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New line-up of forces against ANC

NT Mercury 30/9/92

SHARP realignment of South African political forces — with far-reaching implications for negotiations — is on the cards following the meeting yesterday of the leaders of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

They emerged from their talks to jointly call on organisations sharing their concerns — particularly over bilateral decision-making by the ANC and the Government — to meet and “to discuss the way forward”.

This follows efforts by the Government to patch up its differences with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and effectively means the Codesa “alliance” which lined up against the ANC is in tatters.

After the meeting in Mbabatho yesterday Dr Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei ruler Oupa Gqozo issued a joint statement rejecting the “Record of Understanding” signed by the Government and the ANC at the weekend.

Last night Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Walter Felgate said: “There must be a realignment of political forces following the way that Mr de Klerk capitulated to the ANC demands at the weekend summit.”

The Conservative Party immediately indicated that it could in future join in talks with the three and the CP in

By Chris Whitfield

Political Correspondent

the Free State said it supported the “formation of a moderate alliance”.

KwaZulu leader TK Mopedi, who was in the Government camp at Codesa, is thought to favour the alliance.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha reacted to the meeting of the three by saying that political leaders should not be forming power blocs and should act in the best interests of the country.

He said the agreements reached at the summit were not “aimed at any party, but at resolving obstacles that were in the way of the resumption of talks”.

President de Klerk had late yesterday not yet written a letter he intends sending to Dr Buthelezi. It is understood the letter will outline the Government's reasons for the summit agreement and invite the KwaZulu Chief Minister for talks.

Mr Felgate said that the political realignment would be “across the board” and the “final dividing line” would centre on two interlinked issues. These were the summit decision to accept an elected constituent assembly and the debate on federalism or a centralised government for South Africa.

The IFP and the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments reject the constituent assembly and a centralised government.

16/1/11

Mass action: Meetings continue

Ulundi march still on 'in near future'

N1 Mercury 20/9/92

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu continued his meetings on mass action with the Natal regions yesterday, but local spokesmen said they were still determined to press ahead with a march on Ulundi "some weeks from now".

Southern Natal regional executive committee member and organiser Bheki Cele said yesterday: "The march goes on, but a date has not been finalised."

Asked to give a rough indication of when it might be, he said: "Not next year... some weeks from now."

Regional organisers would still have to work out the details, he said.

Mr Cele said that even if the national leadership decided to call off its mass action programme the regions had autonomy to carry out programmes in

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

their particular areas. They would, however, have to consult the national leadership.

He flatly dismissed suggestions that the march would be designed to topple the KwaZulu Government. It would be a march to protest against the lack of freedom of political activity for all in KwaZulu, said Mr Cele.

"We need access to our members there. We want to be able to go to Ulundi and address our members there. We want to bury our dead in KwaZulu," said Mr Cele.

Mr Sisulu met the ANC's Southern Natal and Natal Midlands branches on Monday and yesterday met officials from the Northern Natal branch.

THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 30 SEPTEMBER 1992

The Star

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A dangerous
manoeuvre

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi is on a perilous course. His withdrawal from constitutional negotiations in protest against the accord reached between the Government and the ANC will not help resolve South Africa's grave problems. It has the capacity to aggravate them.

There are signs already that his withdrawal has encouraged the formation of a separatist front between KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei. The Mmabatho meeting between Chief Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei is a clear indication of a new and dangerous political trend.

These three men are united by a single objective: to withhold acceptance of a centralised government in post-apartheid South Africa if it is controlled by the ANC. President Mangope's resolve to maintain the quasi-independence of Bophuthatswana is said to have hardened since Chief Buthelezi's withdrawal.

The threat of secession is in the air, as Chief Buthelezi's recent address to KwaZulu civil servants makes abundantly clear. Secession is an incendiary word, even when whispered, in a heterogeneous society like South Africa. Some of history's bloodiest wars have been precipitated by it.

