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CAPE TIMES 3 AUGUST 1992

Cape forum for Cosatu women

Staff Reporter

THE Western Cape branch of the Cosatu Women's Forum was launched in the city at the weekend with the aim of promoting women's issues both in and out of the workplace.

Ms Thasneem Essop, a co-ordinator of the Forum, said it sought "the equalisation of salaries, 12 months paid maternity leave and the establishment of child care facilities in or near the workplace".

Sexual harassment would also receive attention, said Ms Essop.

THE GUARDIAN
Monday August 3 1992

London

Discipline urged during mass action that will test movement's strength

Mandela admits ANC gangs 'taking law into own hands'

Phillip van Niekerk and
agencies in Johannesburg

NELSON Mandela, admitting that many of his African National Congress supporters were becoming increasingly lawless, yesterday called for this week's pro-democracy protests to be peaceful and disciplined.

In a rare concession to critics, the ANC president said some of its young supporters were out of control. He said that this was because the youths believed the ANC was unable to protect them from attacks by the police.

Mr Mandela was responding in an interview on state television to widespread accusations that ANC followers were bullying people to take part in a general strike today and tomorrow and in five further days of mass pro-democracy demonstrations. These actions are seen as a big test of strength for the ANC.

"The reason why the youth have got completely out of hand is that they are being attacked

and there is no visible sign that we are defending them," he said. "That is why they have taken the law into their own hands." He added: "We want these coming demonstrations to be peaceful, disciplined and non-violent."

Reacting to Mr Mandela's charge of police intimidation, the secretary general of the National Party, Stoffel van der Merwe, said the ANC should act decisively against its own hoodlums and that it was reaping a whirlwind of its own making.

Earlier yesterday, the Communist Party's general secretary, Chris Hani, had declared in the Johannesburg Sunday Times newspaper that ANC "self-defence units" set up in the townships to protect black communities were out of control. It was time for the ANC to admit this and to act, he said.

Mr Hani told the newspaper that the units had become involved in bloody battles among themselves, had set up kangaroo courts and had "necklaced" political opponents — placing tyre around their necks and set-

ting them on fire. "We can no longer keep quiet about this," Mr Hani said. "We must take action... If they are seen to be bully boys, the ANC will lose membership."

Seven people were killed in an attack on the sprawling Orange Farm squatter camp south of Johannesburg at the weekend, bringing to 12 the number of people killed in township fighting close to Johannesburg in the past two days. A police spokesman said the hacked, stabbed and burnt bodies of the seven squatters were found yesterday after a raid on the camp by "unidentifiable people" on Saturday evening.

Orange Farm is an ANC stronghold on the edge of Vaal Triangle, the region at the centre of the violence since the massacre of more than 40 people in one of its townships, Bopalong, on June 17.

ANC officials in the Vaal said yesterday they were investigating the cause of the attack but suspected it had been directed against their supporters.

The ANC has appealed to its members to protest peacefully

this week and not to intimidate people who want to work despite the strike call.

The ANC's director of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki, said any member who engaged in violence during the protest would be expelled. "Besides local monitors from our organisation, our headquarters will keep a 24-hour watch on the event," he said.

A 10-person United Nations observer team, the first such allowed into the country, is in place to monitor the strike.

However, the radical Pan-Africanist Congress has rejected the strike because the goal of the stoppage is not the overthrow of the government but to strengthen the ANC before it returns to constitutional negotiations. The PAC said it had received "numerous reports" of intimidation aimed at enforcing observation of the stay-away.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told a public meeting in Natal yesterday that "the African National Congress must be whipped back to the negotiation table".

Pretoria warns of job losses as S Africa braces for strike

By Michael Holman
in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA faces widespread disruption this morning as a 48-hour general strike starts a week of protest intended to force an early transition to majority rule.

Government and business leaders have warned that job losses are inevitable and billions of rands will be lost, undermining an economy now in its third year of recession.

But both government and employers - a group of whom unsuccessfully attempted to avert the strike last month - have resorted to a generally low-key response, prepared to sit out a campaign which most of them believe will run out of steam after the first two days.

The main fear on all sides is that the protest could lead to clashes between rival black parties, and confrontations between strikers and the security forces.

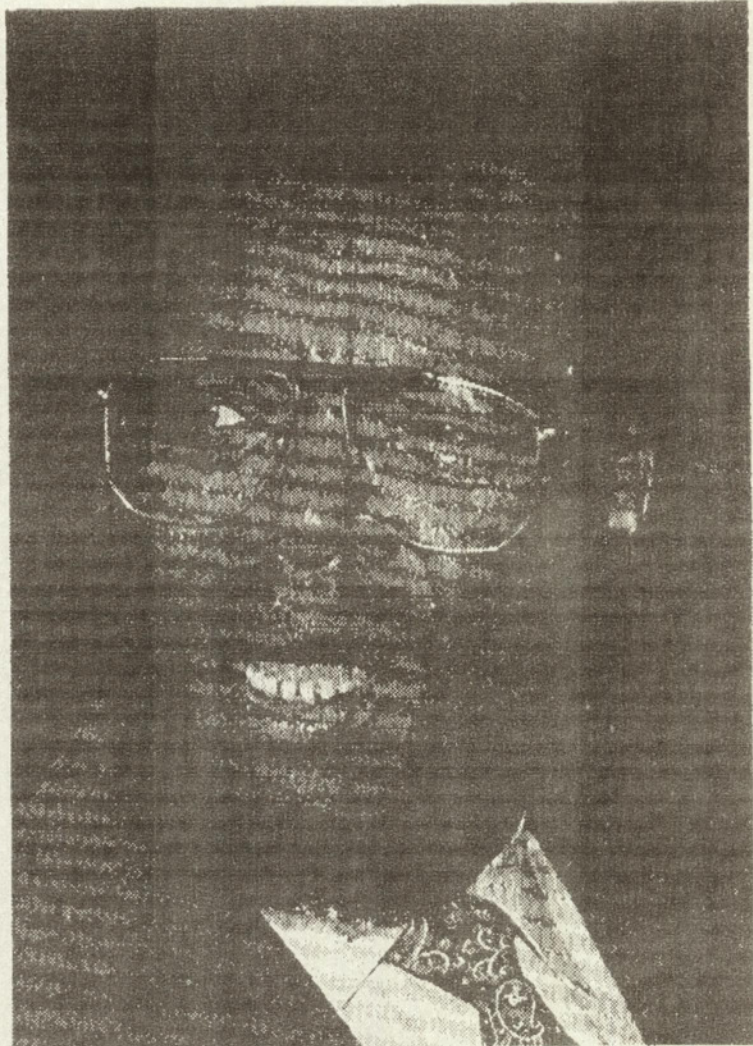
Speaking at a meeting in the eastern Transvaal town of Driefontein yesterday, Mr Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress president, said: "All we want to do is to pressurise the government into accepting an interim government and democratic elections."

"If the government shows signs of good faith, the ANC would return to Codesa" - the negotiating forum where talks ended in deadlock last May.

A less conciliatory note was struck by Mr Ronnie Kasrils, a member of the South African Communist party and one of the main organisers of the protest.

The massacre in June of 42 residents of the township of Boipatong made people realise that President F.W. de Klerk "has blood on his hands", he said.

Strong opposition to the strike, and the three days of rallies and sit-ins that are to follow, has come from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom party.



Defiant: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom party followers are opposed to the general strike

Inkatha supporters have said they will defy the strike, organised by the ANC and its Communist party and trade union allies.

Also opposed to the strike is the radical Pan Africanist Congress - usually part of an uneasy alliance with the ANC - which last night complained that "massive intimidation" was "rampant".

As significant as the strike is the presence of a 10-member United Nations team of observers which arrived in the country yesterday.

The team is more symbolic than practical, its members being spread out across the country. But it marks the first stage in the UN's involvement in efforts to end South Africa's political violence and break the deadlock in constitutional negotiations.

Mr Cyrus Vance, the UN envoy who completed a fact-finding visit on Friday, is expected to propose an expanded UN role when he reports back to the security council this week.

Democratic struggle, Page 11

Financial Times
3/8/92 - London

FOREIGN NEWS

Picture: REUTER

First coloured woman wins Miss South Africa title

WHITE supremacy was dealt another blow at the weekend with the crowning of the first coloured Miss South Africa, writes Ross Dunn.

"Never in my wildest dreams could I have believed that I would become Miss South Africa," said Miss Amy Kleinhans, 24, a model from Cape Town.

Miss Augustine Masilela from Soweto, also black and 24, was second. Miss Lisa King, 20, a white Cape Town model, came third.

It was second time lucky for Miss Kleinhans who was runner-up last year. She had dismissed earlier speculation that she would win "because the time was right" after two years of reform and the repeal of key apartheid laws.

"The controversy that surrounded me because of my skin colour means nothing," she said. "I will ignore it and be a great ambassador."

There was no question of "tokenism or favouritism" said Vanessa Chemaly, the organiser. "Saturday's competition was run fairly and the winner was chosen on merit." Another official said Amy's and Augustine's highest marks had been given by white judges.

Before the Population Registration Act was repealed last year, Miss Kleinhans was classified as a coloured, a person of mixed black and white ancestry.

ANC pledges to ban violent members

By Ross Dunn in Johannesburg

THE AFRICAN National Congress promised yesterday to expel members who use its mass action campaign to promote violence.

The promise came as members of a United Nations conflict-monitoring mission arrived in South Africa and police announced that 12 people, including eight squatters and a detective, had been killed in the most recent violence.

Members of the UN team will be deployed immediately throughout the country to observe the ANC's programme, which is due to escalate today with the start of a 48-hour general strike. They will be provided with helicopters and other transport to reach flashpoints quickly.

The government has said that the ANC's campaign of mass demonstrations and rolling strikes, designed to end white minority rule, will lead to further bloodshed.

But the ANC's director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, on hand to greet the UN officials, said his organisation would not tolerate people who used the campaign to promote further killings.

"We want to ensure there is no violence during the mass action on our part. Any member who engages in violence during the protest will be kicked out of the ANC," he

said. "Besides local monitors from our organisation, our headquarters will keep a 24-hour watch on the event."

The head of the UN mission, Mr Hisham Omayad, said: "Members will have free range to go anywhere in the area they are assigned to. They will observe and cover all activities related to the mass action, and will report through me to the UN Secretary General and the Security Council."

"This is the A-team from New York. We have made provision for them to be in South Africa for one week."

"During the protest, they will not stand off and wait if violence breaks out. They will all be involved in negotiations to end violence during the mass action."

Mr Omayad said the mission would be supported by regional and local committees set up under South Africa's own National Peace Secretariat.

Mr Omayad has been in South Africa for 12 days. He worked with the UN special envoy, Mr Cyrus Vance, who returned to New York on Friday to make his recommendations to the Security Council on ways of ending violence and creating a climate for parties to return to the negotiating table.

Members of the UN team will be placed in Durban, Pi-

etermaritzburg, Klerksdorp, Pretoria, Johannesburg, East London, Port Elizabeth, and Bloemfontein.

Ms Joan Seymour, British member of the team, will be based in Cape Town.

Police said that eight of the casualties in the latest violence died in a squatter camp in the militant Vaal Triangle.

The eight were found yesterday morning at the Orange Farm settlement, 35 miles south of Johannesburg. All of them had head and face wounds, and one had had his genitals cut off and his corpse had been set alight.

A police spokesman, Mr David Bruce, said it appeared that the squatters — who set up makeshift shacks on vacant land in an attempt to escape unemployment — had purged themselves of criminals.

A black man was hacked to death in Bruntville township near Mooi River in Natal after two groups clashed, police said.

An ANC official said a man had been shot dead at a road-block in Daveyton township when police searched the organisation's supporters who were going to a rally.

Despite the latest killings, violence in the Johannesburg area has decreased, apparently as a result of increased security presence, police reported.



ambassador: Amy Kleinhans crowned Miss South Africa at Sun City

FINANCIAL TIMES MONDAY AUGUST 3 1992

London

A strike at the heart of the democratic struggle

South Africa is bracing itself for an unprecedented week of industrial action and demonstrations, writes **Michael Holman**

South Africa's struggle for democracy this week enters its most perilous stage since Mr Nelson Mandela's release two and a half years ago.

Availed by political violence, its leaders at loggerheads, and the economy deep in recession, the country is facing itself for a 48-hour general strike that begins today.

It marks the start of an unprecedented week of industrial action, partly a protest against the slaughter that the government seems either unable or unwilling to halt, but also an effort to jolt President F.W. de Klerk into an acceptance of majority rule.

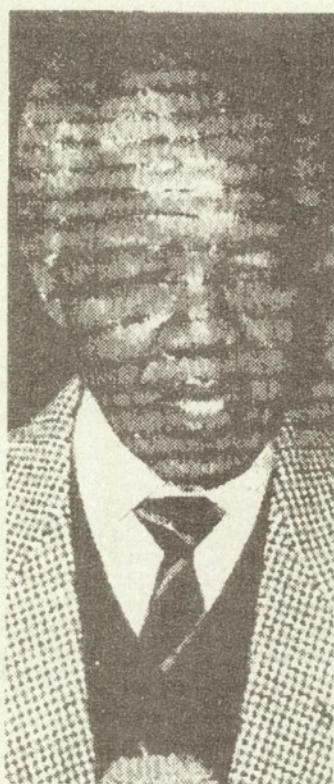
In Mandela, the African National Congress (ANC) president, however, may find himself hoist by his own petard. A week ahead could prove to be less a challenge to Mr de Klerk's authority than a test of his own leadership.

