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Don't blame the lenders

ILANGA AUGUST 6-8, 1992

For eighty years the African people have demanded the repeal of the Land Act 1913 and all legislation restricting the ownership of freehold land. The prohibition on ownership of land was a fundamental pillar of apartheid and has done more to maintain the people as paupers in the land of their birth than any other act of the white minority regimes since 1910.

As they could not invest

in fixed property, the African people became a nation of savers. Their earnings were deposited in the post office savings bank, building societies, commercial banks and other financial institutions.

These vast sums of money could not be mobilised effectively to increase African wealth because of the prohibition on ownership of land that could be used as security for loans from financial institutions.

Like a bolt from the blue some civic association under the leadership of a certain Moses Mayekiso has now proposed that people should refrain from paying their bond installments in order to secure political support from the financial institutions.

Needless to say, Mr Mayekiso's own rent and bond repayments are paid up to date, thanks to massive financial support from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions based in Brussels.

As with so many so-called "weapons of struggle", this one is also masochistic in character. That is to say the weapon hurts

the people and does nothing to the oppressor. Sanctions, now a boycott of bond repayments, hospital strikes, non-payment of electricity, rent and refuse removal charges.... the list is endless.

The process whereby important decisions affecting the lives of millions of people are based on this kind of political bone-throwing must stop. Mayekiso and his ilk must be put in their place.

This is the same man who denied that he ever called the Chief Minister of KwaZulu a "dog" in a speech in the United States and engaged in a pathetic egg dance to try and get himself off the hook.

Now that his own leader has crossed swords with him, we can safely prepare ourselves for another unedifying egg dance. Tragedy is that he has already done the African people a grave disservice. Can one blame lending institutions for being cautious about lending money to black people when people like Mayekiso behave as they do?

The banal nonsense of apartheid

It is clear that something in the memorandum presented by the IFP to the government in Pretoria on the 18th January must have struck a raw nerve.

The first pages of the memorandum largely dealt with the fact and consequences of the bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC.

Not surprisingly, it was deductive, as the IFP and other parties are not privy to the discussions between the government and the ANC.

Nevertheless, as a political party the IFP

was undoubtedly entitled to express its own views on the negative consequences of substituting bilateral for multi-party negotiations for the constitution of a country.

What then could have

set-off the furious government response? It certainly could not have been any so-called slur on "Afrikaner honour".

A reading of the document shows that it was not Afrikaner honour

but National Party honour that was in question. Furthermore, the National Party these days makes a point of letting everyone know it is not an Afrikaner party, but a non-racial South African party.

Equal nonsense perhaps? Absolutely unli-

kely. We have all had to endure at least forty years of utterly banal apartheid nonsense. Why should the National Party government fly off the handle at any banal nonsense from others in the new South Africa.

"Why do you oppose apartheid?" asked a well know Minister? "Our policy will give you your own country. You will be able to build your own cities - your own Johannesburg, your own Durban!"

"Mr. Speaker, it is wrong to build houses with windows for the Natives. Look at the Natives who live in the parliamentary flats. They look pale and unhealthy, whereas those who live in huts without windows always look shiny and healthy".

We invite those who can stand it to read Hansard of the last forty years.

And what about that hardy old perennial that the money of the white taxpayers is used to pay for the services of the blacks. We have to read and put up with this banal nonsense everyday - to this very day.

The centre

The greatest guarantor for democracy in South Africa must surely be a system that will ensure that political power ends up in the hands of people with liberal democratic values.

Who might be those people be? Given the fact that the majority of South Africans are black, it must surely follow that they will have to come from a party that has a mass black base.

That rules out the Democratic Party. As for the National Party, although it might recently have colonised DP policy, there are few thinking people who would entrust democratic ideals to its care.

Now, by no stretch of the imagination can one describe the African National Congress as a party with liberal values. Its whole recent history has been characterised by a desire to seize power by revolutionary means.

And although there are many that are wooing the so-called moderate wing of the ANC in the hope that it will prevail, there is no evidence to suggest that such a strategy will bear fruit.

The PAC, whatever its other virtues, is certainly everything but liberal or democratic. A party

whose youth chant slogans like "one settler one bullet" must disqualify itself.

Which leaves the IFP. The IFP is the only mass-based political movement that has consistently championed all the core causes of liberal democracy - multi-party elections, free enterprise, property rights, an independent judiciary and so on.

It occupies the centre and it is highly likely that more and more people will gravitate towards it as the old political order disintegrates. That is probably why National Party MP, Jurie Mentz, joined the IFP last week and why DP MP, Mike Tarr, crossed the floor in Parliament this week to join the IFP.

It is not surprising that DP leaders, while acknowledging that the IFP and the DP share similar policies, are adamant that there is a great difference in "style." Of course there is.

But the fact of the matter is that that is precisely what liberal democracy is all about. Liberal democrats are open to ideas and the influence of others. Tolerance is the glue that holds the centre together.

It is a fair guess that more and more MPs will be joining the IFP in the weeks and months ahead.

And the process will be accelerated the more the old apartheid regime seeks to do deals with the ANC, a party that is intent on inheriting in tact the machine the National Party created. For the two are remarkably similar. The ANC would have behaved in much the same way had it been in power.

The DP is likely to be wasted through continuing defections. Much the same will happen to the NP. And the more this happens the closer the embrace with the ANC will be.

Politics in the months and years ahead is going to be about the centre - that is, if we are going to have democracy in this land. We can't see an NP/ANC/SACP alliance occupying the central ground. It simply does not make sense.

Racist folklore dies

hard

The racist version of South African history, whether by the political right or left, invariably sees the African people as the object of history and never as the subject of history.

A favourite theme of the racist right-wing is that the Africans, being intellectually inferior, always require to be incited or influenced by an evil white man, usually a foreigner.

This racist folklore goes back to the very beginnings of contact between black and white. The hated Meynier in the Eighteenth Century was probably the first to incur the wrath of the white colonists as the Xhosa people and settlers fought over land and cattle in the Zuurveld.

But the biggest ogre of all - in white eyes, that is - was undoubtedly Dr Phillip of the London Missionary Society. To his allegedly pro-African views was ascribed all the resistance to colonial conquest.

On Bishop Colenso and his family was even visited the wrath of a Church, which had blessed the war against King Cetshwayo and the Zulu people. It pronounced

the bishop a heretic for daring to identify with the Zulu people

In our day, the racist folklore took subtler forms.

"I know who wrote Chief Luthuli's speech" intoned Mr Eric Louw as he stepped off the ship which had brought him home from another difficult session at the United

Nations. Later it was whispered that none other than Alan Paton had written Chief Luthuli's acceptance speech for the Nobel Peace Prize. A large number of people know that this was untrue.

Later the press, with its usual speculative certainty, assured readers that the speeches of Inkosi M G Buthelezi were written by Mr Alan Paton despite the latter's denials.

In characteristic style he said he would have liked to accept the honour, but honesty prevented this. That apart, one would have thought that Alan Paton's style was sufficiently distinctive and different.

And the apartheid government of the day joined in the chorus, telling all who would care to listen that white men were "behind" Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Now, it is doing so again, despite the fact that it would have the world believe it has abandoned apartheid and confessed its racist sins.

Whether it be the new or the old South Africa, the racist folklore continues apace. If we have drawn our examples from the racist right it must not be thought the racist left have come off scott-free. It also sees Africans as incapable of anything except as "surrogates" or "stooges" of some white man or other. In another issue we will come back to them, as they are no better than their right-wing compatriots.

Mr. Dudley Kidd, a well known white racist at the beginning of this century, (he was aut-

hor of such books as "Kaffir Socialism", "The Essential Kaffir") did concede after a lengthy analysis that

there was at least one exception to the theories of intellectual inferiority that he propounded.

Who knows, they might find such a specimen in Ulundi. And perhaps our latter-day racists might then be

given a chance to pit their intellects against that specimen.

When they get a drub-

bing they will probably have recourse to apartheid's "separate but equal" argument.

De Klerk says he looks forward to the day when ANC leadership rejoins constitutional talks

70,000 join Mandela in march on Pretoria

By Ross Dunn in Johannesburg

AT LEAST 70,000 black protesters converged on the seat of white power in South Africa yesterday to hear Mr Nelson Mandela vow there would be no return to negotiations until the government had met his demands.

The size of the crowd reinforced the success the African National Congress president has enjoyed this week when four million workers joined a 48-hour general strike on Monday and Tuesday.

The capital was brought to a standstill as the demonstrators marched on the Union Buildings, the offices of President de Klerk, who later called on Mr Mandela to rejoin talks soon.

Mr de Klerk, who said the march had adversely affected businesses, made some conciliatory gestures in an attempt to encourage a return to talks, but made no real concessions on ANC demands.

He said talks had been taking place between the two sides over the past five days. "I look forward to the day when Mandela will see me in my office as he has done in the past."

He added that he was prepared to "sit down tomorrow" to resume the constitutional talks broken off in June by the ANC after the massacre of 42 people in the black

township of Boipatong. But Mr Mandela told the crowd, which was closely watched by police, security forces in riot gear and about 1,000 soldiers in armoured vehicles, talks could not resume until Mr De Klerk agreed that all South Africans could have a say in drafting a new, democratic constitution.

He also demanded the election of a new non-racial assembly and steps to curb violence in black townships.

"Unless they are met satisfactorily by the government, negotiations cannot be resumed," he said.

As he spoke, blacks began occupying other city centres and business districts around the country as their campaign of mass action moved into what the ANC calls the "centres of white power."

Mr Mandela said it was time for the government to abandon its policy of pursuing negotiations while simultaneously attempting to weaken the ANC.

He told followers to stay strong during the period of adversity.

"Our country is passing through the most important phase in its history."

"The passing of the old order of apartheid rule and the birth of a new era of peace and democracy and justice is



Protesters greet Mr Mandela as he arrives to lead the march on Mr de Klerk's offices yesterday in the ANC's move on the 'centres of power'

marked with trials, tribulations, and immense sacrifice," he said.

Mr Mandela maintained that the general strike on Monday and Tuesday had been peaceful and support for the action was not due to ANC

intimidation of workers. "What makes four million workers stay away from work, forgo their wages in the midst of rampant unemployment, poverty, and when fear stalks their lives in the townships?" he asked. "A sacrifice

of such immense magnitude by the most downtrodden sections of our people, who have acted in the name of peace and democracy, requires an answer that measures up to the responsibility that this places on our shoulders."

He said blacks had engaged in mass action with the objective of ensuring that the outcome of negotiations was a democratic future for all South Africans regardless of race.

He said the ANC was not

involved in cheap political point scoring and urged supporters to get "dizzy with success" and to let unity, discipline and peaceful action "become the hallmark of everything we do."

Editorial Comment — P14

*The capital
6/8/92 - London*

are all about the struggle for ultimate power within the black community, writes R.W. Johnson

The African National Congress has hailed its two-day general strike, and its march led by Nelson Mandela to the heart of white power in Pretoria yesterday, as a resounding victory and evidence of massive popular support for its cause. True, only about 10 per cent of workers went to work in Johannesburg, Pretoria or Port Elizabeth, perhaps 25 per cent in Durban and 40 per cent in Capetown. But whether this was evidence of popular support for the ANC is far more debatable. For the mechanics of such stayaways have become wearily familiar in South Africa.

Black township dwellers are dependent on buses, taxis and trains to get to work, so gangs of "comrades", usually armed with knives and petrol bombs, sometimes with guns too, will picket railway stations and bus and taxi stops. In addition roadblocks manned by armed militants are set up on most of the roads out of a township. Bus and taxi owners withdraw their vehicles from service rather than have them petrol-bombed and only the hardest blacks will risk the railway stations. The result is a complete transport shutdown.

The Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, fiercely opposed the stayaway and so deep within Zululand many buses did run. Even they were taking their chances though — two buses were petrol-bombed and three drivers shot dead. Since the weekend 42 people, including two policemen, have died in what are termed here "unrest-related incidents".

But violence and lawlessness are such standard features of the stayaways that quite often other scores will be settled under the cover of the strike. This 11 dead bodies, including those of a

mother and her two-year-old child, were found at Empangeni on Monday. The assassination nearby of a leading Inkatha official has led to speculation about an ANC hit squad, but nobody really knows.

To talk of intimidation as a factor in such a strike is almost otiose. No one needs to intimidate most township dwellers now into observing stayaway calls for the simple reason that they were intimidated long ago. All have heard of, and many will actually have seen, alleged strike breakers having their houses petrol-bombed or being hacked to death or necklaced. For most a stayaway is simply a time of terrible trouble and danger when you stay locked in your house and do not risk going into the street, let alone into work.

For those lucky enough to have jobs there is usually a desperate attempt at private negotiation with employers along the lines of "I'll get killed if I try to work on Monday or Tuesday, so I'll work Saturday and Sunday instead." Such pre-emptive arrangements have reached an all-time high on this occasion, and they have become part of the ANC's planning too, without doubt influencing the decision to restrict the strike to two days.

This is not to say that the ANC has no popular support for its mass action — indeed one of the chief arguments for such a tactic is that it has brought the ANC back into an oppositional solidarity with the township militants (many of them the unemployed young) who had become increasingly disaffected with the remote and laborious compromise politics of constitutional negotiation.



But enthusiastic ANC support is currently in very short supply. Over the last two weekends the ANC's mass action demonstrations attracted an overall turnout across the whole country of just 20,000 on July 25 falling to only 14,000 on August 1.

The real test of popular support came yesterday when ANC crowds attempted to occupy city centres and bring all the main cities to a halt. The results were variable with only small turn-outs in many centres, though Mr Mandela's march to the seat of government, the Union Buildings in Pretoria, seems to

have attracted the full 70,000 people the ANC had hoped for. Alarmed by the fact that they had to call off a march a fortnight ago when only 400 people turned up, this time they laid on free bus and train transport and seemed to have pulled off a considerable organisational success.

The real battle over mass action has been going on inside the ANC. Mass action is the favoured tactic of the communist party (SACP), and the trade union federation, Cosatu. The latter was bitterly opposed at its exclusion from the constitutional

negotiations, while the SACP was uncomfortably aware that if negotiations were smoothly concluded there would be an easy consensus to exclude its hardliners from the interim government. Accordingly, Cosatu's secretary general, Jay Naidoo, began threatening a general strike months ago, long before negotiations broke down, and the communists have clearly hoped to use mass action to force the transition to an interim government on terms which would facilitate their own participation in it.

Mass action thus saw these

comfitters of ANC moderates. The failure to generate real popular enthusiasm for mass action has been a considerable setback for the trade union and communist hardliners. The ANC moderates now seem poised to regain the initiative and lead the organisation back into a further round of negotiations.

The ANC will no doubt claim that it returns to talks with its hand strengthened. This is to some extent true. The movement has renewed its contract with township militants and has again shown its power to threaten the country's governability. It has also forced further concessions from the government and it has brought a United Nations monitoring force into play. On the other hand, the ANC is clearly shaken by its own internal divisions and may, for the first time, have received a salutary reminder of how quickly it can exhaust popular enthusiasm if it begins to take its own platform rhetoric for reality. Worse, as the SACP chief, Chris Hani, acknowledges, the movement has seen its armed self-defence units running amok. Mr Mandela and the ANC leadership are now in open disagreement with their regional leaders in the Eastern Cape, with SACP insurrectionists and with the leader of the Transvaal

civic organisations over the question of a mortgage boycott.

Mass action and the atmosphere it has engendered, have seen the ANC itself experience the same threat of destabilisation and ungovernability that it was trying to inflict on others. It seems possible, in a word, that the ANC leadership has learnt that mass action is no more a viable alternative to negotiations than its "armed struggle" was. If so, a huge collective sigh of relief will be heard right round the country.

Bernard Levin is on holiday

Who will run South Africa?

The Times
6/8/92 - London

The limits of mass action

*Daily Telegraph
6/8/92 - London*

THE African National Congress is understandably elated by the success of the strike on Monday and Tuesday and of the march on the centre of white power in Pretoria yesterday. Estimates of the number who stayed away from work vary widely but Mr Mandela and his colleagues can fairly claim that their call for mass action met with a good response and avoided provoking the level of violence predicted by their opponents. After three days of protest they will feel confident of having strengthened their hand in negotiations with the government over the creation of a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

That confidence could be misplaced. The sight of empty trains and buses and of chanting, dancing crowds may have induced euphoria among ANC activists, but it was not achieved without intimidation and personal cost to those who stayed away from work and had their pay docked. Any programme of industrial unrest will be viewed with mixed feelings by ANC supporters and is a diminishing asset. More importantly, there is no indication that mass action will force Mr de Klerk simply to abandon his blueprint for power-sharing under a post-apartheid constitution in favour of the majority rule favoured by the ANC.

The President may have made conciliatory noises yesterday about reopening negotiations but he will not yield on this principle without a

matching move by the other side. The constitutional divide remains as wide as ever, and the ANC leadership would be foolish to ignore it. If it wants a negotiated settlement, it must be prepared to compromise. The danger is that, having successfully initiated a campaign of mass action, it will begin to assume that it can sweep all opposition before it.

Breaking off talks within the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) was a victory for the radicals. Convincing his supporters that the only path to a peaceful, prosperous future for the country lies in returning to Codesa will be a severe test of Mr Mandela's leadership. He should be helped in this task by the United Nations, whose envoy, Mr Cyrus Vance, has already visited South Africa in an attempt to bring the ANC and government back together.

In the past few days the ANC has given an impressive demonstration of its power. But at a time when the economy is contracting for the third year in a row, South Africa can ill afford the political instability which a campaign of rolling mass action might precipitate. The challenge for those who believe that Codesa is the sole means of resolving differences between black and white is to bring the focus of attention back from the streets to the conference chamber. The alternative is a descent into even greater violence and economic turmoil.

Pretoria urges talks after big ANC march

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN JOHANNESBURG
AND RAY KENNEDY IN PRETORIA

WITH the two-day general strike safely over and those people with jobs allowed to return, the African National Congress yesterday turned its attention to the next stage of its week-long campaign of mass action — the disruption of life in the white community.

Countrywide, groups of black demonstrators marched into city centres to hinder traffic. The most noticeable effect was in Pretoria, where a vast crowd — estimated at up to 70,000 — watched by armed troops and police, gathered around Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, to the Union Buildings on the hill overlooking the town.

Security forces wearing riot gear and supported by armoured vehicles lined the route. In front of the graceful government offices, designed by Herbert Baker, who also built the Secretariat in Delhi, Mr Mandela made a speech declaring the general strike "unquestionably one of the greatest events in our history". He also congratulated the international community "for rallying to our cause".

Mr Mandela rode into Pretoria not on a war horse but in a big black BMW limousine, but his entry into Afrikaersdom's citadel can hardly have been less triumphant than Lord Roberts' at the end of the Boer war. Behind him the black, green and yellow ANC incalour was hoisted directly in line with the blue, white and orange standard of

South Africa 200 yards further up the terraced slopes. Over the Union Buildings' west wing the presidential flag fluttered, a reminder that President de Klerk and his cabinet were in session as Mr Mandela's voice boomed over the loudspeakers. "This is the end of the siege. From this massive crowd the government must accept we want peace standing on our feet, not on our knees."

After the rally, President de Klerk urged Mr Mandela to return to the negotiating table, hinting that talks between the government and the ANC could resume shortly. "The president struck a conciliatory tone," and said that "certain discussions" had been taking place between the two sides over the past five days. He was prepared to resume "tomorrow" the constitutional talks broken off in June.

It was a massive show of force by the ANC and the security forces. Tens of thousands of people descended on the city by train, bus and minibus taxi and reduced Pretoria to total gridlock as they marched the mile-long route to the rally along Church Street, its main thoroughfare. In Johannesburg, 1,000 marchers blocked the lunch-time traffic. Cape Town was disrupted by a march and in Petersburg, in the northern Transvaal, a scheduled march was halted by the police.

R.W. Johnson, page 10

The Times 6/8/92

The Guardian
6/8/92 London

8 INTERNATIONAL NEWS

ANC leader leads march on SA president's offices

Mandela holds out hand to De Klerk

Patrick Laurence
in Pretoria

THE African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, yesterday urged a "tidal wave" of action to secure political reform, but said he would resume negotiations with the government as soon as President F. W. de Klerk agreed to demands for democracy.

The president made conciliatory noises of his own later yesterday. Mr De Klerk said his administration had been talking to the ANC over the past five days and he was ready to expand the talks into full-fledged negotiations.

"He needn't speak to me from the lower part of the Union Buildings. There is an open door. He needn't kick doors down," said Mr De Klerk, referring to the colonnaded seat of white power swamped by a black tide of protest.

As Mr Mandela spoke at the end of one of the biggest marches in South Africa's history, thousands of exuberant but disciplined ANC supporters occupied the amphitheatre below the Union Buildings, the government headquarters in Pretoria, hoisted the ANC flag and chanted for the installation of Mr Mandela as president.

But their "occupation" of the terraced grounds below the

Union Buildings — a traditional site of white power — had been pre-arranged and the general atmosphere was friendly, raising hopes that the stalled negotiations would be resumed.

Referring to the ANC flag fluttering over the podium where Mr Mandela was seated, the ANC secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, said: "We look forward to the day when he [Mr Mandela] will be the one in the office that F. W. de Klerk occupies illegitimately."

Mr Mandela had a message for President De Klerk: the people wanted peace but they wanted it on the feet, not their knees. The general tone of his speech was, however, conciliatory. Later he said: "I would like to heal wounds."