Chief Buthelezi and his allies must somehow be brought back to the negotiating table. Their anxieties and aspirations — including their objections to the perceived bid by the De Klerk administration and the ANC to pre-empt decisions on important issues in bilateral discussions — are best addressed there.

So far President de Klerk has reacted with admirable restraint, partly because he needs Chief Buthelezi for his envisaged grand alliance of "moderate" forces. The ANC, however, must help by ending its propaganda onslaught on selected "bantustans" and by abandoning its plans to march on Mmabatho and Ulundi. The organisation is strong enough to be generous.

OPINION

Patrick Laurence analyses the rationale of Buthelezi's withdrawal gambit

IFP out to match Mandela

BY withdrawing from the negotiating process, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha Freedom Party president and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, has embarked on a similar tack to that taken by ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela's decision to sever ties with the De Klerk administration and to withdraw from constitutional negotiations in June had two central aims: to pressure Mr de Klerk into taking concrete action to halt the carnage in the townships and to mobilise and consolidate ANC support.

The ANC leader's tactical manoeuvre, prompted by outrage over Boipatong, succeeded spectacularly at both levels.

Mr de Klerk's administration agreed to take action to control migrant workers' hostels — which, the ANC contends, often serve as "barracks" for IFP militants in the township war — and to prohibit the possession and display of dangerous weapons in public, including the "traditional weapons" (spears, battle axes, sticks and shields) often carried by the IFP's Zulu members.

During the *juju* in its contact with the "De Klerk regime," the ANC turned the full blast of its formidable propaganda machine

onto Mr de Klerk and used its "mass action" campaign to mobilise support for its demands, including the immediate installation of a government of national unity.

The question posed by Chief Buthelezi's decision to withdraw from negotiations — announced after the signing of a "Record of Understanding" between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela at the weekend — is simple: can he duplicate Mr Mandela's achievement by forcing Mr de Klerk to backtrack on his concord with the ANC and, at the same time, galvanise IFP members and sympathisers for the coming struggle?

Chief Buthelezi is not in as strong a position as the ANC. Judging from opinion polls, his IFP has lost out heavily to the ANC in the past five years. Its support in the black community appears to be largely confined to the Zulu people and even there it is challenged by the ANC.

But Chief Buthelezi, a tough and resilient politician with prodigious energy, is not in a hopeless position. The 10 to 12 percent of the vote which experts think the IFP would win in a general election is indispensable to Mr de Klerk's hopes of winning an election against the African National Congress or — at worst — of fore-

stalling an ANC landslide victory.

It is significant that Foreign Minister P. W. Botha's calculations that a NP-alliance victory is possible assume a vital contribution from the IFP.

President de Klerk's election strategy, with its associated policy of regionalism or federalism, depends on forging an alliance with regional black leaders, of whom Chief Buthelezi is undoubtedly the most important.

That gives Chief Buthelezi greater leverage on the De Klerk Government than opinion polls suggest.

Believing that the ANC has singled out KwaZulu for special attack — the present campaign against the selected "bantustans" was preceded by one in June 1990 where KwaZulu was singled out — Chief Buthelezi talks of the need to defend "the Zulus" against threat from the ANC and its South African Communist Party ally.

Political analysts describe Chief Buthelezi's response as "playing the tribal card". If so, it is not a bad card — in the tactical sense — to play.

The Zulus are the largest ethnically defined community in South Africa. Chief Buthelezi is the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, having held that position for more than 20

years. He is a descendant of Zulu kings and he has the backing of the present Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini.

In the past week Chief Buthelezi has addressed three mass rallies: in each he abandoned Western for traditional Zulu dress, drapping a leopard skin across his shoulders and holding a shield, a stick and a spear in his hands, at each he warned Zulus their very existence was at stake and their foes planned to wipe KwaZulu "off the face of the earth".

More specifically, he compared the ANC's planned march on the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi with the invasion of Zululand by a British army in 1879. The implication was not missed by his indignant audiences: the ANC is an alien force and the Zulus who support it against KwaZulu are comparable to the "loyal natives" who fought for the British against their own kinsmen in the last century.

