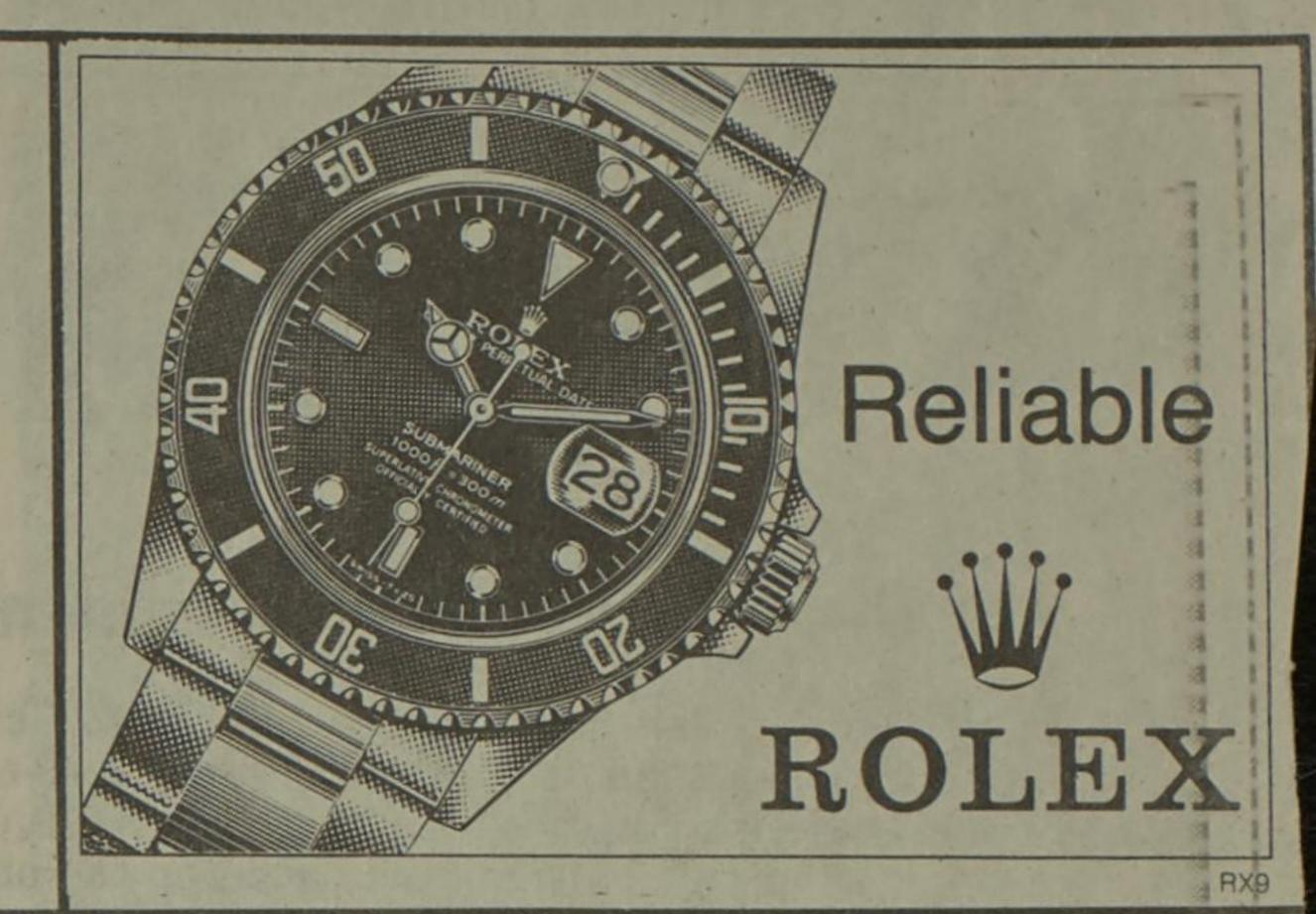


For better living

Tuesday September 15 1992



Hired killers join car theft surge in True

The theft of cars by internationally organised gangs, long on the increase, topped the half-million mark for 1991 alone, according to estimates by the German Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA).

The vehicles, most of them new luxury models, vanish without trace after being stolen by criminal organisations, some of which have up to 200 members, and are shipped or even flown just hours later to eastern Europe, the Middle East or even as far as Japan.

