

ANC asks new sports boycott: S. Africa urges fresh talks

By TOM COHEN
Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — The ANC said Wednesday it would demand that South Africa be banned from the Olympic Games to protest one of the country's worst mass killings.

President F.W. de Klerk, mean-

while, vehemently denied his government was involved in the massacre in a black township that left at least 39 dead. He called for talks to restore relations with the ANC.

The African National Congress broke off all political negotiations Tuesday in response to the June 17 slaughter in the Boipatong town-

ship south of Johannesburg.

"We are deeply disappointed by the ANC's reaction to the Boipatong tragedy," de Klerk told a news conference after an all-day cabinet meeting. "The charges of government complicity in the massacre are without any foundation whatsoever, and we find it repre-

hensible."

The collapse of political negotiations has created the country's most serious political upheaval since de Klerk legalized the ANC in 1990 and began negotiations to end apartheid.

The ANC called off both direct

discussions with the government and multiparty black-white talks aimed at abolishing apartheid and writing a new constitution.

Despite the break, the ANC has said it will meet the government to present its demands, which include an international commis-

sion to investigate the violence.

De Klerk proposed two days of talks as soon as possible. He said the government would welcome international observers to investigate violence but rejects placing any foreign groups in a position of authority.

phansi Butchers of Boipatong!

The Boipatong massacre of more than 40 men, women and children on 17 June is the direct result of the De Klerk government's backing for the IFP.

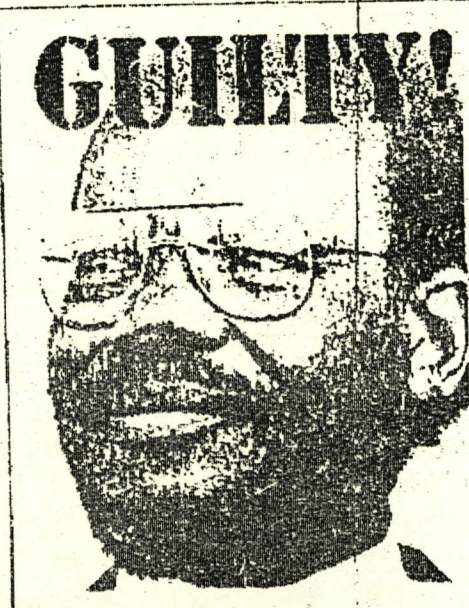
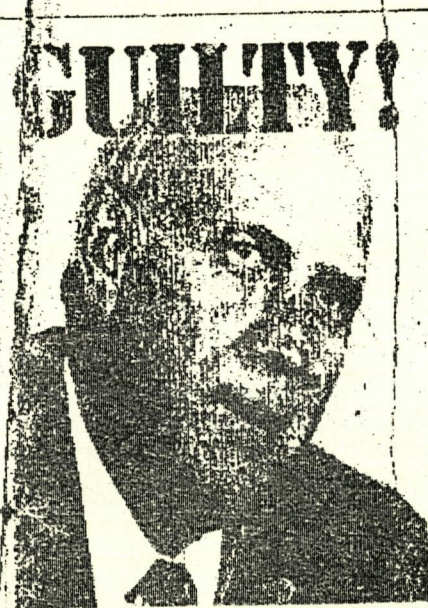
Iskor's kwaMadala hostel has long been a military base for Inkatha, terrorising the townships of the Vaal, with the knowledge and support of the government and the police.

The massacre occurred a day after De Klerk's visit to Inkatha's headquarters, where he joined Buthelezi in attacking the ANC.

As comrade Chris Hani rightly says: "By choosing to appear publicly at Ulundi on June 16, on the day that the ANC-led alliance launched a peaceful campaign of mass action, De Klerk sent a message to every landlord, to every death squad, to every assassin and Impi in our country."

If the government will not demolish the hostels of the PWV, it must be done by direct action of the people in self-defence, to clear out the lists of Inkatha killers.

Away with this government of racism, corruption and murder!
Down with the NP and De Klerk! Down with Buthelezi and Inkatha!
Down with the capitalist exploiters!
Forward to majority rule and socialism!



MASS ACTION CAMPAIGN

"The programme is not limited to unlocking deadlocks in the negotiations process (switching mass action 'on and off'), but is designed to act as the engine of transition, to put the masses in charge of their own destiny."

Alliance Programme of
Action, June 1992

ANC claims deflected by de Klerk

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN JOHANNESBURG

AFTER arriving from Spain for a day-long cabinet meeting on the turmoil in South Africa, President de Klerk last night appeared to misunderstand deliberately what the African National Congress has said about breaking off talks with the government.

He welcomed what he saw as the ANC's decision to hold talks on the current impasse. He suggested that the two sides hold two full days of talks as soon as possible.

Only 24 hours earlier, Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, said that he would meet the government to submit demands which must be accepted before bilateral talks or negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) can resume — but that he would not hold discussions.

Mr de Klerk blithely ig-

nored those remarks and said that he was prepared to talk to the ANC on the obstacles to negotiation raised in its statement on Tuesday, and on obstacles identified by the government. These included "the consequences of the ANC's plans for mass action: the violence in South Africa; inflammatory and unacceptable rhetoric; and defamatory and false accusations against political leaders".