Speaking last week at Ndandla not far from the grave of Cetshwayo, the Zulu king who resisted British invaders, Chief Buthelezi said to a chorus of approval: "Every Zulu remembers that the last march on Ulundi was that of the British soldiers."

Linked with his appeal to Zulu history and pride is a thinly veiled

threat of secession, a move which could activate the latent but potentially powerful centrifugal forces in South Africa.

Many of the ANC's political foes, from Lucas Mangope's nominally sovereign state of Bophuthatswana to Afrikaner right-wingers who dream of establishing a separate Afrikaner state, have put secession on the agenda as a last desperate option.

In a recent speech in Ulundi Chief Buthelezi told KwaZulu's civil servants: "KwaZulu is not a construct of apartheid... it has a historically established sovereignty. We can either negotiate to become part of a new federal South Africa acceptable to us or negotiate out of whatever contractual relationships the rest of South Africa would wish to establish with the ANC."

Significantly, Chief Buthelezi, who believes that Mr de Klerk has been manoeuvred by the ANC into giving way to its demands and harming the cause of the IFP, has announced that he plans to begin a series of meetings with black leaders who are similarly threatened by the ANC's drive to establish a unitary state with a powerful central government.

Significantly, too, the De Klerk administration believes that Chief

Buthelezi's stand has already acted as a catalyst by encouraging the formation of a separatist front favouring confederation above federation.

Chief Buthelezi has already touched on a theme which may strike a responsive — and angry — chord in anti-ANC quarters: the contrast between President de Klerk's "appeasement" of the ANC on its demands for firm action on hostels and the carrying of spears, and his apparent failure to insist on the dissolution of the ANC's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the surrender of its arms caches.

Chief Buthelezi told journalists in Durban that President de Klerk had responded "limply" when he raised the issue of the ANC's guerrilla army with him at a recent meeting.

Mr de Klerk's public silence on the ANC's underground army since he raised it last December, only to be verbally mauled by Mr Mandela in front of whirling TV cameras and frantically scribbling journalists, will not help him. Nor will the finding by the Institute of Race Relations that the vast majority of deaths in South Africa's on-going township war are due to gunfire, not stabbing. □

THE STAR, WEDNESDAY 30 SEPTEMBER 1992

Police and ANC in cahoots, says IFP

By Stan Hlophe

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday accused police and the defence force of colluding with the ANC to "wipe out" its members.

West Rand chairman Humphrey Ndlovu said two IFP members were killed and three others injured by ANC supporters and SADF and SAP members in Alexandra on Sunday.

Mr Ndlovu said Mboneni Ndebele was first clubbed to death by ANC supporters at the Pan African taxi rank.

When Madala hostel residents tried to rescue their colleague, they were prevented by SADF members and police who fired teargas and rubber bullets at the IFP supporters.

As a result, Enos Mthethwa, died on the scene and three others were injured, he said.

Defence force and police spokesmen said SAP and SADF personnel intervened to separate two opposing factions on Sunday. They fired teargas and rubber bullets to disperse them.

SADF Wits commander Major Andreas Jordaan and police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said that in the process two defence force personnel and two policemen were shot at by unknown men using shotguns.

Major Jordaan said a combination of the SADF and SAP actions prevented what could have been an unnecessary loss of lives during a potentially violent situation between IFP and ANC supporters.

He denied that any member of the IFP was killed at the time SADF members were deployed. Captain Opperman confirmed Major Jordaan's statement.

ANC local Interim Crisis Committee member Mike Beza also denied that ANC supporters had killed a hostel inmate on Sunday.

ANC set to approve resumption of talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The ANC is expected to announce today the resumption of fully fledged negotiations with the Government, thus marking an important step towards restarting Codesa-style talks.

The organisation's national executive committee (NEC) meets in Johannesburg in the wake of the successful weekend summit with the Government — and is also scheduled to discuss the fraught question of mass action, including planned marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

Prospects for the resumption of multilateral talks brightened after the summit, but suffered when Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi angrily broke off contact

with the Government.