Within the ranks of the ANC and its main allies — the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) — are those who question a strategy that may have been flawed in the start and has since been overtaken by one development in particular: the emerging role in South Africa's peace process of the United Nations, one of whose officials arrived yesterday to observe this week's events.

On the home front, government measures have helped prepare the ground for a resumption of constitutional negotiations, called off on June 1 by the ANC in the wake of the massacre of 42 residents of Boipatong township.

The government has responded to most of the ANC's conditions for a resumption of talks. It has agreed to disband three controversial security force units, promised to reform migrant worker hostels which were implicated in much of the violence, and agreed to tougher measures against carrying weapons in public, including so-called traditional weapons carried by Zulu supporters of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). "Mr de Klerk must put promises into practice", comments an ANC official. But he concedes that Mr de Klerk has taken significant steps towards fulfilling an important condition: the demand for an international inquiry into the massacre. Foreign experts have been assisting the Goldstone Commission, a standing judicial investigation of political violence.

But the most important development of all came at the Security Council last month, which met to debate the South



De Klerk (right) and Mandela; a crucial week ahead

African crisis

Its decision to appoint Mr Cyrus Vance, former US secretary of state, as special UN envoy to South Africa marked the start of the international body's direct involvement in the search for a settlement.

When Mr Vance reports this week, he will almost certainly suggest that the UN send an observer team, whose members would be attached to existing local bodies.

But he has already made his mark. While in South Africa on a ten-day visit he played the role of broker, helping to arrange last week's meeting between Mr P.W. Botha, the foreign minister, and Mr Thabo

the risks of violent confrontation the policy entails.

The small number of UN observers envisaged — "tens rather than scores and certainly not three figures", says one official — will already be hard pressed to monitor existing levels of conflict.

Thus UN officials will be eager to avoid extended industrial unrest in South Africa.

This all adds up to a predicament for Mr Mandela in which he has little to gain and much to lose.

If the week of action wins widespread support Mr Mandela will emerge with his authority intact. But it will hardly be enhanced. What, it

It all adds up to a predicament for Mr Mandela in which he has little to gain and much to lose

Mbeki, his ANC shadow.

The official purpose of the meeting was to discuss the release of political prisoners. But few observers doubt that more was discussed in a meeting that effectively marked the resumption of bilateral talks.

Whether international intervention can save South Africans from themselves is a moot point. But Mr Vance apart, outsiders are already making their mark. For example, reports by the experts invited to join the Goldstone Commission have produced indictments of the South African Police.

What alarms members of Mr Vance's team, however, is the prospect of what ANC and labour leaders have termed "rolling mass action", with all

can be asked, will have been achieved?

Anything less than a big turnout, however, will be a severe blow. With its military wing all but inconsequential, trade sanctions a lost cause, and the shortcomings of its industrial muscle demonstrated, the ANC will return to negotiations with its limitations exposed.

As Mr Benny Alexander, secretary general of the radical Pan Africanist Congress says: "If they (the ANC) fail to come up with successful mass actions Mr de Klerk will become more arrogant."

Moreover, the divisions in black politics will have been exacerbated.

From Chief Buthelezi,

strongly opposed to the mass action campaign, comes a warning: "If negotiations can not get off the ground then violence will escalate. We might be pushed into a situation in which violence will have to run its course before we can again begin negotiations."

Not only have relations between the ANC and Inkatha sunk to new and dangerous depths. The Pan Africanist Congress, which used the funeral of the Boipatong victims to resurrect the Patriotic Front alliance of anti-government forces, is opposing today's strike.

Furthermore, the strike has revived the quarrel of the classrooms, with some groups arguing that students should boycott their schools and others (including the ANC) urging pupils to attend classes.

The greatest burden Mr Mandela carries is the danger that events this week could set in train a process of radical change, but in a way that he does not intend, and which he could find hard to control.

The threat of violence will be ever present. Potential flash-points include: hostels housing supporters of Inkatha who are determined to go to work; factories where strikers confront the security forces; or wherever the extreme right attempts to provoke conflict.

But de Klerk has his own burden of responsibility. The most fundamental issue of all — who holds power in post-apartheid South Africa — remains intractable. And nothing Mr de Klerk has said since talks broke down suggests he is prepared to accept Mr Mandela's demand for a majority rule constitution.

As positions harden and enmities deepen, the warning of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) seems increasingly relevant: black nationalist leaders were released (1974), a constitutional conference failed (Geneva 1976) and 30,000 people were to die before talks eventually succeeded in December 1979.

Certainly one prominent South African politician has said there is a lesson to be drawn.

"I think great mistakes were made in Rhodesia. When the opportunity was there for real, constructive negotiation it was not grasped."

"Insofar as things went wrong, they went wrong because they (white Rhodesians) waited too long before engaging in fundamental negotiation and dialogue".

These words are from President F.W. de Klerk, in an interview shortly before Nelson Mandela's release. They seem all the more pertinent this week.

THE TIMES FRIDAY JULY 3 1992

London

De Klerk pleads for ANC



De Klerk sent a letter to Nelson Mandela

PRESIDENT de Klerk last night appealed over the heads of the African National Congress to the people of South Africa to reject its call for mass action, warning them on national radio and television that the ANC was intent on seizing power.

"Instead of bringing about the new South Africa through talks and agreement, they want to force their views on the rest of our society through confrontation and mass mobilisation," he said.

At the same time the state president sent a closely reasoned letter to Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, in which he answered the demands made by the ANC in its memorandum to him last week. In particular, he proposed a tripartite meeting between the government, the

The South African president has new proposals aimed at breaking the impasse in the reform process.
Michael Hamlyn writes from Pretoria

ANC and the Inkatha Freedom party to discuss ways of checking the violence that is ravaging certain areas.

He also put forward new constitutional proposals aimed at breaking the impasse created at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). In a key step towards the ANC position he proposed a three-year time limit on the existence of a transitional government working under a transitional constitution. He also proposed a significant change in the composition of a second chamber for that transi-

tional government. Instead of all parties gaining an agreed minimum percentage of the popular vote being equally represented in the proposed Senate, Mr de Klerk now proposes that they should be represented in proportion to their electoral support.

Mr de Klerk was firm in his intention to confront the threat being made by the ANC and its allies in the South African Communist Party and the Confederation of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). Cosatu has announced plans for an in-

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mass action to be rejected

definite national general strike beginning on August 3. Mr de Klerk insisted that the ANC aim of overthrowing the government will not be countenanced. "We will not allow our country to become ungovernable. We will not succumb to insurrectionist and undemocratic pressure," he said.

Ministers introduced Mr de Klerk's 31-page letter to the public at a press conference. Aside from the constitutional concessions, a number of other moves are also made towards meeting ANC demands.

In response, for example, to the ANC demand for international monitoring of the police, the president suggests that the agenda for the tripartite meeting he proposes could include monitoring "all the instruments and

processes already in place to combat violence", the possibility of a joint monitoring body through which all three parties could operate, and a role for international observers in such a body.

The president has already conceded some international involvement in the investigation into the Boipatong killings of June 17. Two senior Scotland Yard detectives are to look over the police investigation.

Mr Justice Prafullachandra Bhagwati, former chief justice of India, yesterday took his seat on the Goldstone commission, a judicial enquiry that is investigating the killings.

One of Mr Mandela's particular causes of concern, the carrying of cultural or traditional weapons, especially by Zulu warriors who terrorise

the township dwellers, is also addressed. The letter says that the government is preparing draft regulations under which the carrying of all dangerous weapons in any public place would be banned.

Hermus Kriel, the law and order minister, also made the point that only a third of the deaths in political violence had been caused by cutting and sharp weapons. "Two-thirds have been caused by ammunition and rifles," he said.

The ANC said yesterday that its national working committee would scrutinise the letter, and would make a considered response within a week.

One of the main thrusts of the letter is to get the two sides talking again. To this end the president declares

his disappointment that his invitation last week to immediate face-to-face discussions was not accepted, and he repeats it urgently.

On the main accusation of the ANC that the government is involved in the violence, the denial is categorical once again. "Contrary to the ANC's accusations," the letter said, "the government has not and will not plan, conduct, orchestrate or sponsor violence in any form whatsoever against any political organisation or community." The lie, the letter said "remains a lie no matter how often it is repeated". Mr de Klerk repeated the phrase in his broadcast, referring to the lie that the government and he were involved in the Boipatong killings.

ANC blamed, page 1

De Klerk sets battle lines against ANC

SOUTH AFRICA braced itself last night for a dangerous war of attrition between the government and the African National Congress after President F W de Klerk issued a hard-hitting and uncompromising response to the decision last week by the ANC to call off constitutional negotiations.

The crisis precipitated by the Boipatong massacre on 17 June deepened after President de Klerk, digging his government in, declared in a radio broadcast to the nation that the ANC had been taken over by Communists bent on confrontation and seizure of power. There was "every reason to believe" that the ANC was creating "an artificial crisis" with the objective of overthrowing the government, he said. "They want to force their views on the rest of society through confrontation and mass mobilisation. This will not be tolerated."

Roelf Meyer, the Constitutional Development Minister and head of the government negotiating team, spoke after Mr de Klerk and invited the ANC to stop its "reckless" campaign of mass mobilisation and hold bilateral talks on the way forward to a new constitution. He also proposed "trilateral" talks to include the Inkatha Freedom Party as the means to resolve township violence.

But apart from a suggestion that the government, the ANC and Inkatha should also set up violence monitoring teams, possibly assisted by international observers, there was no indication from the government that it was prepared to meet any of the 14 demands the ANC made before it would renew talks.

The ANC said last night it was not ready to issue an official response. But it was reliably learnt that ANC leaders were aghast at what they perceived to be an absence of initiative, imagination and goodwill by the government.

Senior members of the ANC executive privately explained after they issued their demands last week — among them specific moves both to curb violence and a general commitment to majority rule — that they believed they had

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

left the door open to the government to meet them halfway.

Their judgement, yesterday showed, was flawed.

The sort of measures the ANC wants the government to take on the violence would amount, if implemented, to admissions that the security forces and Inkatha are the main agents of township destabilisation. For example, the ANC has demanded that the government close down the single men's hostels where Inkatha has its strongholds and that police and army officers implicated in the political killings — 7,000 have died since January 1990 — be arrested.

Far from bowing to such demands, the government, which met Inkatha yesterday morning, went on a counter-offensive. Hernus Kriel, the Minister of Law and Order, told reporters that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had played "a major role" in the township violence. He categorically denied that the government and the security forces were responsible.

Mr Kriel ruled out the possibility of a "national" state of emergency, but left open the possibility that regional states of emergency might be imposed in what he called "the hotspots".

Earlier, Mr de Klerk had said the government would not hesitate to take the steps necessary to avoid a "slide into anarchy". He said: "We will not allow the country to become ungovernable." This, he said, was the objective of the ANC's allies, the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which has called for a general strike on 3 August.

The country, Mr de Klerk said, stood at a crossroads. One road, via negotiations, led to peace and a representative "new South Africa" government. The other, through the ANC's mass mobilisation, led to poverty and deeper conflict. Nothing the government said yesterday suggested that the first road was an option at present.

The Independent
3/7/92 - London

Breaking point for Gerhardts

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Even the toughest spies have a cracking point. Dieter Gerhardts reached his on Saturday when his son Gregory came home from school and flung himself into his father's arms.

Gerhardts, who showed not a flicker of emotion when he was jailed for life for high treason nine years ago, shook with emotion and squeezed his eyes shut tight to hide the tears as he hugged and kissed his 14-year-old son and stroked his hair.

Gregory, now tall and handsome, was a toddler of barely four when he last saw his father in a "normal" family situation.

They had met on Friday, when the SA navy commander arrived in Basle in Switzerland after suddenly being released from Pretoria Central prison the day before. But amid the turmoil of bureaucracy, high level security and having to escape media attention, the meeting was strained.

On Saturday it was a relaxed world apart in the tiny attic apartment Gerhardts's wife Ruth has shared with Gregory since her release from prison two years ago, after serving seven years as Dieter's spying partner. (Ruth was allowed visits to Gerhardts in prison recently).

Gerhardts, a massive and imposing figure dressed in black, admitted he was shattered by the experience of greeting his son coming home from

school, like any father — but for the first time in his life.

The man who seemed likely to head South Africa's defence services until a Soviet defector revealed that he had been one of Moscow's most successful double agents throughout the Cold War then sat down happily to his first family dinner in a decade.

He chattered brightly with Ruth and Gregory, about the boy's ambition to become a pilot, her cooking, the weather, the flowers, friends, relatives.