Plainly what Mr de Klerk had in mind was the accusation by the ANC that the government in general and he in particular bore responsibility for the Boipatong massacre last week in which at least 39 people died. The total was last night reported as having risen with the deaths in hospital of two more victims, but no wholly reliable count has yet been given.

"The constant insinuation that the government is somehow involved in planning or instigating violence or murder is rejected in the strongest possible terms," he insisted. The cabinet also discussed possible internationalisation of the impasse, and has made a number of gestures towards international concern.

Mr de Klerk was quite firm in saying that South Africa was not a Namibia or a Rhodesia, that it was a sovereign state, and would brook no interference in its internal affairs. He did say he would welcome advice and fact-finding commissions, and that he would be happy to welcome a delegation being sent by the Commonwealth.

He has also asked Justice Richard Goldstone, whose commission into violence is to investigate the massacre, to arrange for "a suitably qualified person of international repute" to join the body as an assessor. He said that an international jurist would be appropriate, and that the police had suggested that such an expert should evaluate their investigation of the massacre.

Mr de Klerk spoke of his disappointment at the ANC's reaction, and said he thought it would be "a terrible tragedy if all the good work we have done at Codesa is somehow nullified".

He said that he was "in a hurry" to complete the constitutional negotiations, for delay only encouraged the radicals. President de Klerk also reiterated that he was not opposed to streamlining Codesa.

On the question of what to do about the migrant hostels, he said that the government had now committed funds to getting rid of them.

The ANC sneered at what it called "this paltry response" to its demands. "We find it unbelievable that they could have sat all day and hatched only this," an official said.

Bringing peace to the townships

SIR — It comes as no surprise that the ANC is throwing around summary accusations against Inkatha and the Zulus, based on the usual hearsay evidence (report, June 24). While communism is dead or in its death throes in most of the world, in South Africa it is the ANC's commanding ethos.

The ANC exercises intimidation in the name of communism, something accepted by all groups but Inkatha and the Zulus. The present violence on both sides is the inevitable result. If the ANC genuinely wants a peaceful South Africa it must begin by accepting that there is room for its opponents.

Since the present conflict is essentially a black one there is a case for introducing an outsider, respected by both sides, who could preside over talks between the two. A black figure from the Commonwealth, such as the Nigerian head of state, Ibrahim Babangida, is one possibility. Another is somebody who knows how tribal societies work, if not the divisions between South Africa's more than 400 racial groups. A figure from Britain should not be ruled out.

BEN SKOSANA
Inkatha Representative
London W1

Daily Telegraph.
25/6/92 - London

THE Star

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

Bridge over the abyss

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has described the ANC's conditions for the resumption of negotiations as eminently reasonable. The demands are certainly not excessive or, in broad terms, too high a price to pay for the revival of negotiations.

They overlap in large measure the demands the ANC presented to President de Klerk on April 6 last year: cessation of "hit squad" activities, suspension and prosecution of security force officers involved in violence, phasing out the hostel system, and prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons, including "cultural" ones.

Nelson Mandela has adopted an encouragingly flexible attitude. The ANC will meet the "De Klerk regime" to present — but not discuss — the demands. The phraseology is not important. What is vital is that the two sides meet again. It is hard to imagine a meeting without discussion. Mr Mandela has even hinted that the ANC may settle for its "most important" demands being met rather than insist on fulfilment of all of them.

In formulating its response, the De Klerk administration must adopt a similarly flexible attitude. The future of South Africa demands no less. Potential problem areas, however, are the ANC's demands for international monitoring of violence and for an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre.

As Mr de Klerk has accepted the presence of international fact-finding missions in the past, he should have no difficulty in agreeing to international monitoring.

The ANC demand for an international commission of inquiry may be less acceptable. Among other things, it represents a perhaps unintended rebuff for the Goldstone Commission and the judicial system generally: Judge Goldstone was the man who pilloried the police for their role in the Sebokeng massacre of March 1990, while it was a South African judge who convicted a police officer in the watershed Trust Feed trial.

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NATAL MERCURY 25 JUNE 1992

Sport chaos over ANC/ call for ban

JOHANNESBURG—Sporting bodies were thrown into near chaos yesterday when the ANC called on all international sporting codes to reimpose the sports moratorium on South Africa.

The call not only jeopardises SA's chances of competing in the Barcelona Olympics, but is also likely to affect the soccer tour by the Camerouns and rugby tours by New Zealand and Australia.

"The prevailing wave of violence carried out by the regime and its henchmen against innocent people in the townships, and in particular the Boipatong massacre, has compelled the ANC to review SA's participation in international competitions," spokesman Steve Tshwete said.

The ANC also asked local sporting codes to review participation in international sport "with a view to putting them on ice".

Sarfu joint president Dr Danie Craven said Sarfu operated according to agreements reached when the SA Rugby Board and SA Rugby Union moved towards unification. This meant there could be "no interference on political grounds from the ANC or any other political party".