After the weekend summit, Nelson Mandela said the ANC delegation would recommend the resumption of constitutional talks to the NEC — the body which broke off bilateral and Codesa-style negotiations on June 23.

At the World Trade Centre meeting the Government acknowledged the right to peaceful mass action, but the ANC undertook to examine urgently its programme of mass action in the current political context.

ANC sources said yesterday the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance would not abandon mass action, but would look closely at the specific forms it took.

The sources argued that despite the apparent revival of

constitutional negotiations, mass action would still be necessary to highlight problems like unemployment, housing, and the lack of free political activity in certain homelands.

The controversial proposed marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho will come under the spotlight and the prevailing mood in the ANC appears to be that possible loss of life should be taken into consideration before such marches are decided upon. ANC regions would also have to be consulted.

Sapa reports that the western Cape leadership of the ANC alliance yesterday reiterated its call for a mass march on Parliament on October 12 and demanded that the alliance be allowed to address the session.

THE CITIZEN

Wednesday 30 September 1992

Moderates must hold own summit

A FORTHRIGHT editorial, High Price, in The Citizen on September 28 accurately reflects the sentiments of most moderate South Africans who have lost all confidence and trust in Messrs De Klerk and Pik Botha, who should therefore resign forthwith.

Contrary to what Dr De Villiers said on Sunday, Dr Mangosuthu Buthe's interpretation of Saturday's meeting between Messrs Mandela and De Klerk is absolutely correct.

The government now accepts an interim government of national reconciliation and a constituent assembly which will not only decide the constitution but also act as an interim Parliament.

Furthermore, by allowing UN, EC, Common-

wealth, OAU and World Council of Churches into the country, the government has reneged on its insistence that South Africa had the right to decide its own affairs as a sovereign independent state.

No amount of glib interpretation can disguise the fact that the government did not receive a mandate, either at the last two elections or in the referendum, to do what they have done, viz, accept a settlement that does not protect White and other minority interests, and in effect, simply hands over power to the ANC/SACP.

It is now clear beyond a shadow of doubt that this government intends to use the coming parliamentary session to give the State President author-

cratic powers to impose the "Namibian Option", i.e., the abandonment of the voters who elected it and the abrupt surrender of power to the ANC and its allies.

We therefore once again appeal to the leaders of all parties and organisations who strongly support some form of self-determination and self-rule to convene a summit meeting to propagate their views and effectively oppose this morally bankrupt government.

To release murderers and other criminals into the present climate of violence is morally indefensible and utterly irresponsible.

J H LAMMSON

Chairman

University Freedom of Speech Association

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

Pique and Prejudice in South Africa

No sooner had South Africa's two most formidable leaders agreed to resume talks on a new democratic constitution than their jealous rival for the world's attention threw a tantrum. Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of seven million Zulus, stamped his feet and vowed not to take part in talks, elections or an interim government unless he gets more respect. His performance is not only pathetic, it is dangerous; the peril of inciting an ethnic bloodbath is every bit as palpable as Chief Buthelezi's wounded vanity.

The chief has every right to a hearing. But not to a veto of the historic compromise now reached by President F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress. In agreeing to a general amnesty and opening the way to an interim government, the two leaders have ended four months of deadlock. With the whole nation moving from white rule to nonracial democracy, Chief Buthelezi would forfeit whatever reputation he has as a sensible conservative by playing the wrecker.

His reputation was already tarnished by disclosures that his Inkatha Freedom Party, based in Natal Province, received past covert aid from the South African Government. This was in addition to

the open subsidies from Pretoria to the "self-governing" KwaZulu homeland of which Chief Buthelezi is Chief Minister.

Inkatha has been viewed, with reason, as a partner of Mr. de Klerk's ruling National Party, an ally in its campaigns against international sanctions and against A.N.C. radicalism. Thus the main burden for nudging Chief Buthelezi back to the table has to fall on Mr. de Klerk.