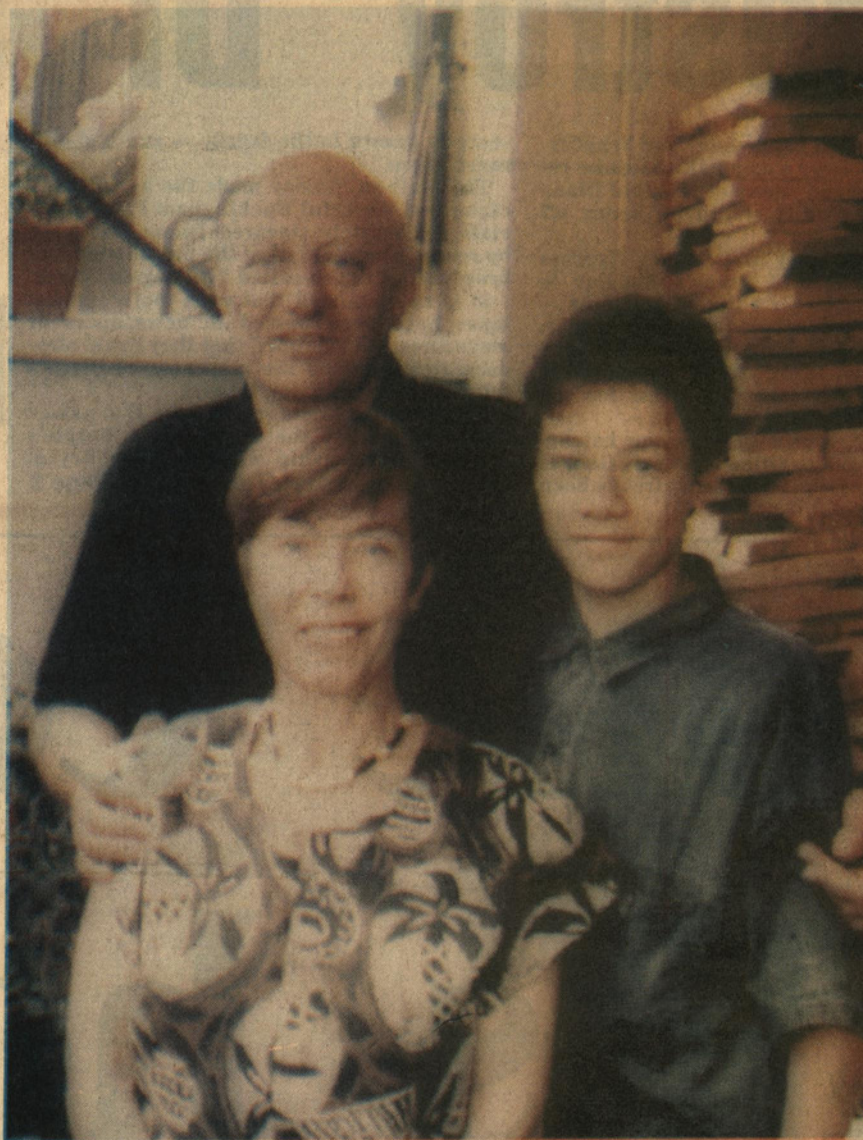
"There were times when I thought this would never happen again — what a miracle," he said smiling at Gregory, who has always believed his father and mother were anti-apartheid liberation heroes.

Gerhardts, who said he had always known he had to be caught and had never complained about being jailed, said he wanted to dispel what he thinks is "propaganda" that he was a mercenary traitor who hoarded a fortune in Switzerland.

It is clear the family does not have money. For the foreseeable future they will need to survive on multilingual Ruth's earnings as an expert legal secretary. Luxuries like owning a car are still a long way off.

Gerhardts, a graduate engineer and weapons systems specialist who completed bachelor and master's degrees in business and economics in prison, says he is confident that he will find professional work soon.

He said: "While I enjoy my freedom



BACK HOME . . . Former Soviet spy Dieter Gerhardts relaxes in Basle at the weekend after being reunited with his wife Ruth and his 14-year-old son Gregory following his release from prison last week.

my thoughts are with all other political prisoners in South Africa, black and white. I was in solitary for a long time at the end, but the strength I drew from those other prisoners, the friendship and support they gave in the most dreadful circumstances, will be with me for the rest of my life.

"My main purpose now is to do whatever I can to hasten their release. Not

only for their sakes, but for the sake of peace in South Africa."

Gerhardts insists he chose to work with the Russians because they were the only major power actively assisting "liberation" forces in South Africa. He describes himself as a pragmatic humanist, and said he believed that above all else, his life was shaped by the cruelty of apartheid.

Admiral denies goodwill letter

By DANIEL SIMON

FORMER chief of the SA Defence Force Admiral Hugo Biermann yesterday denied sending greetings to freed Soviet spy Dieter Gerhardts wishing the former commander of the Simon's Town naval dockyard well for the future.

Admiral Biermann, 76, also disclosed he had "misgivings" over the sudden release of Gerhardts, who was granted a pardon by President FW De Klerk on the insistence of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Disturbed

During an interview in Basle, Switzerland, at the weekend, Gerhardts showed a Sunday newspaper journalist a letter apparently written to him and signed by Admiral Biermann in which he wished him well for the future.

Admiral Biermann said he suspected foul play.

"I categorically deny sending any letters with warm greetings to Gerhardts and I also want to state that I have never had any correspondence with him.

"What disturbs me about this claim is that as former Chief of the Navy, I am seen as having condoned his spying activities. I further have personal misgivings about his release."

B/D Aug 03-08-CR

CP faces 'new right' split

POLICY differences in the CP will lead to a split this week, with at least five members of the party's "new right" forming a new nonracial, Afrikaner nationalist party ready to join constitutional negotiations.

The conflict in the party, which the five signatories of a document titled "The Road Ahead" say is paralysing the party, burst into the open at the weekend when party secretary Andries Beyers called for a change in CP policy.

His speech to the Transvaal Youth Congress at Naboomspruit was critical of the CP's old guard, claiming it spent too much time opposing other parties without concentrating on where the CP was going.

He called for a smaller Afrikaner homeland, understood to be a nonracial Afri-

BILLY PADDOCK

kaner-dominated region in a federal structure. He said the CP should join negotiations to draft the regional boundaries.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht immediately repudiated Beyers' position and announced that a special executive meeting had been called for Thursday to enable Beyers to explain his position.

However, it is expected that Beyers will be admonished and probably expelled.

Beyers got strong support from Free State leader Cehill Plenaar, who said: "There are no legal grounds to expel Andries Beyers and I will fight for him at the

□ To Page 2

CP split

□ From Page 1

executive. If he is in trouble for what he said at the weekend, then so am I as a signatory to that document."

Other signatories to the document are Rosier de Ville (MP Standerton), Moolman Mentz (MP Ermelo), Chris de Jager (MP Bethal) and Beyers.

It is understood the five will be meeting on Wednesday, to evaluate their position in the party, and will leave the CP because the old guard still has too much support among the party's hierarchy.

However, they have had substantial support for their position document from city councillors, officials and grassroots members, especially since the referendum defeat. They expect many of them to leave the party and join them.

One of the signatories said it was a waste of time to battle with legal technicalities at the executive on Thursday. "We have reached the point where we cannot stay in the party. We are through with the HNP resurrection within the CP," he said.

He said it had been agreed that the five signatories would walk out of the party rather than wait for the executive decision.

It was senseless to remain in Parliament as independents, because the chief whip did not sufficiently recognise independents.

They would form a new party, possibly bringing in Overvaal MP Koos van der

Merwe, who was expelled for similar reasons earlier this year.

Another of the "new right" members said there was a lot of sympathy among NP members, even in Parliament, for the creation of a party that represented Afrikaner interests.

Another senior CP MP said: "If the CP won't become the bearer of Afrikaner interests, then a bearer will have to be found." There was certainly no plan to join up with the NP.

The new group would look to join the constitutional negotiations to argue for a federal structure for SA divided into 10 regions. One of these would be a nonracial, Afrikaner-dominated region which could develop into a state in 20 to 40 years' time. The five submitted their document to the national congress of the party late in June, and after heated argument it was referred to a committee consisting of the provincial executives. The committee, which met last week, rejected the document.

Plenaar said the CP did not have a policy on the issue of a smaller homeland and therefore could not legally expel Beyers.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe yesterday hailed Beyers' speech as a significant development and said a split would come within weeks. The referendum had placed the CP in a dilemma, where it realised its policies had no future.

13/Day 03-08-92

'No action yet' on ANC renegades

CONTROVERSY over ANC defence units running riot in the Vaal continued last night as government and the ANC disagreed over action to control the units.

Speaking on SABC's Agenda programme, ANC president Nelson Mandela admitted some units had taken the law into their hands but said no action would be taken against renegade units at this stage.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze earlier urged the ANC to disband the units and called on ANC members to give police information on the units' illegal activities.

The row erupted after weekend reports that SACP secretary-general Chris Hani was concerned about units that were out of control.

Mandela said drastic action — including expulsion — would be taken against those involved in such activities in the future, but this was not necessary at present.

"We became aware that our own people were not complying with the guidelines that we accept. There was a great deal of intimidation. We are dealing with that."

Government had failed in its duty to maintain law and order, causing some defence units to take the law into their own hands. "The reason some of our units have got complete-

RAY HARTLEY
and TIM COHEN

ly out of hand is because they are being attacked and there are no visible signs on our part that we are defending our people," Mandela said.

Kotze said his department had long maintained many ANC structures were out of control. "We believe one of the key factors in controlling the violence would be for the ANC and Inkatha to discipline their members."

Mandela also said on Agenda that the immediate installation of an interim government leading to free and fair elections remained the main objectives of mass action. He was optimistic government would meet the ANC's demands "as they have done in the past".

President F W de Klerk had given him the impression he was not concerned about the loss of black lives, he said. Mandela accused the security forces of intimidating people not to join today's general strike. He said the security forces showed bad timing by entering townships en masse on the eve of the strike after the ANC had asked for an increased presence in the past without results.

Koevoet was operating in black townships, including Driefontein, despite government assurances it had been disbanded, he claimed.

B11 Day 03-08-92

UN 'A-team' arrives to keep watch

TIM COHEN

SEVEN members of the UN observer team — described as the "A-team from New York" — arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday and were quickly dispatched to posts around the country where they are to monitor the ANC alliance's two-day stayaway.

The seven members joined three other UN monitors who were already in the country after assisting UN special envoy Cyrus Vance, who left SA on Friday.

Mission head Hisham Omayad said the team members would act primarily as observers, although they would mediate between groups during the stayaway if requested to do so.

He emphasised that team members would act in accordance with national peace accord structures and would be briefed by the chairmen of the local and regional dispute resolution committees.

They would be free to go anywhere in their areas and to observe all activities related to mass action.

They could also attend meetings of the dispute resolution committees and report daily to the team's temporary head office in Johannesburg.

Omayad conceded that the number of monitors was small, but said "this is the A-team from New York", expressing confidence that they would be able to play a positive role in limiting violence.

All the monitors are attached to the UN department of political affairs.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, who was on hand to meet the mission members at the airport, said their presence demonstrated the concern of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the Security Council about the violence in SA.

He said the monitors would be easily identifiable by their UN armbands. Extensive transport facilities, including helicopters, would be available to them.

Mbeki repeated the ANC's commitment to ensuring that the stayaway proceeded peacefully, saying its head office would be observing the mass action closely.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 6

B/R Day 03-08-92

Union-company accords aimed at minimising stayaway damage

EMPLOYERS and unions have forged agreements which will minimise the effect on production of this week's mass action.

In the mining industry, NUM members will work extra shifts to compensate for loss of production during the general strike today and tomorrow.

NUM assistant general secretary Marcel Golding said at the weekend that individual agreements had been reached with mines in the Anglo American and Rand Mines groups. The agreements were aimed particularly at marginal mines.

In the motor industry, Samcor will close

its plant for the week following discussion with shop stewards.

In Natal, employer organisations and Cosatu have signed a declaration to "ensure that the risk of violence and intimidation is minimised". A joint initiative has been set up to monitor the stayaway and liaise with affected parties should there be any breakdown in the agreement.

Nationwide lunchtime marches and demonstrations are planned for Wednesday and Thursday.

Labour consultant Andrew Levy has pointed out that 650 000 man-days were

DIRK HARTFORD

lost to strikes — only 19% of which were triggered by wage demands — in the first six months of this year.

Sapa reports that at a rally in Port Elizabeth last night commemorating the 71st anniversary of the SACP, secretary-general Chris Hani said mass action would be conducted with "maximum militancy but also maximum discipline."

"Mass struggle must be taken beyond the immediate defeat of the apartheid state and beyond the drawing up of a new

democratic constitution. Mass struggle is the engine that will democratise our country," Hani said.

After a weekend meeting of the PAC's national working committee, information secretary Barney Desai said his organisation had received reports of "massive" intimidation intended to enforce the stayaway.

In Estcourt, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a rally that workers, not stayaway organisers, would pay the high costs of the mass action campaign.

The ANC did not care if the national eco-

nomy disintegrated "or if all the minorities are backed into a corner, as long as its power obsession is fulfilled", he said.

Our Durban correspondent reports that the ANC said at the weekend it would meet Natal police commissioner Maj-Gen Colin Steyn this week to protest against his decision to allow Inkatha members to carry traditional weapons during a march in Durban on Saturday.

More than 1 000 Inkatha supporters marched to protest against mass action and this week's stayaway call.

● See Page 2

B / Day 03-08-92

Businessmen offered strike deal

Mandela in bid to head off dismissals

ANC president Nelson Mandela contacted about 30 top businessmen last week, hinting at an early return to the negotiating table provided the stay-away did not prompt mass dismissals.