In his speech Mr Mandela said the two-day general strike which ended on Tuesday was "one of the greatest events in our history". But he then added: "We have not come here to gloat. We are here to take South Africa along the road to peace and democracy."

If the De Klerk administration responded in the "same spirit", then the way would be opened for the first "urgent and critical step" forward after the impasse since the Boipatong massacre in mid-June: the establishment of an interim government of national unity.

In his response, Mr De Klerk said: "[The government] agreed

a long time ago in principle that there must be a transitional government of national unity. There is no fundamental difference of opinion between us. We must negotiate how to get it."

He confirmed that parliament would meet again in October to give legislative substance to some of the decisions taken at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Mr Mandela had earlier said that the election of a constituent assembly was a fundamental ANC objective. Mr De Klerk said his administration had no objection to a "properly elected parliament" serving as a constituent assembly.

Earlier Mr Mandela had asked to speak to the police general in charge at the Union Buildings, Lieutenant-General Johan Swart. "I was called by him to say hello," Gen Swart said. Referring to the march through the city streets by about 50,000 ANC supporters and the "occupation" of the Union Buildings, the general said: "I must say I am satisfied." There were several simultaneous "occupations" by the ANC supporters in Durban and Cape Town yesterday.

● Gunmen opened fire yesterday on a youth choir in the Alexandra black township, killing one girl and wounding 13 others. They were standing outside a house when five men opened fire.

ANC tells Government: 'It's in your hands'

Promise of new talks

Mandela visit in wake of Esikhawini massacre

ANC president Nelson Mandela is to visit the troubled Esikhawini area in Empangeni today.

This follows the massacre of 11 people in the township on Sunday night which resulted in calls from various circles for a full-scale investigation into the slayings.

Since the weekend another five people were killed and several others were injured in the areas around Empangeni.

Media liaison officer for the ANC in Northern Natal, Mr Bongani Msomi, said two of their members had been killed in their homes at Sokhulu near Empangeni on Tuesday night.

Mercury Reporter

And yesterday he said a bus carrying passengers on their way from Empangeni to a demonstration in Richards Bay had been shot at by members of the KwaZulu Police, critically injuring four people.

Two bus drivers also died in the Empangeni area on Monday and another man was killed in Matshane yesterday.

Mr Msomi said Mr Mandela would be visiting the areas affected by the violence and the survivors of Sunday night's attack "to see for himself what had happened."

PRESIDENT de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday committed themselves to renewing negotiations, but the ANC leader bluntly told the Government the future of the talks was in its hands.

Describing the two-day stayaway as "unquestionably one of the greatest events in our history", Mr Mandela said: "All the people of our country and the entire international community await the response of the Government."

"What happens next, and what form the campaign for peace and democracy takes, depends on how the Government responds to our demands which address the crucial obstacles in the path of negotiations," Mr Mandela told the mass action rally outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Mr de Klerk, speaking to reporters outside the same buildings later, said negotiation and not mass action was needed in South Africa.

It was undeniable that the march had "caused damage" and businesses had been adversely affected.

There was an urgent need for negotiations to be resumed with the ANC, said Mr de Klerk, who added: "I'm prepared to sit down tomorrow."

Mr Mandela, in a swipe at the Government, said history would not forgive "any of us if the search for face-saving formulae prevents us from finding the correct responses".

"We have engaged in mass action with the clear objective

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

of ensuring that the outcome of negotiations is a democratic future for our country."

He summarised the ANC's 14 demands in three categories:

- The creation of an interim government of national unity "linked to a vision which ensures that our entire people will have a direct say in the drafting and adoption of a constitution which embodies democracy".

- A commitment to a sovereign, democratically elected constituent assembly.

- That practical steps be taken to curb the violence.

Mr de Klerk said the ANC's reasons for the mass action campaign were not founded on fact.

The Government was in a hurry to resume negotiations and it was the ANC which had decided to scuttle Codesa.

The Government had also "agreed a long time ago in principle there must be a transitional government of national unity".

"There is no fundamental difference of opinion between us. We must negotiate how to get it."

There was no need for Mr Mandela to have addressed him from the rally below the Union Buildings while his door stood open to him, Mr de Klerk added.

He was confident that negotiations would get back on track and he would even be prepared to meet the ANC in the bush for two days of talks.

The Natal Mercury 6-08-92

ANC marchers slammed for carrying weapons

THE carrying of "traditional weapons" by ANC supporters at an Inanda march has come under fire from the Legal Resources Centre (LRC).

And the ANC head office said the wielding of the weapons by some of the 10 000 supporters at Tuesday's march had been "against our policy, we insist people cannot come to marches armed in any way".

But spokesman Gill Marcus said the police's failure to act against the carrying of traditional weapons by IFP supporters had put the ANC in a difficult position. Followers had asked why they should be vulnerable to attacks when they could not carry weapons while others could.

The LRC's Howard Varney said the call by ANC Southern Natal regional secretary Sbu Ndebele for the carrying of the weapons at the Inanda march had been "irresponsible and reckless in the extreme".

"It seems the call was heed-

✓ By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

ed and the carrying of weapons now by ANC supporters will further entrench the whole culture of violence and intolerance," he said.

The IFP claimed the weapons had been carried because of tradition, but it had amounted to "a show of strength and an act of intimidation". The ANC claim that it was reverting to tradition was "transparent" and also a show of strength.

"One can understand the frustration of ANC supporters when the law is not applied."

If the carrying of weapons became acceptable to all sides "we are heading for anarchy", warned Mr Varney.

● SAP spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo said it was beyond his comprehension how 60 or fewer policemen could be expected to physically disarm groups of more than 5 000 carrying traditional weapons.

The Natal Mercury 6 -08 - 92

Six more people die as armed attacks continue

Crime Reporter

SIX more people have been killed and several others injured in separate incidents in Natal since Tuesday morning.

Two members of the ANC were allegedly shot dead at their homes in Sokhulu, near Empangeni on Tuesday night.

And yesterday a bus carrying demonstrators from Empangeni to Richards Bay was allegedly shot at by members of the KwaZulu Police, critically injuring four people.

ANC media spokesman for

Nurses go on strike

NURSES and gardeners at the Twilanga retirement village and frail care centre at Umhlanga went on strike yesterday in support of the mass action campaign.

Shop stewards informed management yesterday that none of the nurses or gardeners would work.

Instead, they toyi-toyed outside the gates wearing red T-shirts and holding placards demanding wage increases, but did not stop people entering or leaving. — (Mercury Reporter)

Northern Natal, Mr Bongani Msomi, said passengers had noticed a KwaZulu Police vehicle following them about lunchtime and "without provocation" the occupants of the van had started firing on them.

The KwaZulu Police could not confirm the shooting.

At 9 30pm on Tuesday three men were shot and killed by a group of unknown men in KwaMakhutha.

On the same night a group of unknown people armed with guns attacked a house at Umbumbulu in the Folweni area.

One man was killed in the attack and another two were injured.

At 11 15pm members of the KwaZulu Police on patrol in Mpangele Road, Kwa Mashu, were ambushed by a group who fired shots at them, injuring one policeman.

They returned fire but it is not known whether any of the attackers were hit.

NATAL MERCURY

6-08-92

PATRICK LEEMAN lists the front-runners for this year's CNA Literary Award

Six authors in search of a prize

THE MOST PRESTIGIOUS writing prize in South Africa, the CNA Literary Award, will be presented at the Baxter Theatre in Cape Town tonight.

There are three front-runners in the English section. These are: Andre P Brink, with his novel *An Act Of Terror*, Damon Galgut, also with a novel, *The Beautiful Screaming of Pigs*, and Belinda Bozzoli with a sociological work, *Women of Phokeng — Consciousness, Life, Strategy and Migrancy*.

In the Afrikaans section the short-listed authors are: Wilma Stockenstrom, with *Abjater wat so lag*, Klaas Steytler with *In die Somer van '36*, and John Miles, with *Kroniek Uit Die Doofpot*.

Andre Brink is professor of English at the University of Cape Town. He is the author of eight novels, including *Rumours of Rain*, *A Dry White Season* and *States of Emergency*.

He has won the CNA Award three times and his novels have twice been short-listed for Britain's Booker Prize for Fiction.

In 1980 Brink received the Martin Luther King Prize in the United States and he has been awarded three medals and prizes in France for his contribution to literature.

Damon Galgut has produced three books — a novel, *A Sinless Season*, a collection of short stories, *Small Circle*

of Beings, and his short-listed contribution for the award, *The Beautiful Screaming of Pigs*.

He has worked for the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal as resident playwright and literary adviser and has a degree in drama from the University of Cape Town.

Belinda Bozzoli is a professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand. She studied there and at Sussex University.

The academic is the author of *The Political Nature of a Ruling Class*.

Wilma Stockenstrom is a poet, novelist, dramatist and actress. She has written 10 works of poetry, plays and novels since 1970.

She has already won two other prizes for her current entry for the CNA Prize — *Abjater wat so lag*. These are the W A Hofmeyr Prize and the Hertzog Prize for Prose.

Klaas Steytler holds degrees in commerce and literature from the universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town. He has worked on various newspapers and magazines and is a former editor of *Die Huisgenoot*.

The author wrote the screenplay for the TV series, *Dirk Hoffman*, and has completed four novels.

John Miles is a BA from the University of Pretoria. He lectured in Afrikaans literature at the University of Natal for two years and is at present associate

professor in the Department of Afrikaans-Nederlands at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He has written three novels, one of which — *Donderdag of Woensdag* — was on the banned list for a while.

The winners of the best English and Afrikaans work published during 1991 will each receive a cash prize of R15 000 and a bronze plaque. Finalists in these sections each receive R3 500.

The winners of the best debut work in the English and Afrikaans sections will each receive R3 500 and a bronze medal. The total prize money available is R50 000.

The judges in the English section for the 1991 prize were: Jennifer Cryws-Williams, author and journalist, Dorothy Driver, academic, and John Ryan, journalist.

The Afrikaans section judges were: Theunis Engelbrecht, journalist, Petra Grutter, author, and Adam Small, academic.

Last year the CNA Literary Award was won by Nadine Gordimer for her novel, *My Son's Story*. The runners-up for the English award were J M Coetzee for *Age of Iron*, and Albie Sachs for *Soft Vengeance of a Freedom Fighter*.

Jeanne Goosen won the Afrikaans prize for her first novel, *Ons Is Nie Almal So Nie*. The runners-up in this category were Karel Schoeman for *Afskeid en Vertrek* and Ernst van Heerden for *Kwadratuur van die Sirkel*.

The Star 06-08-92

The failed Cosatu-Saccola talks merely postponed answers to a pressing question, writes Mike Siluma.

Business's role in transition must still be defined

THE failure of labour and capital to reach agreement on a charter for peace, democracy and economic reconstruction must have been met with relief by its opponents in the business world and elsewhere.

But any gloating will be short-lived. For non-agreement on the accord has merely postponed the vexed and increasingly pressing question of business's role during the political transition.

The participation of the SA Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola) in the talks in itself laid to rest any doubts about the need for business to become involved in the nation's political life.

What must be resolved is the extent of that involvement.

Trying to apportion blame for the talks' failure on either Cosatu or Saccola will not be productive.

But what is now certain is that Government did its best to ensure

the business community, already highly sensitive to charges of siding with the Cosatu-ANC alliance, did not enter into an agreement with Cosatu which might have politically isolated Pretoria.

Disagreement over the participation of the public service in the charter's proposed shutdown, as well as the Saccola negotiators' inability to sell the charter to their principals, contributed immensely to the failure of the talks — as did Cosatu's unwillingness to commit itself to a moratorium on political strike action at least until November at the earliest.

But even after this week's protests, the problems identified by Cosatu and Saccola in their abortive negotiations will remain, and the urgency to solve them will become more rather than less.

Both Saccola and Cosatu recognise this. After the talks fell through Saccola pointed out that

"the deal did not fail as a result of insurmountable differences on the principles in the draft charter dealing with the urgency of a resumption of national negotiations for a new political dispensation, joint employer and employee actions to reduce the unacceptable level of violence ... and measures to combat poverty".

Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo, acknowledging that Saccola representatives "negotiated in good faith", said as far as his organisation was concerned, "the (draft) charter remains an important document", and that Cosatu would still urge employers and, among others, the churches, to endorse it.

Despite the setback in talks with Saccola, Cosatu's door would remain open to look anew at the contents of the charter.

An examination of the accord's contents reveals that it would be a mistake to dismiss it as merely

part of an elaborate Cosatu ploy to "co-opt" capital, with no benefits whatsoever for business.

For a start, its call for effective measures to curb the violence would find support among most, if not all, business people. After all, it is becoming clear that, apart from scaring off potential investors, the violence is increasingly having a direct impact on normal business in the form of shopfloor-related killings, which have claimed 20 lives since the beginning of the year. And many of those being killed in the townships and on trains are employees of Saccola's affiliates.

In urging co-operation between the Government, business and the unions to draw up a national economic strategy to eliminate poverty through job-creation and improving the standards of living of most South Africans, the charter would merely give impetus to ongoing efforts to form a national

economic negotiation forum, to which business has already committed itself.

The call for the extension of labour rights to domestic, farm and public sector workers is not new, and should not cause problems for anyone committed to democratising all of South African society. Extending such rights to these workers is a question of when, rather than whether, it should happen.

Above all the charter is about ensuring a speedy transition to democracy, which both Cosatu and Saccola have recognised as a *sine qua non* for economic progress.

Capital for its part, will have to deal with Saccola's apparent inability to speak for all of business and industry. Saccola director-general and Saccola leading light Raymond Parsons has rightly pointed out that, with neither structure being "Stalinist" in approach, they could only make recommendations

on matters such as the last negotiations.

This raises the question, from Cosatu's point of view, of whether Saccola, in its present role as a mere consultative body, is a suitable vehicle to negotiate and conclude agreements which would be binding on business and industry. In this context, labour would much rather be dealing with an employers' organisation, along the lines of the one being mooted in employer circles, with a clear mandate to bargain and to conclude binding accords.

No matter how these questions are ultimately addressed, the events of the last few weeks point to the fact that if capital wants a socio-political environment conducive to normal business it will have to, together with the unions, make constant interventions in the political arena, which will have to continue long after apartheid is buried.

The Star 26-08-92

Mass action becoming a fact of life

THE ANC and its allies have introduced a new term to South Africa's — and indeed the world's — political lexicon. "Rolling mass action" is, it seems, here to stay, and it defines itself as it rolls along.

The current campaign of protests, rallies, marches, strikes, occupations, theatricals and civil disobedience is proving to be like nothing South Africa has ever seen before. From the earliest days of pass law protests, defiance campaigns and stay-aways (another piece of political jargon peculiar to South Africa — the rest of the world calls a strike a strike), resistance activity has been centred around events with a clearly defined purpose and duration. This a certain strike was a

"success", another protest a "flop".

Rolling mass action, by contrast, is nebulous and inconstant, and its effect is therefore difficult to gauge with any degree of comprehensiveness or certainty.

On any day one can enter a township which is going about its business quite normally, while another nearby is in a state of near-anarchy, its access points controlled by youths of school-going age.

A patient can turn up at a hospital and find all quiet one

week, only to return and find it "occupied" the next.

Mass action in some form is taking place somewhere, every day, but in fits and starts.

There is reason to believe that the ANC itself did not know exactly what practical form its invention would assume. We are now beginning to see it in operation, and time will tell whether it is proving to be a more or less effective weapon than the concentrated, "short sharp shock" approach of old.

However, it is already evident that rolling mass action is

The concept of "rolling" mass action lets the African National Congress have its cake and eat it, writes Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON.

in many ways an ingenious political construction, from the ANC's point of view. It has the priceless advantage of interpretative elasticity. It cannot be judged according to the success or failure of one event, or the single response of a particular community in a specific area. A poor turnout for an "occupation" in Vereeniging is quickly

offset by a successful demonstration in another area; because it "rolls", the mass action has no demarcated beginning, middle or end.

The general strike just passed is an unusual element of the new tactic in that it did provide a focal point, but ANC leaders pointed out early on that it did not signal the end of the cam-

paign. Indeed, some went further: at the ANC's policy conference earlier this year, many leaders insisted that mass action would roll on even if the Government met all of the organisation's 14 conditions for restarting negotiations. Announcing the end of the strike this week, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa added the rider that the organisation would consider having another one if conditions demanded it.

In the acrimonious aftermath of Codesa 2, the ANC decided it had to prove to the Government

that the organisation still had power to wield. Getting its supporters on the streets in numbers offered the only counterpoint to the fact that after nearly two years of negotiations, President de Klerk's administration retains 100 percent of State power. Rolling mass action was the strategic result, a "have your cake and eat it" tactic to be accelerated and slowed down according to circumstances, but a permanent presence nevertheless.

One potential danger for the

ANC inherent in the programme, however, has been the expectation it has created among militants within the organisation's constituency. There is a view, notably among the youth, that the campaign will logically end with the toppling of the Government, à la Eastern Europe. Hence the "Leipzig Option" enjoyed brief currency as a fashionable phrase. It is evident, especially after the successful but truncated national strike, that this is an unrealistic aim. More strategically minded heads in the ANC alliance see the new tactic as an incremental pressure-builder — and point to apparent Government concessions on negotiating positions as proof of its efficacy.

The Star 06-08-92

Choirgirl (13) gunned down

By Carina le Grange
and Stan Hlophe

Young choir members were gunned down in an Alexandra street last night by five men who opened fire without provocation.

A teenage choirgirl was killed and at least 11 others were wounded.

Earlier last night, in the same area of Alexandra, one man was killed and another wounded in two separate shootings.

Residents of the township said the choir members were shot as they got out of a vehicle at about 8 pm.

The members of the Emmanuel and Alexduma choirs were gathering at a

house in Second Avenue for a night vigil for a youngster who died of natural causes this week.

Interviewed last night in Hillbrow Hospital, wounded choir members said a group of men had come "from nowhere and started firing shots" at close range.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said police arrived soon after the attack, searched the area and questioned bystanders.

Police later arrested two men, one of whom was found in possession of a pistol.

The men were being held.

Linda Twala, the father of one of the children, told Sapa that a girl known as Nhlan-

hla, of the Emmanuel Choir, was killed by the gunmen.

Alexandra Clinic spokesman Yvonne Lefakane told The Star a girl died on arrival at the clinic. Police later said the girl was 13.

Eleven other victims, aged between 12 and 20, and one man of 28, had been ferried to Tembisa and Hillbrow hospitals for treatment.

Hillbrow Hospital superintendent Dr Trevor Frankish confirmed that five young adults were treated last night for gunshot wounds in their legs.

He described their condition as satisfactory.

Those treated at Hillbrow Hospital were: Orielle Mbebe (19), Phindile Mabena

(21), Mria Shilaluke (28), Miss Seimela, and a man who wished to identify himself only as Menzi.

The hospital said the victims had all been treated and sent home last night.

A spokesman for the Tembisa Hospital was not in a position early today to describe the conditions of the victims admitted there.

Two men were also shot in the same area of Alexandra.

Police said there was no immediate indication that the attacks were linked.

They said a man was killed in First Avenue after being shot at by unidentified gunmen — and minutes later another man was shot and wounded, in Second Avenue.



F W de Klerk

TODAY will pass unheralded in the book of political anniversaries and commemorations, eclipsed by a week of mass action, stayaways and intensifying friction between political opponents.

On August 6 1990, President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela led their delegations in a marathon 15-hour negotiation at the Presidency in Pretoria, finally emerging for a press conference at 1 am on the Tuesday.

With Mr de Klerk were Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Flanking Mr Mandela were secretary-general Alfred Nzo, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, MK supremo Joe Modise and SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo.

There was much buoyancy. It reflected in the Pretoria Minute. "We are convinced that what we have agreed upon today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country."

However, national euphoria at the signing of the agreement and the initial Groote Schuur Minute

Martin Challenor looks back at the day SA politics made the leap

No time for minutes

three months earlier proved premature and the hope of millions of South Africans for a quick transition to democracy proved breathlessly naive.

The dizzying momentum of Mr de Klerk's sensational six months of politics when he unbanned the ANC in February 1990, freed Mr Mandela afterwards and opened talks with the ANC soon after that, started to bog down at the news conference after the Pretoria Minute's signing.

In what was to be just the beginning of a series of public attacks by the ANC leader on Mr de Klerk, they immediately differed on what they had formally agreed concerning the role of the police. It was the first of many scraps between the Government and ANC over interpretations of the imperfect Pretoria Minute, which was inexact in crucial areas, leaving room for interpretation and differences.

In the Pretoria Minute, the Government and ANC set a target date of April 30 last year for the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnities.

But the problem of political prisoners drags on today, in spite of about 1 300 releases and two years of meetings. The ANC is an-

noyed and embarrassed because it has not secured the liberty of all people it sees as political prisoners. The Government is suspicious because it believes it has released all people jailed for political offences and the haggling continues.

Another dispute: "In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement," the Pretoria Minute said, "and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed actions with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place."

"It was agreed that a working group would be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision, to report by September 15."

Two years later the Government and ANC are still arguing about armed action, with the Government insisting there can be no movement towards a new constitution — no contracts — until all aspects of the armed struggle are dealt with and it is entirely abandoned.

Both sides committed themselves in the minute to a peaceful

solution and to expedite the normalisation and stabilisation of South African politics "in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders involved".

As it was, the deal was struck against the background of the SACP's Operation Vula, an insurrection contingency plan. Police said they had 2 000 pages of information from an ANC/SACP computer about the deployment of ANC/SACP cadres around the country and the infiltration of arms.