But Mr. Mandela's side bears some responsibility for the bloody feud between Inkatha and the A.N.C. that has claimed thousands of lives. Just as Mr. de Klerk's white moderates have balked at accepting majority rule, so have A.N.C. militants resisted changing from a liberation movement to a political party. Yielding to these militants, and to their contempt for Inkatha, Mr. Mandela resisted an early meeting with the Zulu chief. That was a mistake. A touch of emollient then might have saved much subsequent sorrow.

Chief Buthelezi, presiding in leopard skins before spear-carrying warriors, has made plain that any post-apartheid constitution has to be big enough to include his followers. Now he has to prove himself big enough to rejoin talks for a new South Africa.

Alliance's risking of lives 'unjustified'

Political Staff

For the ANC Alliance leaders to have approved of their followers running through a gap in the stadium fence towards Bisho was "irresponsible and deliberately placed such people in imminent danger which resulted in death and injury", the Goldstone Commission found.

"In the present climate of negotiation in South Africa and policy with regard thereto by all the major political parties, the decision to risk the lives of their followers by advancing out of the stadium was unfortunate and unjustified.

"If their intention was to draw public attention to the po-

licies of the Ciskei authorities, they could have achieved that by more appropriate mass action on the South African side of the border and even in the Bisho stadium," the commission found.

Deliberately withholding from the National Peace Secretariat (NPS) the intention to run through the gap in the fence to Bisho was "disingenuous".

The commission found that at all times the Alliance leaders must have been aware the Ciskei authorities were in earnest in their refusal to allow the demonstrators into the Ciskei. That was made absolutely clear in public statements, was reinforced by the Ciskei Supreme

Court's order, was conveyed in unequivocal terms by the NPS, the National Peace Commission and by President de Klerk.

The Alliance created even more confusion by first seeking an order from the Chief Magistrate and then ignoring it, fully realising that the Ciskei authorities were bound by it.

"By all accounts, the notice by the Alliance that they would not follow the terms of the court order was inadequate."

Threatening statements made by Alliance leaders in the days before the march could only have been calculated to harden the attitude of the Ciskei authorities, the commission said.

Homelands' leaders vow opposition

By Peter Fabricius
and Shaun Johnson

The leaders of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei yesterday furiously denounced the Government-ANC "Record of Understanding" and served notice that other groups would be approached to oppose alleged attempts by President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela to "share out" South Africa between them.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo attended an emergency summit in Mmabatho to assess the political situation after the success of the weekend meeting between delegations led by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

A joint communique issued in Mmabatho said there was "profound concern" about the Government-ANC agreement, which was rejected outright by the three homeland leaders, and a further meeting, including other "organisations sharing these concerns", was announced.

The statement said all parties had the right to enter into bilateral discussions, but "we object to decisions being made in bilateral discussions which impact on others not involved in the decision-making".

The angry tone of the

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Homelands repudiate 'Understanding'

● From Page 1

meeting — most evident in a lengthy presentation by Chief Buthelezi — caused immediate concern among political observers about the prospects for a quick resumption of fully fledged negotiations.

Chief Buthelezi launched a scathing attack on the "Record of Understanding", which he likened repeatedly to the Von Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of World War 2 (the peace pact between Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union).

He accused the Government and the ANC of concluding a deal to "hijack the negotiation process". He intimated that the two parties were sanctioning violence against Zulus and were agreeing to "a strategy of ethnic cleansing".

The agreement to fence Zulu hostels was an attempt to create "Zulu concentration camps", he said, and to ban the

carrying of all weapons, including Zulu cultural weapons, was a "well-planned form of cultural castration".

The overall aim of the "Record of Understanding" was to support the violence and a string of assassinations against IFP leaders "with a very effective governmental action of genocide" against the IFP, the chief claimed.

After the Mmabatho meeting, fears were also expressed that a "separatist" bloc might be developing.

