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Sun Star 02-08-92

ANC LEADER phones 30 top businessmen to ensure workers won't be dismissed under the no-work, no-pay principle

Mandela won't budge on 14 demands to Govt

PRESIDENT de Klerk had better be clear about this: there is no way the African National Congress will take its seat at the negotiating table unless the 14 demands it has made upon the Government are met in full. At the same time the ANC will use every peaceful means available to it, including the campaign of mass action which it steps up tomorrow, to continue putting pressure on the Government to change direction.

Nelson Mandela is unambiguously clear on his chances of returning to the negotiating table. But his approach to the countrywide stayaway is pragmatic. On Thursday he spent much of the day on the telephone, speaking personally to over 30 captains of industry about the motivations behind the campaign of mass action.

His listeners were, except for one "who is very close to the Government", mostly receptive. Mandela's concern was that there must be no dismissals after the week of mass action.

He was assured that the employers would adopt a policy of no-work-no-pay, but no dismissals.

"We accept the principle of no-work-no-pay. But business has been very cautious, and we put it to them that they could not victimise workers for trying to help in achieving a democratic solution for the country.

"Employers were very much against our plan to occupy factories, and we must address their concerns about expensive machinery and so on being tampered with. Because of their response to our request for no dismissals following the stayaways, we must reassess our plan to occupy factories. It appears in the end only Government buildings will be singled out for occupation," says the man who will personally lead the march on Pretoria this week.

He appears to regret that matters had to come to this stage — business, he points out, had initially agreed to a one-day shutdown but, subsequently, employers could not reach agreement among themselves about the form it would take and the direction it would follow.

And so "mass action must go on..."

It is on the breakdown of Codesa and the ANC's 14 demands that Mandela seems most adamant.

JON Qwelane

DEPUTY EDITOR OF THE SUNDAY STAR



"Our position (on negotiations) is very clear. We pulled out for certain reasons and unless the Government meets our 14 demands there is no question of us going back."

He gives two examples of the "difficulties" the ANC has with the Government's attitude at the negotiating forum.

The National Party and the Government insist on special majorities — President de Klerk delicately termed them "checks and balances" when he spoke at length on television on Thursday night — to pass a Bill of Rights and, later, a senate (appointed) to have the power of veto over a legislative assembly (elected).

Mandela notes: "The 1910 and 1983 constitutions were adopted by simple majority vote. Yet when the Government negotiates with us it now demands a 75 percent majority and nothing less.

"We studied their proposal, and there was heated debate among ourselves. We then offered the Namibian option of a two-thirds majority, which they rejected. We then rose to 70 percent and still the Government said no.

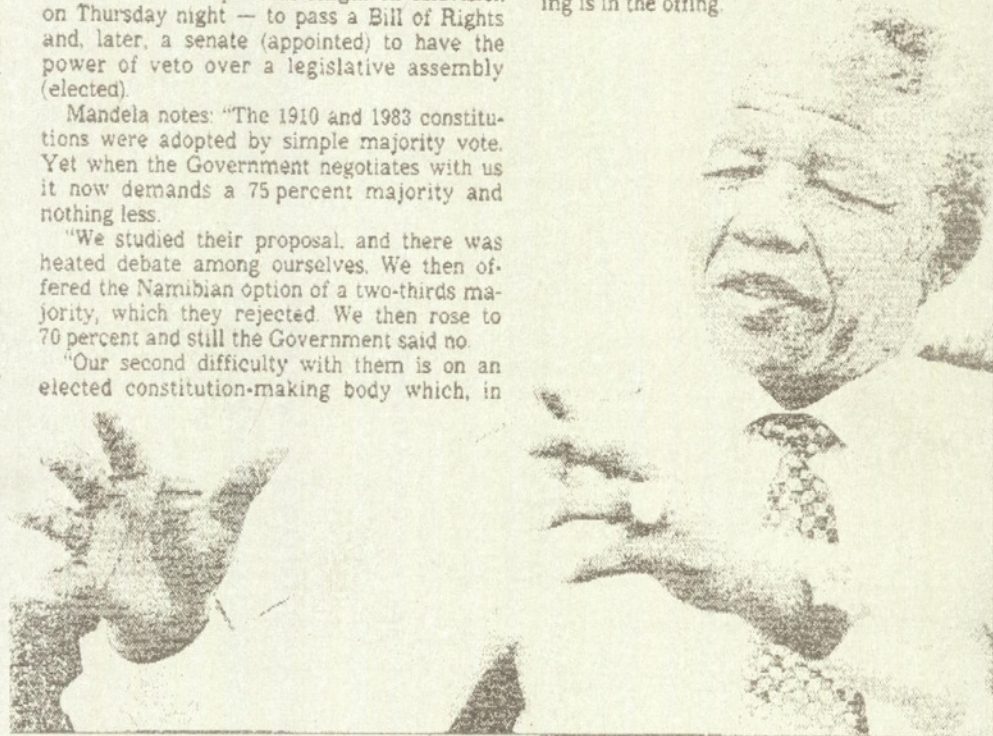
"Our second difficulty with them is on an elected constitution-making body which, in

their view, will be subject to veto by an appointed body such as Codesa. It has never happened anywhere else in the world that an elected representative body is subject to veto by one which has been appointed."

The bottom line, as Mandela sees it, is that "the National Party wants to continue ruling the country even after losing the elections; the victors will still be ruled by the losers" — and that is unacceptable.

And so tomorrow sees Phase 3 of the ANC's mass action campaign which, as Mandela puts it, has four basic aims — to institute an interim government, to have an elected constituent assembly, to end minority rule, and to attain the transfer of power to the majority.

But, for now, Codesa remains somewhere on the bottom shelf — publicly, at least, though the ANC secretary-general's slip about negotiations for the release of the remaining political prisoners seems to suggest strongly that behind the scenes some form of bilateral talking is in the offing.



South Africa enters week of the volcano

Johannesburg

by Allister Sparks

WHEN unemployed, black, 'comrades' with nothing to lose, face undisciplined white police, men, who feel they have everything to lose, the potential for violence is great. When they do this in one of South Africa's ten, worst weeks, the violence could be explosive.

Tomorrow the two-day general strike called by the ANC and its allies is due to start, to be followed by a campaign of mass action. Thousands of people will occupy administrative buildings and factories and jam supermarkets in this trial of strength on the streets. The government has put the army on standby and is pouring 5,000 extra police into the townships.

But if South Africa can survive the week, the probability is that its warring parties will get back to the negotiations they abandoned three months ago.

This prospect will be aided by the appearance in mid-week of a report by the former American Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance. He has spent the past fortnight in South Africa as a special United Nations representative seeking ways to bring the endemic violence under control and enable negotiations to restart. Vance cannot produce miracles, but his report is likely to contain compromise suggestions, perhaps including the offer of international monitoring, which will give both sides a face-saving opportunity to accept.

Whoever wins the week's arm-wrestling contest will go to the negotiating table stronger. The ANC demands a constitution that will provide for — in the old Rhodesian phrase — 'unimpeded progress to majority rule'. President De Klerk, like Ian Smith, says this is unacceptable. He demands what he calls 'power-sharing' between black and white, in effect a system of compulsory coalition rule that would give the white minority a veto. This, the ANC says, is unacceptable. But this week will determine its negotiating strength.

The mass action campaign is the ANC's equivalent of De Klerk's white referendum last

March, when Nelson Mandela will seek to mobilise his voteless constituency and demonstrate his strength in the only way open to him. If he can stop the country dead tomorrow and Tuesday, showing he has the power to bring it to its economic knees, he will have done that.

The government hopes to ride out the storm. There has been a poor turnout for some preliminary protest marches, and De Klerk's advisers have concluded there is a weariness in the black community; that with 43 per cent unemployment and the recession deepening, people in the townships have little stomach for repeated confrontations. So, De Klerk is counting on a lull.

If that happens the ANC will be seriously weakened. It began the negotiating process with only two weapons — international support and the ability to mobilise mass support. The government feels it has neutralised the first weapon. If it can neutralise the second the ANC will be disarmed. It will have little option but to accept whatever deal De Klerk offers.

The government has thus decided to stand its ground and meet the ANC challenge. When South Africa's anxious business community tried last week to ward off the confrontation by reaching an agreement with the big trade union federation, Cosatu, on a 'charter for peace, democracy and economic construction', the government intervened to scuttle the deal. It could not afford to have business side with the union movement and strengthen the ANC's negotiating hand.

What will happen next week? The ANC-Cosatu alliance's control of the transport system is likely to be decisive. It is a nice piece of irony that by forcing blacks to live in segregated townships, apartheid has made it easy for the ANC to paralyse the economy by stopping the trains, buses and taxis from bringing the workers to town.

It is a reasonable prediction that the general strike will be successful, but the subsequent campaigns less so. In political terms that will count as a stalemate, which in the final analysis may be no bad thing.

The Sunday
Observer
2/8/92
London

H F Verwoerd airport 'renamed' by SACP's Hani

■ **Off the map:** It's not official, but the first of surely hundreds of name changes that can be expected in the new South Africa has taken place.

By ESTHER WAUGH

SACP chief Chris Hani yesterday "renamed" Port Elizabeth's H F Verwoerd Airport the "Matthew Goniwe Airport" in commemoration of Eastern Cape activists who had either been killed or had disappeared.

It was an insult that airports were named after "criminals and murderers", he said.

The ceremony, attended by an estimated 4500 ANC-alliance supporters, is part of the ANC Eastern Cape's "black weekend".

"Verwoerd was an ideologue of apartheid. Verwoerd was the inventor of the criminal system of apartheid. He is the man who

raped our education and introduced the barbaric Bantu education system.

"In our hearts and minds Verwoerd stands for everything that is criminal and evil," Hani said.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo, who flew into the city yesterday, told the crowd that the captain of the aircraft had warned passengers they would be faced with mass action on their arrival.

"He told them not to be nervous, the people were quiet and disciplined, and they need not worry when they got off," Slovo said.

None of the passengers showed signs of concern, Slovo continued. Those who needed to worry were in Pretoria and "they have reason to worry", he said.

As the alliance was preparing to enter into a week of rolling mass action, Slovo said the programme of action was not to incite people, but to demand an end to violence and to establish democracy.

When the Government ended the violence "we can go back to a negotiated take-over by the people".

Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa called on black policemen, who were part of the oppressed, to join in marches and "to turn their guns against their senior officers" when they were ordered to shoot at unarmed people.

A three-day consumer boycott was launched on Friday to coincide with the "black weekend".