A senior source in the business community said Mandela had also informed them of the ANC's desire for the early establishment of an interim government of national unity — an issue UN envoy Cyrus Vance is understood to have concentrated on.

An ANC source said Mandela would probably undertake to try to ensure that if there were no dismissals today and tomorrow, events for the rest of the week would go off with minimal disruptions.

The ANC said on Friday that all companies contacted had undertaken not to take any disciplinary action, including dismissals, against workers who stayed away today and tomorrow. Rather, they would adopt a "no work, no pay" principle. This was because employers recognised "the right of workers to participate in the campaign for peace and democracy".

However, the business source said, this was not a correct interpretation of what Mandela had been told. Business's position was far more nuanced than that.

In their talks, many business leaders had insisted on reserving the right to disciplinary action — and not because they expected large-scale mass dismissals, as they generally had no intention of dismissing workers. However, the source said, if business waived its right to disciplinary action it would leave the impression that workers could participate in political stayaways at will without fear of penalty.

"Everyone knows it will be a long hard

ALAN FINE

march to democracy, and there will be many disputes and occasions when people may want to use their 'right' to stay away. For business, it is not this would put us on the road to perdition," he said.

It was possible that, even if there were no or few dismissals, other forms of disciplinary action could be applied extensively. This was particularly the case where special arrangements had not been negotiated between management and workers.

In many establishments, special arrangements had been made which involved taking leave, adjusted and/or short shifts, extra weekend work to compensate for time lost and, in industries where this was necessary, the performance of emergency work during the stayaway.

The source said Mandela had intimated in his talks with businessmen that a breakthrough in negotiations was imminent if business reacted calmly to the stayaway.

In earnestly requesting an undertaking from business that there would be no dismissals, Mandela had used the prospect of an early return to negotiations as a carrot.

Mandela had also implied that business should be more flexible given his and the ANC's softer line on matters such as nationalisation and, more recently, his slapping down of the proposed bond boycott.

His reference to the interim government could represent a change of policy encouraged by Vance. The ANC has, until now, held that it cannot participate in a first phase interim government until negotiations over the second phase and the constitution-making body are complete.

13/1 Day 03-08-92

Violent weekend in Reef townships

KATHRYN STRACHAN

EIGHTEEN people were killed and at least 16 injured in weekend violence, mainly on the Reef.

Police said seven squatters were stabbed, hacked and burnt to death at Orange Farm near Evaton on Saturday in a raid by an unidentified group.

In Vosloorus, a detective constable and one other person were gunned down.

The body of a man with stab wounds was found at Alexandra and another at Randanda near Heidelberg.

In an incident in Daveyton, near Benoni, yesterday police shot and killed a man who had tried to stab an officer. Police had stopped to search a truck taking 127 ANC supporters to a meeting, SAP liaison officer Col Dave Bruce said.

On Friday night attackers shot five people dead at the taxi rank at Selby.

Meanwhile, police said yesterday the number of violent incidents in the Vaal Triangle had decreased, apparently as a result of an increased police presence in the area since last Wednesday.

Bruce said there had been 19 incidents in four days, compared with 11 a day before the security forces were deployed.

In Maritzburg, a senior ANC member, Chris Hadebe, was killed and ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe seriously injured in an ambush during a funeral in Imbali township yesterday.

ANC regional chairman Harry Gwala said the attack was aimed at creating confusion on the eve of the mass action. He called for discipline and restraint.

B/Day 0308-92

Workers jump the gun in Numsa strike

DIRK HARTFORD

NUMSA member: at several factories in Benoni jumped the gun on the union's national strike — officially due to begin today — and started striking on Friday.

Several Seifsa members have already given notice to the union they intend to lock out workers next week. Numsa is striking in the motor, tyre and rubber, and metal and engineering industries.

Meanwhile, Seifsa denied last week that it had "bugged or made use of dishonest means" to get information on Numsa's strike. Seifsa spokesman Hendrik van der Heever said the suggestion was laughable.

He said Seifsa had learnt of the strike

plans through its members, who had received written notice that the strike would start today.

Seifsa also said Numsa was "lying" in alleging that Seifsa had not responded to its inquiries on irregularities in the Seifsa ballot. Seifsa is proceeding with an interdict against Numsa for ballot irregularities.

Sources in the motor manufacturing, and tyre and rubber industries said they expected to meet Numsa this week to continue negotiations.

B/Day 03-08-92

New legislation on intimidation

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Tough legislation aimed at curbing intimidation, banning private armies and providing harsh sentences for the illegal use of certain weapons came into effect at the weekend.

A notice in the Government Gazette published on Friday brought into effect the Criminal Law Second Amendment Act and a separate schedule defined the classes of weaponry prescribed under the Act.

The schedule effectively includes AK-47s, hand grenades, rocket launchers, mortars and mines. A minimum five-year prison term will be imposed if a person is convicted of committing an offence with a weapon possessed unlawfully.

A magistrate may also authorise the detention of people withholding information from the police about such weapons, subject to certain regulations.

The Act criminalises the training or equipping of military or quasi-military organisations which could usurp the functions of the SAP or SADF.

The Intimidation Act is also extended to criminalise indirect forms of intimidation.

Previously it was an offence if someone had been persuaded, with threats, to do something. Now it is an offence if the intimidator fills someone with fear.

COMMENT

Mass action

TEN UN monitors watching this week's mass action have a significance beyond their mere numbers. Their presence in the country could moderate actions of extremists determined to take us into chaos, and that could be the catalyst for a resumption of substantive talks.

Today, UN special envoy Cyrus Vance presents his report to the world body. It is likely to focus on the opportunities for a peaceful outcome to SA's constitutional crisis based on widespread determination among representative leaders to avoid violence. If the report is used to score political points its usefulness will be wasted. Pik Botha take note.

When we have Chris Hani reporting that township comrades are out of control, Jay Naidoo wanting a quick return to work, Nelson Mandela promising business leaders that people will return to work quickly if they are not penalised for staying away and Derek Keys warning of the economic consequences of mass action, the concern of political leaders that the situation could spiral into uncontrollable violence is plain.

That, in turn, underscores the urgency of using the Vance report to bridge political differences. It should be used as an extinguisher for putting out the fire rather than as a tool for rebuilding the house. Rebuilding comes later.

Vance cannot and will not offer clear-cut solutions or prescriptions. That would be impossible in a situa-

tion such as SA's where political support does not necessarily equate with raw power. Vance has left well aware of the need to accommodate small groups with little popular support but the ability to destroy a peaceful settlement by putting im-pis, blackshirts, uncontrolled self-defence units or death squads on the streets.

Today's UN report could, if used properly and if nothing major goes wrong this week, provide the rationale needed for representative leaders to overcome their comparatively narrow differences. Despite the spectacularly acrimonious end to Codesa II, negotiations in its committees did much to settle points of dispute between the present government and its opponents.

It is difficult for South Africans to look beyond this momentous week, to do more than live the political life day by day. Confidence is clearly ebbing. Foreigners who briefly believed investment in SA could be profitable are backing away sharply, emigration by skilled South Africans again threatens longer-term economic debilitation, businessmen who will eventually decide on new productive investment despair over stayaways and millions of ordinary South Africans are intimidated.

Confidence could shatter entirely if this week turns into a vituperative shambles.

Handling the week's difficulties and opportunities correctly will be an essential start to restoring some direction to our affairs.

Press gang

THE ANC has taken a commendably firm line with regional hotheads trying to force two Port Elizabeth newspapers to change their editorial stance or reporting policy. The battle for tolerance and democracy in the new South Africa will not always be won so easily.

We are not a tolerant nation. The history of white rule, and particularly of Nationalist rule until 1990, has been one of intolerance and suppression of dissent. The township youth, from whom tomorrow's leaders will come, were among those whose dissent was forcibly suppressed. They in turn have shown that they would rather enforce boycotts and stayaways than seek democratic support for them. Again, no ready acceptance of any-

one's democratic right of dissent.

In the Port Elizabeth case, the ANC advised local firebrands to discuss their complaints with editors before demonstrating or resorting to a boycott; secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa specifically condemned the intimidation of journalists or vendors, and the burning of newspapers.

The ANC, it seems, joins Voltaire in defending to the death the right of others to publish views of which it may disapprove. This should commit the ANC leadership to intervening on behalf of those who do not want to join ANC-supported stayaways, or vote for ANC candidates. The fight for democracy will be a difficult one, because we have so little precedent for the tolerance on which it is based.

Seven unrest-related deaths, including a policeman, as tension grips Natal townships

3/08/92 DAILY NEWS

Stayaway barri

DAILY NEWS

Report by Anil Singh, Ido Lekota, Bob Frean, Vasantha Angamuthu, Keith Ross, Susan Miller, Andre Jurgens and Mazwi Xaba

A UNITED Nations representative, accompanied by members of the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the South African Police, swept over Durban and surrounding areas in a helicopter today to monitor the first day of the ANC's national strike and week of mass action.

Barricades, empty buses and "quiet" industrial areas have signalled the start of the mass action campaign.

Earlier it was reported that the stayaway had already been marred by at least seven unrest-related deaths and that burning barricades had been set up on roads leading out of all major townships in Natal last night.

The labour monitoring group based at the University of Natal estimated that the stayaway was 70-75 percent effective in the Natal region today.

A spokesman for the South African Police, Captain Bala Naidoo, reported that police began removing barricades from most townships around

Durban from 8.40 last night. He said barricades were set up at several sections of Umlazi, KwaMashu, Ntuzuma, Amawoti and Phoenix. Many of these barricades included burning tyres, concrete slabs or tree stumps.

However, the joint working committee of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance said the UN and monitoring team had seen only two barricades — one at Umlazi and the other at KwaMashu.

The monitoring team has left for KwaMashu to investigate and were due to go to Umlazi to monitor a march there later.

A monitoring service set up by the Natal KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee said few reports of intimidation had been received.

Major transport routes were operating as usual early today, but the stayaway appeared effectively to have kept down passenger numbers into Durban to between 15 and 30 percent of bus and train capacity.

Spoornet spokesman Mike Asefovitz said no reports of early-morning violence on trains or at stations had been received as yet.

Although trains are running on their usual schedules some coaches could be cut back this evening because of low occu-

pancy rates at between 15 and 20 percent.

Durban Transport Management Board spokesman Marshall Cuthbert said Blue Line and Mynah buses were running at full capacity, but Green Line buses in the Durban area were only about 30 percent full.

Should passenger demand pick up, more drivers were on stand-by, he said.

A spokesman for the Durban Regional Chamber of Business said many businesses had arranged last week to remain closed for the duration of mass action. SA Clothing was one.

Industry in Pinetown was especially quiet. In the large Westmead Industrial complex, near Pinetown, bus and taxi

ranks were deserted.

Captain Naidoo said an unidentified man was burned to death near the technical college at Ntuzuma, outside Durban, today.

Earlier, six people were killed in a spate of scattered incidents in Natal at the weekend: two were hacked to death at Port Shepstone; two people, including an African National Congress official, shot dead near Pietermaritzburg and two others shot dead near Pinetown. One was a policeman.

Captain Naidoo also reported that a petrol bomb was hurled at a police patrol at Ntuzuma and in the neighbouring township of Phoenix a bus was stoned by a mob in Redfern Road early today.

Internal Stability Unit policemen were sent to remove a barricade that had been thrown across Edendale Road in Georgetown — an African National Congress area in the Edendale Valley near Pietermaritzburg — before sunrise today.

None of the 144 KwaZulu buses that were to have served Pietermaritzburg communities operated today, indicating a large worker stayaway.

Police and Defence Force forces patrolled various parts of the Pietermaritzburg district last night and today to try to prevent any hostilities.

Pinetown was very quiet, with trains and buses running empty. The Westmead industrial area was also very quiet.

In Umlazi, south of Durban, there was a strong police presence and two police helicopters circled overhead. Children walked to school because there were no minibuses.

The two largest Durban industrial areas of Jacobs and Moleni were also very quiet.

See Pages 4 and 5

Shooting chaos

DAILY NEWS

3-08-92

at big meeting

AN Inkatha meeting ended in chaos and confusion at Wembezi, near Estcourt, yesterday when unknown gunmen without warning suddenly opened fire on part of the crowd gathered to hear the Inkatha president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Police moved swiftly to stop Inkatha supporters from attacking the houses and to prevent a clash, using tearsmoke to control them, but came under fire themselves when they moved in force against the houses. A hand-grenade was thrown at them.

When the firing began, Inkatha officials dropped to the ground and struggled against the harsh effects of the tearsmoke. Dr Buthelezi was among those affected by it.

Nobody appeared to have been injured in the shooting.

The first burst of gunfire seemed to come from two houses in a part of Wembezi known to be hostile to Inkatha. It started after the Inkatha president had finished addressing the crowd of about 10 000 sup-

KEITH ROSS

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

porters gathered on the local sportsfield.

He had devoted much of his speech to berating those who advocated violence and had barely returned to his seat when the shooting began.

The shots came without warning, but the Inkatha amabutho — traditional regiments — swiftly moved to attack the houses in which the gunmen seemed to be hidden.

The Inkatha supporters were immediately driven back by tearsmoke fired by strong elements of the South African Police who had until then been watching proceedings from a discreet distance.

The police then moved in force against those in the houses. They formed a battle line and were advancing when a hand-grenade was thrown at them, landing near a group of five or six.