SA Olympic leader Sam Ramamy said yesterday his organisation and the ANC would consult each other "all along the way". The possibility of withdrawing from the Barcelona Olympics was not under discussion "at the moment". — (Sapa)

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The Natal Mercury Thursday June 25, 1992

Mourn Boipatong on Sunday, say employers

By Siza Ntshakala
Labour Reporter

SOME employers have accepted that the Boipatong massacre deserves to be mourned, but would prefer the proposed national day of mourning to take place on a Sunday.

"Victims of the massacre will be buried on Monday.

Responding to the call made by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa for the observance of June 29 as a national day of mourning, Mr Mike Norris, president of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce, said: "The massacre was undoubtedly a great tragedy and if the burial services are to be held on

Monday, then one can understand that the local community would want to make that a day of mourning and commemoration.

"However, from a national point of view it would seem that the day of mourning should be the Sunday when a large proportion of the population attend church services and these could be commemorative services."

Commenting in his private capacity, Mr Des Winship, president of the Pietermaritz-

burg Chamber of Commerce and Industries, said: "There is no question that the Boipatong massacre is a national tragedy (but) ... I personally believe that Sunday June 28 would be a more logical choice for mourning."

Mr Basil Smith, director of manpower affairs of the Natal Chamber of Industries, said the chamber regarded the call for a day of mourning a respectful gesture.

He said Sunday was a religious holiday, generally a non-working day, and accordingly was regarded as the most meaningful time for a commemorative service to take place.

ANC slams FW response

Citizen Reporter

THE African National Congress last night criticised as superficial State President De Klerk's response to its demands and said the proposed two-day meeting would serve no useful purpose.

"Once more the National Party has shown its lack of appreciation of the depth of the national crisis it has plunged the country into," the ANC said.

"Instead of addressing the root causes of the current crisis, the National Party has characteristically chosen to avoid the real issues.

"The collapse of the negotiations process is a result of the violence involving the regime's security forces and surrogates, as well as its refusal to accept a democratic settlement and its implications.

"The resolution of the problem requires action on the part of the

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ANC slams FW

FROM PAGE 1

government and not more words.

"The regime's identification of mass action as an obstacle to negotiations is ludicrous in the extreme. This reinforces our suspicions that the campaign of violence is aimed at preventing the people from undertaking legitimate protest to give voice to their grievances.

"To focus on allegedly defamatory statements, and not the wholesale slaughter of the people, is a measure

of bankruptcy of this response.

The government's rejection of a meaningful role for the international community in monitoring the violence confirms that they have a lot to hide. Their proposals fall far short of what the situation warrants.

"Having assessed the paltry response to the crisis, we express our concern that this statement is a diversion from the real plans the Cabinet was hatching throughout the day."

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Shame

SHAME on the ANC.

Shame on it for exploiting the terrible tragedy that is Boipatong.

Sure, Blacks — and Whites, too — have every right to mourn this beastly massacre.

One's heart goes out to the families of the dead and to those who were injured.

The dead should be buried with respect and with honour. But we do not agree that there should be a national day of mourning that involves a total stayaway.

Twelve thousand Blacks have died in violence. They should all be remembered as victims of this horrible upheaval.

Perhaps, in the nature of Black reverence of those who died in the struggle, there will one day be a Martyrs' Day.

But life goes on — and Boipatong should not be a reason to bring this country to a virtual standstill.

Shame on the ANC for other reasons.

Boipatong is no cause for reimposing the sports moratorium.

Why should our Olympic team be pulled out of the Olympic Games because of it?

What did these sportsmen and women, looking forward so much to competing at last in the Olympics, have to do with Boipatong?

Did they take part in it? Did they condone it? We can answer with one word: No.

Put it another way:

If they don't take part in the Olympics, will the bitter hurt of Boipatong go away?

Will it get negotiations back on track?

Will it bring punishment of the murderers any closer?

The answer is No.

We can ask the same questions about the All Blacks and Wallabies rugby tours of South Africa in August.

Will cancelling the tours bring any comfort to the bereaved?

Will the ghastly violence in townships be ended?

Will the ANC be any closer to achieving its objective of taking over the government?

The answer is No.

The sports moratorium was imposed to end apartheid and to ensure that there was unity in sports organisations.

The ANC lifted the moratorium because all the conditions for imposing it had been met. The moratorium should not be reimposed because of Boipatong.

We also say shame on the ANC for pulling out of Codesa.

The excuse is that Boipatong is the last straw. But what has Boipatong got to do with the negotiation of a future constitution?

Must a tragic massacre be used to cause the total breakdown of talks?

If anything, Codesa has been more advantageous to the ANC than to the government.

Certainly it has had its own way on most issues; it deadlocked over the constitution-making body, but that was not the end of the story.

One can expect deadlocks in such testing negotiations; one can expect there will be frustration at not getting one's own way.

But if the ANC wanted Codesa to rubber-stamp its proposals, why have Codesa anyway?

Why not just say this is what we want, and if the government doesn't agree to it, we'll engage in mass action?

As for the demands the ANC has made on the government before there can be a resumption of negotiations, it can surely not expect the government to accede to them?

If the government did, it might as well hand over the country to the ANC tomorrow.

Indeed, we have more than a suspicion that the ANC made the demands in the expectation that they would be turned down.