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BANANA BOYS become Buthelezi Boys as 'Usuthu' cry rings over stadium

Natal joins hands to root for home team

■ **Mashed banana:** They were all there: blacks, whites, statesmen, plebs, New Zealanders, and even a brave Blue Bulls supporter. A jam-packed King's Park Stadium watched the All Blacks squash the Banana Boys 43-25 yesterday, but it didn't matter ... we're back.

By SUNSTAR REPORTERS

PERHAPS for the first time, the cry "Usuthu" was heard as Natal ran on to the field yesterday to take on the All Blacks.

It is a call that stirs every Natalian, and it came from Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, who watched his first

rugby international. He did not choose to do so in the past because of rugby being an "apartheid sport".

Yesterday many black South Africans were rooting for their home team, instead of the opposition, as was almost always the case in the past.

Buthelezi was visibly pleased when told the Natal team had been dubbed "Buthelezi Boys" instead of Banana Boys.

Also in the Natal Rugby Union president's box were Major-General Bantu Holomisa, the Transkei leader, and the ANC's spokesman on sport, Steve Tshwete. NRU secretary Craig Jamieson said that in view of the country's volatile politics they would not be seated together.

For the plebs, braaivleis, rugby, sunny skies and wacky fans were the order of the day.

Non-playing banana boys, clutching wools rolls and packets of biltong, were out in force, along

with busloads of New Zealand and Australian fans sporting patriotic jerseys and peak caps.

Two New Zealanders on a working holiday in South Africa, Patrick Talbot King and Barry Waring, couldn't believe their luck when the first game was held in their "adopted" home town.

With their faces painted blue and the five red stars of the New Zealand flag, they did their own version of the Maori war dance, the "haka".

Some Natal fans sported hats with felt bananas on the crown, others waved banana leaves in the air, which was filled with excitement and loud calls of "We're black, we're white, we're bloody dynamite."

However, there was one lost soul among the capacity crowd of more than 40 000 cheering, shouting, waving rugby devotees — a man in a Blue Bulls hat being mercilessly ridiculed by a quartet of Natal fans who laughed derisively as he sheepishly slunk off.

Sun Star 02-08-92

UN observers fly in today >

■ **Straight to work:** The 10-member UN observer team will hit the ground running when they arrive at Jan Smuts early today to monitor mass action and violence around the country.

By **DAVID BREIER**
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE historic first United Nations mission to monitor violence in South Africa has been drawn from five continents.

But the 10-member team — all of them UN officials mostly based in New York — is slightly smaller than the 12 initially expected.

They are to be deployed through-

out the country immediately to observe the escalating mass action from tomorrow, and will work closely with regional dispute resolution committees set up by the National Peace Accord.

Three team members are already in the country and the other seven fly in early this morning.

Team leader Hisham Omayad, a Ghanaian, is a southern Africa expert who was involved in the Namibian independence issue since 1978. He was a senior aide to Untag leader Martti Ahtisaari and has been in South Africa for 10 days with UN special envoy Cyrus Vance, who returned to New York late this week.

Omayad is expected to take part himself as an observer, probably on the Reef.

Another senior member is Kallu Kalumiya, a Ugandan who has headed the UN High Commissioner for

Refugees in Johannesburg for the past nine months as part of the UN role in facilitating the return of exiles.

Shola Omoregie, a Nigerian national and UN political affairs officer, has also been in South Africa with the Vance mission.

Kalumiya told the Sunday Star that as all team members were senior UN political officials, they had the required political experience to qualify for the mission.

Three will be based in the Witwatersrand and Vaal Triangle, while the shortage meant that one observer would keep an eye on the combined area of the Western Transvaal, Free State and Northern Cape.

Another three are headed for Natal, one for the northern and eastern Transvaal and one each for the western and eastern Cape, including the Border region.

NEWS

SUPPORT - OR lack of it - for the stayaway will determine the ANC's clout

Crunch time for us all

■ **Destiny week:** The events of the next few days will determine whether South Africa resumes negotiations or plunges further into confrontation.

By DAVID BREIER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

AS pressure grows on South Africa to restart negotiations, the ANC has disclosed that it will re-evaluate its mass action campaign next weekend, after this week's general strike.

The week of action starting tomorrow has become a vital test of strength for the ANC.

It will show whether it still enjoys enough popular support to persuade people to sacrifice two days of pay despite opposition to the strike by the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha.

Behind the scenes, the Government has offered the ANC a series of face-saving devices to enable it to

scale down mass action after this week and return to Codesa without losing honour.

This includes measures to break the Codesa deadlock by making new offers for an interim government and constituent assembly.

These are among the ANC's 14 preconditions before it will return to negotiations, and ANC president Nelson Mandela stressed late this week there would be no return to negotiations before the demands were met.

Unofficial meetings

Government sources told the Sunday Star that a number of unofficial meetings with the ANC had taken place recently to discuss a wide range of issues.

They said the meeting between the ANC and Government last Tuesday, brokered by United Nations special representative Cyrus Vance to discuss political prisoners and related issues, was merely the "tip of the iceberg".

Other secret meetings with ANC negotiators were being held to explore options despite the ANC's suspension of negotiations after the Boipatong massacre in June.

But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus denied that there had been further behind-the-scenes meetings with the Government.

Niehaus disclosed that ANC structures throughout the country would hold scheduled meetings on August 7 to 9 to evaluate the campaign so far before decisions were taken on further mass action.

But he cautioned that the action week starting tomorrow was not the "final push". The proposed fourth stage of mass action was still due to be launched, and it could include a "prolonged strike".

Hopes are now growing that there will be less economic disruption this week than had at first been feared.

ANC president Nelson Mandela met senior management of major companies who assured him there would be no dismissals even though

strikers would not be paid.

Mandela indicated that as a quid pro quo for not victimising strikers, discussions would take place to avoid the occupation of factory floors after the two-day stayaway starting tomorrow.

Tentative move

Instead the ANC is to concentrate on occupying Government buildings - a strategy it has already followed for several weeks without any major confrontations.

While the Government and ANC could be moving tentatively back to negotiations, the United Nations initiative to restore the climate for negotiations takes off this weekend with the arrival of up to 12 UN observers to monitor mass action and violence over the next 15 days.

The UN team will work closely with regional dispute resolution committees set up by the National Peace Accord in a bid to cool the political climate.

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WHAT IT'S ALL ABOUT

■ THE primary purpose is to make the Government meet 14 ANC demands before Codesa can resume. Allied to this is, in Nelson Mandela's words, to have an interim government in place, an elected constituent assembly, the end of minority rule, and transfer of power to the majority.

WHO'S IN



■ THE ANC, the SACP, Cosatu, Congress of South African Students, SA Democratic Teachers' Union, National Education Coordinating Committee, all the civic associations; health workers represented by the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Association of SA; a number of homelands in their capacities as the ANC's Codesa allies.

WHO'S NOT



■ PAC, the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation, the Azanian People's Organisation, the National Congress of Trade Unions, Inkatha, Inkatha's labour adjunct United Workers Union of SA, National Professional Teachers' Organisation of SA, the New Unity Movement, and the Independent Trade Unions.

THE RULES

■ NO intimidation, no mock trials, no weapons of any kind, organisers to ensure all protest actions are peaceful and to declare publicly all plans beforehand, emergency services to be left to carry out their duties, no intimidation of journalists in their work.

THE RISK

■ THE risk is one of intimidation and violence between those who want to go to work and those who don't.

THE LIKELY OUTCOME

■ ECONOMIC hardship for strikers: no work, no pay. Increased racial polarisation. Government unyielding. Prolonged stalemate over Codesa. Overseas investors becoming even more edgy about South Africa.

TWO ROADS to power, and the ANC and Govt are not on the same one

Divide and (still) rule

■ Into reverse:

Apartheid apparatchiks ruled the country from the centre of power in Pretoria for four decades. But now that democracy is in the air, the Nats have seen the federal light and it's the ANC demanding centralised power.

By DAVID BREIER

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE power struggle between the Nat and ANC alliances is revolving increasingly over whether real power will be divided between regions or will continue to be grasped by a centralised Government.

The federal issue is taking over from the previous dispute between the Nats and ANC over minority vetoes and the powers of a senate at central government level.

That polemic has been largely defused after it torpedoed Codesa 2 in May. The Nats have softened on these issues. Instead the fight over regional versus central powers is hotting up behind the scenes and is shaping to dominate negotiations when they restart.

Government sources told the Sunday Star this week that they came out of the secret "bosberaad" recently determined to make

their push for strong regional or federal government their priority.

For years the Nats sneered at federalists in the old Progressive Federal Party for advocating decentralised power as a means of minority protection. The ANC likewise has long been sceptical of federalism which they see as a brake on majority rule. The ANC accepts that the country be divided into regions, but wants to limit their power.

Entrenched

But now that it suits the Nats, they are going all out for federalism — although they usually call it regionalism. They insist that regional powers be entrenched in an interim constitution — and maintained in a final constitution as well. They believe they will achieve international backing for this policy.

Nats say that minority rights can best be protected on a nonracial basis by devolving real powers such as health and even police to regional level. They say this is nonracial as no region has a white majority.

But Nat strategy is based on their belief that they can win control of several proposed regions in alliance with various ethnic parties, even if the ANC wins a national majority.

Nats expect to win KwaZulu/Natal in an alliance with Inkatha, the Western Transvaal and Northern Cape in an alliance with the Bophuthatswana Government, and the Western

Cape where the coloured majority is showing strong pro-Nat sympathies.

While the Nats and their allies push for strong regionalism, the ANC policy is summed up as "reluctant regionalism" in a new study by Richard Humphries and Khehla Shubane of the Centre for Policy Studies.

They authors add that at its policy conference in June, the ANC moved away from entrenching regional powers in a constitution, in favour of the "overriding authority of the central Parliament".

"Despite a history of regionally-driven 'struggle', the ANC clearly prefers a unitary state and a strong central government," the researchers report.

Like the Nats, the ANC proposals happen to suit their own interests as they expect to win a national majority comfortably.

While a battle is shaping up between the Nats, the ANC and their respective allies on regional powers, there is considerable agreement on regional boundaries.

The Nats starting point is the nine existing development regions which include the various homelands. These are Western, Northern and Eastern Cape, Free State, Natal, Eastern, Northern and Western Transvaal and PWV.

The ANC wants a tenth region consisting of Transkei, Ciskei and the Border corridor. This "Xhosastan" region would, of course, suit the ANC which would easily control it in addition to the rest of the Eastern Cape.

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Strikebusters will find staff if required

■ **Mass action:** Two million of SA's workers are downing tools. A couple from Pretoria have started a nationwide hi-tech employment agency to try and ameliorate the strike.

By PHILIPPE MILLAN

IT had to happen some time. There is money to be made in any crisis, and Josh Lowe and Denise Viljoen think they have the answer.