However, the grenade bounced harmlessly in front of the policemen and failed to explode. Its pin

had not been fully withdrawn.

The police searched the area and could find no trace of the gunmen. They kept a strong presence in that area to prevent a possible attack by Inkatha supporters.

Inkatha officials on the sportsfield — some had dropped to the ground to avoid possible flying bullets — were struggling against the effects of tearsmoke.

Meanwhile, Inkatha officials used the public address system to appeal for calm, as some supporters seemed eager to attack in spite of the police presence.

"I believe prompt police action prevented a very nasty clash," said the district commissioner for Ladysmith, Colonel Geoff Barber, who took personal command of operations in the area.

He said that in the circumstances it was difficult to say from where the first shots had come.

In his address, Dr Buthelezi had called on Inkatha supporters to defy ANC attempts to enforce mass action and a countrywide strike.

Two killed, train damaged, hut petrol-bombed as strike begins

CAPE TOWN: Two men were killed, a train was damaged, a security guard's hut was petrol-bombed and burning roadblocks were set up in the Cape Peninsula as the two-day general strike began today.

Major employers were expecting mass stayaways, but said they would be able to assess the extent of absenteeism only later in the day.

In the clothing industry, the Cape's biggest employer, at least 13 factories employing about 8 000 agreed to close today in terms of an agreement with the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union.

Police said one of the dead men was found just before midnight after a crowd of about 50

people moved past the Nyanga police station.

A motive for the attack has not been established.

The body of the other man was found in Nyanga opposite Crossroads this morning. Police said the body had two bullet wounds.

□ At a construction site in Khayelitsha at 2.30am today, a group of men broke into a security guard's hut and petrol-bombed it.

□ At Nonqabela station at Khayelitsha, a sleeper was thrown over a railway line, damaging a coach about 6am.

□ In Milnerton, police said turf club employees demonstrated and about 200 people blocked Miller Road with tyres, logs and rocks.—Sapa



NORMALLY a hive of bustling activity, a road leading to the steps near Durban's Berea Road station was almost deserted today.



EVERY day hundreds of mini-bus taxis stand in this parking area near the Warwick Triangle, but there were few on the streets today.



EMPTY roadside stalls from where vendors usually sell everything from vegetables to traditional medicines bear testimony to the effectiveness of the stayaway call.

3/08/92

DAILY
NEWS

Action urged on security forces

BLACK PRESS

Dennis Pather



BLACK newspapers are calling for an urgent purging of the security forces in the light of the disclosures by forensic pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman about deaths in detention.

Most commend Dr Gluckman for his "brave" actions in going public and unveiling "what has long been known among political activists and families of hundreds of victims".

The NEW AFRICAN said the doctor's revelations went much further than exposing "low-level policemen".

Murders in detention date back to before the early Sixties, and their continuation today showed that they are now part of the apartheid bureaucracy "which turned a blind eye — in the face of overwhelming evidence — to the murders".

"Dr Gluckman is right when he says that the Government does not know how to stop the murders.

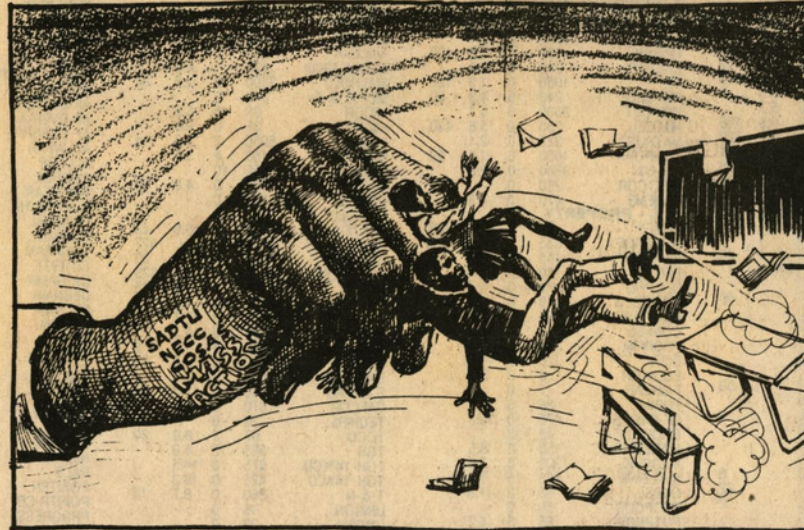
"It cannot know if it gave implicit or explicit sanctions for such murders to be committed."

The NEW NATION does not appear impressed by suggestions that a special commission look into Dr Gluckman's disclosures.

"Such commissions are probably going to be an important factor in the process of transition, but in no way are they able to intervene as urgently as the situation demands.

"A purging of the security forces is in the interests of all the people of this country — not only blacks.

"Experience in other parts of the



A SOWETAN cartoon supporting the newspaper's call for schoolchildren to be allowed to attend classes normally during the mass action programme.

world has shown that rogue forces tend to develop insatiable appetites for maiming and murder, and there comes a time when they are unable to distinguish between friend and foe."

□□□

AN urgent appeal went out to ANC president Nelson Mandela to intervene and stop the involvement of schoolchildren in this week's mass action campaign.

In calling for Mr Mandela's help, the SOWETAN said it was important that all pupils attended classes.

The newspaper also attacked the SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) statement that its members would not be in class this week as "sheer irresponsibility".

"We have nothing against mass action. In fact we endorse the democratic right of blacks to take appropriate action to bring the Government to its senses.

"But, we take strong exception to keeping our children out of classes."

The newspaper is not impressed by guarantees that extra lessons will be given as they are "not worth the paper they are written on".

"Also, it will take a week or more to bring schools to normality. This our teachers ignore. Furthermore, in areas like Soweto, half the year has already been lost."

"It will be an act of faith and a handsome gesture for our leadership together to declare publicly that the children must go to school during the action," the newspaper said.

□□□

CITY PRESS was anxious to dispel the notion that mutilating and murdering people for muti purposes was part of black South Africa's cultural heritage.

The newspaper was quick to condemn the recent spate of muti murders, and urged political, church and cultural organisations to condemn such a barbaric practice.

It took note that after recent publicity of cases of muti murders of chil-

dren, some people on radio talk shows and in letters to newspapers expressed the opinion that blacks were inherently barbaric.

"Because of South Africa's unfortunate history, we find racists painting pictures of blacks as barbarians steeped in ritual murder.

"But we can also point out to things like Satanism in white society.

"We urge society to purge itself of the muti evil-doers and call on our white compatriots to show understanding and respect for how black society functions."

□□□

DR SAM Motsuenyane, past president of Nafcoc, came in for special praise in the SOWETAN on his retirement last week.

The newspaper saw his task as a "difficult and often thankless job" because the obstacles black businessmen had to overcome in the past were formidable and often phenomenal.

Dr Motsuenyane was often not welcome in certain hostile homelands, and with other black businessmen, he had to contend with the chaos inherited from the apartheid system.

Fortunately, the legal space for Nafcoc in today's commercial world has opened, but the problems still remain.

□□□

THE SOWETAN reflects lightly on last week's Seychelles elections, and says animal symbolism entered the poll when an emaciated cow was paraded in the streets of Victoria — apparently to illustrate President Albert Rene's alleged corruption.

How about South Africa where an election is now a distinct possibility? Taking its cue from the Seychellois, the SOWETAN makes the following suggestion:

"Obese cats can reflect the Nats, and hyenas the IFP. The ANC? A horse with an SACP jockey in the saddle!"

The Daily News



FOUNDED IN 1878

3-8-92

Uncontrolled mass action

THE African National Congress/Cosatu/Communist Party alliance embarks on its "mass action" campaign today with every indication of having a loose cannon on deck. ANC president Nelson Mandela and Communist leader Chris Hani have conceded that the township "self-defence units" they have established are out of control and have their own agenda. That was apparent early this morning with blazing barricades at township entrances and a fresh spate of grisly killings. They make a mockery of calls from the leadership for tolerance and free choice.

The judgment of the Alliance leadership in launching the mass action campaign, knowing it was not in full control on the ground, comes seriously into question. The danger is that the self-defence units could, apart from harassing innocent people, come into serious conflict with the Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha and the security forces. All kinds of powder trails could be ignited.

Yet both President De Klerk and Mr Mandela have intimated that the mass action campaign is a temporary interlude, that negotiations will soon be back on track. In such case it would be difficult to imagine an exercise less necessary — except that it is likely to at least bring home the utter futility of expecting street theatre to effect a transfer of power. It is also likely to refine and clarify issues, not least for the United Nations observers. Nobody is in complete control and nobody has any such capacity. President de Klerk and Mr Mandela both have trouble controlling the force at their command. But, in combination, they could achieve a great deal.

South Africa's only option is to batten down and let the storm pass. But the folk of the townships — tragically, always at the receiving end — have to somehow stay out of the way of the loose cannon which can smash whatever is in its path without ever looking like sinking the ship.

Strike begins today in S. Africa

Political protest worries some

By TOM COHEN

Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — A national strike originally intended to force the white government from power starts today with several black groups opposing it and U.N. monitors trying to prevent violence.

The African National Congress and its labor allies called the two-day strike as part of protests against chronic township violence and a stalemate in political talks.

But the strike, marches and other protests have little chance of pressuring President F.W. de Klerk's government into major concessions on ending white minority rule.

The planned strike also has drawn attention to divisions among black groups and raised tension throughout the country.

The ANC broke off negotiations with the government in June after the massacre of at least 39 black people in the Boipatong township south of Johannesburg, and launched a protest campaign.

But ANC President Nelson Mandela said during a television interview Sunday that he was optimistic his group's disputes with the government would be resolved.

Political leaders have called for calm, noting that previous political strikes have sparked violence. Some 5,000 police were sent last week to strife-plagued black townships near Johannesburg.

Business leaders warn the walk-out will further damage an economy already in recession, but have agreed to a no-work, no-pay policy for strikers.

ANC allies such as the South African Communist Party and most labor groups support the strike.

But other black groups — including the rival Inkatha Freedom Party and some smaller, militant groups — oppose the strike.

Inkatha, locked in a power struggle with the ANC, says a strike only hurts workers and undermines political negotiations.

KATHRYN STRACHAN

SERVICES at provincial hospitals, which have slowly returned to normal during the past two weeks, are expected to be disrupted again today as workers join the mass action campaign. National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) secretary-general Philip Dexter said despite the dismissal of 7 500 general assistants, the union still had a lot of support in hospitals. Demonstrations began on Friday when SA Com-

munist Party chairman Joe Slovo, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo led hospital workers in a march on the TPA regional offices in Braamfontein to demand the reinstatement of dismissed workers.

Workers later marched on the Johannesburg Hospital where 190 people, including union officials,

were arrested and charged with violating a court order preventing them from entering hospital premises. The strikers were released on R100 bail each on Saturday morning.

Police reported an assistant nurse at Johannesburg Hospital was killed on her way to work on Friday night — possibly in a road accident.

Police spokesman Lt-Col

Dave Bruce said the body was found at Nasrec, near Soweto.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Anthony Geldenhuys said last week the hospital strike had become a matter of great concern, particularly because of the violence involved, and added a Peace Committee delegation would be sent to try and mediate to end the violence.

Six private clinics in Johannesburg, hit by the Nebawu strike on Thursday, returned to normal the following day. But Clinic Holdings (CHL) MD Jeffrey Hurwitz said he expected services to be disrupted again today when hospital workers joined the general strike. He said a list of grievances put forward by CHL workers would be addressed.

About 1 000 professional

staff at Baragwanath Hospital, including almost 100 doctors, marched on the administration building on Friday morning after hospital authorities banned a meeting.

SA Health and Social Services Organisation spokesman Refik Besmilla said the demonstration lasted less than an hour and all facilities were manned by skeleton staff.

TPA spokesman Piet Wilken said Ga-Rankuwa Hospital remained the focus of the strike.



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

The Star 03-08-42

Bodies of eight found in Vaal Triangle

Crime Staff

The bodies of eight men have been found in Orange Farm Extension 3, near Evaton in the Vaal Triangle, police reported yesterday.

Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce said the bodies were found in the camp between 4.30 pm on Saturday and 7 am yesterday. All had been stabbed in the head and face. The private parts had been removed from one victim before he was set alight.

Colonel Bruce said seven of the bodies were found on Saturday afternoon and the eighth early yesterday. Initial evidence did not suggest the killings were politically motivated. "It is believed that residents may have de-

cided to take action against criminal elements in the community."

The countrywide unrest death toll has risen to at least 19 since Friday.

In the latest violence, police shot and killed a man thought to be an ANC supporter in Daveyton, on the East Rand, at 1 pm yesterday. Police and the ANC differed strongly on the cause of the shooting.

Police said they stopped a truck carrying 127 men armed with an assortment of weapons. Three men in the cab refused to get out and behaved in an "extremely aggressive" manner. Two were forcibly removed after teargas was used, but the third allegedly attempted to

stab a policeman with an assegai. Police fired a shot, fatally wounding the man.

An ANC spokesman said the man had been sitting between two colleagues at the time and could not possibly have attempted to stab a policeman.

On Friday night, gunmen ran amok at the Trump Street taxi-rank in Selby, Johannesburg, killing five commuters and wounding at least 13. The attackers escaped undetected.