Clearly it wants to go ahead with mass action, without any of the constraints put on it by negotiation, and it intends to turn the country inside out and upside down in the process.

Alas, with apartheid laws gone and the country in transition to a new South Africa, the ANC has decided to impose its will, if it can.

Do you wonder we say shame on the ANC? It is tearing this country apart at a time when negotiation, reconciliation and compromise are all that can save the country from disaster.

25/6/92

EC to send monitors?

EC monitors?

FROM PAGE 1

State President De Klerk was unlikely to accept a UN monitoring team with members from former rivals in Africa.

They said British Prime Minister John Major might, however, persuade Mr De Klerk to accept a European Community team to monitor aspects of the transition to multi-racial democracy.

"I can't see De Klerk accepting a foreign monitoring force easily, but if Major was to take a hard line on a European role, it would be hard for him to resist," said a European envoy.

A proposed EC fact-finding tour by Britain, The Netherlands and Portugal could be brought forward and a formal proposal to help monitor security forces could follow.

Britain, the nearest thing South Africa had to a European ally during the apartheid era, assumes the six-month rotating EC presidency in July and would lead any bid to bring peace to the country.

ANC official Kader Asmal told envoys the group would ask the United Nations, through the Organisation of African Unity, to send about 500 monitors with independent

transport and communications to supervise the security forces.

"The log jam of total lack of confidence in law enforcement and the impartiality of the security forces can only be broken now with a modest international intervention," he said.

"We want the UN Security Council to discuss the crisis in security, particularly the violence, and the extent to which the international community can assist South Africa," he said.

The ANC says Mr De Klerk has either encouraged or condoned the violence, mainly in clashes between the ANC and its rival, the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party.

The ANC withdrew from talks with the government on Tuesday in protest at last week's massacre and De Klerk's

insistence on minority powers in a future government.

"It is up to the international community to make sure (De Klerk) understands that this playing around ... with people's lives and the future of our country, is not acceptable," ANC executive member Dr Allan Boesak, told the diplomats.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said before a crisis Cabinet session on Wednesday: "Only the bodies directly involved (in negotiations) can solve the differences and problems."

But one diplomat told Reuters the government was softening its resistance to foreign monitoring and could be ready to take a conciliatory approach to the demand from many Black leaders. — Sapa-Reuter.

CAPE TOWN. — European Community teams monitoring police and soldiers in South Africa's embattled Black townships could salvage the faltering transition from White rule to democracy, Western diplomats said yesterday.

One said a draft proposal was already being circulated and EC monitors could be heading for South Africa within months.

Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress has asked for United Nations monitors to supervise the army and police after last week's massacre of 39 people in Boipatong.

But Western diplomats said after an ANC briefing in Cape Town that

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The Citizen 25/6/92

Seal hostel: Numsa call

THE National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa says it is appalled at the police decision to lift restrictions on the KwaMadala Hostel, near Boipatong.

"Numsa is horrified that all police have been withdrawn from KwaMadala. The people are again at the mercy of attackers," Numsa said yesterday.

Numsa demanded that the area be sealed off again immediately, saying that strike action had spread throughout the area as a result of community action.

"Today 39 major companies were on strike, as were 24 small companies and 17 major shops."

Iscor, owners of the KwaMadala Hostel, told Numsa yesterday it could take no responsibility for the alleged actions of its employees and would not contribute to the burial costs of victims of last week's massacre. — Sapa.

Hostels: a duty

WITH the brutal benefit of hindsight, Iscor has decided to close KwaMadala hostel from which the Boipatong massacre was allegedly launched. Perhaps some are rebuking themselves for ignoring earlier pleas for such action. Hopefully, Iscor's bitter lesson has hit home with the owners of other hostels on the Reef: black local authorities, white councils and private firms. Owners of hostels have a responsibility to ensure that their premises are not used as springboards for bloody criminal acts.

They have a duty to call in the police if any criminal activity or the plotting of acts of violence takes place on their premises. They have the legal right to have non-tenants ejected. They have the power to set terms of occupation and to see that residents abide by these — or get out. They can impose a strict ban on weapons in hostels, with unfailing searches at entrances and exits.

In those hostels which have literally become fortresses, owners will need strong police support to regain control and keep it. But owners must give impetus to action to demilitarise the fortress-hostels and to keep others out of the grip of violence. They are critically placed to intervene and they must shoulder their burden in the demanding search for peace.

B. Day 25/6/92

Business, labour move on deadlock

Business Day Reporters

ORGANISED business and labour have held talks on the possibility of joint efforts to address violence and revive the entire political negotiating process.

It is likely that Saccola and Cosatu will meet in the next few days to discuss a common approach to Monday's day of mourning for victims of the Boipatong massacre. This follows calls by Cosatu and the ANC to business to support campaigns to break the political deadlock, and a call by the ANC for business to join in observing the day of mourning.

Sacob yesterday spelled out its own plan of action to get Codesa back on track.

Saccola labour spokesman Bobby Godsell would yesterday only confirm "there have been some exploratory talks over whether business and labour can do something to break the political deadlock".

He said he hoped for further contact between Saccola and organised labour.

Godsell also said a response to the day of mourning call was being addressed in different industries.