This week's upcoming mass action is expected to see at least two million workers coming out on strike, which will leave many employers with empty factory floors and deserted offices.

Trading as "Strikebusters", Josh (42) — a civil engineer — and his fiancée, Denise (33) — a former teacher — intend to supply labour to strike-beleaguered employers, and make a quiet killing for themselves

in the process.

"Unions are there to negotiate better conditions for members, not put them out of jobs by going out on strike all the time. We're helping the economy and helping the unemployed," says Josh.

Strikebusters is like employment agencies, except that nobody gets interviewed or meets any of Lowe's 10 fulltime employees.

Lowe has established a network of "mobilisation units" in Port Elizabeth, Durban, Bloemfontein and the PWV area. People who want to join do so via an 087 number. Their names, details and phone numbers are entered into a database and then the information is sent to a mobilisation centre in his area and stored on computer.

Whenever an employer needs labour he rings Strikebusters which get in touch with prospective "scabs" who are told where to report.

Over 13 000 prospective employees have joined Strikebusters' list so far and the list is apparently growing.

"And over 2 600 companies have inquired about our services, and those include major manufacturers," he says.

So far Denise and Josh say they have sunk "close to R100 000" into Strikebusters. On the present arithmetic they stand to make R65 000 a day if all of their 13 000 signed-up members are used.

He refuses to divulge the whereabouts of their Pretoria headquarters or of any of their "mobilisation centres".

"We are a strategic organisation. We know what we are doing is not going to be popular but the names of our clients and employees must remain a secret."

Lowe denies he is being socially irresponsible, exploiting the penniless masses or in support of any political party.

"Yes we are doing it for the money but we insist on a minimum wage — R5 per hour. If a lot of employers had paid workers a decent minimum wage from the start we wouldn't be in this position," he says.

"It is the responsibility of the companies to ensure the safety of employees on company premises. Anything outside is the Government's responsibility."

"Besides many of the people who join us aren't doing for the money. They are doing because they want to help. We even have doctors and lawyers on our list," chimes in Denise.

"Not many blacks have joined Strikebusters. Since mid-June we have signed up 13 000 people, mostly whites. Only about 5 percent are black."

Lowe says he is undeterred by threats of violence, mainly from whites. "They can send the hitmen for me if they want. I'm not scared."

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Transport services key to the outcome

TOMORROW and Tuesday will see downtown Johannesburg and other national metropolitan centres being mainly "white" — the only blacks around being mainly those who now live in the suburbs, or those brave enough to ignore the call to stay away from work.

Crucial to the success — or failure — of the protests and stayaways will be the attitude of transport authorities; if they themselves support the week of mass action then the country could be brought to its knees, as even those wanting to work would be unable to do so.

The Reef's two largest taxi associations, responsible for ferrying hundreds of thousands of workers daily to and from their jobs, say they will not dictate to their members. The choice is theirs.

Putco, the railways services, and the Johannesburg City Council have all said they would try to provide public transport as normal.

The Johannesburg City Council has established two hot-line numbers for residents with problems due to the action. They are 403-3226/2626.

Ironically, the townships are likely to be hardest hit by the stoppages. Refuse removal in the townships will come to a halt on at least the first two days, perhaps longer, and banks will probably close until Wednesday while the off-tote betting services may shut down.

THE HOW, WHEN, WHAT, WHO, WHERE AND WHY GUIDE TO HELP YOU GET THROUGH THE WEEK

TRANSPORT



PUTCO

As normal as possible. If its service was disrupted then it would be discontinued. Drivers' strike possible.



TAXIS

There may be a few black taxis, although this is unlikely, especially with those working between the townships and Johannesburg. Both the Soweto Taxi Association and the Southern Africa Black Taxi Association said they could not call on their members to support the mass action.



MUNICIPAL

The Johannesburg City Council said it expected to provide a normal bus service. Its approach "business as usual".



TRAINS

"Business as usual". Cosatu workers not expected to turn up but trains would run according to need. Spokesman said there was no need to worry about safety as 500 extra police had been drafted in for Johannesburg and Soweto.

REFUSE



Johannesburg and Sandton Councils not expecting to carry out refuse collection on Monday and Tuesday and advised residents to keep the rubbish for later collection or, in the case of Sandton, dump it in the Council's four garden refuse depots.

Soweto City Council had decided to give their workers time-off on Monday and Tuesday but anything beyond that would lead to a collapse of services. On Friday, they were looking at the possibility of having emergency repair teams. No refuse collected in any case on Mondays and Tuesdays.

SUPERMARKETS



Open as usual. OK. Checkers and Pick 'n Pay said they had not made any contingency plans for the stayaway.

OTHER BUSINESS



The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry has advised its members to adopt a "no work, no pay" policy. Soweto Chamber of Commerce has advised members to use their discretion on whether to open or not.

SCHOOLS



Township schools closed all week. Decision supported by the South African Democratic Teachers' Union and South African Students' Congress, despite the ANC's decision that students should not be involved in the rolling mass action.

AGAINST THIS DECISION:

PAC, Azapo, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action and the National Council of Trade Unions. Other schools unlikely to be affected.

GARAGES



Up to dealers, but most will probably be open. Shell not sure if it can make deliveries; BP confident.

NEWSPAPERS



Distribution of newspapers is likely to be severely affected. There will be fewer street sellers, but cafes and other agents will be supplied as usual.

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OUR VIEW

Give peace
a chance

Sun Star
02-08-92

The issue:

Mass action picks up tomorrow with the planned shutdown of services.

We suggest:

Peace must reign throughout the coming week.

THE seven days beginning tomorrow will, for better or for worse, be counted among the most critical in South Africa's troubled history.

Never before has the burden rested heavier on organisers of protest action to ensure that peace reigns, for in the present climate of political rivalry and intolerance it would take the tiniest spark to ignite the powder keg. The campaign could also be usurped by mischievous elements to settle old scores with opponents, given the bloody history of inter-group clashes due to ideological differences.

A campaign of the magnitude such as that beginning tomorrow carries with it the seeds of confrontation, intimidation, and violence. Hopefully all those will be avoided — if organisers and supporters of mass action abide strictly by the code of conduct proposed by the churches.

The right to choose must be respected. People ignoring the protests and going about their daily lives must be left alone by those taking the opposite view. Security forces should keep their distance, but the right of opponents of the stayaways to go to work must be protected.

The Nationalists must take the blame for precipitating this state of affairs. Most people agree it was their hard-headedness in the first place, through transparent manoeuvres to cling to power indefinitely, which sparked the crisis.

The onus now rests squarely on President de Klerk to regain the moral high ground he once held. He must convince the world that his undertaking this week — to prepare the ground for an eventual government elected by universal adult suffrage, based on the principle of one man, one vote — was not empty rhetoric.

Otherwise South Africa could face a future punctuated by campaigns which, like that starting tomorrow, are economically disastrous and politically dangerous.

POLICE



5000 extra policemen deployed in Transvaal townships. Operation started on Thursday and SADF would help during mass action. Spokesman says "normality" cannot be expected but police could cope with any situation.

POST OFFICE



Delays in mail delivery expected by the Post Office. Telkom will try and carry out emergency services and is confident it can deal with major disasters but there will be no new telephone installations.

STAPLES



BREAD
Deliveries unlikely on Monday and Tuesday. Essential supplies of bread available for collection at some bakeries on those two days and hope of normal service on Wednesday.



MILK
Deliveries on Monday and Tuesday unlikely. Trying to stock supplies that will last to weekend.

HOSPITALS



TPA says all its hospitals have confidential emergency plans. Hospitals not fully filled in anticipation of mass action. "If something happens, we can handle it. We can deal with any crisis situation as the last eight weeks have shown. But at the end of the day nobody can tell what is going to happen."

HOTLINE



To inform the public about what municipal services are available, the Johannesburg City Council has decided on a

FUNERALS



The National Funeral Directors' Association has advised its members not to carry out any burials or charge the families of the deceased for the week. The Soweto Council said there would be no funerals if gravediggers did not return to work on Wednesday. Tembisa Town Council had enough graves dug this week.

policy of open communication, both directly with the public and via the media. It has installed a Hotline which will provide information and advice 24 hours a day. The telephone numbers are: 403-3226 and 403-2626.

BANKS



Standard Bank will close some of its branches if necessary to protect the lives of its staff and customers in the event of violence. First National Bank preferred to "wait and see". ABSA, representing Allied, United, Volkskas and Trust Banks, has contingency plans but will not disclose them.