The racket is a flourishing one. Those behind it are able again and again to outwit the authorities vainly trying to recover the limousines. The trade is also witness to

Car thefts are not just a h This report from DPA in incidence of the

murderous rivalry between the robbers themselves.

Getting a paid killer from the former Soviet Union for R5 000 is "no problem", says BKA's Peter Sehr, referring to the wave of crime hitting eastern Europe.

Murder via organised crime is becoming a daily occurence in the Polish port of Dgansk, while a suspected member of a Polish gang was blown up by a bomb placed under his sports car in Ham-

The German judiciary and

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UNISA'S MIDP HELPS MIDDLE-MANAGERS WITH GO TO GET AHEAD

ENROL BEFORE 16 OCTOBER.

In order to meet the ever-growing demand for expert middle management, Unisa's Graduate School of Business Leadership (SBL) will begin running the 19th Management Development Programme (MDP) in December 1992. Since its inception in 1972, the programme has equipped middle-managers who are specialists in their own field, with an overall knowledge of the functions of organisations. The General Management option of the MDP is the single most successful programme offering managers with potential, the opportunity for further career development. It is a stepping stone to self-improvement and career advancement, giving those who have it, the competitive edge. And clearly an advantage in today's competitively charged business environment.

The MDP traditionally follows a mid-year calendar

and will continue to do so However the new additional



stand waiting to be claimed by their owners.

SPACE

air bends the om the star,

n it seems to

the sun. And planets shine with a steady light while stars appear to

by light reflected from

twinkle. This is caused by sky, it might be consubstances in the air between the star and the earth. The un- There are millions of

way does our sun

star! And not a very big or bright star at Compared with all the other stars in the

shine? Because it is a

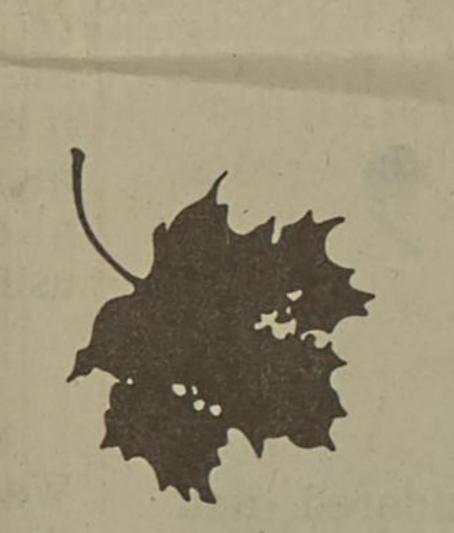
sidered medium-sized and medium-bright.

stars that are smaller than our sun.

And many stars are several hundred times larger than the sun. They look small only because they are so far away.

Ever since the days of the Greek astronomers, some 2000 years ago, the stars have been divided into classes according to their "magnitude", or

brightness. Another way of grouping stars is according to their spectra, or the kind of light that comes from the stars. By studying the differences in these spectra, the astronomer may learn about the colours, the temperature and even the chemical composition of the stars. From Still More Tell Me Why by Hamlyn.



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'We must pull SA from quagmire'

On the prospects for the summit

that we came very near to a disaster (after the Bisho massacre), the move that we have country from that disaster. We welcome Mr de Klerk's move, because whatever has been said by Pik Botha, this move of Mr de Klerk's is nevertheless calculated to break the deadlock.

Our concentration is on the installation of democracy in the country, and for this, compromises become absolutely essential. That is why I decided to respond as I did. I first had doubts as to whether I should act, because Mr de Klerk's invitation had its propagandistic elements, but people have died. The biggest question is how we are going to avoid a repetition of Bisho.

Of course there are certain preconditions, and I hope you will regard these as reasonable. The Government agreed to act on the hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons. This they can do without meet-

On our part we are going to

I think that in spite of the fact co-operate, and I hope Mr de Klerk is going to co-operate. My message to the Government is: make good on the undertakings now jointly made - myself and you have given to us and Mr Mr de Klerk - has saved the Cyrus Vance. We are not challenging here, not demanding. It is our deep concerns we have

> What has happened now is that the negotiations process has lost credibility, has become discredited. You must realise it was a heated debate within the ANC when we decided to suspend armed struggle and to negotiate. But we convinced one another then. Now my people are beginning to say to me: "What was the value? Let's abandon negotiations, they will never be able to take us to our

> I am saying, therefore, it is urgent that the Government makes some visible, practical move to restore the credibility of negotiations. And once the Government does that, by moving just on these three points, we are prepared to reconsider the whole question of having pulled out of negotiations.

