a response will be forthcoming shortly".

The plan outlined by Mr Justice Goldstone at the weekend envisages an elite team of investigators drawn from the ranks of the SAP and legal circles and accountable to the commission.

United Nations observers will monitor and report on the activities of the task force.

Mr Gastrow said he hoped the unit would be "capable of rapid deployment and will not be hamstrung by red tape and problems

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● Breaking point for Gerhardt — Page 2

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Policeman, baby killed in violence

STAR 31/8/92
Crime Reporter

Nine people were killed in continuing violence around the country at the weekend.

Constable A G Damons (20) was shot in the face and back at the Zwelitemba police station near Worcester early yesterday. He died later in the Worcester Hospital.

Eye-witnesses told police a man fired at the police station with an automatic rifle at about 1 am before running off.

On Saturday, gunmen shot and killed a one-year-old child at Khayelitsha near Cape Town.

The bodies of two men with stab wounds were found in Alexandra on Saturday.

The bodies of two men were found in Tokoza on the East Rand. A man was hacked to death in Eiyaton.

Two people attending a funeral were shot dead by gunmen at Bahoyi, near Port Shepstone, Natal police said.

...of the...
...life changes dramatically when she meets
...a sculptor and gets passionately involved
...with him. However, this...
...is a year-old daughter. Her

10 Top
America's
23:28
Unsolved Mysteries
22:34: Knot's Landing

Cape forum for Cosatu women

Staff Reporter

THE Western Cape branch of the Cosatu Women's Forum was launched in the city at the weekend with the aim of promoting women's issues both in and out of the workplace.

Ms Thasneem Essop, a co-ordinator of the Forum, said it sought "the equalisation of salaries, 12 months paid maternity leave and the establishment of child care facilities in or near the workplace".
Sexual harassment would also receive attention, said Ms Essop.

Buthelezi warns ANC

RICHMOND. — The president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday that any seizure of power in South Africa by the ANC alliance would be crushed in the same way the allies smashed Iraq during the Gulf War.

"If there is a seizure of power in this country, then there will be a violent backlash which will make the whole of mother Africa shudder... it will be a backlash of unprecedented strength... it will wipe out whatever government has seized power," Chief Buthelezi said in a speech to mourners at a funeral of a Phathent family here.

Mr Fana Nzimande, his wife, Nkon-

alho, and their four children were killed by unknown gunmen last Sunday.

Chief Buthelezi suggested the killings were carried out by the ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe, and described them as a declaration of war.

"I do not know who these militarily trained men are who have killed these victims so cruelly... but we are aware that there have been members of uMkhonto weSizwe who have been trained in Transkei to kill and who have crossed from Transkei to kill people in our region in this horrible manner."

Sapa

Fight die in weekend unrest

PRETORIA. — Eight people were killed and four wounded in unrest-related incidents countrywide, according to the police unrest report for the 24 hours that ended at midnight on Saturday.

Police said gunmen shot and killed a one-year-old child at Khayelitsha. A man was wounded in the incident.
The bodies of two men — one with gunshot wounds and the second with hack wounds — were found at Thokoza, Alberton. The body of a man who had been hacked was found at Evaton, Vereeniging.

The bodies of two men with stab wounds were found in Alexandra, and in another incident in the same area, police found two men with gunshot wounds.

Two people attending a funeral were shot and killed by gunmen at Baboyi, Port Shepstone. A third person was stabbed and wounded at the funeral.




Sapa



POP GOES MONTJA
son (centre) with son of gum to get

Little Kai

By JEN CROOK
SOUTH AFRICA's super Groove arrived in the Karoo town of Montagu to give a concert the school to give a competition — and a police escort into the town.
The school's 250 pupils out all stops to win the petition, sponsored by manufacturer.
From around 6pm the main route into the town has been closed to cars and buses from

ONE HOUR

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AND PRINTING SERVICE
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ON PRINTS
FREE COLOUR
FILM

OR
PLUS FREE ALBUM VOUCHER
TO VOUCHERS QUALIFY FOR A LARGE ALBUM

NEWS Former exiles bring back memories with their oldies ● Transport workers to march

40 000 to march in bid to end violence

■ Part of rolling mass action campaign:

MORE than 40 000 members of the Transport and General Workers Union will march tomorrow to demand that the Government takes steps to end violence.

TGWU media officer Ms Debra Marakalala said the march is part of Phase Four of the African National Congress-led rolling mass action campaign.

Marakalala said the union's demands

were:

An end to violence;

Transport subsidy for members;

Release of the detained 'Putco Four';

and Central bargaining at industrial council level.

She said: "Our members will hold pickets, marches and demonstrations throughout the country."

Mbulu thrills music fans

LETTA MBULU, Caiphus Semenya and their audience buzzed like bees in a hive during their show at Sun City.

This was a momentous occasion for both artists and music lovers.

Other attractions were the traditional dancing group Buya Africa Dancers, African-American guest artists Jah-Amen and Leon Mobley and 50-year-old Olukose Wiles, who performed amazing stunts on stilts called the Mfoa Dance Sequence.

Some of the oldies performed by Mbulu were Maru A Pula, Music In The Air, Yunani Makhosi, Hareje and I Need Your Love.

Semenya's solo delights included Play With Fire, Ziph'

■ Spellbinding act by the famous South African music couple:

inkomo, Ndiphendule, Matswale and Angelina.

Then came duets such as Ten Years Old - dedicated to all the children who have died in the rampant violence.

And, Because Of You - which proved beyond doubt that our music couple have succeeded because of their undying love for each other.

Mbulu started, but did not sing the evergreen I Need Your Love in full, and as a result spoilt the evening for many people who had wished to experience that special moment.