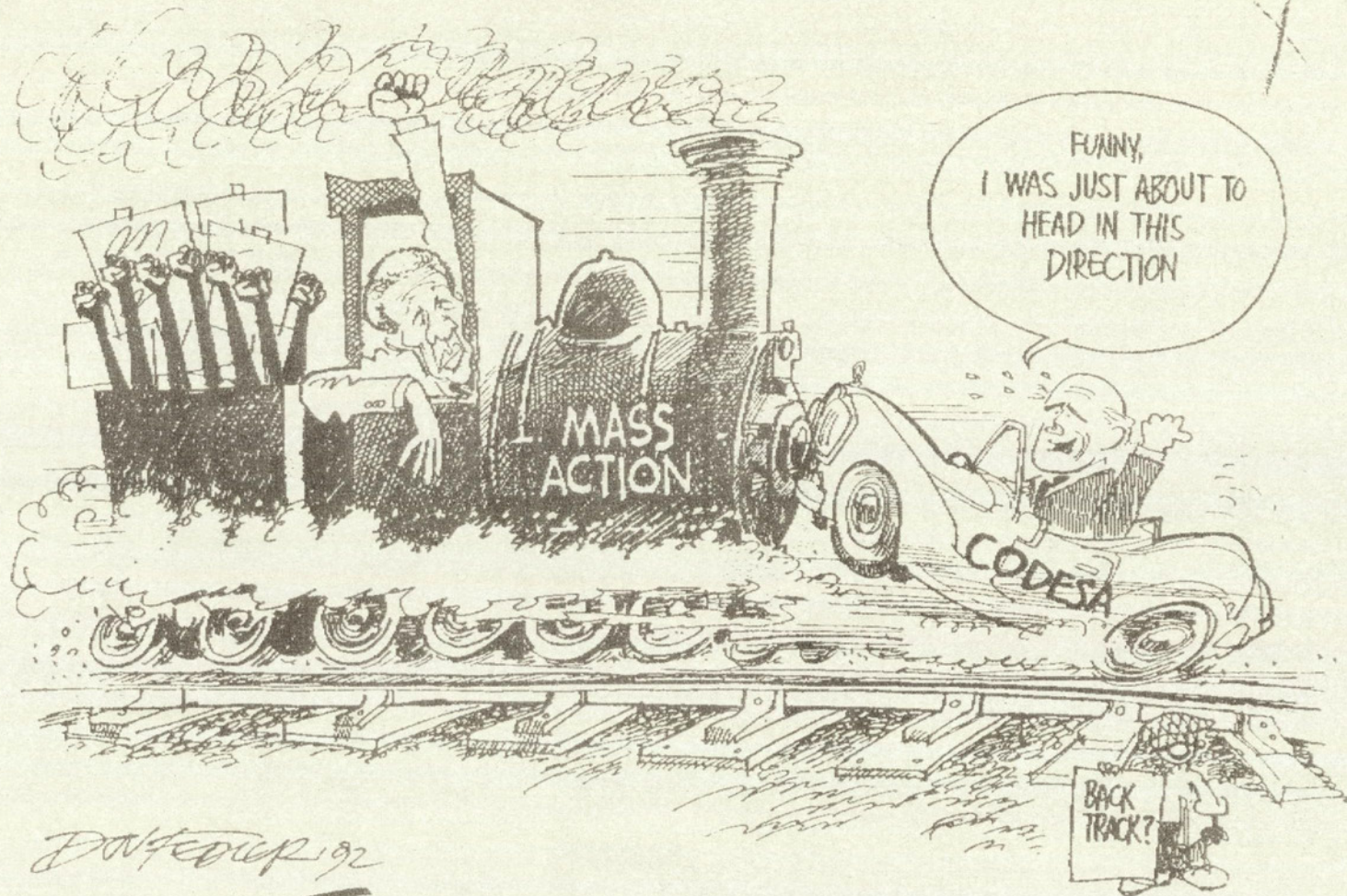
ENTERTAINMENT



Ster-Kinekor will be normal, as will SABC TV and radio. Township she-beens may close at lunch during mass action.

Sun Star 02-08-12(2)

INSIGHT



Dave Coverly '92

Sun Star 02-08-92

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JON
Qwelane

JUST JON

The shape of things to come X

THE moment of reckoning has finally come for all of us, black and white, and tomorrow begins what — depending to a large extent on the actions and reactions of all those directly involved — could be the biggest test of wills and strengths this country has yet seen.

I think it is a reflection of the troubled times in which we are living that things have come to this sorry pass.

It is a cruel twist of irony, Fate's sick joke, that a period almost acclaimed by friend and foe alike as one of the most reformist in South African history should also be the bloodiest and most turbulent.

Of course academics and others will remind us that reform and turbulence have been bedfellows nearly everywhere.

Yet in South Africa one needs to sit back and ponder what sort of reform it is which spurs men (and women) to the levels of anger such as those which saw, for example, the collapse of the Codesa constitutional exercise and the planning of a campaign of "mass action" as planned to begin tomorrow.

Unconvincing

The facile — and totally unconvincing — explanation is that there are those who wish to grab all power to themselves and to hell with everyone else. So what if anyone wants, through constitutional methods, to grab all power? Surely it is a democratically accepted practice throughout the world that whoever wins outright in a straight and clean fight at the polls is the people's choice of government?

There are those in our society who have grown so used to the idea of exclusive privilege at the expense of others that, to them, the idea of change is unpalatable.

They will do anything, stop at nothing, to make sure that the status remains decidedly quo.

That is why the National Party, for example, made all those ridiculous demands of an upper house of minorities loaded against the majority to ensure that the minority would wield effective power on the majority forever and amen.

And that is why the result was the collapse of Codesa and the adoption of mass action as a counter-strategy.

The tragedy of this whole matter is that it could all have been avoided — if the Nationalists and their government had had the sincerity and honesty not only to admit to the fallacy and unworkability of apartheid, which they haven't yet fully done, but also gave in to the forces of democracy which have swept the world for the past three years.

Meaningful

I use the term "democracy" very guardedly here, being fully aware that it has never existed in any meaningful sense in South Africa and, anyway, is subject to various interpretations.

But the end is inescapable: whether tomorrow, next year, the next decade or next century, there will eventually be a government elected by the majority of South Africans.

That the majority of South Africans are black is an incidental factor; they are there and cannot be wished away.

What worries me most is not when such a government will come into being, for that is not in question even if it would be most desirable that it should be soon, the better to begin a process of reconstruction in earnest, but how.

Beginning tomorrow, we will have a fairly good idea of the shape of things to come.



MASS ACTION PRELUDE ... about 2 000 people marched from Alexandra to the local headquarters of the Kew police station unrest unit yesterday to hand in memorandums demanding the removal of the unrest unit from the township.

PICTURE: TOM EDLEY

IFP march gets OK to have sticks

SEVERAL hundred Inkatha Freedom Party supporters gathered at Currie's Fountain in Durban yesterday afternoon for a march — which police had described as "non-political" — to protest against the ANC's mass-action campaign.

The march was plunged into controversy on the issue of carrying weapons in public, and the police's contention that the demonstration was not a political event.

Police said organisers had stressed that the march was not political. "The prohibition on the carrying of dangerous weapons at political marches therefore does not apply," a statement by Natal's Police Commissioner, General Colin Steyn, said.

Police confiscated spears, metal bars and other weapons but did not part Inkatha supporters from their sticks — some of them sharpened.

A police legal representative, Lieutenant Neville Hollis, told reporters the purpose of the march was to welcome home IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi from New York. — Sapa.

Sun Star 02-08-92

RIGHTWINGER Bruce Anderson was deeply embroiled in South African politics

White IFP man deported

■ Persona non grata:

Bruce Anderson, one of the Inkatha Freedom Party's most senior and visible white members, has been deported from South Africa and declared a prohibited person.

By PETA THORNYCROFT

MERCURIAL, plausible and charming, with a string of dubious international contacts, Bruce Anderson was fascinated — almost romantically attracted — by African politics.

He dabbled in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, and became deeply embroiled in South Africa as a verbal hit man for the IFP.

Aliases

He was declared persona non grata on July 17 and left for London that day.

Anderson, an estate agent in Johannesburg's northern suburbs had been in South Africa for 11 years and was a permanent resident.

He had at least two aliases, Bruce Anderson-Lynes and John White. He arrived in South Africa in 1981 after jumping bail in Zimbabwe where he had been charged with fraud.

Anderson was ferociously anti-ANC and had extensive international right wing contacts. He was a former member of Britain's neo-fascist National Front but left it because of its anti-black immigration policies.

After a couple of brushes with



PROHIBITED PERSON ... Bruce Anderson (left) with a raised fist at an IFP rally. Anderson was also an insider with Renamo leader Alfonso Dhlakama.

the law in Britain he emigrated to Rhodesia in the closing stages of the bush war.

The IFP appointed him to take part in Codesa and he was a member of Alexandra township's interim dispute resolution committee.

Government sources would not say why he was given the boot but indicated it "must have been serious" for a long-time resident to have been deported "at this time in South Africa's history."

The Sunday Star asked the IFP for comment on his deportation but there was no reply to our questions.

Bruce Anderson was fascinated by right-wing black politicians. He

was a confidante of Renamo's leader Afonso Dhlakama and Zimbabwe's renegade politician Ndabaningi Sithole.

He was visibly thrilled when he watched IFP members singing and dancing, and his shelves were crowded with books on Africa.

Last year the Sunday Star established he visited Washington where he had connections with several conservative organisations and individuals. He met a well-known ultra-right wing contact on that trip and made enquiries about procuring weapons.

Some members of the interim peace committee in Alex, not

aligned to any political organisation "are delighted" he will no longer be taking part in the delicate deliberations, describing him as "obstructionist."

Well-placed sources say Mr Anderson was detained for a few days prior to his deportation and was then briefly released to sort out his affairs before boarding a plane for Britain, a country he left 16 years ago.

He is now persona non grata in both Zimbabwe and South Africa, and unlikely to receive any kind of welcome in Mozambique.

But he was quite a charmer. And devoted to the IFP.

Swm Stas 02-08-92

**No talks unless ANC's
14 demands met in full**

PRESIDENT de Klerk had better be clear about this: there is no way the ANC will take its seat at the negotiating table unless its 14 demands on the Government are met in full. At the same time the ANC will use every peaceful means available to it, including the campaign of mass action which it steps up tomorrow, to continue putting pressure on the Government to change direction. — Page 28.

'THIRD FORCE' cannot be ruled out, say investigators

Police move in on train killers

By MARK STANSFIELD

A CRACK police squad believes it has found the key to the train killers who have terrorised the Reef for more than a year.

Accusations that the train violence could be the work of a "third force" are not entirely wrong, a source said.

The unit — including some top former security police investigators — has been studying the frequency, location and nature of the attacks for the past two months. Thousands of calculations and other data have been analysed by computer and police have discovered a sinister pattern.

Arrests imminent

Investigators hinted that they may have found the key to the bloody mystery and predict that arrests are imminent.

The specialised unit, known as the Central Co-ordinating Centre, has been working from a nondescript building in Joburg's CBD for two months.

Some of the squad's 1200 members have been operating covertly — travelling along with scared, law-abiding passengers who have daily faced death while on the Southern Transvaal train grid.

Pattern of violence

Details of the train violence "pattern" were explained to the Sunday Star this week.

Details will not be released until investigations are completed and arrests are made.

Earlier this week the Goldstone Commission released its interim report into train violence. During the inquiry, the committee raised the problems of policing and investigation with a top general. The result was the formation of the crack train massacre unit.

► Tracking down the train killers — Page 21

Sun Star 02-08-92

Sun Star 02-08-92 (1).

On the track of terror

■ **On the track:** For the past two months a specialised police unit has been hunting those responsible for the slaughter of train commuters, who often would rather die than confront their biggest bogey-man — fear itself.

By MARK STANSFIELD

THE rhythmic clickety-clack of moving train wheels is not unlike the beat of friendly African drums.

It was once a soothing beat — black commuters would gather in coaches and sing spirituals, using the clickety-clack as a metronome as they sped towards work in the half-light of early dawn.

Now the clickety-clack has become a terrible sound — it matches the fear-induced, speeded-up heartbeat of a commuter community trapped in a psychosis: they have become the silent, frightened, travelling majority.

There are killers who ride the trains now and, like frightened deer, passengers start at the slightest signal of danger — sometimes the danger is imagined, sometimes it's real.

"ZULUS!" someone shouts, and several people dive out the windows of the moving train, killing themselves, committing certain suicide rather than face the killers who have taken on the stature of an invisible, all-powerful childhood ogre.

And because the killers remain anonymous and are perceived to be all-seeing and all-hearing, they have ensured that even witnesses to the slaughter will not co-operate with the police — after all, who in their right mind would speak out against someone you may

have to face again? Even a witness still has to travel daily to work and maybe the killers know who the witnesses are.