We must go back to Codesa exactly as it is in terms of structure

On how progress at the summit can change the political atmosphere

If Mr de Klerk can just say to secure them. Give me an underme: "You have expressed your taking that within a month or three concerns. I give you my undertaking that I will address them ..." I have said to him we have identified 120 political prisoners. Just add 80, and release them, and give me an undertaking that the rest will be released in the next two months. Give me a date on which hostels will be fenced and

two we will be able to ban dangerous weapons.

I will be able to go back to my people and say: "Look, he has met us. Let us meet him." We would then be able to ask ourselves the question whether, in that particular atmosphere, we should continue with mass

An interim government is

going to represent us all, and

the ANC is not going to have

mass action against itself! We

will be in government, the ANC

will be fully represented like all

other political parties. There

will be no question of mass ac-

tion. There will be no question

of sanctions. There will be no

question of isolating South Afri-

ca. South Africa will go back to

the United Nations — we will

be saying this. All that will re-

main are the arms and oil em-

bargoes, to be lifted as soon as a

democratic constitution is ac-

cepted. But even on that there

The point is that if an inter-

can be compromise.

On when mass action will stop and sanctions will be dropped

Anything is possible, even the suspension of mass action. When you negotiate you must be prepared to compromise. But that compromise must not undermine your own position. It must be seen as an effort to move forward, to pull South Africa out of this quagmire. Therefore, if the Government does something visible to show that they are now prepared to negotiate in good faith, there will be no necessity for mass

If at Codesa 2 in May this year the Government had agreed that an interim government of national unity had to be introduced say within six or 12 months, if they had just made that agreement, there would have been no need for mass ac-

im government is introduced, these conflicts fall away.

On whether Bisho has shocked politicians into pulling back from the abyss

I cannot speak for the Government, but I can speak for our

From our side, we are trying to push the country away from that horror. We are trying to give South Africans of all colours hope that the democrats

in this country are able to deal with the situation, to acknowledge their mistakes, and to be able to work together to ensure that whatever errors were committed are not repeated.

I give that assurance today from our side.

On the urgency of the summit

We haven't got much time. The next elections are in 1994. The economy is falling to pieces, and that we cannot afford. I have been talking to businessmen. We have to come up with strategies that give the country and investors hope that we are working together to ensure that our economy is not destroyed.

I have a special interest in this. Of the seven million unemployed, the overwhelming maon a time-bomb. The youths in the townships have had over the decades a visible enemy, the to him to do so.

Government. Now that enemy is no longer visible, because of the transformation that is taking place. Their enemy now is you and me, people who drive a car and have a house. It's order, anything that relates to order, and it is a very grave situation.

Now it is absolutely necessary to us, bearing in mind Derek Keys's frightening analysis (of the state of the economy), that this summit takes place as soon as possible. I sincerely jority are blacks. We are sitting hope that Mr de Klerk is going to make sure that those problems are addressed. I appeal

Shortly before his departure for Zambia, ANC president Nelson Mandela gave a wideranging interview to The Star's Editor-in-Chief, RICHARD STEYN, and Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON. In it, he made clear that he believes South Africa stands at a critical point in its history, and that he and President FW de Klerk are called upon to pull the country back from the brink. He made an impassioned plea to the Government to meet the ANC's concerns — and said the organisation would respond in kind to such a gesture. Pressed on controversial issues including the Bisho massacre, mass action. the economy, interim government, the role of the SACP and the resumption of Codesa, the ANC leader spoke openly and frankly to The Star. Extracts from this important interview are published on this page today.

On whether Codesa should be restructured

I am dead against a restructuring of Codesa. If we do that we will waste another year arguing about what form it should take. There are many organisations, not political parties, which have asked for representation at Codesa — the churches for example. We said no. If we allow representation for you, Cosatu, the

churches and all other organsations, it can't work.

We must go back to Codesa exactly as it is in terms of structure, with more political parties hopefully joining in. We would welcome all political parties being added to the process. That is not restructuring.