Although the ANC's PWV region and Cosatu's Vaal region had called for the day to take the form of a work stayaway, neither organisation's national structure had

done so. A Cosatu spokesman said the union's regions would determine specific actions for Monday.

Affiliates of Saccola, which includes all the major employer organisations, are scheduled to meet today to attempt to develop a joint position on the issue. They may meet union representatives later.

It is understood that a number of employer organisations have received formal proposals from unions regarding Monday's events. The NUM asked, at yesterday's wage negotiating session, that the industry respond in an "appropriate way".

Last night, in his capacity as Chamber of Mines president, Godsell extended the chamber's sympathies to the relatives and friends of the victims and said Monday was a day "for dignity and respect, not one to be appropriated by any group."

"It requires South Africans to pause and remember not only those killed last Thursday but also the thousands of innocent victims of mindless violence" of the past few years, Godsell said.

He added that Monday should be a day of

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Deadlock

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"shared sorrow and shared commitment to bringing the killings to an end."

A chamber spokesman said any specific arrangements between management and the union for Monday would be made separately by mining groups.

Sacob president Hennie Viljoen said inability to end the political impasse could lead to further business closures, loss of jobs, withdrawal of investment and the flight of capital and skilled manpower.

He said Sacob hoped the ANC and government "in particular" would show the flexibility and realism needed to get Codesa negotiations back on track.

Viljoen said Sacob would assist by:

☐ Arranging early meetings between itself, President F W de Klerk, ANC presi-

dent Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi;

☐ Exploring ways in which business might assist in breaking the political logjam;

☐ Throwing its full weight behind national peace accord structures;

☐ Ensuring that business participation continued in other forums; and

☐ Working out a joint employer approach to planned stayaways and the proposed day of mourning.

Sapa reports a complete review of the economic and political situation will be undertaken at Sacob's board of management meeting next week. If necessary, a "summit" of chambers of commerce and industry and leading businessmen would be convened next month, Viljoen said.

B. Day 25/6/92

Hostel threat to seize homes

RESIDENTS of demolished hostels would simply occupy township homes, the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association said yesterday.

Sapa reports that association chairman Joseph Kubheka said the ANC had called for the hostels' demolition, and his organisation found the demand disturbing.

"The hostels not only house bachelors, but families as well. Two hostels, in some blocks, for example Meadowlands and KwaMasiza ... have been converted to family units."

Hostel closures would result in more chaos and conflict, he said. "The hostel inmates, should the hostels be destroyed, will simply walk into the location and occupy all those houses. The ANC will be responsible for that."

Meanwhile, DIRK HARTFORD reports that strike action has spread throughout the Vaal triangle in support of demands for the demolition of KwaMadala hostel and for Iscor to pay for damage to Boipatong houses and the funeral costs of the dead in the Boipatong massacre.

Numsa said workers at 39 major com-

panies and at 17 major shops and 24 small companies were on strike.

WILSON ZWANE reports that Numsa said yesterday the return of 300 residents to KwaMasiza hostel, from which they fled when violence erupted in the Vaal Triangle in 1990, would be tantamount to "declaring war on Numsa".

And an Inkatha official has indicated that KwaMadala hostel dwellers would not be "too keen" on returning to KwaMasiza, which houses mainly ANC-supporting Iscor employees.

Iscor spokesman Neels Howatt has reportedly said his company intended closing KwaMadala Hostel and wanted 300 KwaMadala residents to return to KwaMasiza. There would, however, have to be negotiations between representatives of both hostels, he said.

Numsa national organiser Alfred Woodington said yesterday Iscor had indicated at talks earlier in the day that it would take a unilateral decision on the issue as both KwaMadala and KwaMasiza were its properties. "We are going to resist the move with everything at our disposal," Woodington said.

The Star 24/6/92

NEWS

Differing versions of violence

UNITED NATIONS — South African Foreign Minister Riecof Botha and Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi telephoned the United Nations yesterday to give their respective versions of the violence in South Africa.

UN spokesman Francois Giuliani said the two had placed separate phone calls to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and "both gave him their versions of the tragic events in South Africa

last week".

The calls followed one on Monday from ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who asked Mr Boutros-Ghali and the Security Council to find means of easing the crisis.

More than 120 blacks have died since Wednesday last week when 39 people were slaughtered in Boipatong.

Residents and the ANC accuse supporters of Mr Buthelezi's Zulu-based IFP of carrying out the slaughter in col-

lusion with white-led security forces.

Mr Boutros-Ghali has said he would not recommend any action until he conferred with Mr Mandela at an Organisation of African Unity summit which begins next Monday in Dakar, Senegal.

The violence has prompted Mr Mandela's ANC to withdraw from the negotiations aimed at creating a non-racial democracy. — Sapa-Reuters.

Thursday 25 June 1992

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Sport in near-chaos

FROM PAGE 1

ments had been made".

United Cricket Board of South Africa managing director, Dr Ali Bacher, said he was confident major political leaders would "soon settle their differences and come together to formulate a strategy which will lead this country into a future where there will be stability, security and prosperity for all".