The SAP's Central Co-ordinating Centre — the specialised unit tracking the killers — have been frustrated in their efforts by the fear psychosis which has enveloped those who travel by train.

The officer commanding, Colonel "Jorrie" Jordaan, and the chief investigating officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Marx, recount

LARGE REWARDS OFFERED FOR INFORMATION

■ Big rewards are offered by both the police and Spoornet for information which leads to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for killings and other crimes committed on trains.

■ The specialised police unit tracking train killers operates a toll free telephone number where information can be left anonymously.

■ "We have R20 000 and the railways have added another R20 000 to be given as rewards for information," said Colonel "Jorrie" Jordaan of the specialised unit.

■ "The reward will depend on the value of the information supplied — give us the names of the killers and help us catch and convict them and it could be as high as R50 000," he said.

■ The toll-free number is 080-111-0141. The number is manned around the clock.

■ Those willing to supply information can also contact the Operations Room at 77-44001.

■ All information is treated with the strictest confidence.

scores of cases where witnesses have been found, only to disappear or refuse to co-operate once the crunch came and they were told they would have to face the suspects, either from behind one-way glass at an identity parade or in open court.

They also tell of bleeding victims lying on tracks who refuse to speak.

"One badly injured old man looked up at me and said: 'I cannot talk to you, policeman... I survived the jump, that's enough... thank God.'"

"His attitude is typical. We get badly injured people who give false names, false addresses if they survive. All they want to do is melt back into anonymity because they could be identified as a witness and be targeted later by whoever is doing this," said Marx.

"We need to bridge this psychosis because we cannot, as policemen, stop this thing by ourselves — we need the help of the community," added Jordaan.

"Sometimes the killers are simply not there but fear makes the commuters react."

"On March 13 this year six men entered a coach while the train was in motion. There were no knives, pangas or firearms produced, yet eight passengers jumped out of the windows. Five died. The three that survived could not give reasons why they panicked and

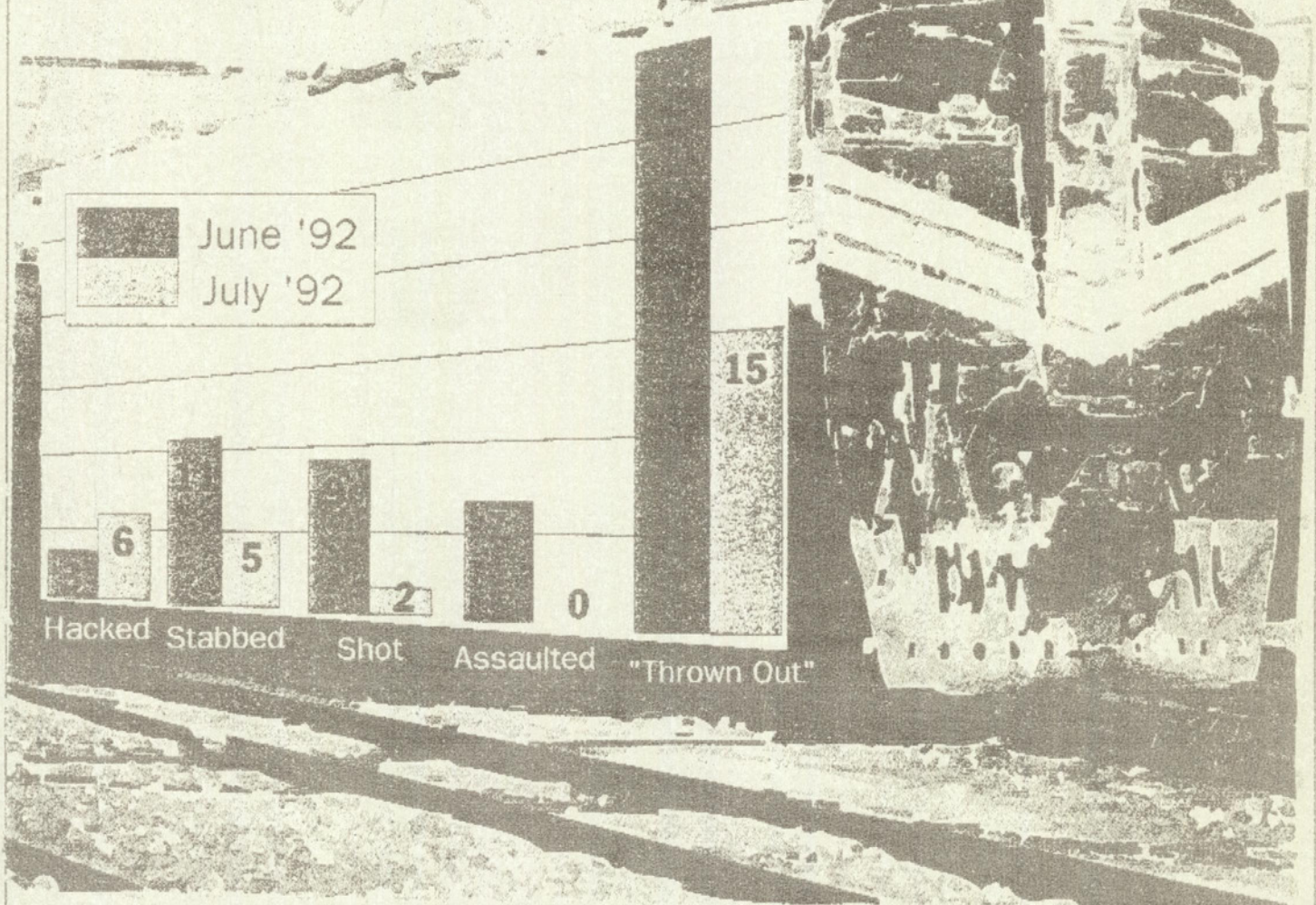
► TO PAGE 22

Sun Star 02-08-92
(2)

INSIGHT

Terror on the tracks

Violence on trains



► FROM PAGE 21

jumped — that gives you an idea of the fear psychosis that rides on the trains at the moment," said Colonel Marx.

Colonel Jordaan has 1 200 men under his command who deal exclusively with crime committed on the trains. The men are divided into four groups, strategically placed along the southern Transvaal rail grid. These men patrol, conduct search missions on trains and gather information vital in the effort to stop the violence.

Incidents on trains have fallen dramatically

this month — the second month the unit has been operating.

"The train incidents cannot be isolated but must be seen in the context of where they happen. If a township bordering the railway line is quiet, you can rest assured that the trains will be quiet too.

"For two months now we have analysed the ethnic groupings of victims. A pattern does not emerge — all groups have been targeted at one time or another," added Colonel Marx.

"Also, many of the incidents have been given a political slant, when in fact they were

simply acts carried out by thugs intent on robbing people for their own gain."

The fear psychosis has also allowed suspects to walk free from courts because of the lack of evidence or because witnesses disappear or refuse to co-operate.

Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau described the situation as a very sad state of affairs.

"The public must realise that they will all still be living in this country in 10 years time ... what sort of a society can we expect then if we allow ourselves to be intimidated now?"

Sun Times 02-09-92

X Advancing support

CYRUS VANCE has left for America without saying what he will propose the UN Security Council should do to help end violence and get negotiations back on track in South Africa.

Insiders say, however, that he is likely to propose that the world body provide support for the Goldstone commission and the National Peace Committee. That support will include the presence of monitors.

X Divide and rule

NELSON MANDELA says he doesn't approve of bond boycotts. Unionist and civic leader Moses Mayekiso raises two fingers.

ANC national spokesman Gill Marcus prates about press freedom. The comrades in the eastern Cape burn newspapers.

Cosatu's Jay Naidoo lets slip that he thinks the ANC negotiators were lousy and inexperienced.

SACP leader Chris Hani attacks self-defence units.

Alliance? What alliance?

Sun Times 02-08-92

High flyer

STILL on the subject, the Union Buildings rumour factory is abuzz with reports that certain cabinet ministers have not taken kindly to the fact that when the ANC chose to resume talks it did so with our leading paper aeroplane manufacturer.

As the excuse given for the resumption was a discussion about political prisoners, the ANC should by rights have spoken to Justice Minister

Kobie Coetsee and not Pik Botha.

One reason given for this anomaly is that the talks followed the intervention of UN representative Cyrus Vance, which would explain the involvement of both Botha and the ANC's Thabo Mbeki.

But there are more than a few people at Foreign Affairs who believe the real reason is that the ANC prefers dealing with their man rather than Mr Coetsee, or even Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.



Sun Times 02-08-92



Courage! Myths crumble faster than markets

THE two-day "general strike" that begins tomorrow looks remarkably like that institutionalised form of sloth, the South African long weekend, but to the business community, huddled in its bunkers, it seems to loom as the start of the revolution.

Nothing is more difficult these days than to distinguish fantasy from reality, bluff from serious threat — or general strike from a long weekend — but it doesn't help to lose one's nerve.

Chris Stals is no doubt correct when he says potential economic growth, once lost, can never be made up again, and Derek Keys is no less correct in saying the damage caused by mass action may last for years. But mass action is hardly likely to do as much harm as, for example, the conflict between fiscal and monetary policy that has kept us trapped for three years in a combination of economic stagnation and inflation.

Indeed, the costs of a two-day strike will be trivial in comparison with the interest on the national debt accumulated during Mr Barend du Plessis's tenure as Minister of Finance in order to sustain the opulent lifestyle of the mandarins and their private-sector pals.

Nothing the ANC and Cosatu might do in the coming weeks is likely to do half the damage done by the government's misallocation of resources to such vain and foolish ventures as Moss-gas, or to the construction of toilet towns in the veld, or the subsidisation of General Bantu Holomisa's military regime, or, indeed, the simple corruption and nepotism of the public service.

The real cost of mass action is to be counted not in economic loss but in human suffering. Even on the left wing "insurrectionism" has become a term of abuse, and Cosatu leaders complain that the townships of the Vaal are disintegrating.

Communist leaders like Moses Mayekiso still strike hardline postures, but Nelson Mandela has actually condemned their demand for a boycott of bond payments, and even Chris Hani is shocked by the excesses of brutality and violence among the "lost gene-

ration" of young people.

The breakdown of Codesa has exposed tensions, and indeed fissures, in the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance. Cosatu, far from trying to make a revolution, is demanding a direct voice in political negotiations; the ANC is struggling to recapture the allegiance of disaffected militants; the role of the SACP increasingly appears to come into question.

The source of this stress, of course, is the crushing burden of poverty and disorder that has been put on the shoulders of ordinary, decent working-class people by the combination of economic decay and political militancy. The result is a fractiousness in the ANC's own ranks, a political volatility that threatens the leaders.