6 If an interim government is introduced, these conflicts will fall away

On the state of the economy

We want to break the deadlock, because if we don't I fear that the economy is going to be so destroyed that when a democratic government comes into power it will not be able to solve it. The longer it takes for democracy to be introduced, the more difficult it will be to repair the economy.

I have always known this to be the case, but on Friday I got a briefing from Trevor Manuel after he met Derek Keys. He brought a statement from Keys

which is well-considered, and spells out in detail the actual state of our economy. And I got frightened. Before Trevor finished I said to him: "Now what does this mean as far as negotiations are concerned?" Because it appears to me that if we allow the situation to continue, we are going to face the prospect that even when we have introduced a democratic system and are able to organise resources from abroad, it will still be very difficult to repair

On the role and concerns of business

I believe business must take positions. We have said to the Government we are prepared for the adoption of the constitution by a two-thirds majority, and we even went up to 70 percent. The Government wanted 75 percent and we could not agree. I say to business, take a position. If you think we are wrong, say so. If you think the Government is wrong, tell

We say we are well aware of the concerns of whites in this country, which are genuine, if mistaken. We are prepared for checks and balances, but that must be done in a constituent assembly. I would like to remove the concerns of business. There is the potential for cooperation. One has to be very, very careful not to use rhetoric that is going to frighten people, but rather to enable people to have confidence that we have a workable strategy — however difficult the situation is.

I think business has generally responded very responsibly during the period of mass action. I have thanked them for that, and I have told my own supporters my view. I said we have had cooperation, and therefore we must avoid any attitudes of hostility or actions which will further damage the economy given that business must understand that if there is no progress in negotiations, mass action is the only alternative available to us. I am hopeful that we will be able to resolve these problems.

On why the ANC insists on mass action

One of the mistakes that has been made by both the ANC and the National Party is that we have embarked on an electioneering campaign while we are negotiating. One party is talking to the other while at the same time trying to undermine that party. Now that destroys the whole atmosphere of nego-

But I have explained that we must have free political activity, and the efforts we have made to ensure that. In addition it is quite clear that the Government is now fighting an electoral campaign, and that they are using these homelands as areas

where they can start with maximum votes, where they have no competition. Look at our situation. We

have done everything in our power. We are left with two years (before elections). We must make sure that all political parties can operate throughout the country. If we can't make progress as far as negotiations are concerned, if we can't make progress in discus-sions with the bantustan leaders affected, what are we expected to do? We can't sit down and fold our arms. The ordinary people in these particular areas want action.

On the limits of acceptable mass action

We are very concerned about the situation, but as I've said. we cannot just fold our arms. However, while the regions can take decisions, they must always keep in mind the national perspective.

Nothing should be done by the organisation which suggests that we now want to violate the parameters of the National Peace Accord or the guidelines of the Goldstone Commission. And in the last meeting of the NEC I stressed this point, as 1 did in King William's Town the day after the massacre. We must be seen to respect the structures that have been created, and the guidelines.

We do not feel that the mere launching of mass action in itself is anything which needs to worsen the position - no. The masses of the people, the overwhelming majority, want the right to operate in their own area. And they have been prevented by Gqozo. I am saying, therefore, that as far as we are concerned, we will make sure that in this volatile atmosphere we will not do anything that is likely to worsen the situation. But we must do something when people are being persecuted in these areas, when there is no democracy there. Can we be expected to do anything

Negotiate in good faith . . . and there will be no necessity for mass action

On whether the Bisho marched crossed the line between protest and insurrection But you must understand that

Regional leaders must always consider what effect their actions will have on the country as a whole. Now our image has been affected to some extent by what happened in Bisho. Even some of our loyal friends locally and internationally have got reservations about what we did in that demonstration.

what happened in Bisho has not been the pattern of mass action. On August 5 I led the march on Pretoria. It was disciplined and the police said the crowd behaved magnificently. That was the position throughout the country generally, although there were exceptions where

there was intimidation and looting. When this was drawn to my attention I actually went to these areas to see businessmen, to apologise. But generally speaking, we are able to control our people.

to occupy Bisho. Remember speech.

that we occupied the Union Buildings, actually hoisted our flag. There was no interference from Mr de Klerk or his police. He was completely relaxed. After I had left he came out and addressed the press, compli-Now we said we were going mented me for my conciliatory

That was not the decision of

Ronnie Kasrils, it was ours.