The Government insisted this was a devious plot to overthrow it, being enacted even as the ANC prepared to sit down to talk of peace and settlement. But ANC and SACP leaders described Operation Vula as a mere insurance policy if negotiations broke down.

Today there is virtually no trust between the ANC and the Government. The ANC is, by some accounts, not even taking telephone calls from the Government.

The minute envisaged "mechanisms of communication" at local, regional and national levels to enable public grievances to be addressed peacefully and in good time to avoid conflict.

Today, apart from the tottering

local regional dispute resolution committees set up in terms of the National Peace Accord, there is no evidence of grievance committees.

The Government did commit itself to lifting the state of emergency in Natal, which was duly done. It promised also to review security legislation. This was done.

Senior Government figures today admit to a feeling of pessimism. "I have been pessimistic for the past few months," one top source said. Many like him are fed up with the ANC and SACP.

There is some frustration because the Government knows it cannot act unilaterally, yet does not have a rabbit-in-hat plan to get negotiations going again.

There is suspicion in the Government that Mr Mandela and the ANC want total power and are not prepared to compromise. "If we give in to the ANC demands there will be a white backlash," the source said.

For its part, the ANC has said it would talk to the Government again only if Mr de Klerk accepted an interim government, an elected constitutional assembly, terminated "hit squads", disbanded all special forces, prosecuted



Nelson Mandela

security force members allegedly involved in violence, phased out single-quarters hostels, set up an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence, allowed international monitoring of political violence, released all political prisoners, and repealed all repressive legislation.

While there is at present only inconclusive contact between the Government and the ANC at top level, ANC members at grass roots often meet police to discuss political violence and head off trouble at demonstrations.

There is also contact, albeit often acrimonious, between the main parties within structures of the National Peace Accord.

If the negotiation process does start again — and the signs are hopeful — the Government expects the first step would be bilateral talks between itself and the major parties. Ministers do not want another Codesa meeting unless a compromise on contending political programmes is worked out beforehand in bilateral talks.

Nor would they want another vague Pretoria Minute which could trigger years of argument and interpretation as to what it really meant. □

The Star 06-08-92

Islamic model unsuitable for SA

In The Star of 23/7/92 you reported Nelson Mandela as saying "The people of Africa will make Iran's Islamic Revolution a model for their revolutionary moves."

Mr Mandela's hopes to model South Africa on the Islamic pattern are impracticable and chimerical for the following reasons:

- (1) Iran is a theocratic state ruled by religious leaders (mullahs). Do all members of the ANC/SACP alliance qualify in this religious fervour?
- (2) Islam is an implacable foe of the godless creed of communism. How will Mr Mandela

reconcile the presence of his communist allies in a theocratic state? Will his atheist/communist allies give their full support to a state based completely on the Word of God? Would they be so hypocritical?

- (3) In an Islamic state such as Iran, alcohol in any form is completely forbidden. No intermingling of the sexes is allowed such as in dancehalls which are, in any case, forbidden. Horse-racing is taboo, and so are beer-halls, she-beens, casinos and gambling-houses, to name a few.

Will Mr Mandela be able to accommodate all these prohibitions in his model theocratic state?

Will Mr Mandela be able to shape South Africa on Iran's model of what, to him, may seem Draconian laws?

- (4) In the theocratic state of Iran, a thief's hand is cut off and adultery is punished by 100 lashes.

I cannot for the life of me fathom what could have induced a statesman of Mr Mandela's calibre to utter the words he did without any apparent regard for their ramifications and implications.

A S K Joommal
Johannesburg

The Star 06-08-92

Effort to avert split/ in the CP

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Dissident rightwingers in the CP were meeting party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht today in a last-ditch effort to avert a split in the party.

Dr Treurnicht expressed confidence that a split can be avoided although he believes the differences between the dissidents and the CP leadership are irreconcilable.

If today's meeting fails, the five MPs, led by Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, could walk out immediately, probably to form a new party which they plan to call the Afrikaner Party.

The new group is prepared to enter an alliance with all parties to the Right of the ANC and PAC.

It believes a federal Afrikaner state could be the means to eventual independence.

The Star 06-08-92

Alliance leaders to meet police

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

Leaders of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance will visit strife-torn Empangeni on the Natal north coast today to hold talks with representatives of the South African Police and the Kwa-Zulu Police (ZP). The Star has learnt.

The visit — by secretaries-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Chris Hani and Jay Naidoo — was expected to begin at the ANC's Empangeni office at 10 am, said a spokesman at the ANC's head

office in Johannesburg.

ANC Northern Natal deputy secretary Khulekani Mhlongo said the alliance leaders had scheduled meetings with both the SAP and the ZP to discuss the recent violence between their organisations' members and alleged supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"We are convinced the ZP have played a part in attacks on our people, and we would like to establish from them what their commitment is to peace," said Mr Mhlongo.

He said that the three leaders would also address a public rally in the area.

Today and tomorrow, the fourth and fifth days of the tripartite alliance's "week of unprecedented mass action for peace and democracy", will see a number of "sectoral actions by workers and others, determined at local level". These include demonstrations and "chalk-downs" by members of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union in parts of the country.

THE STAR 06-08-02 (1)

Optimism grows after statements by FW and Mandela

Talks 'within 10 days'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Optimism is growing that negotiations will soon resume, after ANC president Nelson Mandela's conciliatory speech from the steps of the Union Buildings yesterday.

The speech was delivered at the climax of the ANC alliance's two-day mass action campaign.

And at an impromptu press conference after the

weekly Cabinet meeting nearby, President de Klerk cautiously welcomed Mr Mandela's speech — delivered to a crowd estimated at between 50 000 and 70 000 after an orderly march through Pretoria.

Mr de Klerk expressed confidence that negotiations would resume and indicated that behind-the-scenes talks between the Government and ANC, which have already started on specific issues, would soon be broadened to include the range of disagreements

about a transitional government and curbing violence.

Mr de Klerk also confirmed that the planned October session of Parliament would go ahead and disclosed that the Government would present "constructive" legislation "aimed at assisting the process".

He stressed that the Government would not act unilaterally and had no "go-it-alone" option.

It is understood the proposed legislation might be aimed at rationalising the

triplicated own affairs departments. This would be considered as part of the process of dismantling apartheid and would therefore not require agreement with negotiating partners.

Any legislation relating to transitional government would first have to be agreed upon in negotiations.

Both Government and ANC alliance sources said Mr Mandela's speech had laid the foundations for a resumption of formal negotiations which faltered after an impasse at Codesa 2 and

broke down completely when the ANC pulled out after the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

Some negotiators believe that formal negotiations could resume within 10 days although most are hesitant to forecast specifics.

Addressing the peaceful crowd at the Union Buildings, Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC's call for the Government to respond to its 14 demands before negotiations could resume.

But he told journalists afterwards that the ANC

would be "flexible" in assessing the Government's response and he re-committed the ANC to negotiations.

Asked if his conciliatory speech was aimed at "healing wounds", Mr Mandela said he would be pleased if that was the way in which it would be received.

President de Klerk told journalists later that while the ANC rally was taking place, the Cabinet had been meeting in the nearby Union Buildings to consider refinements — aimed at the re-

● To Page 3 ●

The Star 06-08-92 (2)

Talks resumption 'in 10 days'

● From Page 1

sumption of negotiations — to the fresh negotiations initiative it had discussed at its recent "bosberaad".

He welcomed Mr Mandela's re-commitment to negotiations which he said he took seriously. He looked forward to the day when Mr Mandela met him in his office.

"He needn't address me from the lower parts of the Union Building grounds. My door is always open to him."

Democratic Party MP Peter Soal said yester-

day he had great confidence negotiations would begin again.

"I am aware that Government and the ANC are currently grappling with the format to be pursued once bilateral discussions have been successfully re-started", he said.

Mr Mandela hailed the ANC alliance's two-day national strike as "one of the greatest events in our history".

The ANC had not come to score points or gloat about the success of the two-day national

stayaway which ended on Tuesday, but to take South Africa along the road to democracy.

If the Government responded in the same spirit, "our action will have been the best thing that could have happened for the negotiations process".

Mr Mandela congratulated employers who "aligned themselves with the forces of democracy" and said he was encouraged by the large support from the Coloured and Indian communities.

The Star 06-08-92

Marchers back mass action climax

Staff Reporters

Tens of thousands of marchers streamed through Pretoria and Cape Town yesterday as the ANC alliance's mass action campaign reached its climax.

The ANC said more than 850 demonstrators were arrested nationwide. Police put the figure at 630.

In most cases, police said, those arrested would be released after being issued with summonses to appear in court. Most of the arrests were for trespassing and holding illegal gatherings.

Pretoria was clogged as between 50 000 and 70 000 people in festive mood marched to the gardens of the Union Buildings where they were met by smiling ANC leader Nelson Mandela. He reflected the mood in his attire — a trendy tracksuit and bright blue cap of the United Automobile Workers' Union of America.

The huge marches in Cape Town and Pretoria, along with a gathering of several thousand people in Johannesburg and Durban, marked the biggest mass action protests yet against the Government.

The marches, mirrored by smaller events in rural centres, were marred only by isolated incidents.

In Johannesburg, a march by about 3 000 Cosatu and ANC supporters disrupted traffic in the city centre and many shop owners closed fearing intimidation in the wake of the two-day national stayaway.

Earlier, the Johannesburg CBD was disrupted with traffic blockages and closures of intersections by vehicles, including Putco buses.

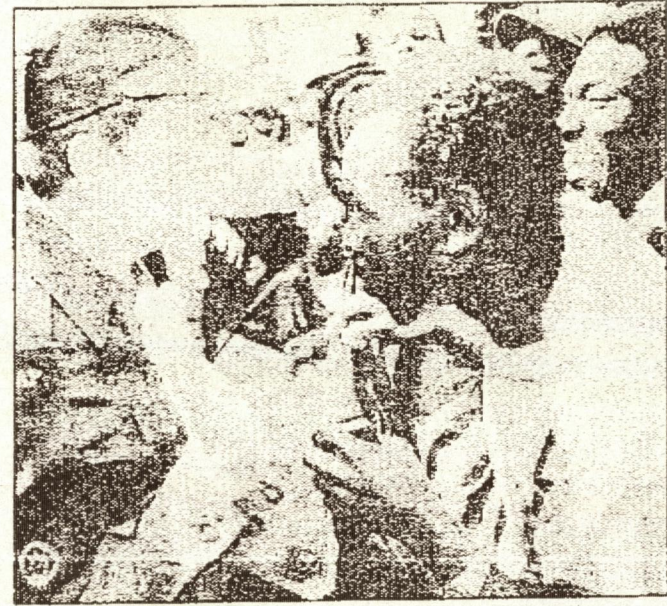
Police in Johannesburg arrested 54 protesters who allegedly hijacked a truck and ordered the driver to take them to Pretoria.

Youths and other gangs tried to hijack buses on the Golden Highway and in Sebokeng to take them to Pretoria.

In Cape Town, where up to 50 000 people marched to the Grand Parade, marchers slashed the tyres of 21 vehicles, including police cars.

Workers in Pretoria poured on to roofs and balconies of office blocks to watch the parade.

A man who took his lunch break on a Church Street pavement, beer in one hand and sandwich in the other, quipped: "I'd rather be watching rugby, but this is almost as much fun."



Hold it right there . . . a policeman stops a demonstrator on the route of the march to the Union Buildings yesterday. Picture: AFP

The only time anger flared was during a tussle between policemen and marchers, who grabbed the South African flag outside the Reserve Bank. The flag was rehoisted by police. Pretoria police spokesman

Major Andrew Lesch said: "On the whole we would like to thank the people for their behaviour during the march."

However, both Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers and the Pretoria City

Council criticised organisers.

Several participants in tattered SA Defence Force uniforms had been seen armed with AK-47 rifles, Mr Scheepers said in a statement. The fact that some of the protesters were armed was an extremely serious contravention of prior agreements, he said.

The city council said it took in a "very serious light" the ANC's non-adherence to time limits, routes and crowd control.

After the march, Mr Mandela shook hands with SAP Internal Stability Division head Lieutenant-General Johan Swart.

The men warmly congratulated each other on the conduct of both the police and marchers.

Estimates of the size of the march varied.

The Star team estimated about 60 000 marchers, the ANC 70 000 and the police between 50 000 and 70 000.

Some posters and banners took a humorous and unexpected turn. One, depicting a gravestone, read: "NP. RIP-offis".

One group of marchers was led by a one-legged man who hopped purposefully along with the aid of a crutch.

A lone Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier, wielding a wooden AK-

47, led another group, stopping only to strike a pose for hungry cameras.

Thousands of Soweto teachers were expected to take to the streets today, the fourth day of the ANC's week of mass action, causing pupils to miss another day of school, writes Education Reporter Phil Molefe.

A spokesman for the Soweto branch of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu), Oupa Mpetha, yesterday said teachers would protest to support their educational and political demands.

The teachers' campaign was expected to include sit-ins and demonstrations at the Department of Education and Training (DET) offices and a picket outside the Delmas Circuit Court to pledge solidarity with a colleague who is scheduled to appear there today.

Thoko Sehurutse, dismissed early this year by the DET for misconduct, is to have her reinstatement case heard in Delmas today.

While Sadtu had initially set aside only Monday and Tuesday for mass action, it looks set to continue protests until tomorrow.

● Opinion — Page 14. More reports — Page 15.

P. 9

The Star 26-08-92

Police ignored warnings - witness

By Philip Zoio

A petrol pump attendant yesterday told the Goldstone Commission in Vereeniging how police apparently ignored warnings of an impending attack in Boipatong, where more than 40 people were massacred on June 17.

He was giving evidence on the first day of the Goldstone Commission inquiry into the massacre, chaired by Mr Justice Goldstone.

Earlier yesterday, the commission was told by ANC counsel Mr Arthur Chaskelson, SC that evidence would be heard to support

claims that security forces were involved in the massacre.

Petrol pump attendant Meshak Theoane told the commission he had been working at a petrol station on Boulevard Frikkie Meyer, the main road between KwaMadala Hostel and Boipatong, when he saw two Casspirs chase after youths.

The Casspirs returned and parked on a soccer field.

Between 9.30 pm and 10 pm a security guard drew Mr Theoane's attention to a crowd of about 300 to 400 on the KwaMadala Hostel side of Boulevard Frikkie Meyer.

As they headed for Boipatong, they passed not far from the Casspirs.

He then pressed an alarm button at the garage. A police van arrived 10 to 15 minutes later. Mr Theoane said he pointed out the crowd, which was by then on the edge of Boipatong, to one of the policemen.

Counsel for the SAP Mr F Hattingh, SC, disputed the evidence by putting the police versions to Mr Theoane. In his opening address, Mr Hattingh said the SAP would "categorically deny" that the police in any way facilitated or took part in the massacre.

Boipatong: 16 more appear

Another 16 inmates of the KwaMadala hostel appeared briefly in the Vanderbijlpark Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

According to a police spokesman the group was arrested at the KwaMadala hostel on Sunday night.

This brings to 94 the number of suspects who have so far been taken into custody in connection with the massacre.

No charges were put to the group. — Vereeniging Bureau.

The Star 06-08-92

Draft dodgers: few prosecuted

Staff Reporter

The SADF was charging only a minuscule proportion of servicemen who failed to report for service, the End Conscription Campaign claimed yesterday.

"I would say that in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court about half a dozen cases are going ahead each month," said ECC spokesman David Bruce.

Mr Bruce said this was despite the fact that consistently less than 30 percent of servicemen and sometimes less than 10 percent were reporting for camps.

He said that according to the ECC's records, one person — camper Merrick Douglas — had been charged for refusing to serve in the SADF since June 1991.

Mr Douglas appeared in the Randfontein Magistrate's Court on Monday for refusing to attend a 30-day camp in November.

The case was remanded for trial to September 2.

"This case will be the first 'refusal to serve' charge since charges against Alan Storey and Wally Rontsch were withdrawn in June 1991," Mr Bruce said.

He said the ECC's application to the Transvaal Supreme Court for a judicial finding on the legality of the "whites only" call-up would be heard on September 22.

SADF spokesman Major Charl de Klerk denied that the SADF was carrying out prosecutions on a selective basis against servicemen who failed to report.

"Each failure to report is being investigated and the normal procedures are being followed," Major de Klerk said.

He added that it was not possible at short notice to provide a breakdown on the number of servicemen who were being prosecuted for failing to report for duty as opposed to those being charged for refusing to serve on grounds of conscience.

 The Star Thursday August 6 1992

The Star

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Dr No can't stop the flow

THE Conservative Party continues to haemorrhage, and this can only be of benefit to the negotiations process. Dr Treurnicht's policy — or, more accurately, lack of policy — is simply not plausible, and more rightwingers are casting around for alternatives. The writing was on the wall after the referendum; now the wall is in the process of being dismantled.

By the end of this week, it is possible that at least five MPs will have left the party's parliamentary caucus. Led, probably, by Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, they could launch a new, ethnic Afrikaner Party — "nonracial", seeking a seat in national negotiations, and arguing for a dramatically reduced Afrikaner "volkstaat".

The ineluctable quality of the negotiations process is getting to the right wing, and many of its leaders are considering deserting cloud-cuckoo land in favour of the hard realities of the new situation. There are strong rumours, although they might be premature, that Dr Treurnicht's leadership days are numbered.

The realism behind the Beyers faction's reasoning is the most encouraging aspect of the latest *broedertwis*. This is not simply a power struggle for control of the CP. Mr Beyers and his colleagues believe that the CP as currently constituted is a vehicle travelling headlong down a cul-de-sac.

It is quite possible that many other CP MPs, who have thus far kept their heads below the parapet, might in the weeks to come decide to make the jump as well. Maverick ex-CP MP Koos van der Merwe alluded to this possibility when, in the aftermath of the white referendum, he was unceremoniously booted out of the party.

Also encouraging is the hint from Mr Beyers that the shifting sands of South African politics might open the way for alliances among former enemies. It has been true from the outset of the reform process that a right wing within negotiations is far less dangerous than a right wing hurling abuse and worse from the sidelines. The "volkstaat" might well be a crazy idea — but now it will get a proper hearing.

The Star
02-08-92

An ambivalent gauge of support

EARLIER this month, colleagues and I played soccer in Ennerdale against a local team. After the game, I stayed to hear ANC president Nelson Mandela addressing residents at the local town hall.

A man who had played for the team we had just beaten offered to take me to the hall. "I wonder how attendance is going to be," he said. "You know, people in coloured townships don't care much for politics." For the record, he, too, was so-called "coloured".

Ennerdale, about 35 km south of Johannesburg, turned up to give the ANC leader a warm welcome. Local ANC organisers, who had worked tirelessly to publicise the event in advance, had seen to that.

This is coloured territory: a community which, like many others throughout the country, has been targeted by both the ANC and the National Party for an aggressive recruitment drive in time for the first all-in elections to be held in the near future.

Although a numerically small group compared to blacks, coloureds and Indians will play an important role in determining the ANC's support in the election.

Also among the audience were many black

KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports on the response of Ennerdale residents to the current mass action campaign.

faces, and it was disclosed that former ANC arts and culture department head Barbara Masekela, who now works in Mr. Mandela's office, lives in the area.

Ennerdale, then, was the perfect place to assess the community's response to the ANC alliance's stayaway this week. The question was whether residents would voluntarily heed the stayaway call.

When I arrived there on Tuesday, the township was quiet and deserted. There were no children or loiterers on the streets, neither were there barricades. Had the people gone to work?

No, they had not. It was cold and thousands of Ennerdale residents who had not gone to work were simply indoors. Those to whom I spoke at filling stations, shopping complexes and on the streets said people had not gone to work not so much out of conviction, but because of lack of transport.

No buses were avail-

able on both days and the few minibus taxis which operated on Monday morning did not fetch people from Johannesburg in the afternoon.

Taxi drivers, one man said, were largely supportive of the stayaway, but there were no drivers on the street to verify this themselves.

Attendance at most schools was normal, and where a higher degree of absenteeism was reported, principals ascribed it to the weather and lack of transport. The schools visited said all teachers had reported to work.

The headmaster of Ennerdale Primary Number 8, A Abader, said attendance was down to 20 percent and blamed lack of transport.

"Had it not been for intimidation and the unavailability of transport, most people here would have gone to work. Those who have cars have all gone to work," said Mr Abader, himself an Ennerdale resident.

The lasting impression is, therefore, ambivalent. Most Ennerdale residents certainly stayed away this week — but this does not mean the ANC can claim their support as a result. If anyone's influence in the township was proved in the past few days, it was that of the local bus and taxi drivers. □

The Star 06-08-92

Media access appears linked to violence

Access to the media for a political organisation appears to be directly linked to the extent of its involvement in the current violence: the greater its perceived involvement, the more coverage.

This is starkly illustrated on the SATV news at night.

It is a tragic fact that political organisations committed to peace and working hard to promote peace, are ignored by the media as not being newsworthy.

What hope is there for South Africa if this is the message that our largely unsophisticated population assimilates from the media: violence becomes the only effective political tool; peace is nothing.

Violence is no longer just a series of incidents in our country, it is a culture. Our only escape is to actively promote a culture of peace. To achieve this the public must be given access to positive messages of peace.

Peace is not served when the concept is exclusively linked to the ANC/SACP/Co-satu Alliance (with its so-called Peace and Democracy campaign) which is so integrally linked to the current violence.