Calls to mass action already evoke mass apathy, and may soon evoke mass antipathy. That, surely, is why the general strike has shrunk from five days to two days — two days tagged on to a weekend, moreover — and that is why the "Leipzig Option" of bringing down the government by mass action has faded into street theatre.

By Wednesday, I suspect, we shall all be back at work, trying to make up lost production, and the informal negotiations — which have been in process ever since Codesa 2 came to a halt — may well be hardening into formal exchanges.

TO say that mass action has all been bluff would be to misrepresent both the mood and the tactics of the ANC and Cosatu. It has been a serious attempt to hustle the government into accepting the ANC's terms for the election of a constituent assembly — a sophisticated form of the township version of "democracy" that says "obey the majority will or we'll kill you" — and the government was bound to resist.

Nothing, as I say, is so difficult as to distinguish myth from reality, or wishes from options. The ANC, and many of its apologists, discern that white rule is drawing to an end, and jump to the conclusion that the government is powerless. Nothing could be further from the truth.

President De Klerk is perfectly able to sit out mass action for a week, a month, a year. Perhaps five years. But his capacity to do so will not be severely tested: the ANC itself does not believe it has the capacity to sustain mass action, on any meaningful scale, for more than a couple of days. Then it must resort to simple destructiveness.

As John Hall remarked this week, R10-billion in housing funds is lying idle because black political actors will not permit the construction to go ahead unless they can extract the political credit. The same is true of education and health: the black population is held hostage to the political ambitions of ruthless leaders.

THE theory — it is a Marxist idea — is that if the suffering of the people becomes sufficiently intense, they will rise up and sweep away the "regime". Lately, in talks with trade union leaders, I have begun to discern a faltering of the belief in this romantic nonsense. Even the most militant leaders are appalled by the conditions in the Vaal townships, where the youngsters are out of control and where the breakdown of services has become a constant danger to life and health.

All they need now, I suspect, is a gesture from the government, a face-saver, to enable them to resume negotiations. The imminent failure of mass action has already undermined the standing of some of the militants, like Ronnie Kasrils, who view politics as a matter of waving red flags from the barricades, and it has brought moderates back into prominence. Not by accident did Thabo Mbeki meet Pik Botha this week.

These are bitter times, worse for workers than for businessmen, but it does no good to wail about lost markets. If the breakdown of Codesa has destroyed some myths, and emphasised some realities, it has probably brought us closer to a resolution of our problems than all the talking that went before.

KEN OWEN

OPINION

Book the guilty

Sun Times
02-08-92

DR Jonathan Gluckman's disclosure that prisoners die in police custody almost weekly has been substantially confirmed by the government: 68 deaths have occurred since January. As our report on the opposite page suggests, killings may well have been concealed — in this particular case by the simulation of a suicide by hanging — and that the medical authorities share culpability with the police.

The first response of both police officers and politicians to Dr Gluckman's charges was to seek self-exoneration. A particular attempt was made to exonerate President De Klerk, who was told of the killings last November and who claims to have acted immediately and vigorously to deal with the matter. If he was not tardy, he was singularly ineffectual, as the tally of a further 68 deaths since January suggests, and he might well set a better example of vigour and concern in dealing with what amounts to a pattern of brutality and murder.

Dr Gluckman's disclosures, after all, tend to confirm the findings of the Waddington mission that the South African Police depend far too heavily in their investigations of crime on extracting confessions, rather than on the scientific collection of evidence. Add to this a remarkable willingness in the higher courts to accept confessions in the face of evidence that they were extracted by force, an historical role as enforcers of unjust law, and a more recent militarisation, and it

is not surprising that the police are viewed with distrust and distaste by most South Africans.

Yet, as President De Klerk has said, the SAP is the only police force we have. Unless it is rehabilitated, and restored to respect in the eyes of the communities which it must police, we may well fall victim to the tender mercies of the armed forces and the self-defence units (about which even Mr Chris Hani now talks with horror). This rehabilitation requires not only a change of method, or a willingness to prosecute the "rotten apples", as the government likes to put it; it requires the SAP to face up to, and deal with, its own record of criminal behaviour, of cover-ups, of refusal to prosecute, and of leniency towards policemen even when they are convicted. Dr Gluckman's scientific findings, which suggest the possibility of 180 cases of unlawful killings in custody, offer a starting point for a serious campaign to cleanse the police force.

In the longer run, we suggest, the SAP needs to be fundamentally reorganised, preferably by creating an independent police force for each political region of the country and a separate national investigative force, small but highly skilled like the FBI or Scotland Yard, to supervise local forces — and vice versa. But that lies in the future; the immediate need is to restore public confidence in the SAP by bringing to justice those within its ranks who are guilty of criminal, and indeed murderous, behaviour.

Anarchy the enemy

CAUGHT between the fading rule of the white government and the capricious power of the emergent black political movements, many of the Vaal townships have collapsed into appalling anarchy.

At the root of much of the trouble, SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani now frankly admits, are the so-called self-defence units. Community protection against "agents of the state" was the intention: murder, extortion, gang warfare and kangaroo justice are the result. The victims of these renegade units, as always, are ordinary citizens.

Vigilantism, no matter what its noble provenance and honest in-

tent, remains ripe for hijacking by crooks and those with their own desperate goals. Such criminal missionarism, once unleashed, can be repressed only with extraordinary difficulty.

Mr Hani at least realises that visions of a "pure" revolution on the streets are utopian. At this rate the bandits would beat the revolutionaries to office. In contradiction, however, the ANC this week opposed the deployment of security forces in the worst-hit townships in an operation designed to restore the order that Mr Hani admits is most grievously lacking. The ANC has yet to grasp the fact that anarchy, not a flawed police force, is still the greater enemy.

Church stands falsely accused

Sun Times
02-03-92

CEDRIC MAYSON of the SA Council of Churches responds to the charge that churches have contributed directly to the season of violence

THE recent renewal of right-wing attacks on the South African Christian organisations, including the South African Council of Churches, makes us sad and angry.

We are sad because, in an attempt to further destabilise our people, old issues are raised which have long since been answered. We are angry because the effect is to divert attention from the appalling suffering of our people at the hands of the Nationalist regime and its allies who persistently refuse to permit South Africans to establish a normal democracy.

Right-wing politicians, journalists and clergy who make such attacks raise the ghosts of the apartheid era. They are either ignorant of the facts or guilty of interpreting them from a false position which leads them to speak foolishly.

Among those to whom we refer is Rachel Tingle, a British author who in her book *Revolution or Reconciliation: The Struggle in the Church in South Africa* condemns nearly everyone in the churches who has taken a prophetic stance against apartheid, and advances the ludicrous

charge that those organisations and leaders are themselves responsible for the violence. (The Spectator editorial in last week's Sunday Times repeated Tingle's and others' charges).

It is folly to suggest that the Church has promoted violence, when everyone knows that the National Peace Accord and other local peace initiatives were instigated by the churches and in many cases, are led by clergy.

Church leaders have invested time and effort to promote negotiations towards a just, peaceful and democratic South Africa. They have been engaged in a round of meetings with government, political organisations, labour, business and the UN special envoy to end violence and break the negotiations deadlock. The Church seeks peace.

It is folly to pillory the Church because it has pined of agreement with the liberation movement. The theological assertion that God demands justice and peace and calls us to do justly, love mercy and walk humbly, is well interpreted politically as the quest for a united democracy, free of racism, sexism and

poverty. Right-wing Christians should use this accord to congratulate liberation movements on their theology instead of falsely accusing churches on their politics.

It is folly to imply that because Dutch Reformed and Pentecostal church members have admitted they were wrong to support apartheid, the member bodies of the SACC must "admit they were wrong" for supporting liberation movements. The Church is not called to play political games, but to support those seeking justice for the poor and oppressed.

It is folly to criticise the world church for sending money to support the liberation struggle in South Africa and assist its victims by supporting humanitarian programmes. The Church of Christ is one throughout the world whose members seek to support one another.

Apartheid is a crime against humanity and it is correct that the world church should support those who suffer under it and struggle against it.

It is folly to accuse theologians of "distorting the tra-

ditional teaching of the Christian Church" because they formulate theology with those who suffer violence and discrimination and seek to liberate themselves.

Theology has always been contextual, constantly renewed by the incarnate God in every age. Today, when theological understanding in every church is being renewed and personal salvation is set in the wider context of God's whole world, we dare not "put aside the commandments of God to cling to human traditions".

Scripture warns us to be careful of those who would lead us astray, and we are well aware of the methods of right-wing politicians and financiers to recruit clergy and church members to destabilise movements for justice and peace.

Our place is in the struggle to liberate our society, removing the causes of injustice and violence and replacing them with structures that promote justice and peace.

● The Rev Mayson, director of the SACC's Faith and Mission Department, prepared this piece on behalf of the SACC.

Sum Times
02-05-92

Umtata gate opens for Jannie Roux

TOP public servants continue to tumble. Next on the growing list of departing departmental heads, Hogarth has been told, is Dr Jannie Roux, supreme in the State President's office and one-time prisons official.

Roux, once closely allied with former President PW Botha, has — to the amazement of many — continued in the job since the putsch which saw the Crocodile departing for the Wilderness.

Either FW de Klerk has now had enough or Roux, like Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, has succumbed to the lure of the six-figure payouts that top public servants get when their contracts have expired.