"There is a great deal of gloom and despair in South Africa at the moment, but I do believe that the country's sportsmen and women should not overreact," he added. "I would hope, therefore, that the ANC will not find it necessary to prolong its call for a renewal of the moratorium beyond a very short period."

The South African Rugby Football Union's general manager, Mr Arrie Oberholzer, said the ANC's call to suspend international competition would be discussed at an Sarfu executive meeting tomorrow.

Sarfu joint president Dr Danie Craven said however Sarfu operated according to the agreements reached when the former SA Rugby Board and the SA Rugby Union moved towards unification last year.

Dr Craven said it must be "no interference on political grounds from the ANC or any other political party".

General-secretary of

the National Olympic Sports Congress, Mr Mto-bi Tyamzashe, told radio New Zealand that a decision was expected to be made on Saturday whether the rugby tours will be called off.

He said it would not be wise for a foreign sports team to visit South Africa without the ANC's blessing. "I hope New Zealand would be responsible and listen to the balance of information. The question is whether they will believe the situation is all right if only Sarfu are saying it."

"Individuals have a democratic right to express their opinions, but the NOSC urges them to give the non-racial sports movement, a chance to formulate their position properly without being marginalised."

South African Olympic leader, Mr Sam Ramsamy, said yesterday his organisation was in constant touch with the ANC and they would consult each other "all along the way".

Asked if there was a possibility that the South African team may not go to Barcelona, Mr Ramsamy said his organisation was "not discussing such a possibility at the moment".

"We are not talking in these terms," he said.

"We are constantly monitoring the situation, and if circumstances called for it then we would have to re-examine our position."

"Liaison with the ANC is very close," he said.

"We have an excellent working relationship with them, and they have helped us considerably in being recognised by the International Olympic Committee and in enabling us to increase the size of the Olympic team."

A major sponsor of the South African team to the Olympic Games expressed its concern yesterday at the ANC's call.

Caltex Oil (SA) said in a statement it was contractually bound to adhere to any decision taken by Nocsa regarding the games.

The company regretted the events leading to the breakdown of negotiations on the future of South Africa, and the call for the withdrawal of the Olympic team.

It hoped South Africa's participation would be ensured.

Australia has adopted a wait-and-see policy on possible resumption of sporting sanctions against South Africa.

Prime Minister Paul Keating said he was appalled by the Boipatong massacre and deeply concerned it had caused the ANC to withdraw from reform negotiations.

Mr Keating said the government was keeping in touch with other countries and with sporting bodies over calls for resumed sporting sanctions.

But Mr Keating told Parliament it was premature to make a decision.

Foreign Minister Gar-

eth Evans said Australia was adopting a wait-and-see attitude to the question.

Australian Rugby Union spokesman Greg Campbell said officials were monitoring discussions between the ANC, (NOSC) and (Sarfu).

"As far as the ARU is concerned, the ANC gave its blessing to the Wallaby tour earlier this year and we've heard nothing to change that," Mr Campbell said.

New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger was reported yesterday as saying the All Black rugby tour of South Africa should go ahead.

Mr Bolger, speaking to the New Zealand Press Association during a European tour, said there did not seem to be much logic to the view that the tour should be called off.

"The rules that we required of South Africa was that a sport be integrated, and then we would be prepared to engage in sporting contacts with them," he said.

The chairman of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU), Mr Eddie Tonks, said no decision would be made on the tour until Sarfu gave clear advice.

Mr Tonks said he agreed with South African rugby officials who said that once a sport in South Africa was fully integrated racially, then the politics should come out of it.

White House expresses regret

THE White House yesterday voiced regret that talks on democracy in South Africa had broken off and urged the African National Congress to return to the bargaining table.

"We view the negotiating process as critical to South Africa's democratic future, so we see the ANC's latest move as regrettable," White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater said.

"We encourage both sides to return to the negotiating process as soon as possible."

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

wanted an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council in New York to discuss the violence in South Africa, OAU spokesman Ahmed Haggad, said in Dakar yesterday.

African foreign ministers in the Senegalese capital, preparing for the June 29-July 1 OAU summit, backed calls for

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White House regret

FROM PAGE 1

a Security Council meeting from the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress.

"The OAU delegations supported the ANC and PAC appeal for an urgent meeting of the Security Council on events in South Africa," Haggad told reporters in Dakar.

Haggad, speaking on behalf of OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim, said it was the South African Government's responsibility to maintain and re-establish law and order.

Mr Salim, UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali and ANC president Nelson Mandela would meet at the end of this week — presumably in Dakar — "to draw up a South Africa strategy."

Africa would seek support at the United Nations from the Non-Aligned Movement, the Arab League and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference.

He was not specific about what the OAU hoped would emerge from the Security Council.

The upsurge in South African violence appeared certain to dominate the OAU summit, pushing out other issues like the continent's troubled moves towards greater democracy, human rights and calls for a regional peacekeeping force to stem a torrent of armed conflicts.

The rapid deterioration in relations between State President De Klerk's government and the ANC was also a blow to some African leaders who hoped the Dakar summit would hasten South Africa's

entry into the OAU fold.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement yesterday delivered a letter to Mr John Major calling for a fundamental reappraisal of British policy towards South Africa.