An election for an interim government is likely during 1993. Can anyone believe it might be "free and fair" when only parties linked to violence are reported in the media?

Cape Town Caroline Knott

The Star 06-08-92

'Nothing done for 16 X hours after massacre'

Evidence that security forces present in Boipatong on June 17 did nothing to prevent the massacre of more than 40 people will be heard during the next two weeks by a committee of the Goldstone Commission hearing evidence on the issue.

Senior counsel for the ANC, Arthur Chaskelson, also told the commission in his opening statement yesterday that he would produce witnesses who would indicate that attackers had been "dropped off" in Boipatong by armoured vehicles.

Witnesses had also seen white men in the ranks of the attackers, he said.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the commission had decided to concentrate initially on allegations of security force involvement in the massacre before turning to other aspects of the attack.

The commission has also been charged with identifying those responsible for the massacre; the role played by the SA Defence Force and the police before, during and after the attack; and steps which could be taken to prevent the recurrence of such an incident.

Mr Chaskelson said the KwaMadala Hostel from where the attackers had come had been a focus of

conflict for a long time before the attack and was known to be a stronghold of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

He alleged that reports of the attack began to flow into the Vanderbijlpark police station about 10 pm.

"Between 10 and 10.10 pm, 10 complaints were recorded by police of shootings, damage to property and assaults in the Boipatong area."

Witnesses would testify that SADF vehicles present in the township had not intervened.

Mr Chaskelson said the attackers had clearly been confident they would not be apprehended. At least 16 hours elapsed after the attack before police decided to enter KwaMadala Hostel for the first time.

He said urgent questions had to be answered in the findings of the commission. These included:

- Was the policing in Boipatong inefficient?
- Were there reasons, other than complicity or reluctance to bring attackers to account, for the slowness of security force response?
- Why were the obvious suspects given 16 hours before attempts were made to search their premises and gather evidence?

Counsel for the SAP, PD Hattingh, denied that the SAP had taken part in or facilitated the attack. He ad-

mitted that on the evening of June 17 there had been several members of the SAP in and around the area, but at no stage during the attack were they present in Boipatong.

"Any allegations that the SAP were informed before the attack of the possibility of it taking place will be denied."

There was no evidence to substantiate allegations of whites being among the attackers. Police had also not transported attackers from KwaMadala to Boipatong.

A W Mostert, for the SADF, said the only Defence Force members in the township at the time of the attack were members of the Vaal Commando, an active Citizen Force unit.

The unit had a limited jurisdiction and its primary function was to guard Iscor, which had been designated a national key point.

On the night of the attack there had been two "soft skin" (not armoured) vehicles and two Buffels (armoured vehicles) in and around Boipatong.

Members of the Vaal Commando had spotted large numbers of people moving towards KwaMadala Hostel and had drawn the conclusion that the hostel was being attacked.

They later tried to locate the group but failed.

A dispute arose in the commission's proceedings yesterday around the issue of secret documents which Mr Mostert said would not be made available to the commission in spite of a request to this effect from Mr Chaskelson.

He said the documents, including briefing documents reflecting SADF instructions on or before June 17, and general documents dealing with secret standing orders and operational planning, were secret and irrelevant to the commission.

He was prepared to make them available only to Mr Justice Goldstone.

The judge said he was not prepared to accept documents he could not make available to the committee.

"Well, that is the only basis on which I am prepared to give them to you," replied Mr Mostert.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission's powers of search and seizure might have to be tested against the power of the secret document.

The four-person committee of the commission — which includes an international assessor, Mr Justice P N Bhagwati, a former Chief Justice in India — is to decide when to visit KwaMadala Hostel, which has been partly demolished by Iscor since the massacre. — Sapa.

The Star 06-08-92

40 unrest deaths in three days

By Glen Elsas
and Staff Reporter

The death toll in countrywide political violence since Monday had risen to at least 40 by last night, according to the police.

In Natal, at least 23 people have been killed. Four were killed and a policeman injured in unrest-related incidents near Durban on Tuesday.

A man was shot dead yesterday while getting out of a taxi in Boksburg.

Twenty limpet mines, explosives, fuses and an electronic detonator were found yesterday when the cache fell from the jaws of an earth-moving machine in a quarry at Muldersdrif.

Police spokesman Major Henriette Bester said the arms cache contained 18 SPM limpet mines, two mini-limpet mines, 18 fuses, 6 kg of plastic explosives, one 10 m safety fuse, 12 MUV2 fuses and one KP Shot exploder.

Police said they would arrange for the machine driver to receive a reward.

The Star 06-08-92

Van Eck a 'useful idiot'

Lenin used the term "useful idiots" to define a category of people the communists could use as allies in their bid for power.

It referred to liberals who had no distinctive political ideas but were in opposition to a "suppressive government" in order to help the victims of the "establishment". Lenin said that these people should be lured into the communist camp and used until their usefulness expired.

Independent MP Jan van

Eck has already fulfilled the criteria of working for the communists' cause.

His remarks in London, during a launch of the booklet on policing in South Africa (published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations), showed his naivety.

He tried to promote Mr Mandela as "the person all leaders should consult" but it is beyond Mr van Eck's wisdom to understand that Mr Mandela is not the Leader

who makes decisions. He is only the mouthpiece who tells the world what is decided by the communist-controlled leadership of the ANC, mainly by Joe Slovo and Chris Hani.

He alleged Government and police involvement in the Boipatong violence, but this was negated by the findings of the Goldstone Commission.

What credibility is left for the man after such a blunder?

Umlazi

M V Mdinga



Jan van Eck . . . showed naivety, says a reader.

The Star (3)
06-08-92

place in opposite directions.

Even a sangoma found space in Church Street to pause a while to throw the bones.

"Thanks God for mass action" read a handmade placard. "Sweep crooks and assassins out of power" demanded another, while the majority addressed more conventionally

the demand for interim government and for an end to violence.

A variety of T-shirts of different vintages proclaimed a fair number of the demonstrators as stalwarts of the liberation cause. They recalled, for instance, the Duncan Village massacre of mid-1986, the struggle against the Labour Relations

Act and the early days of the Congress of SA Students.

Pretoria's white residents may not have joined the action, but many were irresistibly drawn to watch from office windows. As the procession passed the New Union Hotel (incorporating the Mad Hatter's Castle) marchers looked — and

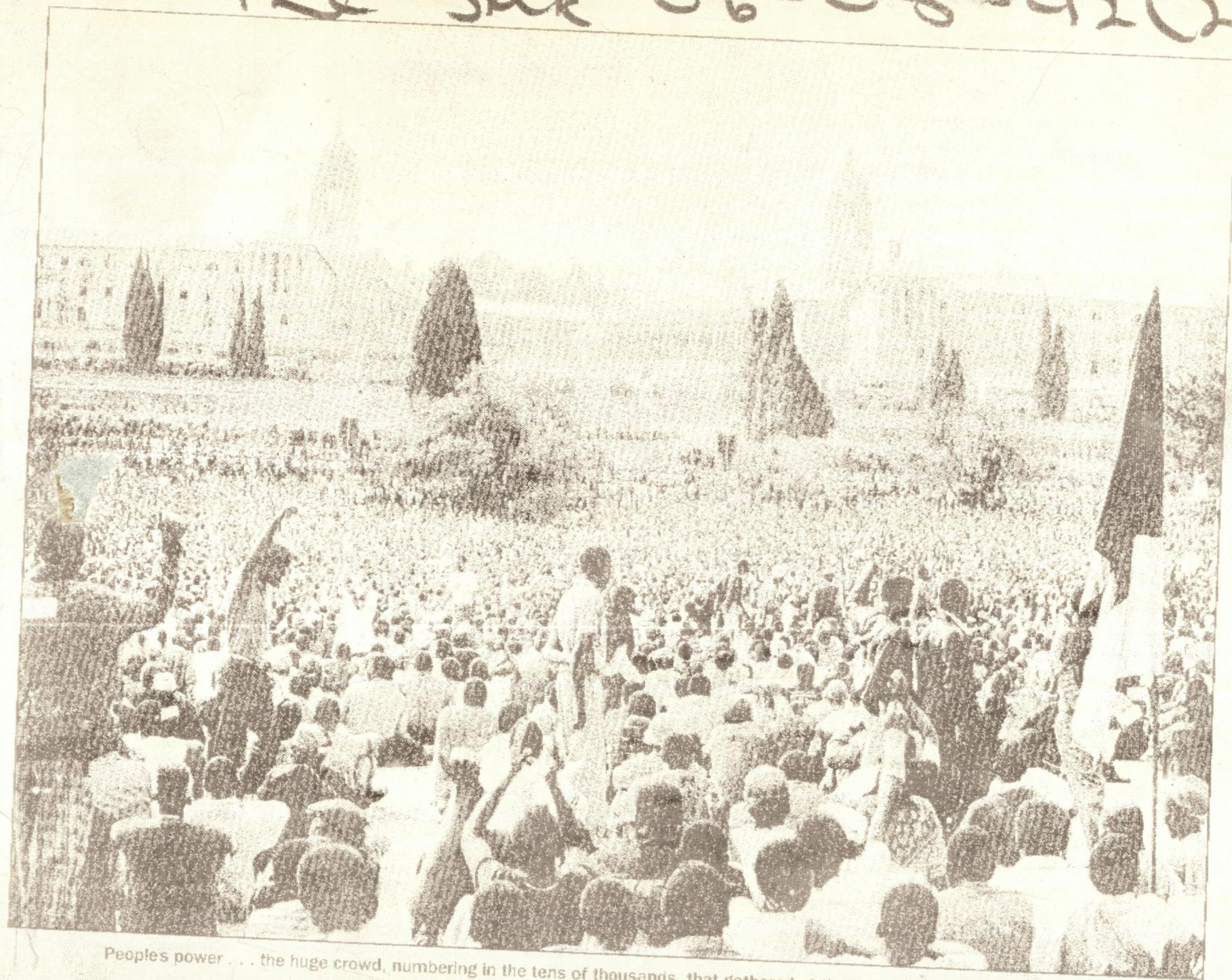
looked again — at the balcony. No, their eyes were not playing tricks. A few beers were raised and even a "Vote for democracy" poster flashed.

At the Union Buildings, too, white spectators peered from the upper terraces, while the official orange, white and blue

flag continued to wave above and beyond the ANC colours.

Towards the end of a long day, a toddler plodded through the crowd behind a youth wearing a T-shirt with the slogan: "Boipatong calls us to action". The little girl carried her own placard: "Comrade Mandela — my future president". □

The Star 06-08-92(2)



Peoples power . . . the huge crowd, numbering in the tens of thousands, that gathered at the Union Buildings yesterday.

The Star 06-08-92 (1) Knock on door of white power

THE BLACK, green and gold flag of the ANC was hoisted in front of the Union Buildings yesterday as tens of thousands, gathered in the gardens below, sang Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

On the terraces above the speakers' platform, a steady line of khaki-clad members of the security forces stood armed and alert as ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa declared: "We are just at the door of the Union Buildings. Next time, F W de Klerk, we will be inside your office."

The verbal challenge for ultimate power was clear. Yet, beyond the grounds of the Union Buildings, large numbers of policemen and soldiers, supposedly "braced" for the onslaught of mass action on the capital city, slouched non-committally in the entrances of buildings and relaxed atop armoured vehicles.

A mild mood prevailed and even the demonstrating mass cheered approval when a speaker observed that their protest had been perfectly peaceful; not a single stone had been cast.

In daring expression of his contempt for generations of minority rule, a young demonstrator clambered up the statue of General Louis Botha, first taking the Boer leader's horse by the bridle, then getting a foothold in his binoculars and ending up sitting firmly on the general's hat, the ANC flag flapping in the breeze above him and the giant stone figure.

Directly across from him, Nelson Mandela delivered his message in his customary clipped and level speech. In the space between the Boer general's statue and the ANC leader, heads, heads and more heads glistened in the sun.

If mass action was weighed in the first two days of the week by, a huge absence of workers from work places and pupils from schools, at the Union Buildings it asserted itself as an overwhelming presence.

"This is not a victory for the ANC or the Congress of South African Trade Unions or the South African Communist Party. It is a victory of the people of South Africa," Mr Mandela told the human mass before him. "It is a victory for peace and democracy. All South Africans, black and white, want

If mass action was weighed in the first two days of the week by a huge absence of workers and pupils, at the Union Buildings yesterday it asserted itself as an overwhelming presence, writes JO-ANNE COLLINGE.



Nelson Mandela . . . at the Union Buildings yesterday.

peace, economic stability and a happy future for their children."

His words of appreciation to those employers who had understood the gravity of the campaign of mass action and accommodated their workers' determination to take part raised a round of applause.

The procession up the hill to

the Union Buildings was a notable departure from the normally tight-packed and highly disciplined marches of the ANC and its allies. A carnival atmosphere reigned in Church Street, as buses disgorged demonstrators and they flowed gently along. At times there were competing processions taking

ILANGA August 6-8 - 1992

COMMENT & OPINION

Ramaphosa and the new mathematics

Mass action is not over yet, but already the cost in lives lost, property destroyed and injury to people is enormous. There is no doubt that intimidation and coercion were a major factor in the stayaway.

Transport for those who wished to go to work was not available owing to threats issued to drivers or the owners of buses and combi taxis. One prominent bus owner in Natal not only had his buses destroyed, but lost his life as well.

A situation that could have led to a huge loss of life in Ciskei was narrowly averted. At the head of a march to Bisho was Chris Hani, determined to maintain his reputation as a hero, regardless of the risk to the lives of innocent men and women.

Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary general of the ANC, states that the people of South Africa have spoken. Jay Naidoo asserts that a powerful message has been sent to the government in Pretoria. The militants gloatingly boast that four million people participated in the stayaway. Jay Naidoo says that this is a referendum - the people have voted. Four million have voted for the organisations calling for mass action.

The population of South Africa is about thirty-seven million. It is estimated that at least twenty million people will qualify to vote in the elections that militants are stridently calling for in six to nine months.

If the stayaway gave the

ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance four million votes, this represents twenty per cent of the electorate. Yet, Ramaphosa says South Africa has spoken. Four equals twenty. The minority is the majority and the majority is the minority. This is the new mathematics of Cyril Ramaphosa and his friends.

What is the next step? The proposals of the ANC and its allies are not acceptable to the majority of the people of this country. The results of the stayaway referendum will persuade no one. Negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual respect are still the only way out. Duress and other illegitimate forms of pressure will get the ANC nowhere.

ILANGA 6-8- August-1992

What is it all about?

The campaign of mass action has begun in earnest. Yet for many people there is confusion as to the aims of this campaign. It is said the purpose of the mass action is to ensure the speedy installation of an interim government. But at Codesa it had already been agreed that there should be an interim parliament and government based on an agreed constitution.

Another aim is said to be the election of a constitution-making body. But this was also agreed at Codesa. In fact the deadlock was over the percentages that would be required for the elected constitution-making assembly to arrive at decisions on the Bill of Rights, regional powers and so on.

So if the principle of an interim government and of an elected constitution-making body are already agreed on all sides, what is the mass action for?

If the ANC managed to persuade other Codesa participants to abandon their preference for an all-party conference to draw up a constitution, why is the ANC nevertheless telling all who care to listen that mass action is the only way left to achieve its objectives?

Some observers claim that the ANC was winning at Codesa ex-

cept on the issue of state or regional boundaries, powers and functions. But even before the issue of regional powers came up, the ANC had already decided to launch mass action.

Why then mass action when, according to some observers, they were winning?

Very grave suspicions have been aroused by the actions of the ANC in scuttling negotiations that in many ways favoured them. This has raised the spectre of a sinister hidden agenda that is necessarily undemocratic and therefore dangerous for the future of the country.

If, on the other hand, the purpose of mass action is merely to afford the ANC an opportunity to flex its political muscles and to demonstrate its support, then its actions are highly irresponsible and show them to be unfit to govern South Africa.

The electorate of South Africa is likely to number between eighteen and twenty million people. No party can demonstrate what support it enjoys in such a vast electorate through so-called mass action. Any party that is prepared to play with the lives of people in the middle of the worst drought and depression this century will be justly punished at the polls.

The ANC has threatened that its members who are Zulus might be encouraged to carry traditional weapons in public. This follows a march in Durban last Saturday at which IFP supporters were seen carrying sticks and shields.

The ANC statement is notable for admitting that some of its members are in fact Zulus. This is an advance on the absurd notion that admission that one was a Zulu implied acceptance of the apartheid policies of the government and that KwaZulu was a creation of Pretoria.

During the Second World War the ANC refused to encourage Africans to join the military forces to fight Hitler's Germany unless the people were armed with modern weapons. The Smuts government insisted that Africans recruited into the army would be armed with traditional weapons. Raucous laughter by Africans met every suggestion that people could fight with traditional weapons.

Decades later there is

African betrayal

a complete volte face. The same people who used to laugh their guts out at the idea that traditional weapons were dangerous, are prepared to convince nuclear powers at the Security Council of UN of the potency of sticks, shields and spears, thus making a laughing stock of all Africans before the whole world.

What lies behind this charade over traditional or cultural weapons?

It was inevitable that the ANC sponsored obsession to eliminate the IFP, KwaZulu and its leadership, that has seen so much suffering, death and tragedy in the last seven or eight years, would also produce black comedy and farce.

At one time African

unity was paramount and nothing was allowed to stand in the way of that sacred principle. Today, in the name of so-called non-racial ideologies, African unity and African freedom have been sacrificed.

The issue is not whether traditional weapons are dangerous in modern terms. The crux of the matter is the betrayal of the African personality in the formulation of policy in various organisations including the ANC.

Are we going to go through the same long and disastrous conflicts that have ravaged some African countries before we return to the old fashioned idea that the first duty of leadership in Africa is to protect the identical interests of all members of the African community?

The Citizen 06/08/92

ANC bring chaos to T'Kei streets

UMTATA — Access roads into Umtata were blocked yesterday as thousands of people flocked to Freedom Square for the African National Congress alliance's lunchtime stay-away.

Traffic in and out of town was halted for two hours when ANC supporters barricaded access routes with people, and cars, taxis and buses which had been stopped by demonstrators manning the roadblocks.

Several disgruntled motorists were turned back or made to wait for the duration as roads bottlenecked with queues of vehicles waiting to proceed.

Access routes including the roads to Engcobo, East London, Durban, Port St Johns, Ngangelizwe and Ikwezi were blocked.

Police reported similar activities in major centres including Butterworth, Idutywa, Qumbu, and Port St Johns.

At the Wild Coast Sun, everything had returned to normal after hundreds of ANC supporters had besieged the resort on Monday, blocking entrance by visitors. — Sapa.

The Citizen 06-08-92

2 000 marchers disrupt Jhb traffic

Citizen Reporter

TRAFFIC in Johannesburg's city centre was disrupted yesterday afternoon as about 2 000 people took part in an ANC-organised protest march to police headquarters at John Vorster Square.

A delegation, demanding entry into the building to hand over a memorandum to the Witwatersrand Police Commissioner, Major-General Gerrit Erasmus, had an argument with police officers who refused them entry.

Protest leaders, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa of the ANC's national executive, and the regional secretary of Cosatu, Mr Amos Masondo, threatened a sit-

in in the street until their demand was met.

A senior police officer intervened and allowed an eight-man delegation to hand over the memorandum.

The crowd afterwards returned along their route and dispersed peacefully.

The singing, chanting crowd was peaceful and well-controlled by marshalls, who often stopped their sections of marchers at intersections to allow traffic to pass.

A strong contingent of police and traffic officials monitored the procession but kept in the background.

No incidents were reported.

The Citizen 06-08-92

Arrested ANC tally is 600, say police

At least 600 people participating in the African National Congress alliance's mass marches and demonstrations yesterday were arrested country-wide, according to police.

The ANC, however, claimed more than 850 people were arrested.

According to an alliance statement, 250 people were arrested in Witbank, 200 in Pietersburg, 100 in Wesselsbron, 60 in Empangeni, 60 in Middelburg, 90 in Welkom and Kroonstad and 72 in Bloemfontein and Botshabelo.

Arrests also occurred in Upington (10), Vryburg (6), and Hoopstad (2).

the statement said.

Most of the arrests occurred after demonstrators had occupied government buildings.

Orange Free State Police confirmed the arrest of 74 people in Bloemfontein and Botshabelo, 113 in Wesselsbron and about 85 in Welkom. The Kroonstad arrests could not be con-

firmed.

In the northern Transvaal 55 people were arrested in Warmbaths, police said, but were released later with all charges dropped.

In Pietersburg 209 people were arrested and charged under municipal regulations for obstructing traffic. They were granted bail.

In Empangeni, police said about 100 people were arrested after a bus belonging to Empangeni Transport was hijacked. The company however refused to press charges and the arrested people were all released, police said.

Eastern Transvaal police confirmed the arrest of 71 people in Middelburg but denied that any arrests had occurred in Witbank.

Not included in the alliance list was the arrest of 30 people in Warrenton, near Kimberley. Northern Cape police also confirmed the arrest of 13 people in Upington.

In the majority of cases police said those arrested would be released after being issued with summons to appear in court.

Most of the arrests were for trespassing and holding illegal gatherings and for offences under the Road Ordinance Act.

— Sapa

The Citizen 06-08-92

Don't let them occupy State buildings — Dr T

THE government should not allow mass action demonstrators to occupy State buildings because it constituted the symbolic handing over of power, Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said last night at a

public meeting in Nylostroom.