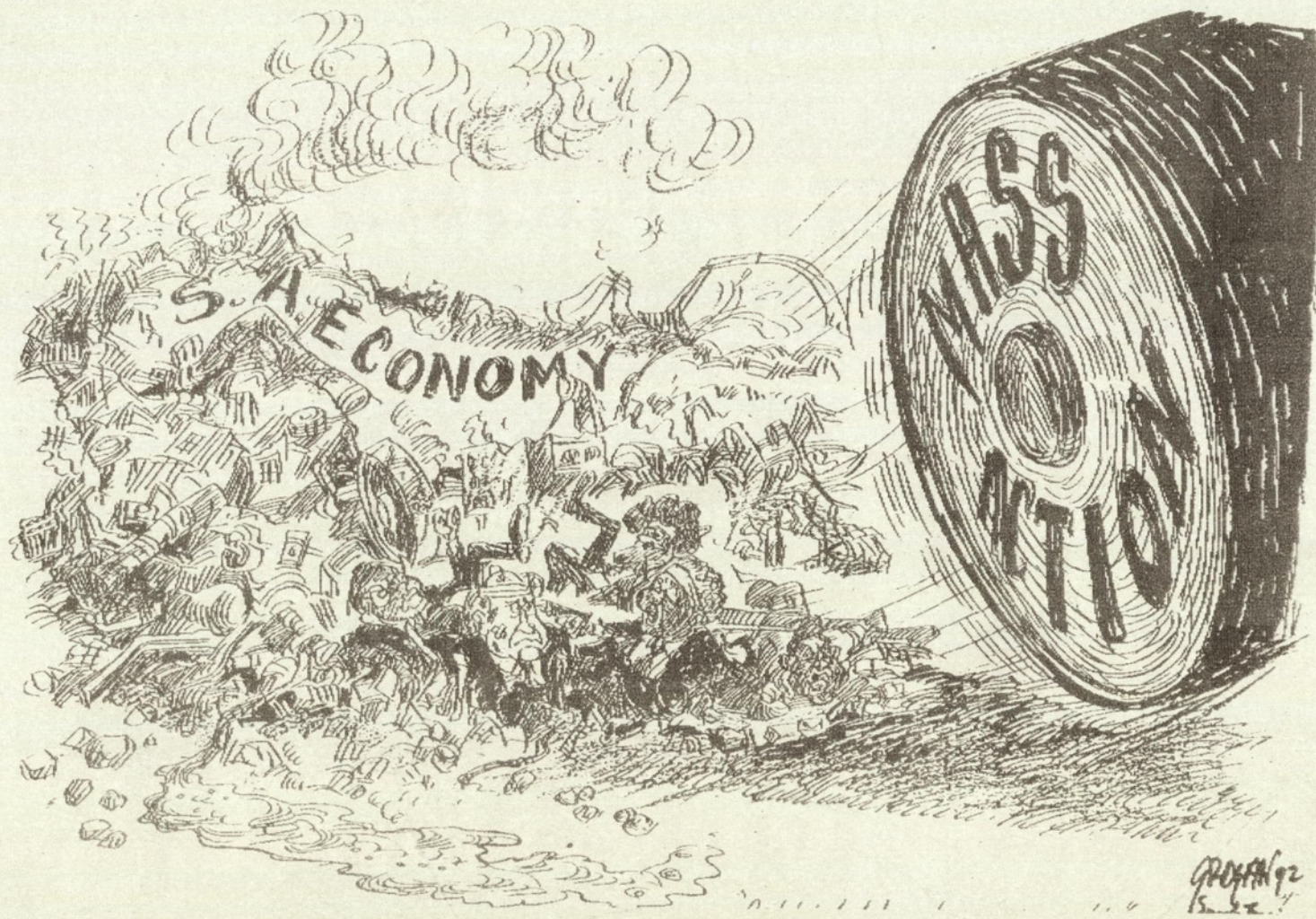
It is understood that President De Klerk has asked the Department of Foreign Affairs to find a diplomatic posting for Roux.

Hogarth suggests Umtata. The current incumbent, Horace van Rensburg, judging by his reaction when some protesters broke his gate last week, clearly doesn't have the steely nerves the job requires.

Roux, at least, is used to living behind prison bars and a spell in Umtata would be a just reward for his loyal service in implementing apartheid.

Sun Times 02-08-92

AUG 03 '92 10:26 VOS-IFP 444 3198



'And let that be a lesson to you!'

NATIONAL STRIKE?

- South Africans will LOSE billions of rands
- Confidence in our ECONOMY will be further eroded
- Workers will lose millions of rands in WAGES
- Many JOBS could be lost
- It could lead to more VIOLENCE

IT IS SO UNNECESSARY

- If AGREEMENT had been reached at Codesa II we could by now already have begun with the implementation of transitional arrangements
- We could have been WELL ON THE WAY to democratic elections for a constitution-making parliament and a government of national unity
- The Government has ALWAYS been prepared to negotiate ALL reasonable proposals with ALL parties

Sum Times 20-08-94 (11)

Swm. Times 02-08-92

Why the English fear the ANC

I HAVE noted Ken Owen's article "King rules ..." (July 26). I am not quarrelling with his right to freedom of expression, but I also have the right to reply to his comments on me and Transkei.

He has alluded to Transkei as being an ANC wing. Such talk of wings arouses loyalties to causes plus great sentimental attachment. He too belongs to a wing of British imperialism that enmeshed us in the turmoil of racial oppression and milked the energies of our ancestors and their descendants for token reward.

Through our energies you have been able to repatriate dividends and interests which have been used to strengthen the economies of foreign imperialist powers and build their capitals. The blacks, arduously working for that affluence, have been left to bathe in a sea of poverty.

As I write this letter, money is being removed in millions every day to South African financial institutions based in Transkei. Transkeians are shopping in neighbouring countries and Transkeians are working and spending their earnings in South Africa, thereby boosting its economy. Little has been ploughed back since the days of British colonialism, even in the aftermath of their political disempowerment by the Afrikaner.

We understand the panic. The reason is that the vast wealth of South Africa is still largely controlled by the English, with the Afrikaners dominating mainly the political arena and agriculture. You (English and other foreigners) feel threatened by the ANC, just as you once felt so threatened by the ascendancy of Afrikanerdom.

We are what we are because the Afrikaner decided to share the crumbs left over by the once all-powerful British empire. — MAJ-GEN HB HOLOMISA, Chairman of the Transkei Military Council, Umtata.

THE TAXI WARS

PULLING STRINGS — AND TRIGGERS

THE taxi wars that have racked the township of Ivory Park are a saga of assassination contracts, gun battles, greed and dogged attempts at resolving the violence.

The sheriff in the middle is Alan Dawson, the unassuming mayor of Midrand, who became involved in a war for turf that would have made Mafia bosses proud.

Behind the war is a struggle for land. Key figure in this conflict is Mandla Songo, a dapper teacher and Tembisa town councillor.

Some say he is a gangster; others say he is the middleman of the new South Africa, a tireless community worker who cuts through the bureaucracy and inefficiency that stand between the homeless and land.

What is certain is that the association he has formed to "help the homeless" is worth a cool R19,5-million.

There is money to be made now that apartheid is dying and business opportunities and land are opening up to black people. The Tembisa taxi routes are worth at least R8-million a month, and the smaller Ivory Park routes about half that.

Ivory Park is a two-year-old formal settlement of 150 000 former squatters

wedged between Pretoria and Johannesburg.

The Goldstone commission report into the Ivory Park taxi war, released this week, found that "the roots of the discord are to be found in the commercial competition between taxi associations for the new market opening up there".

Mr Dawson became involved in the taxi feud through his post as facilitating chairman of the Ivory Park Co-ordinating Committee. He says that last year he was approached by the community "and made aware that a contract was out for the shooting of the Ivory Park Taxi Association".

Confiscated

He says: "The contract was allegedly laid with the Tembisa Inkatha Freedom Party. The person who placed the contract was exposed, the community met and I thought the problem had been resolved.

"However, a taxi marshal in a Tembisa taxi vehicle strayed into the Ivory Park taxi territory and a shootout occurred. The marshal died.

"The assailants were arrested and weapons confiscated." Mr Dawson again believed the conflict had ended.

On May 15 at 6am there was an attack on an Ivory Park taxi rank. Gunmen with AK-47s opened fire, killing a passenger and in-

juring two schoolchildren. Mr Dawson wrote to the Goldstone commission days before a plot to wage war on the Alexandra Taxi Association was foiled.

The Midrand Taxi Forum was then created by Mr Dawson and the taxi groups. It is investigating ways of making taxi transport safer and is drawing up a code of conduct negotiated between drivers and passengers.

Mr Alfred Majodena, treasurer of the Tembisa Taxi Association, denies

that they have been the aggressors. The TTA has been in existence since 1979; today it controls 1 070 taxis, all of them 16-seaters.

They travel between Tembisa and Midrand, Pretoria, Kempton Park, Spartan and Isando. Kempton Park is their busiest route, and Mr Majodena says the average driver will travel that route 12 or 13 times a day.

Drivers earn R200 to R250 a week for this high-pressure work. Fares have

The Goldstone commission this week found that the taxi wars which have claimed scores of lives are rooted in bitter commercial competition.

CHARLENE SMITH visits the Ivory Park settlement, near Johannesburg, scene of one of the bloodiest wars...

been frozen at R2 for the Kempton route for some time, Mr Majodena says, because "passengers say they can't pay more". Pressure has intensified on drivers to take more passengers faster.

Mr Majodena says he is not sure if the taxi forum will produce results. He claims that part of the conflict lies in the Ivory Park Taxi Association's linking up with the Alexandra Taxi Association. "Most of those from Ivory Park used to be from Tembisa; they should

have stayed with us."

The Ivory Park Taxi Association and the Alexandra Taxi Association did not return calls from the Sunday Times.

Most Ivory Park residents are former squatters from Tembisa and Midrand. Many more who live in Tembisa backyards still seek sites there, and most go to Mr Songo for help. Years ago he began organising squatters into communities, which pressed for land and fought removals.

As his squatter empire grew (he, however, lives in a neat Tembisa house) it became inevitable that the TPA would have to allocate land. Mr Songo says he earns nothing for his assistance to squatters, though squatters pay a R65 joining fee to the Home-seekers Association.

If the association has the 300 000 members Mr Songo claims, it is worth R19,5-million. Membership fees, he says, assist officials with transport and the hire of portable toilets.

Sun Times 02-08-92

2 SUNDAY TIMES, August 2 1992

Fizzling mass action could spell disaster for ANC's hardliners

RW JOHNSON assesses the implications of mass action

ONE of Sherlock Holmes's most revealing cases was one in which the main clue was not what had happened but what hadn't; the case of the dog that didn't bark in the night (because it was the villain's pet).

Similarly, the great significance of last weekend's much-vaunted mass action campaign was that the masses were so absent, with barely 20 000 people turning out in the countrywide demonstrations. This was not, moreover, mere apathy — it was a positive stayaway, a huge, spontaneous stay-at-home achieved without any of the usual intimidation.

It is possible that the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance will be able to claim greater success for tomorrow's general strike, but last weekend's display of mass disaffection means, beyond any shadow of a doubt, that a solid stayaway can be achieved only by frank and massive intimidation: a wholesale mockery of Mr Mandela's claim that the strike is a peaceful assertion of civil rights.

The best way to test Mr Mandela's claim is to look at his birthplace, Transkei, where the ANC has untrammelled control. News reports from Transkei speak of massive intimidation, ANC roadblocks, the stoning and burning of vehicles, enforced factory closures and

warnings to whites not to travel after dark.

Ideologists of struggle will no doubt tell us that Transkei is now a "liberated area", but one suspects that, as in the old "people's democracies", this is the sort of liberation which produces a flood of refugees trying to get away from it.

How did the ANC get into this mess? It seems clear that the mass action campaign was planned a long time ago, long before the Codesa breakdown, by the SACP and its allies within the Cosatu leadership.

The reasons are not difficult to discern. Cosatu feels that it is the one truly functional arm of the "progressive movement", that it alone has a true mass base, real organisational discipline

and meaningful negotiation experience.