Remarks by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in Pretoria yesterday bolstered this view. Dr Treurnicht revealed that Chief Buthelezi had telephoned him after the IFP leader cut off contact with the Government on Sunday.

Other homeland leaders who had suspended talks had "also taken the trouble" to inform him of their decision.

Dr Treurnicht said: "These

are all leaders who reject the policies of the ANC. We are saying it is time for an alternative forum of leaders who are anti-communist and in favour of self-determination for their people...

"Today, black leaders want to talk to us, they have stopped talking to De Klerk."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha sounded an exasperated note yesterday when reviewing the latest turn of events. He said political leaders should not be forming power blocs and should act in the best interests of the country.

In a separate statement from Mmabatho, Brigadier Gqozo rejected the agreement, demanded the disbanding of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and rejected the imposition of an interim government or constituent assembly.

● IFP out to match Mandela

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Kasrils also deserves public censure – Goldstone

Bisho: judge slams soldiers



"Bring charges" ... Mr Justice Goldstone.

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The Ciskei Security Force's shooting of 29 ANC demonstrators at Bisho on September 7 has been "condemned in the strongest terms" by the Goldstone Commission.

The shooting was "morally and legally indefensible and deserving of the strongest censure", the commission said in a report to President de Klerk released today.

It recommended that the Attorney-General of the Ciskei should recommend criminal charges against those responsible for the death or injury of anyone shot during the Bisho massacre on September 7.

But it also recommended that the leadership of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance should "publicly censure"

More reports – Pages 3, 17

Ronnie Kasrils and other alliance leaders responsible for the decision to lead demonstrators out of the Bisho stadium "and thereby knowingly or negligently expose them to the danger of death and injury".

It also criticised the march organisers for acting in bad faith by not informing the National Peace Secretariat representatives at the scene that they intended breaking the march conditions by leaving the stadium.

However, the commission strongly stressed that its criticism of the march organisers could not in any way justify or excuse the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers.

"That conduct was so disproportionate and deliberate that ... any mitigating factors there may have been are completely overwhelmed by the disregard for human life shown by the soldiers."

The commission expressed a "feeling of disbelief" that the shooting could have continued "for what appeared to be an interminable time".

The "continued and prolonged" firing, even after the ANC crowd turned and fled was "quite unjustified and unlawful".

On two of the most contentious questions, the commission said it was probable but not certain that ANC demonstrators had not fired at Ciskei troops, as the Ciskei Government claimed, and it was difficult to accept that the Ciskei forces had deliberately led the demonstrators into an ambush.

The 36-page report of the commission's 18-day inquiry into the Bisho shooting, made eight tough recommendations.

One was that: "The Ciskei Council of State should publicly acknowledge that members of the CDF acted reprehensibly and unacceptably in reacting in a wholly disproportionate manner and causing the unnecessary deaths and injuries to the people who were fleeing from them."

The CDF leaders should question the training and discipline of their forces for firing into a fleeing crowd for almost two minutes.

"To arm such men with lethal weapons is unacceptable."

● To Page 3

Ciskei forces, Kasrils slammed

● From Page 1

It therefore recommended that "the officers commanding the CDF should immediately conduct a full inquiry into the training and discipline of their members ... to ensure that a recurrence of the undisciplined, unprofessional and wholly unacceptable conduct of which they were guilty cannot recur."

"The results of such an inquiry and steps taken pursuant thereto should be made public."

The commission said if there were to be free and fair referenda or elections, there must be complete access by political parties to the media and to halls and public places throughout the land.

It therefore recommended that, "those in control of any region, city or town anywhere in South Africa, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly".

Addressing itself to organisers of mass action, it recommended "the leaders of all organisations which use forms of mass public demonstrations should do so only as a peaceful means to popularise political policies and propagate changes."

"They should immediately and publicly abandon any political action calculated to result in conflict and violence."

But it also recommended that "the leadership of the TBVC homelands and self-governing territories should forthwith declare themselves willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations in the areas under their control".