If the government allowed United Nations officials into the country to help maintain law and order, it had already lost the battle.

The CP condemned the

government and the National Party for unbanning "terrorist and Communist" organisations such as the African National Congress, the SA Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress, and the fact that these organisations' private armies had not been barred and the country was in an "advanced stage of revolution".

"We accuse you of making the ANC/SACP participants in negotiations on our future, and the fact that they have started a revolution in our country which you seem unable to stop or control."

He pledged the CP to fight against the ANC in its bid to become the government of the country.

The CP would not support the government in its quest for power sharing, a united South Africa, a one-man one-vote election and Black majority rule.

Dr Treurnicht called on the government not to resuscitate Codesa, and instead to form another forum of anti-Communist leaders who supported self-determination within a confederation.

There was progress in the CP's negotiations with leaders of other peoples with a view to forming a confederation or commonwealth of states, he said.

Dr Treurnicht also warned the government not to force his folk into regions where there was one regional government, saying "this is totally unacceptable". — Sapa.

The Citizen 06-08-92

CP and HNP blast govt 'inaction'

Citizen Reporter

BOTH the Conservative Party and the HNP yesterday slammed the government for not stopping the mass action programme this week and said the government's inaction could not be excused.

The CP spokesman on Trade and Industry, Mr Daan Nolte, said the government's decision not to declare a general state of emergency to stop the mass action and its consequences could not be excused.

He said the statement by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, that the ANC had not managed to bring the government to its knees through its mass action, was not any consolation for potential foreign investors and in fact shows the almost hopeless position in

which South Africa was finding itself.

Mr Nolte said the economic depression would no doubt be intensified by the effects of the mass action and said over the long term the true consequences of the ANC's protests would start to show itself.

"If the government does not take action soon the effect of the mass action on South Africa's economy would be seen for a long time.

"South Africa can not afford the reckless actions of people such as Mr Jay Naidoo. The CP wants to know from the government why it is allowing Mr Naidoo's reckless actions," Mr Nolte said.

The leader of the HNP, Mr Jaap Marais, said the general strike and mass action of the

past few days had as its sole aim to bring down the government.

He said to propagate actions which would bring a government to a fall was sedition and it should have been stopped by the government with all the power to its disposal if law and order was to be maintained in South Africa.

But, Mr Marais said, it was clear that the ANC, SACP and Cosatu had not managed to bring the government to its knees but in the process they had brought immense damage to the South African economy.

"These actions lead to a polarisation between Black and White because Whites are sick and tired of the reckless and disrupting methods of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance," he said.

The Citizen 06-08-92

CP split likely today as 5 MPs meet Dr T

By Brian Stuart and Sapa

CAPE TOWN. — A split in the Conservative Party seems likely today, when the five MPs favouring negotiations to achieve an Afrikaner volkstaat meet CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, in Pretoria.

Dr Treurnicht is known to be seeking reconciliation, but the clash between the volkstaters and CP deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, seems to have reached a point where compromise is not possible.

The five rebel MPs have held discussions prior to today's meeting, which will take place at the CP's head office in Pretoria.

They are Mr Andries Beyers (Potchefstroom), Free State CP leader Mr Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), Mr Chris de Jager (Bethal), Mr Moolman Mentz (Ermelo) and Mr

Rosier de Ville (Standerton).

All were gathered in Pretoria yesterday in readiness for today's crucial meeting, which will determine whether or not the CP splits on the issue of negotiations for a volkstaat.

The five are known to have had contact with other MPs during the discussions, but no names were disclosed. The feeling within the group is that the five must take a stand, and the actions of others will depend on the outcome.

A crisis point was reached at the June national congress when the five proposed an alternative to a document drawn up by the party's general council. To avoid an outright clash on the issue, the documents were referred to a special com-

mittee for reconciliation.

However, there was dissatisfaction over the composition of the special committee. Mr Tom Langley, MP for Soutpansberg, headed a team who tried to mediate between the two groups, one headed by Mr Beyers and the other by Dr Hartzenberg, but this attempt failed. Dr Hartzenberg refused to speak to the five.

Mr Beyers addressed the youth council of the CP in the Transvaal last weekend. This caused a row, during which some members of the Youth Council endorsed the stand by Mr Beyers and others stated their opposition.

Yesterday, CP national secretary Dr Lem Theron issued a statement made by the Mine Workers' Union, saying it was

deeply concerned at the situation, and reports of a possible split in the CP.

"Our offices, including that in the Eastern Transvaal, are being inundated with calls from members who are concerned at the potentially shattering consequences which a split would have on the negotiation strength of the Afrikaner.

"We would call on you (Dr Treurnicht) to place party unity first, even if this means reaching agreement to differ on less important points," said the statement.

The CP also faces a special congress, due to be held in Kimberley on Saturday, August 22, on the issue of identifying a possible Afrikaner volkstaat and negotiation to achieve it.

The party's official position is now that all present CP constituencies should form the basis of an Afrikaner homeland.

The group of five accept that there must be negotiations for a smaller volkstaat.

Indications are that a breakaway volkstaat party would be acceptable to others in the negotiation process.

- The executive of the Conservative Party's constituency council in Potchefstroom has dissociated itself from statements by Mr Beyers regarding negotiations with all parties and the establishment of a smaller national state.

The Citizen 06-08-92

Meet our demands — Mandela

By Fred de Lange
and Sapa

ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday vowed not to return to the negotiation table unless the organisation's demands concerning violence, an interim government and free and fair elections for a constituent assembly were met.

Speaking to about 70 000 people at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Mandela said these three demands constituted the core of all the demands the ANC had.

"We have engaged in mass action with the clear objective of ensuring that the outcome of the negotiations is a democratic future for our country," Mr Mandela said.

What happened next, and what form the "campaign for peace and democracy" took, de-

pendent on how the government responded to the ANC's demands.

Mr Mandela said the general strike on Monday and Tuesday had unquestionably been one of the greatest events in South African history.

"More than four million workers stayed away," and nothing could detract from the fact that the strike had been peaceful.

"Those who still cling to the idea that the success of this mass action was based on intimidation

do themselves an injustice. Because this could only be true if they believed that the ANC and its allies have the power to intimidate so many millions of people based on intimidation do themselves an injustice.

Mass action was not a victory for the ANC, Cosatu or the SACP, but of all South Africans who wanted peace and democracy.

The Citizen 06-08-92

Gunmen fire on choirs, kill girl

GUNMEN opened fire on two youth choirs in Alexandra yesterday evening, killing a teenaged girl and seriously injuring 13 choir members aged from 10 to 21.

According to a father of one of the choir members, Mr Linda Twala, the attack occurred about 8 pm as the Emmanuel and Alexduma choirs were preparing for a night vigil at a house in 2nd

Avenue to comfort the family of a girl who died last week of natural causes.

Five men appeared and shot at random at the choir members. A

TO PAGE 2

Attack on choirs

FROM PAGE 1

girl, known as Nhlanhla, aged about 14, was killed.

He could not say what kind of weapons were used.

Mr Twala emphasised the choirs had no political affiliation.

Alexandra Clinic spokeswoman Ms Yvonne Lefakane, confirmed 13 had been brought there for treatment. Their conditions were serious, however, and they were transferred to the Hillbrow and Tembisa hospitals.

Two men have been taken into custody for

questioning.

Witwatersrand police spokesman, Col Dave Bruce, said the men had been arrested during "snap" searches in the vicinity. They were being interrogated to ascertain whether they could be linked to the attack.

One of the men was found to be in possession of a 9 mm pistol.

A Zulu-speaking man was killed and another was injured in two separate gun attacks in Alexandra last night.

Police are investigating a possible link between the attacks on the Zulu men and the choir.

The first attack took

place at 1st Avenue about 6 pm, when a man was fatally shot by unidentified gunmen. Minutes later a man was wounded in 2nd Avenue.

Commenting late last night on the choir attack, African National Congress Alexandra spokesman Teboho Mosenohi said he had no idea who the attackers could be as the choirs had no political affiliation.

He noted, however, that the vigil would have been for a sister of South African Communist Party member, Mr Thabo Murudi. — Sapa.

The Citizen 06-08-92 (2)

FW ready to talk

FROM PAGE 1

tations, and the ANC had decided to scuttle Codesa.

The government had also "agreed a long time ago in principle there must be a transitional government of national unity. There is no fundamental difference of opin-

ion between us. We must negotiate how to get it".

There was no need for Mr Mandela to have addressed him from the rally below the Union Buildings while his door stood open to him, Mr De Klerk added.

The government did not oppose the concept of a properly-elected Parliament that would act as a constitution-making body.

He was confident that negotiations would get back on track, and he would even be prepared to meet the ANC in the bush for two days of talks.

Pressed on how soon real negotiations would resume, he said all the communications between the government and the ANC "constituted progress".

Mr De Klerk confirmed there would be a second parliamentary session from October 12 this year, when hopefully the results and fruits of negotiations would be presented to Parliament.

"Yes, you can expect at least some basic legis-

lation to be submitted before Parliament.

"It will be constructive legislation aimed at assisting progress without us in any way trying to act unilaterally."

It was untrue that the government had to be pressurised into accepting real democracy, Mr De Klerk said.

Mr De Klerk, speaking on the steps of the Union Buildings and flanked by senior Ministers after a weekly Cabinet meeting, again stressed that the government was trying to curb violence and denied charges that the security forces were biased.

He had no problem with foreign observers being in South Africa, but he reiterated that "the leaders of South Africa will have to end violence" by honouring the peace accord.

He also denied charges that the government was trying to subjugate the ANC.

He appreciated the ANC's efforts to maintain proper control over the mass actions. — Supa.

FW IS READY TO TALK

The Citizen
06-08-92(1)

NEGOTIATION and not mass action was needed in South Africa, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking outside the Union Buildings, Pretoria, after the African National Congress mass

rally, Mr De Klerk said it was undeniable that the march had "caused damage" and businesses had been adversely affected.

There was an urgent need for negotiations to be resumed with the ANC, said Mr De Klerk who added "I'm prepared to sit down tomorrow".

The ANC's reasons for the mass action campaign were not founded on fact.

The government was in a hurry to resume nego-

TO PAGE 2

The Citizen 06-08-92(2)

Flee Pretoria offices

FROM PAGE 1

several incidents of damage to property, a case of looting and even ANC supporters running through the streets of Pretoria armed with AK-47s.

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Johan Scheepers, yesterday expressed the government's dissatisfaction with what he called numerous flagrant breaches of the conditions under which the protest march was allowed.

These breaches included direct intimidation by the crowd of Black shoppers who were pulled out of shops along the route and forced to take part in the march.

A national flag was pulled down at a public building and only the intervention of the police prevented the flag from being damaged.

In Bloed Street a window pane at a shop was broken and the shop looted while all along the route vehicles were damaged by marchers walking over the roofs of cars.

At a railway station two thirds of the Black passengers alighted from a train and marched through a residential area in contravention of the conditions.

Mr Scheepers said the ANC was obviously not in control of the crowds and demonstrators were not keeping to the agreed routes but were dividing into various groups and marching through other streets.

He said several ANC supporters had been seen to have been armed with AK-47 rifles and dressed in "tattered Defence Force uniforms".

The fact that some of the demonstrators had been armed was a serious contravention of the conditions and also occurred

during the mass march in the Ciskei.

Mr Scheepers said these contraventions of the agreement was regretted by the government which viewed it in a serious light.

"It is clear that the ANC is not keeping to the conditions for the march to which it had agreed itself," he said.

The chairman of the management committee of the Pretoria City Council, Dr Pieter Smith, said the non-adherence of the conditions could affect future applications by the ANC to march in Pretoria.

He said the time agreed upon — between 10 am and 1 pm — was not adhered to and traffic could only return to normal at 4 pm yesterday afternoon.

The City Council was also not satisfied with the fact that groups had broken away from the route agreed upon and the fact that the marshals were not in control of the crowd.

"This will be kept in mind when future applications for marches are considered," he said.

There was some disagreement on exactly how many people attended yesterday's march.

The ANC estimated the crowd at about 200 000, the police at about 50 000 to 70 000 and the city council at between 35 000 and 40 000.

Experienced crowd estimators, however, yesterday agreed that while the size of the crowd was bigger than 50 000, the number did not exceed 60 000.

When the march started marshals appeared to be in perfect control and shortly before the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela arrived at Brown Street, a protester who clashed with the police because of his at-

tempts to climb a traffic light, was quickly brought under control by the marshals.

When the march started, however, it was soon clear that ANC officials could not control such a large crowd and small groups and later bigger groups broke away from the main march and disrupted traffic and business in other streets.

Mr Mandela only started his speech at the Union Buildings after 1 pm — the time when the march was supposed to be over.

In their urge to see their leader, protesters destroyed some of the carefully tended and fam-

ous gardens at the Union Buildings.

At first Marshals attempted to stop the protesters from trampling flat the 80-year-old hedges lining the gardens but gave up when more and more people simply walked through and over the hedges.

About 500 policemen armed with shotguns, grenade launchers and R-1 rifles lined the higher terraces of the Union Buildings to prevent any protesters from approaching the government offices itself and apart from a senior official of Cosatu taunting and threatening the policemen, no incident was reported.

The Citizen 06-08-92 (1) **Pta workers flee offices**

By Fred de Lange

OFFICE workers in Pretoria's city centre fled their offices early yesterday afternoon after small groups of ANC supporters who took part in the march through the city went on the rampage and ru-

mours were circulated that Inkatha supporters were entering the city to do battle with the ANC.

A large number of private offices and government departments closed at about 3 pm and office workers were told to go home and get out of the

city before the ANC march returned to Brown Street from the Union Buildings.

The march, which was due to start at 10 am but eventually left for the Union Buildings at 11.30 am, was marred by

TO PAGE 2

06-08-02

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Cut it out

OKAY, Mr Mandela, so you have made a point.

Seventy thousand of your supporters mustered at the Union Buildings to listen to you.

Fifty thousand marched into Cape Town.

Several thousand took to the streets of central Durban.

About 2 000 marched through Johannesburg's city centre.

In other towns and cities similar marches and gatherings took place.

The point you made, we suppose, is that you can get thousands of people to demonstrate on behalf of the ANC, though you will claim that they are demonstrating for democracy.

So what?

In total your demonstrators represent a fraction of the country's population.

If the Whites were aroused to demonstrate — and who knows, one day they might be — they would pour into city centres in even greater numbers.

The point simply is that the country cannot achieve any true settlement if one of the major parties tries to establish its support by staging mass actions that disrupt the life of people.

Okay, Mr Mandela.

You have a bunch of United Nations monitors who will see that you can carry out your protests without the security forces acting toughly if the demonstrators break the law.

But these tame UN monitors, who try to intervene if they can, are not important.

Indeed, as events in Yugoslavia have shown, UN peacekeeping forces or monitors are incapable of keeping warring groups apart.

You are lucky that the government has decided to allow the ANC and its affiliates to do very much as they please.

But we don't know whether its patience or the patience of the public will last for ever.

The ANC is treading a fine line between protest and insurrection, between legal demonstration and open revolt, between peaceful action and violence.

Ah yes, Mr Mandela, you may be trying to project an image of a moderate leader who is striving to bring about democracy in South Africa, but in White eyes there is a growing belief that you are a captive of the radicals who seek confrontation.

Quite frankly, the more the ANC stages mass action, the more Whites are convinced that if it comes to power the country will be in the hands of an uncaring, totally revolutionary organisation that will destroy the economy and make life hopeless for its White citizens.

Yes, if you go on with mass protest that disrupts the life of ordinary citizens, if you stage general strikes that harm the economy — and this week's two-day general strike cost at least R250 million — you will convince many Whites that there is no future in South Africa.

The result will be an exodus of skills that will ruin the country.

So why are you doing it, Mr Mandela?

Are you not concerned about what Whites — and Coloureds and Indians, for that matter — are thinking?

Do you believe they don't matter?

Or are you going to wake up to the fact that the more mass action the ANC stages, the more White feelings are hardening against it?

We'll tell you this:

You cannot have peace if you stage dangerous sit-ins, marches and the occupation of government offices and business and city centres.

You cannot have White support if you further endanger the economy, which is already in shreds because of the sanctions you have insisted must be kept in force.

Because the ANC is creating such uncertainty, business confidence is at its lowest ebb and foreign investors are trying to get out rather than send more money into the country.

You are going to have to resume negotiations, Mr Mandela, even if you insist that all the ANC's demands are met before you return to the negotiating table.

For the sake of the future, you and the ANC must stop creating havoc.

If you go on the way you are going, there will be a White backlash and heaven help the country then.

06-08-92

The Citizen

Man arriving

~~for work~~
~~shot dead~~

Citizen Reporter

A 36-YEAR-OLD Vosloorus man was shot dead shortly after arriving for work in Boksburg early yesterday morning.

East Rand spokesman, Capt Ida van Zweel, said the man, a resident of the Ndlovu Hostel, disembarked from a minibus on the corner of Commissioner and Barry streets, Boksburg East Industrial, at about 5.45 am.

A man, who disembarked from another taxi, approached him, produced a 9 mm firearm and opened fire, hitting the Vosloorus man in the chest, back and abdomen.

He died on the scene.

The gunman then fled on foot.

The motive for the murder is unknown.

The Citizen

06-08-92

New names

HERE we go:

The ANC has renamed Port Elizabeth's HF Verwoerd Airport the Matthew Goniwe Airport.

Goniwe and three other activists from Cradock, in the Eastern Cape, died in 1985 in mysterious circumstances.

It was recently claimed that they were assassinated by members of the security forces.

SACP secretary-general, Chris Hani, said the process of renaming state infrastructure would continue "until we regain our dignity".

If Zimbabwe is anything to go by, towns and cities will be renamed if the ANC becomes the government. South Africa itself will not only have a new name, but a new flag and anthem.

What a thought!

The Citizen

06-08-92

ANC man in court on traffic charges

Court Reporter

SHORTLY before delivering a lunch-hour address at John Vorster Square as part of the mass action campaign, ANC National Executive Committee member, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa appeared briefly in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Mr Moosa had been arrested in offices in Plein Street on Tuesday after-

noon on charges relating to traffic violations, and was later released on bail.

A condition of the bail granted at John Vorster Square Police Station was that he appear in court yesterday.

Mr Moosa appeared before Mr D van der Walt.

The prosecutor, Mr N S Kobeli did not ask Mr Moosa to plead to the five charges.

The magistrate postponed the case to August 26.

According to court documents, two of the traffic summonses were issued to Mr Moosa in his personal capacity.

The other three charges relate to tickets which were issued to the African Scholarship fund.

Mr Moosa appeared as a representative of the organisation.

The Citizen 06-08-92

Transkei's budget climbs to R5,2-bn

UMTATA. — Transkei Finance Minister Rodney Keswa yesterday outlined a R5,239 billion budget for the homeland.

Total expenditure of R5,2 billion represented a 30 percent increase on the estimate of actual expenditure for the last financial year.

Brigadier Keswa noted last year's actual expenditure of R4,016 billion was less than the budgeted expenditure of R4,128 billion.

He said total revenue was projected to increase from the revised estimate of R,123 billion in 1991/92 to R3,504 billion in 1992/3, an increase of 12 percent.

The South African Government's budget support and transfer figure increased by 11 percent over the previous year to R2,724 billion for the 1992/93 financial year.

Brig Keswa said this represented an average annual increase of 33 percent from the South African

Government since the introduction of the Transkei Structural Adjustment Committee arrangement in 1986.

The homeland is left with a R1,735 billion deficit which is to be funded for by means of four items, Brig Keswa said.

An overdraft facility to a maximum of R1,592 billion was arranged with the backing of the South African Government, of this R66 million is to be made available through project-linked loan funding from the South African Reserve Bank and the Development Bank of Southern Africa, R17 million would be received from the South African Government's drought relief and oil reserve funds and lastly, there is an opening balance of R60 million.

Brig Keswa said priority would be given in the future to reducing the reliance on overdraft facilities according to the terms of the recently concluded structural adjustment agreement with the South African Government.

He said Transkei's own revenue was projected to increase by 16 percent in this financial year to R780 million.

Transkei Government revenues were being helped by the receipts from the ten percent Value-added Tax (VAT) introduced in the homeland on September 30, 1991.

The largest single vote of R1,214 billion goes to the Finance Department, representing 23 percent of the total budget. — Sapa.

The Citizen 06-08-92

SAP will respond

THE police would respond to the Waddington report on the Boipatong massacre within the next few days, the chairman of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, said yesterday.

Addressing the committee which yesterday began hearing evidence on the massacre, Judge Goldstone said a decision on whether a public inquiry should flow from the report would be made after the police had given its response.

— Sapa.

The Citizen 06-08-92

SAP were warned before Boipatong attack: Claim

POLICE received at least two warnings prior to the attack on Boipatong township residents, which claimed more than 40 lives on June 17, the Goldstone Commission committee hearing evidence on the incident heard yesterday.

According to a memorandum of events submitted by the African National Congress' counsel to the committee, Mr Arthur Chaskelson, a petrol attendant at a filling station between Boipatong and the KwaMadala Hostel, alleged to be the springboard of the attack, had seen groups of armed men crossing the main road between the hostel and the township.

Mr Meshak Theoane then rang the alarm at the filling station which is connected via a security firm to the Vanderbijlpark SAP.

According to the memorandum the police ar-

rived shortly afterwards.

"He (Mr Theoane) explained there was a group of armed men entering the township from Kwa-Madala, but they seemed uninterested in this information and left the area," said the memorandum.