The letter criticised the British Government for exhibiting "remarkable complacency and indifference to the threat which the intransigence of the National Party and the escalating violence poses to the negotiation process".

The AAM attacked Mr Major for his "personal intervention" with Mr Mandela, urging him not to pull out of negotiations.

"By your intervention, in effect you have aligned Britain with the De Klerk regime at this critical point in South African history." — Sapa.

ILANGA, JUNE 25-27, 1992

Bathatha ukuboshwa bakwenze umqhele kusho oweNkatha

LINDA NTSELE

KWAMASHU. - Isikhulu sombutho weNkatha Freedom Party (IFP) eNtlasifali, uMnu. Musa Myeni, uthe kukhona abanye abaholi abathatha ukuboshwa bakwenze umqhele bese kuthi labo abangakaze baqunywe emajele kuthiwe abazi lutho ngomzabalazo.

UMnu. Myeni ukusho lokhu emhlanganweni wentsha ye-IFP obuse-Princess Magogo Stadium, Kwamashu ngeSonto.

Uthe umholi okufanele akhethwe ngabantu yilowo ocabanga ngomnotho nangokuthi abantu kufanele basebenze ukuzibonisa izidingo zabo zemipilo. Uxwayise um-

phakathi ukuthi noma ingakhulunywa kangakanani ipolitiki kodwa uma ingakusizi ukuba uthole umsebenzi ifana nento engokho.

Uthe izwe laseSouth Africa libhekene nethuba elalibhekene neNkosi uJesu ngenkathi ekhaselwa ngamaJuda ememza ethi "sikhulululeni uBaraba esikhundleni sikaJesu umuntu onosizo". Uthe abantu baseSouth Africa babhekene nenkinga yamakhomanisi afuna ukuba yindlovukayiphikiswa emnothweni walelizwe.

Uqhube wathi kulula ukuwavimba ukuba angawuthathi umbuso kunokuwasusa eswuthathile.

UMnu. Myeni uthe izihlangano zombusazwe kufanele zikugweme ukusebenzisa imizwa ekwakhiweni komthethosisekelo walelizwe. Uthe

umthethosisekelo akuyona incwadi yayizolo noma yanamuhla, kodwa ngeyakusasa labobonke abantu baseSouth Africa.

Uthe umthethosisekelo ozokwakhiwa kufanele kubengozokwazi ukunika abantu amalungelo futhi babenezwi ekubusweni kwezwe.

Uphinde wakugcizelela ukuthi isizwe saKwaZulu asisoze sadayisa ngamalungelo endabuko yesiNtu. Ukhumbuze izinkulungwane zentsha ye-IFP ebezibuthene kulomhlangano ukuthi izwe laKwaZulu lathethwa ezandleni zamakhosi.

Uthe umholi weqembu leNkatha, uDr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, waphikisana nokuthi eKwaZulu linathe uzimele-geqe wathi lokho kwakuzohlukanisa abantu phakathi baKwaZulu.

UMnu. Myeni utshelintsha ye-IFP ukuthi

leliqembu selibhekene nomzabalazo wesibili kanye nezihube zawo. Uthe umzabalazo olwa nobandlululo sewanqotshwa. Wathi iNkatha seyibhekene nalowo wokulwa nobukhomanisi. Uthe kubalulekile ukuba umphakathi wenze uNkulunkulu abeyinsika yomzabalazo wokuthela. Uthe iningi labaholi be-IFP babulawelwa ukuthi balwela iqiniso loqobo nenkululeko yentando yeningi.

Uxwayise labobaholi abangazi ngemigomo ye-IFP ukuthi libhekephi nababangayo, ukuba behlukane nalesenzo. Uthe kufanele umuntu ongazi ngemigomo yalenhlangano acacishe kahle uma cibuza.

Ukuhlaba kakhulu ukukweduswa kwabantu, wathi yikho okuholela ekubulaweni kwamalunga aleliqembu.



KWESOKUNXELE nguMnu. T.M. Shabalala ongumholi weNkatha Freedom Party eNtlasifali, ophakathi nguMnu. M. Myeni oymangu lomGwamanda we-IFP eNtlasifali nguMnu. G.E. Bhengu oyilungu loMkhandlu oShayimthetho KwaZulu elimele uCodo 26 kwaMashu. Bebesemhlanganweni wentsha ye-IFP obuse-Princess Magogo Stadium, Kwamashu ngeSonto.

B. Day 25/6/92

X

Africa's statesmen may talk peace in townships

LONDON — The International Commission of Jurists was assembling a team of former African heads of state to share township platforms with political parties in an urgent appeal for peace, secretary-general Judge Adama Dieng said last night.

Dieng, a Senegalese jurist living in Switzerland, said the SA government had agreed fully to this and the ANC "in principle", but that Inkatha had yet to reply. All parties would have to agree to the team's participation in the township peace tour.

Dieng said President FW de Klerk's suggestion of external monitoring of the police investigation into the Boipatong killings was a step towards the commission's recommendation that an international monitoring team, working closely with Codesa, monitor SA's law enforcement agencies.

"We thought a larger external team, perhaps with Judge Goldstone as a co-head, would be able to probe more properly."