Therefore his judgment may

not have been a correct one, to

go beyond the stadium once the

magistrate had said we should

not, but the idea of us going to

Bisho was a decision of the or-

ganisation which he was merely

On Ronnie Kasrils's actions

Our concern is not primarily the actions of individuals. What we are concerned with is what can we do to prevent a repetition of what happened at Bisho? And in that context we are discussing, therefore, what individuals have done.

But you must also remember that I actually asked the secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, the head of the Women's League, Gertrude Shope, Steve Tshwete, the man who has normalised sport, to go down and lead that demonstration. Now the concentration is on Ronnie Kasrils, which is not really the proper perspective.

You must also remember that the idea of the march, to which we all agreed, was that just as we did in Pretoria, we would do the same in Bisho.

carrying out. But I can assure you that this is a matter that we are going to examine very carefully. Ronnie Kasrils and Chris Hani are very loyal members of the ANC who have made tremendous sacrifices. Secondly, they are disciplined. If I were to say there should be no further (independent) statements by anybody (on behalf of the ANC), and this

ing future demonstrations, I

was the decision taken regardwill get their maximum sup-

On who was to blame at Bisho, and what is to be done now

There have been accusations and counter-accusations, some correct and others incorrect, from both sides. But leaving this aside, we still have to answer the question: has the ANC any strategy to pull South Africa out from the morass in which decades of apartheid generally, and this massacre in Bisho particularly, have plunged it?

Now it seems to me that we should not worry very much at this stage with what mistakes individuals have made. The crucial question is how to mobilise the democratic forces in the country to concentrate on the task of saving South Africa. 1 am talking about neither the ANC nor the Government, but we, the people of South Africa,

black and white. Our problem is that Brigadier Gqozo ignored the guidelines for demonstrations. The guidelines say that even if one party deviated from an agreement in the course of a march, the other party is not entitled to use force unless it is threatened. They must meet during the march. Gqozo was not prepared to talk to us right from the beginning. He violated the peace accord right from the beginning. The marching out of the stadium towards Bisho was not actually a violation of the peace accord itself. But even if it was, then the task of the other party was to have called us and discussed it — just as has happened in other

The move that we have jointly made has saved the country from disaster

On 'radicals' and 'moderates' within the ANC

It is not correct to say that there is a conflict between radicals and moderates in the ANC although I fear it could develop (in circumstances like those at

But you can be assured that we will be addressing any state-

ments which were made which might have been harmful to the cause of democracy in this country generally, and that of the ANC in particular. We will not be seen to be doing anything which is a violation of the National Peace Accord or the Goldstone guidelines.

On pressure within the ANC

(If we cannot secure free political activity) I am going to face a situation in which it becomes increasingly difficult to resist the demands of my own people to arm and defend themselves. You know, when I went to Boipatong, I was met with placards "Mandela, give us guns". And these were not coming from the youth, but elderly people, members of the branch.

Then I went to the rally, and I went round as I normally do to greet people. And the song they were singing was "Mandela, you behave like a lamb while we are being killed". I had to make a speech there to say I had

noted what they were saying. Now if we don't do something

don't need armed struggle, we can make progress through mass action.

vote. What else can we do?

visible to show that we are fighting against oppression, those who are demanding the resumption of the armed struggle are going to prevail. Mass action is actually a peaceful form of channelling the anger of the people — for us to say we

You must understand that mass action is being used today throughout the democratic world, and by people who have the vote. We haven't got the

On political control of the security forces

As you know, very late on May 15 at Codesa 2 I went to see Mr de Klerk. I said to him: "The whole of South Africa and the world is looking upon you and I... Let us save the peace process Let us reach some agreement Let us leave the door open and say we have made progress. We

need to fix a date." On that day he was adamant, he wouldn't listen to me. I was with Cyril Ramaphosa and he was with Roelf Meyer. (I com plained that the police had not taken action against an armed Inkatha demonstration) and he answered: "Mr Mandela, when

you join me, you will realise I do not have the power which you think I have." That was his

I was raising a serious question about people using violence in the presence of the police, and that was his answer. This is the kind of problem we are dealing with. If there is anything that has cooled relations between me and Mr de Klerk, it is his paralysis as far as violence is concerned. Because I believe he has got the capacity to put an end to the violence. That is the issue for me, and we