Another pair of policemen summoned by security personnel then arrived at the filling station and took Mr Theoane and a resident security guard away from the area. By this time shots and the sound of looting could be heard from the township.

Mr Theoane told the commission while giving evidence he had speculated at the time that the police were removing him from the scene because he might be "seeing to much".

He was dismissed from his job two days later and had fled his home on June 25 because he feared the

police. He claimed they had arrived at his home with their guns in their hands.

Mr P Hattingh, counsel for the SA Police, put it to Mr Theoane that the police had only wished to obtain a statement from him on the events of June 17. Mr Theoane said the police had shown signs of aggression.

He also submitted evidence to the effect that two armoured vehicles he identified as Hippos had been parked in the area at the time the armed men were crossing the road but had done nothing to address the situation.

The chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who is assisted by Mr D J Rossouw, Mr M Sithole and the visiting former Chief Justice of India, Mr P N Bhagwati, said yesterday he wanted the committee

to initially concentrate on allegations of security force involvement in the massacre.

This was the most important issue as it was relevant to the national and international reputation of the SA Defence Force and SA Police.

It was also not possible for the committee to consider how a recurrence of the massacre could be prevented if the role of the security forces had not been ascertained.

The committee is also charged with identifying those responsible for the massacre, the role played by the SADF and the SAP before, during and after the attack, and steps which could be taken to prevent the recurrence of such an incident.

The ANC's counsel also charged that the Rev Paul Verryn had reported to the police that he had received warnings from residents in Sebokeng that there would be violence in the Vaal on June 17. — Sapa.

The Citizen 06-08-92

Man killed in army shootout in Vosloorus

A MAN was shot and killed by soldiers on patrol in the East Rand Vosloorus township on Tuesday night, a Witwatersrand Command spokesman disclosed yesterday.

A Defence Force patrol was investigating a suspect vehicle when one of the occupants drew a firearm and was killed in the subsequent shooting.

The deceased was Mr Phillip Montubhelo, the army said.

A pistol, with the number filed off, was found on the scene. Another person was arrested in

connection with the incident.

Attacked

In six separate incidents army patrols came under attack in Alexandra, north-west of Johannesburg on Tuesday and yesterday.

"During one of these attacks on Wednesday the SADF patrol returned fire and a number of 7,62 mm spent cartridges and traces of blood were found on the scene," Witwatersrand Command said. — Sapa.

Cars, shops damaged as Cape demos rampage

Citizen Reporter

CAPE TOWN. -- Chaos erupted and serious damage was caused to 21 police and private vehicles at the Western Cape regional police headquarters in the city centre yesterday, when about 1 000 Black youths went on the rampage in yesterday's climax to the ANC's mass action campaign.

Tyres were slashed, aerials were broken and vehicles were vandalised about 3 pm, after members of the ANC Youth League first staged a sit-in at the offices of the Home Affairs Department, and then presented a petition to the Manpower Department, the latter in the same building as the police headquarters.

The incident happened after an estimated 20 000 protesters had marched on the office of the Receiver of Revenue yester-

day, in what is believed to have been the biggest turnout of marchers since the release from prison two years ago of African National Congress president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Late yesterday, when the march had ended, the municipality's acting City Administrator, Mr Alan Dolby, expressed relief.

The day before, he had reluctantly granted permission for a procession, which started in Langa, to march along the N2 and Eastern Boulevard freeway, warning, however, that marching along national roads and freeways was inappropriate and that his permission should not be construed as a precedent.

However, as the march proceeded 10 km from Langa to the Grand Parade in the central city, the protesters violated an important condition -- that

they only use the incoming lanes.

Mr Dolby told The Citizen: "The only reason we were reluctant to grant permission for the march was that it involved a national road and a freeway.

"The march itself went ahead without any major problems, except that the marchers took over both the incoming and outgoing lanes, causing us to close off traffic in both directions for about two hours.

"Another problem was that the march started about two hours late, which threw us all out with our arrangements.

"I'm relieved that it's all over -- there was a hell of a crowd, certainly the biggest since the release of Mr Mandela.

• After the march in Cape Town, a man was arrested for allegedly seriously damaging a police vehicle at the Cape Town

railway station, police reported last night.

In the course of the arrest, another policeman's rank striped were ripped off and, in an incident at the Cape Town Magistrates' Court, the water cannon of a police vehicle was broken off.

The display windows of two clothing shops -- Markhams in Adderley Street and King Kong in Plein Street -- were broken when objects were thrown at them by protesters; a pregnant Black woman was assaulted, and two Coloured women were assaulted and robbed on the trains as the protesters made their way home.

In another incident, a Black police assistant was slightly wounded when a stone was thrown at him at the Bonteheuwel railway station, hitting him on the neck.

The Citizen
06-08-01

The Citizen 06-08-92

Dbn thousands disrupt traffic, 'occupy' GPO

DURBAN — Several thousand supporters of the African National Congress, South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions took to the streets of central Durban yesterday to "occupy" the central post office, and attempt a sit-in at a West Street store.

The scene was one of near chaos at one stage

with at least three large groups of toyi-toying marchers in different areas around the city hall.

About 1 000 people marched through the post office, climbing in and out of windows and spilling into the busy streets outside, to the annoyance of commuters.

Police readied themselves when protesters spilled onto the streets, blocking traffic in a choked Gardiner Street.

Riot police took up batons, helmets and teargas canisters, but a lieutenant in charge told reporters they would take action only if protesters began damaging property or

looting.

The crowd, taunting police with slogans such as "hit the police", finally moved off to join another large group attempting to occupy Game Discount Stores in West Street.

Earlier, several hundred protesters gathered at the city hall and plans to occupy several major retailers and banks were shelved because of the small crowd.

Organisers decided to march to the House of Delegates and as they moved off, busloads of supporters arrived and hundreds of onlookers joined the march, swelling the crowd to between 3 000 and 5 000.

The Natal Mercury 6-08-92

FW 'wants negotiations resumed'

JOHANNESBURG—After the biggest show of opposition power yet, President de Klerk stood outside the Union Buildings to say he was willing to resume negotiations immediately with the ANC.

He spoke after at least 70 000 demonstrators had gathered in the Union Buildings gardens and resoundingly cheered ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Yesterday's mass action marches, also brought Cape Town to a halt.

Bloemfontein, Johannes-

burg and Port Elizabeth were affected to a lesser extent.

In Cape Town, more than 50 000 ANC supporters flocked to the city centre, clogging streets, lighting a freedom flame and demanding an end to taxation without the vote.

Earlier, 12 000 marchers closed the N2 freeway when they walked from Langa to the city in a symbolic re-enactment of the 1960 anti-pass protest. There were also mass incursions from Bellville and Wynberg.

After watching the lighting of a "freedom flame", the marchers filed towards Receiver of Revenue offices, then to Parliament.

In Pretoria almost the entire ANC national executive listened along with the marchers to Mr Mandela's call for the Government to heed ANC demands for an interim government, constituent assembly and constructive steps for an end to violence.

He said the Government's response to the demands

would determine the form of the peace and democracy campaign.

Pretoria police spokesman Major Andrew Lesch said no serious incidents had been reported during the march.

"On the whole we would like to thank the people for their behaviour during the march."

● The ANC yesterday vowed to make Ciskei "un-governable while Brig Oupa Gqozo remains in power".

'Low key' lunch-hour demonstrations expected

THE mass action campaign in Natal is expected to be low-key today and tomorrow with mainly lunch-hour demonstrations outside the City Hall and at factories.

Mr Sbu Ndebele, ANC's southern Natal regional secretary, said last night that student assemblies would be held at the campuses of the University of Durban-Westville and the University of Natal today.

Demonstrations were planned today at the Francis

Mercury Reporter

Farewell Square renamed by the ANC as "Albert Luthuli Square" at lunch-time and at factories also during the lunch break.

The campaign will culminate with a "very big march" in Durban on Saturday in which people from Inanda, Kwa Mashu, Umlazi and the greater Durban area would join in the march from the Cathedral in Queen Street to the "Albert Luthuli Square".

Mass action fears cause city shutdown

NATAL Mercury 6-08-92

BUSINESS and industry in Durban shut down yesterday amid fears of occupation of business premises by ANC members and rumours that the city would be sealed off by roadblocks.

During a march by several thousand people in West Street, a large group occupied the main banking hall of the Central Post Office while some protesters caused havoc by jumping over the counters.

In Queen Street, a bus was reportedly hijacked by a group of men about 4pm, according to police. No further details were available last night.

Scores of businesses — as well as schools — closed early in the Greater Durban area after fears were expressed about the city being cut-off by roadblocks at all major exit and entry points. Once again commerce and industry suffered trade and production losses.

Rumours of the roadblocks were circulated by a fax which was sent to businesses in Durban. The fax gave details — allegedly supplied by the SAP — of businesses

**Report by Siza Ntshakala,
Simon Zwane, Tania
Broughton, Patrick Leeman,
Kevin O'Grady and
Veven Bissetty**

which were to be occupied and roads which were to be blocked.

However, police through Radio Port Natal urged people to ignore the rumours.

Police spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo said the police were unaware of where the fax had come from and said they would look into the matter.

In Empangeni, 95 members of the ANC were arrested and released a short while later after they allegedly tried to hijack a bus, but were later released by police.

Demonstrations and pickets took place peacefully in both Empangeni and Richards Bay.

The ANC's southern Natal region campaign co-ordinator Bheki Cele said: "It was never in our programme to block roads."

Durban Regional Chamber of Business spokesman Basil Smith said the fax had caused people to react in an "exaggerated manner".

He said the chamber had assurances from the ANC and Cosatu that the mass action would be peaceful and disciplined, which it had been.

The CBD came to a standstill — with almost all businesses in West and Smith Streets closing their doors — when several thousand ANC members took to the streets at lunchtime.

The marchers gathered at Francis Farewell Square and proceeded to House of Delegates headquarters, Truro House, on the Esplanade.

The glass doors were bolted and guarded by members of the SAP.

The marchers gathered on the steps where ANC regional secretary S'bu Ndebele reiterated that from now on ANC members would carry cultural weapons.

"We have no choice until everybody is prevented from carrying weapons," he said.

The group then marched to Game in West Street while another large group occupied the central Post Office.

At Game, doors were locked by management and the SAP and ANC marshalls formed a human wall to guard against any damage.

At the post office, marchers occupied the banking hall for about 15 minutes.

Col Johan van Wyk of the SAP told reporters that the marchers had stolen money and "looted the post office".

At various times, the marchers sat down, blocking the city's main streets.

There were also a few tense moments when police in riot gear looked set to take action — once when the tyres of a police vehicle were deflated — but ANC marshalls intervened.

At the end of the march, United Nations representative Bert Ramcharan addressed the crowd "as a gesture of goodwill".

Businesses which closed early cited "mass action and trouble" for their decision.

A day of demonstrations



LEFT: ANC supporters make their way to the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday to demand a multi-racial government. The march, and similar marches held in all of the country's capital cities, followed a two-day strike observed by millions of black workers this week. — (AP)

RIGHT: A marcher displays a poster mocking Kwa Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi during the ANC organised march in Durban yesterday.



A day of demonstrations



LEFT:
ANC supporters make their way to the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday to demand a multi-racial government. The march, and similar marches held in all of the country's capital cities, followed a two-day strike observed by millions of black workers this week. — (AP)

RIGHT: A marcher displays a poster mocking Kwa Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi during the ANC organised march in Durban yesterday.



Warnings of bloodshed as troops mass ahead of ANC march

SHOWDOWN OVER CISCHEI

By BILL KRIGE

A MAJOR test of strength between the ANC and the government loomed yesterday as ANC activists sought to mobilise support for tomorrow's march on the Ciskei capital of Bisho amid warnings of bloodshed.

As tension rose in the area, the SA government declared a state of emergency in the 207km "white corridor" which separates Transkei and Ciskei.

Police — including members of the crack Task Force — and SA Defence Force reinforcements have been deployed from East London to Queenstown, and helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft have gone to the region.

Anxious MPs in the area condemned the ANC's march as "confrontational".

Roadblocks

"I have a nasty feeling about this one," said Mr Keith Matthe, former Ciskei Minister of Justice, who lives in King William's Town.

Earlier the SA Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Krüger, declared the magisterial districts of East London, King William's Town, Stutterheim, Cathcart and Queenstown unrest areas.

"The security forces have taken the necessary measures aimed at preventing violence and are ready to deal with any situation which may arise in the affected areas," Mr Krüger said. "No activity which could result in loss of life, injury or damage to property will be tolerated."

The measures — including roadblocks, special patrols and aerial reconnaissance — were introduced as the ANC geared up for what it hopes will be a massive demonstration against the Ciskei capital led by SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani.

The march — in which the ANC hopes 100 000 people will take part — comes barely a month after frantic diplomatic activity orchestrated by Foreign Minister Pik Botha averted clashes between 50 000 demonstrators and Ciskei security forces.

Blame

A member of the ANC national executive committee, Mr Raymond Suttner, said on Friday night that top officials of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance had been "going from village to factory to mobilise marchers."

He said that if there was "a bloodbath" the blame would have to be borne by President De Klerk, as the government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was without support.

The ANC has appealed to all Ciskei civil servants and members of the security forces to disobey orders and to join the march by "freedom-loving people".

A memorandum from the ANC alliance which was submitted to the SA government on Thursday proposed the ousting of Brigadier Gqozo's administration and its replacement by one formed in consultation with all representative organisations.

The memorandum also called for the repeal of Ciskei security legislation and the

withdrawal of South African military officers, who were the "masterminds behind the current violence and instability".

Yesterday Brigadier Gqozo made an urgent appeal to the National Peace Committee to adjudicate activities of the ANC alliance on the ground that it was in conflict with the Peace Accord.

The Ciskei government

□ To Page 2

① Sun Times 6/9/92

B 11 Day 06-08-92

Thousands take to the streets in mass protest

RAY HARTLEY

AT LEAST 200 000 people took part in marches and demonstrations linked to the ANC's mass action campaign and a further 10 people were reported killed in incidents countrywide yesterday.

Cosatu and the ANC claimed those taking part totalled 400 000.

Only one of the deaths was directly linked to the protests. A protester in Cape Town died after falling from a train.

Yesterday's deaths brought to 52 the number of deaths in unrest this week.

A joint Cosatu/ANC statement yesterday said more than 40 rallies, marches, occupations of government buildings and cities took place nationwide.

The biggest marches yesterday took place in Pretoria, where an estimated 70 000 people were led by ANC president Nelson Mandela to the Union Buildings, and in Cape Town, where at least 15 000 people marched into the city centre.

Businesses in Durban virtually shut down yesterday amid fears of occupation of premises and rumours of roadblocks.

More than 15 000 ANC supporters poured into central Cape Town, clogging streets. They lit a freedom flame and demanded an end to taxation without the vote.

In Johannesburg's city centre 12 buses were abandoned, obstructing traffic. About 1 000 people also marched on John Vorster Square, demanding an end to police killing.

Other marches and demonstrations took place in East London, Port Elizabeth, Maritzburg, Grahamstown, Bloemfontein, Bultfontein and Worcester.

Addressing protesters in East London, ANC regional executive member Chippy Oliver vowed to make Ciskei ungovernable while Brig Oupa Gqozo remained in power.

Police last night confirmed at least 600 protesters had been arrested, but the ANC put the figure at more than 850. The ANC said 250 people were arrested in Witbank yesterday, but the police denied this.

In Pietersburg, 209 marchers were arrested. In Botshabelo, Bloemfontein, 58 people were arrested for picketing. Fifty-four people were arrested when traffic police stopped a hijacked truck loaded with ANC supporters going to Pretoria.

B/Dag ab-058-92(2)

Talks

recommitted the ANC to negotiations. "I look forward to the day when Mr Mandela will once again see me in my office, as he has done often. He needn't speak to me from the lower part of the Union Buildings," he said.

"Let us go, even to the bush, for two full days and have a fundamental discussion."

Asked whether negotiations would resume soon, De Klerk said: "I am confident that negotiations will be resumed. I am prepared to sit down tomorrow."

The ANC's allegations that government needed to be pressed into accepting full democracy was false, he said.

Commenting on the alliance's marches yesterday, he said government appreciated the ANC's efforts to ensure that the mass action campaign was conducted

peacefully.

On the role of the international community in resolving violence, De Klerk said that the question could not be solved from overseas.

Government had agreed a long time ago that there had to be a transitional government of national unity. "There is no fundamental difference of opinion between us."

The legislation planned for the October session of Parliament would be "basic legislation", aimed at assisting progress in the negotiations process. The legislation would not be unilaterally decided on, said De Klerk. Government was not working on a "go it alone" strategy, he stressed.

● Picture: Page 3

● See Page 6

☐ From Page 1

B/Day a-08-92(1)

ANC leader 'happy to heal wounds'

Mandela, FW raise hopes about talks

TIM COHEN and
PATRICK BULGER

PRETORIA — At the end of a 70 000-strong ANC march to the Union Buildings yesterday, both President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela fuelled expectations of a speedy return to negotiations.

De Klerk, speaking on the steps of the Union Buildings after the crowd had dispersed, confirmed that "certain discussions" had taken place in the past five days between government and the ANC on specific issues. "We need to broaden discussions to other issues," De Klerk said.

Mandela, speaking to reporters after his address to the crowd, said he did not want to say in public whether government and the ANC had been talking but said certain issues were best dealt with in private.

Mandela struck a conciliatory note in his speech. He went out of his way not to score political points from the success of the mass action programme. He said he was happy to heal the wounds that had been opened by the conflict between government and the ANC in recent weeks.

The march was peaceful and characterised by a carnival atmosphere, complete with drum majorettes and a band. It ended in the gardens of the Union Buildings.

Inside, De Klerk was chairing a Cabinet meeting. Outside, Mandela spoke under an ANC flag.

Later, De Klerk invited the ANC to a two-day "session in the bush" to resolve remaining differences. He said legislation on issues relevant to negotiations and agreed to by all players, would be introduced during the October parliamentary session.

Mandela said government would have to

meet the ANC's demands before negotiations could resume. He listed these as an acceptance of a constituent assembly, an interim government of national unity and steps to end the violence.

He said the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance was not trying to score political points, and the government should not do so either.

"We have not come here to gloat. We are here to take SA along the road to peace and democracy. If the government of the day responds in this same spirit, our action will have been the best thing that could have happened for the negotiations process.

"It should now be clear to all that an interim government of national unity has to be linked to a vision which ensures that our entire people will have a direct say in the drafting and adoption of a constitution which embodies democracy.

"It is time for the government to abandon the path that it has been following. While pursuing negotiations, it simultaneously sought to weaken the ANC and the democratic forces.

"What happens next, and what form the campaign for peace and democracy takes, depends on how the government responds to our demands which address the crucial obstacles in the path of negotiations," Mandela said.

De Klerk said he had noted that Mandela had said in this speech that the day of mass action had struck a blow for democracy. "We need not to strike blows, we need to strike bargains," he said.

He was glad to see that Mandela had

□ To Page 2

B/Day 06-08-92

ANC says Koevoet still operating

THE ANC said yesterday the organisation was unconvinced that the inclusion of Koevoet and 31 and 32 Battalions within other security force units would address the problems surrounding their operations.

"We reiterate our demand that these units be disarmed and disbanded," it said.

It asked for the names and ranks of all officers of the battalions. The ANC also requested that details of where they were to be deployed be made public so their actions could be monitored.

Police this week denied reports in the media that the Investigation Support Service Unit, formerly Koevoet, was still operating. They said they were investigating ANC claims of continued Koevoet police action in the southeastern Transvaal.

The probe was to be headed by Brig Floris Mostert, who was in charge of the specialised SAP units which were supported by former Koevoet members.

Business Day Reporter

Yesterday's statement also denied ANC allegations that residents of Driefontein were intimidated by unit members.

It said on August 1 the president of the local ANC branch and other leaders in the Driefontein area were told of a police crime prevention operation in their area.

Mostert, in his investigation, had found that no incidents of police misconduct were reported during the operation.

The statement said components and sections of the unit had been disbanded and individual members transferred to police stations on a decentralised basis. At police stations they were employed in groups of five or less.

A training syllabus was being compiled and until the course began, the members would receive in-service training, it said.

B/Day 06-08-92

2 BUSINESS DAY
**Showdown
looms for
CP today**

BILLY PADDOCK

THE showdown in the CP between the five prominent "new right" members and the old guard takes place today, when the five meet to decide whether they will resign.

Bethal MP Chris de Jager said yesterday the five would have talks with the Transvaal executive.

"If the party does not shift its policy closer to where we stand, then we must decide whether to abide by the party line or do the honourable thing and resign," he said.

The other four are Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Free State leader Cehill Pienaar, Rosier de Ville (Standerton) and Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, who brought the imminent split in the party to a head at the weekend by calling for talks to negotiate a smaller Afrikaner homeland.

The old guard, led by CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenburg, is calling for the five to be expelled.

Attempts this week by leader Andries Treurnicht to reconcile the two factions are understood to have failed.

Boipatong 06-08-92

f, Thursday, August 6 1992

Goldstone begins Boipatong inquiry

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE Goldstone commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre of June 16 heard yesterday that evidence would be presented during the next eight days claiming security forces in the area had facilitated the attack and that police had been negligent in their investigations.

Senior counsel for the ANC and the Vaal Council of Churches, Arthur Chaskelson, told the commission in his opening statement that a number of witnesses made reference to the participation of "white men" in the actual attacks on residents.