The negotiations for the National Peace Accord were a signal example: the ANC negotiators made rhetorical speeches and got nowhere, while the working group run by Cosatu made great strides. In the end the accord was produced by collapsing all working groups into the Cosatu one and shunting the ANC hot-air specialists off the team.

Cosatu was left with a lingering bitterness at its exclusion from Codesa. Mass action appealed enormously to Jay Naidoo and his merry men because they knew that Cosatu alone could make such action a reality, and it would thus shift them back to centre stage — which it has indeed done.

The SACP's motives were similar. A smoothly negotiated solution would clearly leave the SACP out in the cold.

So the resulting interim government would include Mandela, Mbeki and Ramaphosa — but no Hani, Slovo, Cronin or Kasrils.

If the SACP were not to be marginalised, it would have to heat up the transition process to a point where the government had to accept whatever interim government the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance dictated. Mass action was the tool selected to achieve that end.

Mass action also meant a shift in the power balance within the ANC: suddenly the key policy statements were being made by Peter Mokaba, Ronnie Kasrils, Ronnie Mamoepa, Jay Naidoo and Moses Mayekiso — a very different set of names than those the public were used to. Meanwhile, the Thabo Mbekis

and Jacob Zumas fell silent.

Many ANC sympathisers, finding themselves out of sympathy with mass action, made themselves scarce — Desmond Tutu, for example, taking a private holiday abroad for the period of the strike. Mandela himself was sent wandering off round Iran (where he proclaimed Khomeini's Islamic revolution to be the model for Africa), Saudi Arabia (where he intimated the opposite) and the Olympic Games (where he gave boxing advice).

Mandela had, however, clearly understood the lack of popular enthusiasm for mass action. From Paris he announced that the strike would last only one day and has now returned to disown those who spoke of a "Leipzig option" and to disagree publicly with Mayekiso over a bond boycott.

How far this represents a clear victory of the moderates remains to be seen. Clearly, the radicals have failed in their bid and the ANC has lost valuable public support in the process.

All this has been necessary for the ANC to learn that mass action is no more a viable alternative to negotiation than armed struggle was. The country will have paid a high price for this lesson but, even so, it may be worth it.

Sun Times 02-08-92

Sun Times 02-08-92

CP split looms~~X~~

By CHARLES LEONARD

THE Conservative Party's fragile unity is expected to finally cave in -- resulting in a major split before the end of this week.

Rebel MP for Potchefstroom Andries Beyers would be called before the party's executive committee, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said last night.

At the meeting, Mr Beyers will be asked to explain the views expressed in a speech he made at a CP youth gathering at Naboomspruit in the northern Transvaal. He had called for a drastically reduced Afrikaner state and immediate negotiations with all parties.

A faction of the CP youth wing later expressed its support for Mr Beyers's views.

Sun Times
02-09-92

ANC units running wild, says Chris Hani

COMMUNIST Party boss Chris Hani this week charged that ANC self-defence units were committing atrocities and running riot among communities they were expected to protect.

In a brutally frank interview on the eve of the general strike, which the ANC has pledged will be free of intimidation, Mr Hani said in many areas of the country, but particularly in the Vaal, self-defence unit members simply had no conception of democratic tolerance.

Mr Hani, who was asked by the ANC to investigate self-defence units, said he had found that:

- There was a clear absence of community control over SDUs.

- SDUs in Sebokeng were fighting among themselves in a battle for political turf. Already the rivalry had claimed the lives of three metalworkers' union shop stewards.

- Defence units in the Vaal and Soweto had "necklaced" political opponents.

Boycott

- In a squatter camp outside Bloemfontein "kangaroo" courts had been introduced by defence unit members who flogged those found guilty of the spurious charges put to them.

- In the northern Transvaal, SDUs had imposed a tax on black businessmen. Those who refused to pay were threatened with a consumer boycott.

- Phola Park defence units had been infiltrated by criminals. One armed

By MIKE ROBERTSON

group had overthrown a democratically elected residents' association. Its members wanted the squatter settlement to be a no-go area even for normal policing. It had become a popular hideout for car thieves.

- SDU members in the Vaal were guilty of firing indiscriminately on vehicles travelling on the Golden Highway.

Mr Hani said: "We can no longer keep quiet about this. We have to establish basic accountability... we must take action, not only speak out."

"Whether we like it or not, these self-defence units are associated with us. If they are seen to be bully boys, the ANC will lose membership."

Mr Hani added that a special ANC commission, consisting of members from other provinces, was investigating the involvement of Umkhonto we Sizwe members in the defence units that were running wild in the Vaal.

• See Page 6

Matric pupil tells of life in war zone

SLEEP is a luxury which 25-year-old matric student Maurice More can do without. By day he studies at the First National College in Johannesburg. By night he is one of 2 000 Sebokeng youths who man the barricades that protect his community from "nameless, faceless people who shoot at us in the dark".

The masterminds behind the barricades operate from a graffiti-plastered youth centre on the corner of Chris Hani Street in Sebokeng.

To reach the "Operation Vula" headquarters you have to walk through a war zone of trenches filled with torn out road signs and logs, a sea of burst sewerage pipes and mountains of garbage.

Maurice is the Sebokeng ANC Youth League publicity secretary, a proud member of Hani's army on the frontline.

"Chris Hani said the

By HEATHER ROBERTSON

youth must go to the trenches and that is what we are doing," says Maurice, who was detained for two years for his activities in the Congress of South African Students in the 80s.

His day begins at 5.30am when he leaves the barricade. He prepares for school and leaves home at 7am. He catches up on his sleep in the bus and in the classroom.

He arrives home at 3pm, then walks to the youth league offices to plan youth activities — which range from ballroom classes to protest marches.

At 6pm he heads for the trenches where he looks out for attackers.

"It's tough, our studies are suffering but, as a result of the barricades, the death rate is down," says Maurice.

When there are no attackers, Maurice looks out for drunks to escort home.

He claims that crime in Sebokeng has also decreased.

Thugs

"Everyone is eager to see justice done," he says.

Maurice says returned Umkhonto we Sizwe members trained the Sebokeng youth in surveillance techniques but that, "in line with the Pretoria Minute, the only weapons we use are stones".

The "attackers", he believes, are either Inkatha members or police.

Captain Piet Deventer, police spokesman for the Vaal, refutes this.

"The barricades are a complete disruption of the normal flow of traffic. When police stop the people manning the barricades they shoot at us. We're there to protect the community not attack them."

He said police have special men in the area to stabilise the situation. They conducted house searches from Wednesday.

"It has got nothing to do with mass action. We confiscated dagga, stolen vehicles and weapons. The idea is to get the situation back to normal," he said.



MAURICE MORE
Sleep is a luxury

Mr David Diranc, a hawker in Chris Hani Street, supports the youth but claims there are thugs on the barricades who intimidate people.

"I support mass action because maybe we'll get jobs if there is an ANC government, but there are thugs on the barricades who have looted houses and stolen cars."

The barricades prevented the council from clearing the sewerage, he added.

"It's an unhealthy situation — people are not buying my fruit because of the stink."

Hazard

The Youth League admits there is a problem with "tsotsis" but members say they set up monitoring committees at each barricade two weeks ago to see that the youth do not demand money from people or steal cars.

The league says it deals with "tsotsis" by forcing them to join the ANC.

The TPA and the Sebokeng town council say they cannot tackle the breakdown in services in the Vaal townships because of the barricades.

Sebokeng town council administrator Herman Immelman said the broken sewerage pipes and the garbage still posed a health hazard.

Filth

"There is still the threat of a typhoid or cholera outbreak because of the filth."

But Mr Immelman adds that his hands are tied. He cannot take steps to prevent the possible outbreak of disease until the local civic organisation agrees.

At a meeting between the TPA, the Vaal Civic Association and the Sebokeng town council on July 29, the Civic Association agreed to accompany council workers in the townships — but only after mass action had taken its course.

Sun Times
02-08-92

UN men here today to monitor strikes

By HEATHER ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

UNITED NATIONS monitors arrive in Johannesburg today as the country prepares for two days of strikes and protest action led by the ANC and its allies.

This week workers and bosses struck deals to avoid confrontation, the ANC and the government appealed for discipline and the National Peace Committee geared itself for a crucial monitoring role in the days ahead.

And even as plans for mass action rolled ahead, the government and the ANC met this week for discussions on the release of remaining political prisoners — a step which the ANC believes would give impetus to a resumption of negotiations.

The UN team's presence this week was proposed by both the ANC and the government.

It is expected that UN special representative Cyrus Vance will next week recommend to UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali that a much larger observation team, perhaps 200 to 300 strong, be sent to South Africa to bolster the National Peace Committee and the Goldstone commission in its peacekeeping efforts.

The UN observers arriving today are headed by Hisham Omayed from Ghana, and include senior UN officials from America, Portugal, Japan and Pakistan.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said on Friday he envisaged that the UN representatives would be the precursors to a greater international involvement in South Africa.

The European Community is also considering stationing an observer team in South Africa and linking itself to the Goldstone commission and the National Peace Committee.

Boycotts

In return, most workers will do overtime to make up for the time lost.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said he expected the two-day strike to be at least as successful as last year's anti-VAT action which saw seven million man-hours lost at an estimated cost of R500-million to the economy.

● An Omnichex poll conducted among 800 black women and 500 black men in major metropolitan areas in June and July showed that 72 percent believed strikes and consumer boycotts were "effective" or "very effective" forms of mass action.

The same survey showed that metropolitan blacks thought rallies and marches had limited effectiveness.

The survey also showed that more than a third of the respondents were unable to say what the term "mass action" meant.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd will head an EC delegation that is expected to visit South Africa at the beginning of September.

While in SA, Mr Vance initiated a meeting between the government and the ANC regarding the release of remaining political prisoners.

An ANC delegation led by international affairs head Thabo Mbeki met Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Pretoria on Tuesday night. A further meeting between Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Mr Mbeki took place in Johannesburg on Friday morning.

Meanwhile, employers and unions in the labour-intensive clothing and mining sectors have agreed to a shutdown tomorrow.

On Tuesday workers at clothing factories in Natal and the Western Cape, Anglo American mines in the Free State, and the Trans-Natal division of Genmin in Witbank are expected to participate in other forms of mass action at their employment sites rather than stay away.

Sun Times
02-08-92



BUT:

- A new constitution **CANNOT BE IMPOSED** by force of any kind, including mass action
- There can be **NO SOLUTION** without the participation of **ALL** significant parties
- Only through **GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS** can we move toward peace, progress, prosperity and **REAL DEMOCRACY** in which everyone participates

Issued on behalf of the South African Government by the
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