A senior Natal ANC member was killed and two of his colleagues were wounded in an ambush outside the Imbali Community Hall near Maritzburg on Saturday. Midlands regional organiser Mandla (Ni) Hadebe died after being shot several

times, Reggie Hadebe was wounded several times and Shakes Cele was slightly hurt.

In their unrest report for the 24-hour period ending at midnight on Saturday, police said the body of a man with stab wounds was found in Alexandra, near Sandton.

At Bruntville, in Mooi River, police found the body of a man who had been stabbed after a clash between two groups.

● Detective-Constable P D Ramila (33) and his friend, Sekgala Frans Molokome (38), were shot dead by gunmen in Vosloorus, on the East Rand, late on Friday. Earlier in the evening, Constable Sam Ndobe was seriously injured in a grenade attack in Soweto.

The Star 03-08-92

Mandela in new Koevoet claims

DRIEFONTEIN — Allegations of renewed activities by the Koevoet police unit abounded at an African National Congress rally addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela at Driefontein, in the eastern Transvaal, yesterday afternoon.

Before Mr Mandela began his address to a 400-strong crowd, in commemoration of ANC activist Saul Mkhize who was killed by police at Driefontein in 1984, he was told by senior regional ANC officials that a large number of policemen had been intimidating residents since Friday.

It was alleged police had erected roadblocks and had conducted house-to-house searches.

ANC Driefontein branch chairman Yunus Cajee claimed a large number of the police were Koevoet members.

"It was just an intimidation effort to try to discourage the people from attending the rally," Mr Cajee said.

Speaking to journalists after the rally Mr Mandela said it was not the aim of the mass action to cause insurrection.

"All we want to do is to pressure the Government into accepting an interim government and democratic elections," he said. — Sapa.

The Star

Observer team from UN jets in

03-08-92

By Louise Marsland

Seven United Nations observers landed at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday to monitor the heightened mass action campaign.

The observers immediately flew to their separate destinations where, in conjunction with regional dispute resolution committees around the country, they will monitor the campaign along with three other UN colleagues already in the country.

Two Americans, Miriam Freedman and Rehana Ahmad-Haque, will be stationed in Klerksdorp and Pretoria (including eastern and far northern Transvaal) respectively.

MG Ramcharan from Guyana, South America, will be based in Durban, while his US colleague John Renninger will be staying in Maritzburg.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees representative in Johannesburg Kallu Kalumiya will join the monitoring team on the Witwatersrand and Vaal, along with team leader Hisham Omayad (Ghana) and Shola Omoregie (Nigeria), who arrived in South Africa earlier, as part of UN special envoy Cyrus Vance's delegation.

Other postings are: Shigeru Mochida (Japan) to Bloemfontein, Joan Seymour (United Kingdom) to Cape Town, Jose Campino (Portugal) to East London and Port Elizabeth.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, who will co-ordinate the visit, said the UN observers would file daily reports to a head office in Johannesburg.

"I think their presence here is going to give an objective picture — they will be the eyes and ears of the international community," he said.

● Witwatersrand/Vaal regional dispute resolution committee vice-chairman and MP Rupert Lorimer said yesterday the observers in that region would be taken up in a helicopter today to familiarise them with the area. They will also visit several townships.

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(2)

Strike begins with warning on violence

● From Page 1

tion was not designed to sabotage negotiations. "On the contrary, one of its aims is precisely to ensure that we have real negotiations. Serious negotiations, not just talk-shops."

The Sunday Star reported that Mr Mandela had met senior businessmen and was assured that while there would generally be a "no work, no pay" policy, strikers would not be dismissed. Mr Mandela indicated that if strikers were not victimised, discussions would be held about not occupying workplaces after the two-day stayaway. The ANC would concentrate on Government buildings.

At a meeting yesterday which was cut short due to poor attendance, SACP executive member Ronnie Kasrils said the general strike was the "muti" of the people. He told about 1 000 people at the Atteridgeville Super Stadium, near Pretoria, that the strike had been decided on to show the Government, the Transvaal Provincial Administration and bosses that people had had enough.

Only 100 people turned up at a mass action rally organised by the ANC-aligned Soweto Action Committee at Regina Mundi Church yesterday. SAC spokesman Norman Prince exhorted them to mobilise for today's march from Elkah Stadium to the Soweto Council headquarters in Jabulani.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday attacked mass action, saying workers and not the organisers would pay the high costs of the campaign.

Addressing a rally in Estcourt's Wembezi township, Chief Buthelezi said: "We will not let the ANC rob us of our jobs. When the ANC calls for strikes, the ANC does not risk their jobs; it is our jobs that they put in danger."

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necessary.

Colonel Crewe said early indications were that the deployment of 5 000 additional policemen and soldiers in 16 strife-torn PWV townships on Wednesday had reduced violence "somewhat".

The mass action campaign will reach a head on Wednesday when ANC president Nelson Mandela leads a march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria to seek a response to the organisation's 14 demands made to the Government last month as a

pre-condition to returning to the negotiations table. Thousands of supporters are expected to be bused in from all over the PWV area for the march.

As the country geared up for the strike, PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said yesterday. "Reports indicate that schoolteachers in some areas who are prepared to teach have been forced to flee their homes over this weekend; that threats have been made to burn homes and private cars; that vi-

cious assaults have been inflicted on people who disagree with the stayaway."

On Saturday, the IFP urged its members to ready themselves to protect those who rejected mass action and intimidation.

Esther Waugh reports from Port Elizabeth that at a rally marking the 71st anniversary of the SA Communist Party yesterday, SACP general secretary Chris Hani, party chairman Joe Slovo, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and Cosatu

general secretary Jay Naidoo said the rolling mass action would continue until the Government had met the ANC demands on ending the violence, and on transitional arrangements.

Mr Hani told the crowd: "Our mass action will be disciplined". He accused President de Klerk of wanting to create the impression that the mass action was the cause of violence.

"We are warning all bosses who have plans to dis-

miss workers. We are warning security forces who are trigger-happy. The people of this country and the world are watching you. We are watching you," Mr Hani said.

Mr Naidoo appealed for discipline and peace during the week's programme, because it was clear that the intention of the "Buthelezi/De Klerk alliance was to cause violence".

Mr Hani said the mass ac-

● To Page 3 ■

Stern warning on violence from Mbeki

National strike begins

Political Staff and Sapa

On the eve of the climax of the ANC alliance's programme of mass action starting today, alliance leaders have predicted it will be a massive success, while appealing for discipline.

The IFP yesterday reiterated its disagreement with the strike, and the Pan Africanist Congress said it had received numerous reports of massive intimidation to enforce the stayaway today and tomorrow.

As a tiny United Nations observer monitoring team moved into place yesterday, ANC, Cosatu and SA Communist Party leaders called for the heightened mass action this week to be carried out without violence.

ANC director of foreign affairs Thabo Mbeki, who

met the UN monitors when they arrived yesterday, said their presence demonstrated the concern of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the Security Council about the violence in South Africa.

"We want to ensure there is no violence during the mass action. On our part, any member who engages in violence during the protest will be kicked out of the ANC," said Mr Mbeki.

Police said yesterday they were ready for "any eventuality", but would not interfere with peaceful and lawful protests. Spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Reg Crewe warned yesterday that police would take strong measures against intimidators or perpetrators of violence.

Police reinforcements on standby would be backed up by SADF personnel where

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More reports
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The Star 03-08 CR

'Negotiations' different in SA

We all know that Mr Cyrus Vance is an experienced negotiator. But is he experienced in the affairs and methods of Africa where, as has been shown over and over again, no holds are barred... especially on the part of terrorist organisations which are only interested in getting into power and hammering their enemies?

The niceties of European and American negotiation simply do not exist as far as movements such as our ANC and Cosatu are concerned. Violence and intimidation are

the order of the day and what is promised today is forgotten tomorrow.

Have Mr Vance and his team made any close study of the history of the African continent, especially north of the Limpopo, during the past 40 years since one man, one vote systems started to be introduced? Do they know what the Mau-Mau did in Kenya, UNIP in Northern Rhodesia and Mugabe's people in the former Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe).

Are they aware of the way the Ibo tribe was wiped out in

Nigeria? Have the democratic systems some people are always burbling about ever worked in this region?

They may have been tried, but because democracy is utterly unsuited to most of Africa which is accustomed to the proposition that might is right, Africa (most of it) is today an utter shambles. Are Mr Vance & Co aware of all this? Are they, as I hope, hard-bitten, not easily deceived operators?

Guillaume van Eeden

Garsfontein,
Pretoria

8 The Star Monday August 3 1992

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

Two better portents

TWO brighter spots illuminate an otherwise bleak landscape at the dawn of another critical week. One is the code of conduct for peaceful mass protests which has been generally accepted by all sides. The other is the presence of observers from the United Nations.

Church leaders failed to stave off the stayaway called for today and tomorrow, but they did secure wide agreement on a code to ensure that mass action takes place peacefully. An overall credo sums it up: "All must be free to choose what they want to do for peace and democracy without fear of intimidation. All must respect the right of people to hold different views."

Codes of conduct, it might be argued, are pieces of paper after all. Do angry imps, radicals or police — or any of the faceless perpetrators of violence — consult the National Peace Accord before launching a lethal attack? Still, such agreements do exercise some moral force on the major political players. And that force is strengthened when it is backed by monitoring structures such as those of the Peace Secretariat or its new helpers from abroad, the UN observer mission.

Little is known about how this small team will operate, but its presence is to be welcomed — even as a symbol of impartiality and international concern. Ten observers will have to spread themselves very thinly over South Africa's potential trouble spots. Still, their presence will have some value as a deterrent and an impartial monitor in likely trouble spots.

Already South Africa has accepted that the world community can play a valuable role in various areas. Cyrus Vance has just left; since last year a UN presence has assisted with exile problems here; Judge Goldstone called in an international panel to draw up ground rules for protest action, and British experts checked on the SAP's Boipatong investigations. There is no point in bemoaning supposed "invasions of sovereignty". We need all feasible help in restoring trust to our divided land.

The Stands - 08-02

MK should stay

I appeal to the president of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to stop demanding that the ANC disband MK. MK is not a private army so why must it dissolve? It is up to Chief Buthelezi to stay or pull out from negotiations. Even if he is at the negotiations he doesn't help with anything. He is the one who is blocking the road towards a democratic country.

MK helps push this country towards negotiations, but what the IFP is doing is to kill the innocent people, breaking their houses and stealing their belongings. Chief Buthelezi shouldn't preach peace and violence at the same time.

M M Wilson

Johannesburg

The Star 03-08-92

Nothing positive said about police

The Star has never been the biggest fan of the SA Police, but lately your anti-police tone has reached new and ridiculous proportions.

Your editorial (Opinion, July 24) has convinced me that The Star will not be happy until the present police force has crumbled. The Waddington report criticised the police for various shortcomings, some of which have been admitted by the Commissioner and will be rectified.

The Star was also a leader in making news out of allegations that police were directly involved in the Boipatong

massacre. The Waddington report clears the police of any complicity in the massacre, but not a word of that in your editorial. A case of "good news is no news"?

Furthermore, a liberation organisation was criticised for telling Boipatong residents not to co-operate with police during investigations. That is an offence, and an action which Waddington condemned. However, no mention of that in your editorial, either!

This letter is not to criticise your newspaper for condemning the police when they deserve it. But The Star seems

to be issuing a great amount of destructive criticism, to the extent that nothing positive about the police is ever said in your editorials.

In an earlier editorial, in reaction to the Trust Feed outcome, you said it was particularly grotesque when policemen were guilty of misconduct. This may be so, but your constant condemning of the force as a whole when individuals are guilty of misconduct, has success only insofar as it undermines confidence.

David Strydom

Unrest Reporter, SA Police
Pretoria

● *Regrettably there have been a number of quite valid grounds recently for criticising police behaviour and competence. Our editorials have often taken note of the difficulties under which police must work. On July 16 we condemned systematic killings of police, apparently encouraged by Azapo and PAC-aligned firebrands, as mindless terrorism. On July 25, the day after the editorial complained of, we criticised the ANC for impeding the Boipatong investigation. -- Editor.*

A return to negotiations will require an all-in effort, writes Joel Netshitenzhe

Unity can resolve the crisis

THE article by R W Johnson in The Star of July 27 is a well-constructed distortion of the purpose and content of the ANC-led Campaign for Peace and Democracy. He meticulously constructs straw dolls and then sets about demolishing them.

His arguments revolve around three assumptions:

- "Radicals" in the ANC, SACP and Cosatu see the campaign as a build-up to insurrection.

- These "planners" of the campaign have either roped in or marginalised the rest of the ANC leadership.

- As the campaign unfolds, these "radicals" are getting cold feet.

South African society has been subjected to enough of such equivocation in recent Government utterances, let alone in the PW Botha era.

For a "visiting professor" from Oxford who has never hidden his disdain for the anti-apartheid struggle, Johnson can be forgiven his views on the efforts to resolve the national crisis. But seen against the backdrop of his recent tirade against the Weekly Mail

and New Nation in the same column, his consistency would leave the likes of Jimmy Kruger cold. And there are not a few of them in the apartheid establishment.

South Africans view the current crisis with little humour. The Boipatong tragedy and the subsequent ANC decision to break off negotiations are the bursting of a festering sore.