None of these men were identified as policemen, but there were numerous statements which confirmed the presence of security force vehicles in the area during the massacre and, in some cases, these vehicles were perceived as accompanying and possibly assisting the attackers.

"Despite numerous and persistent complaints and the presence of armoured vehicles in the township and nearby, none of the attackers was apprehended. The obvious suspects were allowed more than 16 hours to cover their tracks before police entered the hostel," he said.

The ANC's first witness, Meshack Theoane, a petrol attendant at a filling station on Frikkie Meyer Boulevard, testified that he had alerted police when he saw armed men crossing the road towards Boipatong. Two policemen arrived shortly afterwards, but appeared disinterested in

his report and left the area.

A security guard with him at the filling station then radioed his employers. Two white security guards arrived, and said they had been told by police to take them away because it was not safe.

Counsel for the SAP Flip Hattingh denied police had participated in or facilitated the attack, and added that any allegation that they had been forewarned about the attack would be denied. He admitted several policemen had been in the area on the evening of June 16, but said they had not been in Boipatong at any stage during the attack.

Anton Mostert, representing the SADF, said the only SADF members in the township at the time of the attack were members of the Vaal Commando.

He said members had seen large numbers of people moving towards the Kwa-Madala hostel and had concluded that it was the hostel which was under attack. They tried to locate the group but failed.

Addressing the committee which began hearing evidence on the massacre, inquiry chairman Judge Richard Goldstone said the police would respond to the Waddington report on the Boipatong massacre within the next few days.

Goldstone said a decision on whether a public inquiry should flow from the report would be made after the police had released its response.

B // Dano
06-08-92

We must measure up to our responsibilities

WHAT makes 4-million workers stay away from work, forgo their wages in the midst of rampant unemployment, poverty and when fear stalks their lives in the townships? A sacrifice of such immense magnitude by the most downtrodden sections of our people, who have acted in the name of peace and democracy, requires an answer that measures up to the responsibility that this places on our shoulders.

Let us congratulate the people for the disciplined and peaceful way in which they have conducted the general strike. That is why it succeeded. They did not allow themselves to be intimidated by government. Nor did they allow themselves to be misled by the barrage of misinformation and false propaganda.

Nothing can detract from the fact that this general strike was peaceful. Those who still cling to the idea that the success of this mass action was based on intimidation do themselves an injustice.

Because this could only be true if they believed that the ANC and its allies have the power to intimidate so many millions of people.

Let us congratulate all those employers, big and small, who responded to the call for peace and democra-

cy, who closed their enterprises, and who committed themselves not to victimise their employees for staying away from work. They aligned themselves with the forces of democracy at great sacrifice. We say this advisedly because we know that they have to survive in an economy which is stagnating because of decades of apartheid rule, mismanagement and corruption.

The success of the general strike is also due to the way in which all the structures of the alliance persevered with the formidable task of organising it.

We congratulate the international community for rallying to our cause. The presence of the small UN monitoring force played no small role in ensuring that the right of people to engage in mass action was realised in practice.

This is not a victory for the ANC or Cosatu or the SACP. It is a victory for the people of SA. It is a victory for peace and democracy. All South Africans, black and white, want peace, economic stability and a happy future for their children.

The ANC and its allies, in embarking on mass action, did not act in order to score points for our organisations. The objectives behind the

NELSON MANDELA

mass action are too serious to allow anyone to play party politics with the future of our people and the country.

It is in this spirit that we are all obliged to see the period ahead. We have not come here to gloat. If the government of the day responds in this same spirit, our action will have been the best thing that could have happened for the negotiation process.

It should now be clear to all that an interim government of national unity is an urgent and critical step to take our country forward. Such a government can be based only on the political realities which reflect the sentiments of all citizens.

The creation of an interim government of national unity has to be linked to a vision which ensures that our entire people will have a direct say in the drafting and adoption of a constitution which embodies democracy. This means that there must be a commitment to a sovereign,



□ MANDELA

democratically elected constituent assembly.

It is critical that practical steps are taken by government to curb the violence which is ravaging the lives

of people in the townships. These three categories of demands constitute the 14 we have made to government. Unless they are met satisfactorily, by government, negotiations cannot be resumed.

It is time for government to abandon the path that it has been following. While pursuing negotiations, it simultaneously sought to weaken the ANC. Along this direction it also sought to build alliances with all sorts of dubious political formations in the hope that this would add to the process of weakening the ANC. This has been one of the gravest mistakes it committed in the current period. The time has arrived for it to abandon this path.

What happens next, and what form the campaign for peace and democracy takes, depends on how government responds to our demands which address the crucial obstacles in the path of negotiations. History will not forgive any of us if the search for face-saving formulae prevents us from finding the correct responses which allow negotiations to be resumed and to be successful.

□ This is an edited version of Mandela's speech at the Union Buildings yesterday.

2

BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, August 5 1992

Second day of violence pushes strike toll to 42

AT least 20 people were found dead in various parts of the country yesterday, bringing to 42 the total number killed since the start of the general strike two days ago.

These included 10 people killed along the Natal coast, five in Alexandra township on the Reef and two in the Cape. Three people were killed and three injured when hostel-dwellers allegedly fired on a funeral in Ratanda, east of Johannesburg.

Police said that by late yesterday they had arrested 30 people in 65 incidents of violence countrywide.

Incidents in the Transvaal included a confrontation in Krugersdorp.

UN monitoring mission head Hisham Omayad helped defuse a potential clash between 40 armed AWB members and about 5 000 ANC supporters in the town.

Omayad said the AWB members had tried to prevent a march by the demonstrators. He said the UN had got a commitment of co-operation from the AWB supporters.

Local Government Minister Leon Wessels made an impassioned plea to the ANC supporters marching in Krugersdorp rather to negotiate at local and national level.

Business Day Reporters

"Just as Mr Mandela, Mr Ramaphosa, Mr Naidoo, Mr Hani and yourselves cannot change ANC policy unilaterally, I am not in a position to change government and NP policy by myself," he said, after receiving a memorandum from the marchers.

In Johannesburg yesterday ANC marshals had to intervene to keep protesters on Louis Botha Avenue from looting a butchery.

And Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto was yesterday blockaded by burning tyres. A crowd of about 2 500 people, including dismissed hospital workers, held a protest at the entrance to the hospital.

Police said that three of the dead in Alexandra were burnt and the other two shot.

Reports from Natal included an alleged attempted assassination of ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala. Gwala escaped injury when his car was shot at during a mass action march in Edendale, Maritzburg.

Sapa reports that four alleged members of township self-defence units were arrested by Maritzburg police in connection with seven mur-

ders, including the deaths of three policemen.

Two of the Natal victims died in gunfire when police were ambushed near Tongaat. One policeman was wounded in the attack.

Also in Natal, 40 Putco buses taking commuters to work were damaged by stone-throwers.

In the eastern Cape, nine people were arrested after the homes of two assistant police constables were burnt by a mob near Beaufort West.

In Ciskei, local security forces clashed with protesters in Mdan-tane, near East London, after shops were set alight.

And in Transkei, at midday yesterday police reportedly dispersed ANC demonstrators at the Wild Coast Sun bridge leading into the homeland from Natal.

On Monday more than 250 demonstrators had blocked road access to and from Transkei, isolating the casino resort.

An ANC roadblock on the road between Umtata and Port St Johns had also been removed, but access roads out of Umtata were still manned by groups of about 10 people bearing ANC insignia. They stopped vehicles to ask the occupants where they were headed.

COMMENT

Cold dawn

BARRING unforeseen circumstances, and assuming Cyrus Vance and Herman Cohen have not misunderstood Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk, it seems we are about to emerge from the crisis which began with the Codesa II deadlock. Through the two visitors' informal mediation and the passing on of some home truths, the parameters of the return to negotiations are slowly emerging.

Cohen has intimated that government will soon have done enough on the issue of violence to bring the ANC back to the table. Both parties appear to recognise the need for the urgent establishment of an interim government — and on terms which allow the ANC to overcome its fears of being locked into an "interim" constitution which would guarantee for eternity a National Party veto over a hypothetical majority-elected ANC government.

The terms for the election and operation of a constitution-making body are less clear. However, that could become less contentious if the NP has begun to understand better the basics of Western democracy, pithily spelt out by Cohen when he argued against "complex arrangements intended to guarantee a share of power to particular groups which will frustrate governance. Minorities have the right to safeguards; they cannot expect a veto."

Acceptance of this would represent a sea change for the NP, but it would also leave the door open for a federal system — though one not

coloured by racial and ethnic considerations as the pre-Codesa II NP view implicitly was.

That negotiations had to resume sooner or later was clear. The only questions were when and after how much more pain and suffering. The titanic test of strength — for that, in essence, is what it has been — predictably ran out of control. It cost much more than even the hundreds of lives and hundreds of millions of rands in lost production that can be counted. The costs include all the "might have been" investment projects, local and foreign, that will be scrapped or, at best, delayed until those investors can be assured that the future South Africa will not simply lurch from one crisis to the next.

Before they set off a similar chain of events in future, perhaps the country's political leadership will bear in mind the potential costs. In similar circumstances the ANC could be less impatient and make more use of the power of persuasion before putting its people onto the streets. The NP, though, emerges from the whole affair with the least credit. Its greed for an improved deal was, ultimately, the cause of the Codesa deadlock. Disclosures and commission reports on government's handling of the violence have discredited it badly. And only now is it seemingly willing to accept basic democratic principles.

Had it dealt with the violence more determinedly and sooner, and had it accepted these political principles back in May, the nightmare of the past three months could have been avoided.

Confidence measures

TAKING the measure of confidence in South Africa's future generally involves subjectivity. Objective yardsticks are less frequently available and, consequently, should be more striking when they appear.

Latest is the mid-year report from banking group Stanbic which disclosed it had added virtually nothing to its loans to business or consumer borrowers. Loan increases were solely to home buyers, and that was despite regular rumblings about bond boycotts.

Presumably other banks which report as candidly as Stanbic will be telling similar stories. If they do, businessmen, politicians and economic planners will need to do some hard thinking. Businesses are

not borrowing to create new productive capacity. And, judging from Stanbic's interim lending pattern and its reduced provisions for bad debts, banks are not indiscriminately seeking commercial lending opportunities.

It is far from certain that an easing of the recession will increase credit demand. Most businesses would prefer to use up slack capacity before committing themselves to debt-financed expansions. And it is far from certain that a freeing of our political logjam will have an immediately tangible effect on real business confidence.

The message to organisers of stayaways, to strikers, bond boycotters, intimidators and political point-scorers is clear.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Cut it out

OKAY, Mr Mandela, so you have made a point.

Seventy thousand of your supporters mustered at the Union Buildings to listen to you.

Fifty thousand marched into Cape Town.

Several thousand took to the streets of central Durban.

About 2 000 marched through Johannesburg's city centre.

In other towns and cities similar marches and gatherings took place.

The point you made, we suppose, is that you can get thousands of people to demonstrate on behalf of the ANC, though you will claim that they are demonstrating for democracy.

So what?

In total your demonstrators represent a fraction of the country's population.

If the Whites were aroused to demonstrate — and who knows, one day they might be — they would pour into city centres in even greater numbers.

The point simply is that the country cannot achieve any true settlement if one of the major parties tries to establish its support by staging mass actions that disrupt the life of people in city centres or business districts.

Okay, Mr Mandela.

You have a bunch of United Nations monitors who will see that you can carry out your protests without the security forces acting toughly if the demonstrators break the law.

But these tame UN monitors, who try to intervene if they can, are not important.

Indeed, as events in Yugoslavia have shown, UN peacekeeping forces or monitors are incapable of keeping warring groups apart.

You are lucky that the government has decided to allow the ANC and its affiliates to do very much as they please.

But we don't know whether its patience or the patience of the public will last for ever.

The ANC is treading a fine line between protest and insurrection, between legal demonstration and open revolt, between peaceful action and violence.

Ah yes, Mr Mandela, you may be trying to project an image of a moderate leader who is striving to bring about democracy in South Africa, but in White eyes there is a growing belief that you are a radical who has no concern for the consequences of his actions.

Quite frankly, the more the ANC stages mass action, the more Whites are convinced that if it comes to power the country will be in the hands of an uncaring, totally revolutionary organisation that will destroy the economy and make life hopeless for its White citizens.

Yes, if you go on with mass protest that disrupts the life of ordinary citizens, if you stage general strikes that harm the economy — and this week's two-day general strike cost at least R250 million — you will convince many

6-8-92

Whites that there is no future in this country.

The result will be an exodus of skills that will ruin the country.

So why are you doing it, Mr Mandela?

Are you not concerned about what Whites — and Coloureds and Indians, for that matter — are thinking?

Do you believe they don't matter?

Or are you going to wake up to the fact that the more mass action the ANC stages, the more White feelings are hardened against you?

We'll tell you this:

You cannot have peace if you stage dangerous sit-ins, marches and the occupation of business and city centres.

You cannot have White support if you further endanger the economy, which is already in shreds because of the sanctions you have insisted must be kept in force. Because the ANC is creating such uncertainty, business confidence is at its lowest ebb and foreign investors are trying to get out rather than send more money into the country.

You are going to have to resume negotiations, Mr Mandela, even if you insist that all the ANC's demands are met before you return to the negotiating table.

For the sake of the future, you and the ANC must stop creating havoc.

If you go on the way you are going, there will be a White backlash and heaven help the country then.

The Citizen 6-8-92

Linda, Gqozo: keep up good work

THE ANC/SACP/Cosatu mass action in Port Elizabeth on July 28 was a scare tactic aimed at those who do not support their Socialist/Communist policies.

They failed to convince or to make a stand at Codesa, so now they have decided to take their

Reward strike- breakers

ON the first day of the general strike, my domestic worker came to work despite the danger of doing so. I am very proud that she made this special effort and intend to reward her monetarily for doing so.

I believe that all the Blacks who worked during the general strike should be rewarded in a similar manner: Not only do they deserve to be rewarded for taking the risk, but it will give the average man-in-the-street Black the incentive to resist the intimidation of the ANC and its minions.

RG BENNETT

Bedfordview

propaganda into the streets in a ploy to fool the hungry, unemployed and uneducated people who always expect something good will come out of these mass demonstrations!

The appearance of the name of the former Mayor of Ibhayi, Mr Tamsanqa Linda, on the ANC/SACP/Cosatu placards, criticising him as being a puppet of Ciskei's Brigadier OJ Gqozo, smacks of mockery.

Mr Linda is a man of principle who will not be intimidated by political idiots and is prepared to die for what he believes in.

Mr Linda is entitled to choose whosoever he pleases to be his friend — it is his democratic right — and no organisation in any future "democratic" South Africa has the right to take this away from him or any other South African.

If Mr Linda is not a threat to the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, why do they worry about a "non-entity" such as him?

However, many of us understand matters more clearly now and it would seem that the ANC/SACP/Cosatu feel threat-

ened by the presence of Mr Linda and his relationship with the Ciskei leadership.

Brigadier Gqozo is a very popular person in the Ciskei and he has the respect of the moderate people in South Africa who do not believe in violence and stayaways and are against the destruction of the foundation that has already been laid.

Mr Linda and Brig Gqozo do not believe in the social welfare hand-out system espoused by the ANC, SACP and Cosatu.

To Tamsanqa Linda and Brig Gqozo I say, "Keep up the good work!"

THEMBANI
DLABEKA

Port Elizabeth

Arrogance

ON Sunday night's Agenda, the interview with Mr Mandela was cut short for the Olympic satellite link-up.

What bureaucratic arrogance to deny the public information on a grave issue, in favour of, by comparison, a trivial matter!

J LUBOWITZ

Johannesburg

The Citizen 6-8-92

'Unemployment could cause massacres'

CAPE TOWN. — The Boipatong massacre could become a virtually daily occurrence if the country continued to slide into deeper unemployment and poverty, Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut chief economist Mr Nick Barnadt said yesterday.

Speaking at the Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa (Fedhasa) congress in Cape Town, he said the number of unemployed would swell by nearly 500 000 within the next year.

He expected the business downswing to continue at least until the end of the year and possibly even into the early months of 1993.

"We have reached the point where the economic situation can be described as tantamount to a state of emergency. And emergency measures are required at least to stop the downward spiral in the system, to relieve poverty and to create a refuge of last resort for the unemployed."

The prospect of a continued downswing implied that the already high rate of business liquidations and closures, and of retrenchments and unemployment, would rise.

"After probably having risen by more than a million in the past three years, the total number of

unemployed is set to swell further by close on 500 000 within the next 12 months," Mr Barnadt said.

South Africa had already witnessed over the past two years the results of rapid political change in an ethnically divided society within the context of rising poverty and unemployment.

Further significant political changes would occur in the next year.

"But the prospect of this happening within the context of still higher unemployment and even deeper poverty, implies an acute risk of an accelerating slide into violence, crime and instability which could eventually threaten the very foundations of civil society.

"In these conditions the recent Boipatong tragedy could quite conceivably become virtually a daily occurrence in our country."

He said he trusted that this week's protests were the last attempt to use the economy as a battlefield between internal factions or between political groups. — Sapa.

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Strike: Workers were the losers

THE two-day strike called by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance has passed and though I am just an average citizen and not an expert on the matter, I think that what the alliance had in mind was not attained by them.

The main idea behind the strike was to bring down the government and then take control of the country. This they did not achieve.

The promise that there would not be any intimidation or violence was

also not adhered to and at the latest count more than 40 innocent people lost their lives while untold numbers were injured.

Admittedly there was a dent made to the country's economy, but certainly not to the extent forecast by the alliance.

The real financial losers were in the main the workers who lost two days' wages, while the likes of Jay Naidoo, Cyril Ramaphosa and the others in the alliance hierarchy did not have a cent

lost of their huge salaries.

I am employed by a comparatively small firm with a Black work force of 34. On Monday, five failed to come to work while on Tuesday only three absented themselves.

When I asked them why they actually stayed away from work, they all replied that it was more from fear than from conviction.

REPLAG

Johannesburg

THE CITIZEN 6-8-92

ANC, Cosatu in police HQ march

ABOUT a 1 000 ANC and Cosatu supporters yesterday marched to John Vorster Square police headquarters in Johannesburg to hand over a memorandum.

Some city traffic was disrupted during the lunch hour as the marchers, led by ANC's officials, Mr Amos Masondo and Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, and Cosatu official, Mr Thami Madliwa, danced and toy-toyed their way to the police headquarters.

In his address after a "communication breakdown with the police", Mr Masondo told marchers their delegation could not enter the police station to present their memorandum.

"A Major Els is trying to be impossible. He says we cannot hand in the memorandum because we are too many. He has refused ten comrades to go in," said Mr Masondo.

Minutes later a Colonel Calitz approached Mr Masondo and asked him

to disperse his people as they were holding an illegal gathering.

Mr Masondo replied: "We are not holding an illegal gathering as we have the permission to hold this march. All what we want is to be allowed to go in and hand in the memorandum."

The colonel then allow-

ed nine people, led by Mr Masondo, in to hand over the memorandum.

After a short while Mr Masondo emerged from the building and asked the crowd to march back to Cosatu's offices peacefully.

The crowd then marched away. — Sapa.

Pta march: ANC not in control, says govt

NUMEROUS breaches of the conditions set for yesterday's protest march through Pretoria occurred during the action, the office of deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers said.

The ANC was obviously not in control of the crowds and some participants were seen to be armed with AK-47 rifles, Mr Scheepers charged.

He said demonstrators did not keep to agreed routes, and broke up into various groups and marched through streets not

on the route agreed by the SAP and the ANC.

Several participants clothed in tattered Defence Force uniforms had been noticed armed with AK-47 rifles.

The fact that some of the protestors were armed was an extremely serious contravention of the agreements, he said.

In his statement Mr Scheepers alleged that:

- Many Black people had been pulled out of shops and forced to take part in the march;

- A national flag had

been pulled down at a public building and only the intervention of the police prevented the flag from being damaged;

- In Bloed Street, Pretoria Central, a window pane was broken, property looted and demonstrators walked over the roofs of parked cars; and

- Two-thirds of the passengers on a train disembarked at a railway station and marched through a residential area — in contravention of the conditions. — Sapa.

Flee Pretoria offices

home and get out of the city before the ANC march returned to Brown Street from the Union Buildings.

The march, which was due to start at 10 am but eventually left for the Union Building at 11.30 am, was marred by several incidents of damage to property, a case of looting and even ANC supporters running through the streets of Pretoria armed with AK-47's.

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Johan Scheepers, yesterday expressed the government's dissatisfaction with what he called numerous flagrant breaches of the conditions under which the protest march was allowed.

These breaches included direct intimidation by the crowd of Black shoppers who were pulled out of shops along the route and forced to take part in the march.

A national flag was pulled down at a public building and only the intervention of the police prevented the flag from being damaged.

In Bloed Street a window pane at a shop was broken and the shop looted while all along the route vehicles were damaged by marchers walking over the roofs of cars.

At a railway station two thirds of the Black passengers alighted from a train and marched through a residential area in contravention of the conditions.

Mr Scheepers said the ANC was obviously not in control of the crowds and demonstrators were not keeping to the agreed routes but were dividing into various groups and marching through other streets.

He said several ANC supporters had been seen to have been armed with AK-47 rifles and dressed in "tattered Defence Force uniforms".

The fact that some of the demonstrators had been armed was a serious contravention of the conditions and also occurred during the mass march in the Ciskei.