Most people wish to do something to contribute to the resolution of the crisis. This is because violence affects the lives of ordinary people as much as it impacts on investor confidence and worker productivity. A prolonged transition is as unacceptable to victims of apartheid as it is a red signal of uncertainty to investors. Add to this reports about continued killings in detention, a spiralling crime rate and corruption in Government circles — and you will understand why decent South Africans want speedy movement to the "new South Africa".

The innovative attempts by sectors of civil society — Cosatu, Saccola and the SACC — to adopt a Charter and Programme for Peace and Democracy is one

flicker of the all-in desire to find workable solutions to the crisis.

It may not be possible yet for these forces to find one another on the actions needed to realise common principles. But this should not detract from the agreement on a constitution-making body that is unfettered save for broad constitutional principles, measures to address the violence and proposed socio-economic programmes.

The NP continues to procrastinate and fudge the issues on violence. In constitutional negotiations it still seeks minority vetoes. It wants to impose federalism from the boardrooms of the unelected body that Codesa is. And it prefers a long transition in which it will essentially be in control.

This behaviour fuels the perception that the NP is still bent on underhand methods and "dirty tricks" to weaken its opponents.

If nothing is done to clear this logjam, the frustrations among victims of apartheid will boil over, whether the ANC undertakes mass action or not. If South Africans who want peace and democracy do not act, perpetrators of

violence will perceive this as a licence to continue their campaign. It would be tragic for anyone to recoil from these principles simply because the NP does not approve.

The ANC and its allies have adopted methods they deem most effective in the situation: peaceful mass action and mobilisation of international solidarity with the democratic process.

Their campaign is not premised on some hidden agenda: "a sort of demonstrator's version of 'permanent revolution'" (as Johnson refers to rolling mass action), insurrection or the Leipzig option. The ANC believes united action by South Africans and the international community is capable of compelling the Government to negotiate in good faith.

There has indeed been debate among the ANC and its allies about the purpose and character of the campaign. We would not embark on a campaign of this magnitude without a clear conception about its destination. Such robust debate is critical in the formulation of balanced policy. The disservice Johnson does to readers

is to raise individual views — distorted by his sources — to the level of policy. Yet when policy is so articulated by people he seeks to demonise as "radicals", he elects to interpret it as a sign of "cold feet".

The Week of Action starting today is one high watermark in the campaign. No one has attributed to it the status of be-all and end-all in the process. If the demands are not met, even more decisive actions will be undertaken.

What is not "unprecedented" in the campaign is that actions around community and other grievances will continue, whether or not there is Codesa or even an ANC government. If this is "a demonstrator's version" of Trotsky's permanent revolution, then Trotsky's adherents run into billions, including picketers against abortion in the US, French farmers and British doctors.

The UN Security Council resolution that Johnson refers to as a push on the ANC to resume negotiations in fact calls for Government action to end the violence and recalls the UN declaration which urged for negotiations "in a

climate free of violence". The UN special representative is meant to investigate measures to end the violence in order to help "in creating conditions for negotiations."

Perhaps, like the Government, Johnson has not yet been jolted by these developments. In his view, "much of the conviction has gone from the mass action campaign." Certainly the organisers of the campaign can do better. But his calculation is dangerous because it is premised on the belief that those at the receiving end of apartheid terror will one day tire of struggling.

The ANC will indeed return to negotiations. But this will happen only if the Government takes practical steps to address the violence and accepts a democratic constitution-making process. When — and not if — this happens, there will be jubilation not only within the ANC or among its supporters, but also among all those who did not shun their responsibility when their country required of them simply to take a stand. □

● The author is a member of the ANC national working committee and editor of Mayibuye.

The Star 0608-92

Business, ~~X~~ SACP hold talks in PE

PORT ELIZABETH — About 250 members of the Port Elizabeth business community held three hours of face-to-face talks with top SA Communist Party leaders on Saturday night at a conference centre on the outskirts of KwaZakele township.

SACP secretary-general Chris Hani was flanked on stage by fellow senior SACP, ANC and Cosatu officials Joe Slovo, Essop Pahad, Sam Shilowa and Charles Nqakula.

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu mass action campaign dominated the discussions.

"You actually scare me," a young businessman said during question time. "You want to break down the economy and then rebuild it."

It was cheaper, he argued, "to close down operations, and become an importer of goods."

Mr Slovo conceded that the economy would suffer "some immediate damage" as a result of the mass action campaign. But, he said, people had to take a long-term view of the situation.

Mr Hani said: "With the Government's intransigence and lack of commitment to the negotiation process the only option available to us was that of peaceful and non-violent mass action."

Another businessman asked: "We all want to see this Government replaced with something better... but how can we be sure the (ANC/SACP/Cosatu) alliance will give us a better government?"

Political tolerance in the townships of South Africa was virtually non-existent, he added.

Mr Hani replied that there was a need for accountability and political tolerance.

If an ANC government came to power and it did not act in a democratic manner "we will protest", Mr Hani added.

Mr Pahad said it was the democratic right of people to change a government. — Sapa.

The Star 02-02-92

Nurses angry about death of staff sister

Staff Reporter

Nurses at the Johannesburg Hospital have hit out in anger at the death of a staff sister at the weekend.

Rosina Mpambukeli's body was found at Nasrec on Friday night. Police said yesterday her injuries were consistent with a car accident, but nurses believe she died after being beaten up, allegedly by striking workers.

There is also an unconfirmed rumour at the hospital that an assistant had her ears cut off because she "refused to listen".

A hospital spokesman said: "It's damned unfair our nurses are being picked on because Nehawu (the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union) wants to see the collapse of hospitals. Why the nurses?"

Although the hospital did not give permission to The Star to speak to Mrs Mpambukeli's colleagues, one sister, speaking anonymously, said: "I am outraged. I don't understand why

nurses are attacked when we work very hard to save the lives of people on both sides of the fence who come in for treatment."

She said several black nurses at the hospital were planning to stay away from work this week for fear of being attacked on their way to and from work.

The sister said she hoped the public would co-operate with the emergency regulations at the hospital.

Last Sunday, a child died in a petrol-bomb attack on the home of a Ga-Rankuwa hospital employee. The mother and another child suffered burns.

According to a press release from the TPA's chief director of administrative services, P W van Niekerk, intimidation, assault and damage to property are taking place at hospitals.

A newly appointed worker at Hillbrow Hospital was assaulted on Friday and people were being pulled from buses at Medunsa Dental Hospital, Mr van Niekerk said.

The Star 03-08-92

Weapons: FW 'had no reply'

President de Klerk had no answer when asked why he had legalised the carrying in public of dangerous weapons, ANC president Nelson Mandela alleged last night.

Mr Mandela was appearing on SABC-TV's "Agenda". He was asked whether, with South Africa poised on a knife-edge following the breakdown of negotiations, and mass action about to start, he and Mr de Klerk's "special chemistry" could save the situation.

He said it was wrong to imagine that negotiations between a liberation movement and the Government would proceed smoothly. Despite hiccups, "the clear picture is one of progress".

He differed with the State President on certain issues.

Between 1984 and August 1990, 5 000 people had been killed by people wielding assegais, knobkerries and axes, Mr Mandela said.

"Now, in the Transvaal, it was a criminal offence to carry these weapons in public. Mr de Klerk, knowing that these weapons had been used to kill people, changed the law to make it now legal..."

He had asked Mr de Klerk for an explanation. "He just has no answer" — Sapa.

The Star 05-08-92

Armed IFP march opposes mass action

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — More than 1 000 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters roared against mass action and this week's stayaway call when they gathered outside the Durban City Hall at the weekend after marching peacefully through the city centre carrying sticks and shields.

Although police praised the marchers for their "gentlemanly" behaviour during the Saturday afternoon march, the ANC said it would meet Natal police commissioner Major-General Colin Steyn this week to protest against his decision allowing IFP members to carry tradi-

tional weapons.

General Steyn said in a statement on Friday that the purpose of the march was to welcome KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on his return from New York. Because the march was "not of a political nature" the ban on carrying dangerous weapons did not apply.

However, Chief Buthelezi was watching a rugby match at the time, and the marchers carried IFP flags as well as banners which suggested that the march was being held against the mass action campaign.

Police at Curries Fountain allowed marchers to carry shar-

pened sticks and spears, but confiscated a number of crudely made metal weapons before the procession left for the city hall.

Lindelani IFP chairman Thomas Mandla Shabalala led the crowd, estimated at between 1 000 and 3 000 people.

A memorandum delivered to police at the hall recorded the IFP's "total rejection" of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu's mass action campaign.

The memo called on people to ignore the stayaway, urged police to ensure the safety of people who wanted to go to work, and condemned ANC "propaganda" that IFP supporters

were planning attacks on township residents.

● Chief Buthelezi said at a rally near Estcourt yesterday that the "third force" in South Africa was the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Inkatha demanded that MK and the AK-47 rifle, which was the ANC's "traditional weapon", be abolished.

MK sheltered behind the cover of the ANC, "and it has gone crazy". The attacks on councillors had not abated and hostel dwellers were not safe in their dwellings, nor on their way to work, Chief Buthelezi said.

The Star 03-08-92

Mandela orders probe of defence units

Staff Reporters

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said last night he had requested SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani and ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale to investigate the self-defence units (SDUs) in the Vaal after the organisation learnt its members were not complying with ANC guidelines outlawing the use of violence and intimidation. Some of the SDUs had got "out of hand" because they were under attack and there

were no visible signs of the ANC defending them, he said in an interview on SABC-TV.

Mr Mandela said "drastic disciplinary" action would be taken against the SDUs if "talking" did not help.

He added that the security forces were also intimidating people. The decision to send 5 000 security force members into 16 Reef townships had led to the perception that they would intimidate those wanting to take part in mass action.

Earlier, Mr Hani denied in

an interview with The Star that he had said self-defence units of the ANC-led alliance were "running wild", as reported in a Sunday newspaper.

Mr Hani said, however, that problems had been reported with some of the SDUs. "There is a report that an SDU in Phola Park overthrew a civic organisation," he said.

Expressing his annoyance at the article, Mr Hani said: "It put words in my mouth — things I never said."

The SACP leader charged that some of the SDUs had been infiltrated by "the enemy".

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary-general of the National Party, said yesterday the ANC was "reaping the whirlwind of its own making", reports Sapa.

He said the concept of the SDUs was "ill-conceived right from the start as part of the campaign to 'make the country ungovernable' and as a means of flouting the authority of the police".

THE GUARDIAN
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London

Discipline urged during mass action that will test movement's strength

Mandela admits ANC gangs 'taking law into own hands'

Phillip van Niekerk and
agencies in Johannesburg

NELSON Mandela, admitting that many of his African National Congress supporters were becoming increasingly lawless, yesterday called for this week's pro-democracy protests to be peaceful and disciplined.

In a rare concession to critics, the ANC president said some of its young supporters were out of control. He said that this was because the youths believed the ANC was unable to protect them from attacks by the police.

Mr Mandela was responding in an interview on state television to widespread accusations that ANC followers were bullying people to take part in a general strike today and tomorrow and in five further days of mass pro-democracy demonstrations. These actions are seen as a big test of strength for the ANC.

"The reason why the youth have got completely out of hand is that they are being attacked

and there is no visible sign that we are defending them," he said. "That is why they have taken the law into their own hands." He added: "We want these coming demonstrations to be peaceful, disciplined and non-violent."

Reacting to Mr Mandela's charge of police intimidation, the secretary general of the National Party, Stoffel van der Merwe, said the ANC should act decisively against its own hoodlums and that it was reaping a whirlwind of its own making.

Earlier yesterday, the Communist Party's general secretary, Chris Hani, had declared in the Johannesburg Sunday Times newspaper that ANC "self-defence units" set up in the townships to protect black communities were out of control. It was time for the ANC to admit this and to act, he said.

Mr Hani told the newspaper that the units had become involved in bloody battles among themselves, had set up kangaroo courts and had "necklaced" political opponents — placing tyre around their necks and set-

ting them on fire. "We can no longer keep quiet about this," Mr Hani said. "We must take action... If they are seen to be bully boys, the ANC will lose membership."

Seven people were killed in an attack on the sprawling Orange Farm squatter camp south of Johannesburg at the weekend, bringing to 12 the number of people killed in township fighting close to Johannesburg in the past two days. A police spokesman said the hacked, stabbed and burnt bodies of the seven squatters were found yesterday after a raid on the camp by "unidentifiable people" on Saturday evening.

Orange Farm is an ANC stronghold on the edge of Vaal Triangle, the region at the centre of the violence since the massacre of more than 40 people in one of its townships, Bopatong, on June 17.

ANC officials in the Vaal said yesterday they were investigating the cause of the attack but suspected it had been directed against their supporters.

The ANC has appealed to its members to protest peacefully

this week and not to intimidate people who want to work despite the strike call.

The ANC's director of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki, said any member who engaged in violence during the protest would be expelled. "Besides local monitors from our organisation, our headquarters will keep a 24-hour watch on the event," he said.

A 10-person United Nations observer team, the first such allowed into the country, is in place to monitor the strike.

However, the radical Pan-Africanist Congress has rejected the strike because the goal of the stoppage is not the overthrow of the government but to strengthen the ANC before it returns to constitutional negotiations. The PAC said it had received "numerous reports" of intimidation aimed at enforcing observation of the stay away.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told a public meeting in Natal yesterday that "the African National Congress must be whipped back to the negotiation table".

Pretoria warns of job losses as S Africa braces for strike

By Michael Holman
In Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA faces widespread disruption this morning as a 48-hour general strike starts a week of protest intended to force an early transition to majority rule.

Government and business leaders have warned that job losses are inevitable and billions of rands will be lost, undermining an economy now in its third year of recession.

But both government and employers - a group of whom unsuccessfully attempted to avert the strike last month - have resorted to a generally low-key response, prepared to sit out a campaign which most of them believe will run out of steam after the first two days.

The main fear on all sides is that the protest could lead to clashes between rival black parties, and confrontations between strikers and the security forces.

Speaking at a meeting in the eastern Transvaal town of Drifontein yesterday, Mr Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress president, said: "All we want to do is to pressurise the government into accepting an interim government and democratic elections."

"If the government shows signs of good faith, the ANC would return to Codesa" - the negotiating forum where talks ended in deadlock last May.

A less conciliatory note was struck by Mr Ronnie Kasrils, a member of the South African Communist party and one of the main organisers of the protest.

The massacre in June of 42 residents of the township of Boipatong made people realise that President F.W. de Klerk "has blood on his hands", he said.

Strong opposition to the strike, and the three days of rallies and sit-ins that are to follow, has come from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom party.



Defiant: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom party followers are opposed to the general strike

Inkatha supporters have said they will defy the strike, organised by the ANC and its Communist party and trade union allies.

Also opposed to the strike is the radical Pan Africanist Congress - usually part of an uneasy alliance with the ANC - which last night complained that "massive intimidation" was "rampant".

As significant as the strike is the presence of a 10-member United Nations team of observers which arrived in the country yesterday.

The team is more symbolic than practical, its members being spread out across the country. But it marks the first stage in the UN's involvement in efforts to end South Africa's political violence and break the deadlock in constitutional negotiations.

Mr Cyrus Vance, the UN envoy who completed a fact-finding visit on Friday, is expected to propose an expanded UN role when he reports back to the security council this week.

Democratic struggle, Page 11

Financial Times
3/8/92 - London

FOREIGN NEWS



Picture: REUTER

First coloured woman wins Miss South Africa title

WHITE supremacy was dealt another blow at the weekend with the crowning of the first coloured Miss South Africa, writes Ross Dunn.

"Never in my wildest dreams could I have believed that I would become Miss South Africa," said Miss Amy Kleinahns, 24, a model from Cape Town.

Miss Augustine Masilela from Soweto, also black and 24, was second. Miss Lisa King, 20, a white Cape Town model, came third.

It was second time lucky for Miss Kleinahns who was runner-up last year. She had dismissed earlier speculation that she would win "because the time was right" after two years of reform and the repeal of key apartheid laws.

"The controversy that surrounded me because of my skin colour means nothing," she said. "I will ignore it and be a great ambassador."

There was no question of "tokenism or favouritism" said Vanessa Chemaly, the organiser. "Saturday's competition was run fairly and the winner was chosen on merit." Another official said Amy's and Augustine's highest marks had been given by white judges.

Before the Population Registration Act was repealed last year, Miss Kleinahns was classified as a coloured, a person of mixed black and white ancestry.

ANC pledges to ban violent members

By Ross Dunn in Johannesburg

THE AFRICAN National Congress promised yesterday to expel members who use its mass action campaign to promote violence.

The promise came as members of a United Nations conflict-monitoring mission arrived in South Africa and police announced that 12 people, including eight squatters and a detective, had been killed in the most recent violence.

Members of the UN team will be deployed immediately throughout the country to observe the ANC's programme, which is due to escalate today with the start of a 48-hour general strike. They will be provided with helicopters and other transport to reach flashpoints quickly.

The government has said that the ANC's campaign of mass demonstrations and rolling strikes, designed to end white minority rule, will lead to further bloodshed.

But the ANC's director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, on hand to greet the UN officials, said his organisation would not tolerate people who used the campaign to promote further killings.

"We want to ensure there is no violence during the mass action on our part. Any member who engages in violence during the protest will be kicked out of the ANC," he

said. "Besides local monitors from our organisation, our headquarters will keep a 24-hour watch on the event."

The head of the UN mission, Mr Hisham Omayad, said: "Members will have free range to go anywhere in the area they are assigned to. They will observe and cover all activities related to the mass action, and will report through me to the UN Secretary General and the Security Council."

"This is the A-team from New York. We have made provision for them to be in South Africa for one week."

"During the protest, they will not stand off and wait if violence breaks out. They will all be involved in negotiations to end violence during the mass action."

Mr Omayad said the mission would be supported by regional and local committees set up under South Africa's own National Peace Secretariat.

Mr Omayad has been in South Africa for 12 days. He worked with the UN special envoy, Mr Cyrus Vance, who returned to New York on Friday to make his recommendations to the Security Council on ways of ending violence and creating a climate for parties to return to the negotiating table.

Members of the UN team will be placed in Durban, Pi-

etermaritzburg, Klerksdorp, Pretoria, Johannesburg, East London, Port Elizabeth, and Bloemfontein.

Ms Joan Seymour, British member of the team, will be based in Cape Town.

Police said that eight of the casualties in the latest violence died in a squatter camp in the militant Vaal Triangle.

The eight were found yesterday morning at the Orange Farm settlement, 35 miles south of Johannesburg. All of them had head and face wounds, and one had had his genitals cut off and his corpse had been set alight.

A police spokesman, Mr David Bruce, said it appeared that the squatters — who set up makeshift shacks on vacant land in an attempt to escape unemployment — had purged themselves of criminals.

A black man was backed to death in Bruntville township near Mooi River in Natal after two groups clashed, police said.

An ANC official said a man had been shot dead at a road block in Daveyton township when police searched the organisation's supporters who were going to a rally.

Despite the latest killings, violence in the Johannesburg area has decreased, apparently as a result of increased security presence, police reported.

Bassador: Amy Kleinahns crowned Miss South Africa at Sun City

A strike at the heart of the democratic struggle

South Africa is bracing itself for an unprecedented week of industrial action and demonstrations, writes Michael Holman

South Africa's struggle for democracy this week enters its most perilous stage since Mr Nelson Mandela's release two and a half years ago.

Availed by political violence, its leaders at loggerheads, and the economy deep in recession, the country is bracing itself for a 48-hour general strike that begins today.

It marks the start of an unprecedented week of industrial action, partly a protest against the slaughter that the government seems either unable or unwilling to halt, but also an effort to jolt President F.W. de Klerk into an acceptance of majority rule.

Mr Mandela, the African National Congress (ANC) president, however, may find himself hoist by his own petard. A week ahead could prove to be less a challenge to Mr de Klerk's authority than a test of his own leadership.

Within the ranks of the ANC and its main allies — the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) — are those who question a strategy that may have been flawed in the start and has since been overtaken by one development in particular: the emergence of a new role in South Africa's peace process of the United Nations, one of whose officials arrived yesterday to observe this week's events.

On the home front, government measures have helped prepare the ground for a suspension of constitutional negotiations, called off on June 1 by the ANC in the wake of a massacre of 42 residents of Boipatong township.

The government has responded to most of the ANC conditions for a resumption of talks. It has agreed to disband the controversial security force units, promised to reform migrant worker hostels which are implicated in much of the violence, and agreed to tougher measures against carrying weapons in public, including so-called traditional weapons carried by Zulu supporters of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). "Mr de Klerk must put promises into practice", comments an ANC official. But he concedes that Mr de Klerk has taken significant steps towards fulfilling an important condition: the demand for an international inquiry into the massacre. Foreign experts have been assisting the Goldstone Commission, a standing judicial investigation of political violence.

But the most important development of all came at the Security Council last month, which met to debate the South



De Klerk (right) and Mandela; a crucial week ahead

African crisis.

Its decision to appoint Mr Cyrus Vance, former US secretary of state, as special UN envoy to South Africa marked the start of the international body's direct involvement in the search for a settlement.

When Mr Vance reports this week, he will almost certainly suggest that the UN send an observer team, whose members would be attached to existing local bodies.

But he has already made his mark. While in South Africa on a ten-day visit he played the role of broker, helping to arrange last week's meeting between Mr P.W. Botha, the foreign minister, and Mr Thabo

the risks of violent confrontation the policy entails.

The small number of UN observers envisaged — "tens rather than scores and certainly not three figures", says one official — will already be hard pressed to monitor existing levels of conflict.

Thus UN officials will be eager to avoid extended industrial unrest in South Africa.

This all adds up to a predicament for Mr Mandela in which he has little to gain and much to lose.

If the week of action wins widespread support Mr Mandela will emerge with his authority intact. But it will hardly be enhanced. What, it

strongly opposed to the mass action campaign, comes a warning: "If negotiations cannot get off the ground then violence will escalate. We might be pushed into a situation in which violence will have to run its course before we can again begin negotiations."

Not only have relations between the ANC and Inkatha sunk to new and dangerous depths. The Pan Africanist Congress, which used the funeral of the Boipatong victims to resurrect the Patriotic Front alliance of anti-government forces, is opposing today's strike.

Furthermore, the strike has revived the quarrel of the classrooms: with some groups arguing that students should boycott their schools and others (including the ANC) urging pupils to attend classes.

The greatest burden Mr Mandela carries is the danger that events this week could set in train a process of radical change, but in a way that he does not intend, and which he could find hard to control.

The threat of violence will be ever present. Potential flash-points include: hostels housing supporters of Inkatha who are determined to go to work; factories where strikers confront the security forces; or wherever the extreme right attempts to provoke conflict.

But de Klerk has his own burden of responsibility. The most fundamental issue of all — who holds power in post-apartheid South Africa — remains intractable. And nothing Mr de Klerk has said since talks broke down suggests he is prepared to accept Mr Mandela's demand for a majority rule constitution.

As positions harden and enmities deepen, the warning of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) seems increasingly relevant: black nationalist leaders were released (1974), a constitutional conference failed (Geneva 1976) and 30,000 people were to die before talks eventually succeeded in December 1979.

Certainly one prominent South African politician has said there is a lesson to be drawn.

"I think great mistakes were made in Rhodesia. When the opportunity was there for real, constructive negotiation it was not grasped."

"Insofar as things went wrong, they went wrong because they (white Rhodesians) waited too long before engaging in fundamental negotiation and dialogue."

These words are from President F.W. de Klerk, in an interview shortly before Nelson Mandela's release. They seem all the more pertinent this week.

It all adds up to a predicament for Mr Mandela in which he has little to gain and much to lose

Mbeki, his ANC shadow.

The official purpose of the meeting was to discuss the release of political prisoners. But few observers doubt that more was discussed in a meeting that effectively marked the resumption of bilateral talks.

Whether international intervention can save South Africans from themselves is a moot point. But Mr Vance apart, outsiders are already making their mark. For example, reports by the experts invited to join the Goldstone commission have produced indictments of the South African Police.

What alarms members of Mr Vance's team, however, is the prospect of what ANC and labour leaders have termed "rolling mass action", with all

can be asked, will have been achieved?

Anything less than a big turnout, however, will be a severe blow. With its military wing all but inconsequential, trade sanctions a lost cause, and the shortcomings of its industrial muscle demonstrated, the ANC will return to negotiations with its limitations exposed.

As Mr Benny Alexander, secretary general of the radical Pan Africanist Congress says: "If they (the ANC) fail to come up with successful mass actions Mr de Klerk will become more arrogant."

Moreover, the divisions in black politics will have been exacerbated.

From Chief Buthelezi,

BUSINESS DAY, Monday, August 3 1992

KATHRYN STRACHAN

SERVICES at provincial hospitals, which have slowly returned to normal during the past two weeks, are expected to be disrupted again today as workers join the mass action campaign. National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) secretary-general Philip Dexter said despite the dismissal of 7 500 general assistants, the union still had a lot of support in hospitals. Demonstrations began on Friday when SA Com-

munist Party chairman Joe Slovo, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo led hospital workers in a march on the TPA regional offices in Braamfontein to demand the reinstatement of dismissed workers.

Workers later marched on the Johannesburg Hospital where 190 people, including union officials,

were arrested and charged with violating a court order preventing them from entering hospital premises. The strikers were released on R100 bail each on Saturday morning.

Police reported an assistant nurse at Johannesburg Hospital was killed on her way to work on Friday night — possibly in a road accident.

Police spokesman Lt-Col

Dave Bruce said the body was found at Nasrec, near Soweto.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Anthony Geldenhuys said last week the hospital strike had become a matter of great concern, particularly because of the violence involved, and added a Peace Committee delegation would be sent to try and mediate to end the violence.

Six private clinics in Johannesburg, hit by the Nehawu strike on Thursday, returned to normal the following day. But Clinic Holdings (CHL) MD Jeffrey Hurwitz said he expected services to be disrupted again today when hospital workers joined the general strike. He said a list of grievances put forward by CHL workers would be addressed.

About 1 000 professional

staff at Baragwanath hospital, including almost 100 doctors, marched on the administration building on Friday morning after hospital authorities banned a meeting.

SA Health and Social Services Organisation spokesman Refik Besmilla said the demonstration lasted less than an hour and all facilities were manned by skeleton staff.

TPA spokesman Piet Wilken said Ga-Rankuwa Hospital remained the focus of the strike.

Hospitals braced for more disruption