Mr Scheepers said these contraventions of the agreement was regretted by the government which viewed it in a serious light.

"It is clear that the ANC is not keeping to the conditions for the march to which it had agreed itself," he said.

The chairman of the management committee of the Pretoria City Council, Dr Pieter Smith, said the non-adherence of the conditions could affect future applications by the ANC to march in Pretoria.

He said the time agreed upon — between 10 am and 1 pm — was not adhered to and traffic could only return to normal at 4 pm yesterday afternoon.

The City Council was also not satisfied with the fact that groups had broken away from the route agreed upon and the fact that the marshals were not in control of the crowd.

"This will be kept in mind when future applications for marches are considered," he said.

There was some disagreement on exactly how many people attended yesterday's march.

The ANC estimated the crowd at about 200 000, the police at about 50 000 to 70 000 and the city council at between 35 000 and 40 000.

Experienced crowd estimators, however, yesterday agreed that while the size of the crowd was bigger than 50 000, the number did not exceed 60 000.

When the march started marshals appeared to be in perfect control and shortly before the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela arrived at Brown Street, a protester who clashed with the police because of his at-

tempts to climb a traffic light, was quickly brought under control by the marshals.

When the march started, however, it was soon clear that ANC officials could not control such a large crowd and small groups and later bigger groups broke away from the main march and disrupted traffic and business in other streets.

Mr Mandela only started his speech at the Union Buildings after 1 pm — the time when the march was supposed to be over.

In their urge to see their leader, protesters destroyed some of the carefully tended and fam-

ous gardens at the Union Buildings.

At first marshals attempted to stop the protesters from trampling flat the 80-year-old hedges lining the gardens but gave up when more and more people simply walked through and over the hedges.

About 500 policemen armed with shotguns, grenade launchers and R1 rifles lined the higher terraces of the Union Buildings to prevent any protesters from approaching the government offices itself and apart from a senior official of Cosatu taunting and threatening the policemen, no incident was reported.

FW IS READY TO TALK TOMORROW

THE CITIZEN 6-08-92

NEGOTIATION and not mass action was needed in South Africa, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking outside the Union Buildings, Pretoria, after the African National Congress mass

rally, Mr De Klerk said it was undeniable that the march had "caused damage" and businesses had been adversely affected.

There was an urgent need for negotiations to be resumed with the ANC, said Mr De Klerk,

who added "I'm prepared to sit down tomorrow".

The ANC's reasons for the mass action campaign were not founded on fact.

The government was in a hurry to resume negotiations, and the ANC had decided to scuttle Co-

desa.

The government had also "agreed a long time ago in principle there must be a transitional government of national unity. There is no fundamental difference of opinion between us. We must

negotiate how to get it".

There was no need for Mr Mandela to have addressed him from the rally below the Union Buildings while his door stood open to him, Mr De Klerk added.

The government did not oppose the concept of a properly-elected Parliament that would act as a constitution-making body.

He was confident that negotiations would get back on track, and he would even be prepared to meet the ANC in the bush for two days of talks.

Pressed on how soon real negotiations would

TO PAGE 2

FROM PAGE 1

resume, he said all the communications between the government and the ANC "constituted progress".

FW ready to talk

Mr De Klerk confirmed there would be a second parliamentary session from October 12 this year, when hopefully the results and fruits of negotiations would be presented to Parliament.

"Yes, you can expect at least some basic legislation to be submitted before Parliament.

"It will be constructive legislation aimed at assisting progress without us in any way trying to act unilaterally."

It was untrue that the government had to be pressurised into accepting real democracy, Mr De Klerk said.

Mr De Klerk, speaking

on the steps of the Union Buildings and flanked by senior Ministers after a weekly Cabinet meeting, again stressed that the government was trying to curb violence and denied charges that the security forces were biased.

He had no problem with foreign observers being in South Africa, but he reiterated that "the leaders of South Africa will have to end violence" by honouring the peace accord.

He also denied charges that the government was trying to subjugate the ANC.

He appreciated the ANC's efforts to maintain proper control over the mass actions. — Sapa.

Meet our demands — Mandela ✕

By Fred de Lange
and Sapa

ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday vowed not to return to the negotiation table unless the organisation's demands concerning violence, an interim government and free and fair elections for a constituent assembly were met.

Speaking to about 70 000 people at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Mandela said these three demands constituted the core of all the demands the ANC had.

"We have engaged in mass action with the clear objective of ensuring that the outcome of the negotiations is a democratic future for our country," Mr Mandela said.

What happened next, and what form the "campaign for peace and democracy" took, depended on how the government responded to the ANC's demands.

Mr Mandela said the general strike on Monday and Tuesday had unquestionably been one of the greatest events in South African history.

"More than four million workers stayed away," and nothing could detract from the fact that the strike had been peaceful.

"Those who still cling to the idea that the success of this mass action was based on intimidation do themselves an injustice. Because this could only be true if they believed that the ANC and its allies have the power to intimidate so many millions of people."

Mass action was not a victory for the ANC, Cosatu or the SACP, but of all South Africans who wanted peace and democracy.

"Those who cling to the idea that the success of this mass action was based on intimidation do themselves an injustice."

"This could only be true if they believe the ANC has the power to intimidate so many people," he said.

But, Mr Mandela said, the ANC did not embark on mass action because it wanted to score political points.

It did not come together at the Union Buildings to gloat but to take South Africa along the road to peace and democracy.

"It is our task to build a new South Africa. We are seeking no victims and no losers. We want the people of South Africa as a whole to be the victors."

"If the government of the day responds to our demands, our action would have been the best thing that could happen for the negotiating process."

"All the people of our country and the international community now awaits the response of the government."

Citizen 6-08-92

De Klerk makes plea for bush conference

MARTIN CHALLENGOR
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT de Klerk has repeated his invitation to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela to attend a two-day bush conference to hammer out the road ahead for negotiations.

In another dramatic week in South African politics, the two leaders used similar words in speeches at the Union Buildings yesterday to vastly different audiences.

Mr de Klerk addressed a news conference after a Cabinet meeting. Mr Mandela spoke to an estimated 70 000 ANC, SACP and Cosatu supporters who had flocked to the buildings as part of the mass action campaign.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would not return to negotiations unless the Government heeded its demands for an interim government of national unity, committed itself to a democratic election for a constituent assembly, and took practical steps to curb the violence. These were the ANC's core demands.

The campaign for peace and democracy must become a tidal wave that would thrust South Afri-

ca into a future where justice prevailed, peace was assured and democracy prevailed, Mr Mandela said.

Mr de Klerk said South Africa needed an interim government of national unity as soon as possible. "We are not against the concept of a properly-elected Parliament, which will also act as a constitution writing body — call it constituent assembly if you want to — with regard to a final and permanent new constitution for South Africa."

There was no fundamental difference of opinion between what the Government and the ANC were saying on interim government. "We must negotiate how to get it. I say it must be an elected government of national unity in which all South Africans, white and black, each one of 18 years and c way in which to get to a properly constituted transitional government of national unity."

When the ANC suspended negotiations in June in the wake of the

Boipatong killings, President de Klerk suggested a two-day Government-ANC bush conference.

"That is what is needed now," he repeated yesterday. "I am prepared to sit down tomorrow."

Dispelling the perception that there was no contact between the Government and the ANC at present, Mr de Klerk said that "certain discussions have been taking place".

"I am not disclosing a secret. In the past five days there was discussion between the Government and the ANC on specific issues.

"We are moving to the resumption of negotiation."

He was "glad to note" that Mr Mandela in his speech at the Union Buildings recommitted the ANC to negotiation.

His offer for two days of talks with the ANC highlighted the Government's determination not to have a Codesa 3 before all outstanding issues between it and the ANC were hammered out.

Mr de Klerk said he hoped to present the results and the fruits of negotiations to the October session of Parliament.

The Daily News 6-8-92

A step-by-step timetable of the marchers

9am: Most Durban retail stores, Government and municipal offices announce that they have made contingency plans to deal with the African National Congress's planned occupation of

the city centre. "We will close our doors," they announce. Police say they are ready to take action if any trouble breaks out.

10am: The Daily News receives numerous telephone calls asking if

the exits from the city centre have been blocked off.

12am: Small bands of toyi-toying people, carrying ANC and South African Communist Party flags, arrive at what the ANC now calls Albert Luthuli Square — opposite Durban City Hall. Shoppers start leaving the city centre.

12.20pm: Shops start closing their doors and workers peer curiously out of the windows. The crowd grows to about 2 000 as buses start arriving at the city hall. A pamphlet, purporting to come from the ANC, declares that four groups of mass action demonstrators will occupy several buildings in Durban — including the Durban Magistrate's Court, Tropicana Hotel, most major banks — is faxed to businesses. The pamphlet also announces that all major routes to and from the city centre would be barricaded. The ANC denounces the fax as a hoax.

12.45pm: The march — with a police escort — starts moving down West Street, past the offices of the Receiver of Revenue which quickly closes its doors. Most shops close their doors as the march approaches. The march makes its way past the

offices of the House of Delegates to the HoD's Truro House with the intention of occupying the building. Security and SAP keep guard over the entrances as hundreds of marchers streamed to the main door.

1pm: More ANC supporters gather outside the Central Post Office in West Street, blocking off traffic. At this stage, almost all shops in the city centre are closed.

1.30pm: ANC/SACP/Cosatu leaders address the crowd from Truro House, after which the crowd starts moving back up Stanger Street. There is a brief moment of confusion as the police escort and the alliance leadership walk past Smith Street while the crowd turns into Smith Street. The leadership have to run to get back in front of the crowd.

2pm: The first crowd moves down Smith Street, then into West Street where it gathers opposite Game Stores. Meanwhile, the second crowd occupies the Central Post Office, toyi-toying and singing in the foyer. Policemen don riot helmets and arm themselves. Lieutenant B.G. Boucher tells The Daily News that police would be ready to act if the demonstrators start attacking property. Out-

side Game, marchers sit in the street — stretching from Game to Garlicks.

2.10pm: ANC marshalls get the two groups of marchers together as small bands of protesters start wandering from the main group. Confusion reigns briefly and again police move into line, ready to act. Marshalls battle to control the protesters and prevent police action. City police move in to try to get traffic away from West Street, putting up police barriers at entrances to the main streets. Marchers sit down at the intersection of Field and West streets, causing traffic chaos. Cars travelling up Field Street reverse out.

2.30pm: Pandemonium almost breaks loose as another group of ANC supporters, carrying traditional weapons, are mistaken for Inkatha supporters when they arrive.

3pm: The crowd, now thousands strong, start marching towards the city hall after a brief skirmish with police who threaten to fire teargas unless the crowd is controlled. A slashed tyre and a broken police light are believed to be the only damage done by the marchers during the day's protest.

CONFUSION AND PANIC

DAILY NEWS 06-08-92

Page I

Mass-action day mainly peaceful as businesses foil occupation plans

Reports by Vasantha Angamuthu, Ido Lekota and Susan Miller

THE third day of rolling mass action was characterised by confusion, panic and rapid, ongoing consultation between police and marchers in the Durban city centre.

Attempts by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu to occupy buildings in the city centre were foiled by businesses which closed their doors for fear that they would be invaded.

Despite stories, fuelled by a fax sent to businesses with information about widespread city entrance and exit blockades and occupation of most major stores, the day of action was mostly peaceful.

ANC marshalls co-operated with the police in controlling small bands of demonstrators who, at times, moved away from the main group and danced through the city centre, jeering at motorists.

The day was not without its amusing incidents. At one stage the crowd surged down Smith Street from Stanger Street, leaving their leaders continuing up Stanger Street with their police escort. A journalist remarked: "A case of the tail wagging the dog".

The leaders moved quickly to get back in front of the crowd.

As the crowd moved towards the city hall, as the day of action drew to a close, a commuter sitting with his parcels at a bus shelter downed his beer quickly as the crowd surged past. An onlooker remarked: "He was probably fortifying himself."

A group of small-built youthful men in police tunics were greeted with amusement and comments that the police force should be renamed "kindergarten cops".

Throughout the march shoppers and staff, barricaded behind closed shop doors, and residents in flats peered curiously at the marchers.

There was a domino effect of security doors shutting as the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance marched through town, seeking an open building to occupy.

ANC says thanks to police for behaviour

KEITH ROSS

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

THOUSANDS of people marched in orderly fashion through the streets of Pietermaritzburg yesterday in support of the ANC's mass action campaign.

The marchers gathered during the lunch hour on Market Square — now renamed Freedom Square by the liberation organisations — toying-toying and singing political songs.

They were then led through the city centre by a contingent of police along a route that had clearly been agreed to in advance.

The marchers rallied in Longmarket Street, where ANC leader Harry Gwala addressed the crowd.

He called for peace and democracy in a new South Africa where all — black and white — were equal.

The marchers later rallied again in Pietermaritz Street where they were addressed by a speaker for the Communist Party.

He congratulated the police on their good behaviour during the march. But the police, he said, were well behaved for one reason only: they were being watched by an observer from the United Nations.

The police liaison officer for Pietermaritzburg, Captain Henry Budhram, said after the crowd had dispersed that the march had progressed peacefully.

"There were just four cases of malicious injury to property," he said. "The tyres of four cars in Loop Street were slashed by somebody in the crowd."



DURBAN at a standstill . . . thousands of ANC supporters take over the city centre.

Picture: Steven Naidoo

Busy time for group of monitors from the UN

Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: After three days of monitoring the ANC alliance's mass action campaign, the 10 United Nations monitors have yet to see a single incident of violence, says group leader Hisham Omayad.

However, M.G. Ramcharan, who is monitoring events in Natal/KwaZulu, was taken to the aftermath of the massacre at Empangeni in which 12 people were killed on Sunday night.

The group in South Africa is the first sent by the UN to any country to monitor mass protests.

Some of the monitors have been involved in confrontational situations, but negotiations involving the peace committees, police, right-wing groups, ANC alliance members and the monitors appear to have averted a number of clashes.

Mr Omayad, who was in Pretoria with Shola Omoreigi and Rehana Ahmad-Haque to monitor the march to the Union Buildings, said the march went off "very well", especially considering the large crowd.

"We were very pleased with the march and what we saw," he said.

In addition to the three UN monitors, representatives of the regional and local peace committees were present at the Pretoria march, including National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

THE DAILY NEWS
6-8-92

DEFIANT JANI ALLAN VOWS TO FIGHT ON

Foreign Service

LONDON: Looking tired but defiant, former Sunday Times columnist Jani Allan admitted outside the High Court: "It will be difficult to find the courage to fight back after a second blow."

A jury of six men and six women decided unanimously that Ms Allan had not been defamed by a prize-winning Channel Four documentary if it inferred that she had had a sexual or emotional relationship with AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche.

She said she was "pretty numb" at the result, but had "no regrets" about having fought the action through a 13-day trial.

And she promised to proceed with two further libel actions pending against other publication, understood to be the Sunday Telegraph Magazine and the Daily Mail.

Asked how she would raise the money to meet the legal costs bill Mr Justice Potts had ordered her to pay, she said she would resort to "legal means". She declined to elaborate.

But she said that, unlike Channel Four, she had lacked the funds to fly in witnesses from South Africa.

"I don't believe that anybody who watched this trial thought it was a fair trial. I did not have the money to call the people I wanted to call."

Asked if she would be staying in England, she replied: "Yes, I love England."

She repeated her assertion throughout the hearing that she did not have an affair with Mr Terre'Blanche.

"I think the British courts, the British jury, may have found it difficult to grasp the moral turpitude that exists in South Africa."

She said she was disappointed that the truth had not come out.

Confusion over ANC's Gwala 'gunfire' incident

CONFLICTING reports have left a confused picture of what happened in Pietermaritzburg yesterday when gunmen allegedly opened fire on a crowd during a possible attempt to assassinate ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala.

The ANC version of what happened was described today as "impossible" by police liaison officer Captain Henry Budhram.

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

ANC witnesses said a crowd taking part in the mass action programme had gathered on the road near Edendale Hospital when a white minibus appeared. The occupants allegedly fired indiscriminately at the crowd and at Mr Gwala's car.

The windscreen was smashed — possibly by a bullet — and

then the minibus sped away, allegedly passing through a cordon of police vehicles.

The windscreen might, according to one report, have been smashed by a stone as some in the crowd had hurled missiles at the speeding minibus.

Reports of the minibus passing through the police cordon were rejected outright by Captain Budhram.

The Daily News 6-8-92

Protests due to move to factories and universities in Durban today

Mass action swings to a new course

Daily News Reporters

MASS action in Durban was due to swing today to factories and universities amid a mystery fax campaign sowing alarm among businesses, office workers and residents.

And African National Congress organisers have vowed to continue bearing "cultural weapons" — a recent retaliation against the practice of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters — until their opponents are disarmed.

A tense Durban picked up the pieces today after the climax yesterday to the ANC's rolling mass action — which saw the city grind to a halt at lunchtime.

Lunch-hour factory demonstrations and mass action today at the University of Durban-Westville and University of Natal were intended to mark the fourth day of action, the ANC announced yesterday.

According to ANC organisers the factory demonstrations would take several forms — including sit-ins and pickets — depending on agreements individual unions had reached with their employers.

ANC southern Natal organiser Bheki Cele said during the city occupation march yesterday that students would participate in demonstrations and sit-ins at administration offices "as part of the move to democratise the institutions of higher learning in the country".

There would also be a "low-key" demonstration at Francis Farewell Square — renamed the Albert Luthuli Square by the ANC — opposite the city hall at noon today.

Yesterday's occupation of the city centre was accompanied by fear and rampant rumours of blockades at city exits and entrances. Employers sent staff home early.

Rumours of the roadblocks were fuelled by a fax message sent to businesses in Durban quoting police authority — which police said was bogus — to detail those buildings that were to be occupied and roads that were to be blocked.

There were several tense moments when police readied themselves and threatened to teargas the crowd, but any police action was prevented by ANC marshalls who disciplined the crowds and negotiated with police.

Police action seemed imminent when hundreds of marchers occupied the central post office, toyi-toying, singing on the counters, and streaming through the entrances.

Later police again threatened to take action when it was rumoured that the marchers had tried to occupy Game store in West Street — which had by then shut its doors.

Another group of late-comers to the march — armed with "traditional weapons" — caused a brief moment of panic when marchers assumed they were Inkatha supporters. Police later confiscated the weapons, but returned them when the marchers warned that they would not leave without them.

Mr Cele said that the police action clearly showed how easy it was to disarm people bearing "cultural weapons".

In Pietermaritzburg, business people today seemed unperturbed by the stayaway this week and intimations that there would be further mass action to jam the city centre today.

They said that they would remain alert for eventualities and, if things looked threatening, put up their burglar guards to prevent a recurrence of the breakages of previous mass actions.

Thousands of angry people blocked more than 100 Kwazulu Transport buses from leaving the Taylor's Halt and Sweetwaters depots early today.

They were angry because the buses did not take them to work on Monday and Tuesday and they did not want the buses to be used in a plan to jam up the centre of Pietermaritzburg today.

The people believed that the buses would be used by members of the Transport and General Workers' Union who wanted to drive buses into Pietermaritzburg and jam the streets in a go-slow demonstration, said David Ntombela, a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and an Inkatha Freedom Party leader.

THE DAILY NEWS
6-8-92

NATAL MERCURY 6-08-92 INSIGHT

A day of demonstrations



LEFT:

ANC supporters make their way to the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday to demand a multi-racial government. The march, and similar marches held in all of the country's capital cities, followed a two-day strike observed by millions of black workers this week. — (AP)

RIGHT: A marcher displays a poster mocking Kwa Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi during the ANC organised march in Durban yesterday.



Mandela leads Pretoria march

Is ANC's hand stronger for talks?

By BARRY RENFREW
Associated Press

PRETORIA, South Africa — Nelson Mandela led 100,000 cheering black marchers to the seat of white power Wednesday in one of the biggest demonstrations ever to demand an end to President F.W. de Klerk's government.



Mandela

The African National Congress also staged rallies in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and other cities as part of its mass action campaign. Police arrested more than 600 protesters, most for occupying government buildings.

The marches were the latest in a series of ANC protests calling for the removal of the government. But de Klerk, whose position seems unshaken, has said only negotiations, not mass protests, will resolve the political crisis.

Still, the huge turnout will help buttress the ANC's claim to represent the majority of South Africans. The march came after a two-day strike in which some 4 million black workers stayed home to demand an interim government by the end of the year.

"The campaign for peace and democracy must become a tidal wave," Mandela told the roaring crowd in Pretoria. "An interim

government of national unity is an urgent and critical step."

"De Klerk must go! De Klerk must go!" the crowd chanted.

Some government and opposition leaders hope the ANC, boosted by the success of its protests, will be ready to return to the talks, saying it has a new mandate from the people. Mandela has indicated talks could resume within weeks.

"I look forward to the day when Mr. Mandela will once again see me in my office," de Klerk told reporters. "He needn't speak to me from the lower part of the Union Building. There's an open door here."

Mandela told a crowd in Pretoria the ANC would not return to constitutional talks until "practical steps are taken by the government to curb the violence which is ravaging the lives of our people." Political violence has claimed about 8,000 black lives in the past three years.

"The ANC and its allies remain committed to the search for a negotiated resolution," he said.

The ANC launched a demonstration campaign in June to press for faster political reform. It pulled out of black-white talks on a new constitution after the June 17 massacre of at least 39 black people at Boipatong, near Johannesburg.

After this week's demonstrations, the campaign is expected to be scaled down with no immediate plans for major protests.