Among the leaders the commission is trying to assemble are former Tanzanian premier Julius Nyerere, former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, former Cape Verde leader Aristide Pereira and former Senegalese chief justice and International

CHRIS BATEMAN

Court of Justice head Tapa Mbaye.

Reuter reports a Western diplomat in Cape Town said the EC was circulating a proposal that EC teams be sent to SA within months to monitor security forces in the townships.

Diplomats said British Prime Minister John Major might be able to persuade President FW de Klerk to accept an EC monitoring team.

The envoy said a proposed EC tour of SA by Britain, the Netherlands and Portugal could be brought forward and a formal proposal to help monitor security forces could follow.

Regrettable

Sapa-Reuter reports that Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said the Commonwealth was considering sending an observer team to SA. Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall recently sounded out Commonwealth leaders on the possibility of sending such a team.

"This will be something that evolves over the next few days," said Evans, adding the issue would be discussed with Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that the Bush Administration yesterday criticised the

ANC's decision to suspend constitutional talks with Pretoria.

"We see the ANC's latest move as regrettable," White House spokesman Walter Kansteiner said. "The negotiating process is critical to SA's democratic future."

Bush was said to be following developments closely. The possibility that he would contact ANC president Nelson Mandela or President de Klerk either by telephone or letter was not ruled out.

The US embassy in Pretoria announced it would observe Monday's day of mourning declared by the ANC and its allies for the victims of the Boipatong massacre.

SA's US ambassador Harry Schwarz told millions of TV viewers yesterday that the only way to solve SA's problems was by negotiation and it would serve no purpose to stop talking. Appearing on prime time TV, Schwarz said: "The government wants peace. The government wants the negotiations to continue."

Sapa-AFP reports that Dutch parliamentarians are pressing Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers to cancel or postpone his trip to SA in August.

Sweden said yesterday its intended removal of commercial sanctions could be delayed by the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa.

Mandela, Botha to meet UN chief

FW opens the way for world role in SA

B. Day

25/6/92

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night signalled increased international involvement in SA's political transition and invited the ANC to meet government for two full days of talks.

De Klerk, speaking at a news conference in Pretoria after the Cabinet met to discuss the ANC's withdrawal from constitutional negotiations until a series of violence-related demands were met, opened the way for international monitoring of political violence. This has been a key ANC demand as violence has escalated.

De Klerk said he had asked Judge Richard Goldstone "to arrange for a suitably qualified person of international repute to join his commission as an assessor". The SAP had suggested the judge invite one or more experts of international standing to evaluate police investigations of Boipatong.

He said Foreign Minister Pk Botha



● DE KLERK

PATRICK BULGER

would meet UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali in an unnamed African country.

A diplomatic source confirmed Botha would meet Boutros-Ghali who will be in Dakar, Senegal, for the OAU summit early next week. ANC president Nelson Mandela and PAC president Clarence Makwetu would also meet Boutros-Ghali.

Sapa-Reuter reports from Dakar that OAU spokesman Ahmed Haggad said the OAU wanted an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council in New York to discuss the violence in SA. He said African foreign ministers backed calls from the ANC and the PAC for a security council meeting.

The diplomatic source said Botha would oppose the move and that he would probably be backed by Britain, a permanent Security Council member. He might suggest a compromise in the form of a UN violence-monitoring team which could be in SA within weeks.

Diplomats also said EC monitors could play a role in combating township violence.

The ANC said last night that Mandela would meet De Klerk only to place the ANC's demands before him. De Klerk's proposed summit had "only propaganda value" and would serve no useful purpose.

However, Beeld reports today that plans

□ To Page 2

FW invites ANC

for a meeting could be worked out in discussions today between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

De Klerk said last night a senior Commonwealth diplomat was planning to visit SA. It is believed he was referring to Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall, chairman of the Commonwealth foreign ministers' committee on SA.

"The government reiterates its firm stand against foreign interference in SA's affairs," said De Klerk. "We, however, welcome the international community's interest in developments in SA."

"The government has nothing to hide. It is helpful that members of the international community acquaint themselves with the facts surrounding the violence, inter alia through fact-finding missions."

De Klerk called for two full days of talks with the ANC. "We believe that fundamental discussions must be held on the obstacles which have been raised in their state-

ment and also on the obstacles which the government has identified, which include:

- The consequences of the ANC's plan for mass action;
- The current violence in SA;
- Inflammatory and unacceptable rhetoric; and
- Defamatory and false accusations against political leaders.

"The government also intends to have similar discussions with other parties," he said.

De Klerk did not refer specifically to the ANC's demands, but his moves on foreign involvement would appear to go some way towards meeting them.

In its reaction, the ANC said the starting point of a return to negotiations had to be "addressing the real issues placed before the regime by the NEC of the ANC. Democratic change, and an end to violence, is possible if the steps proposed in the NEC statement are fully addressed."

● See Page 4

□ From Page 1

ANC action could spark civil war, says Buthelezi

25/6/92 BUSINESS DAY

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday that the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa and its mass action campaign could lead to civil war.

He called the ANC's actions "the worst kind of political tantrum" imaginable.

He said, in Ulundi, that Codesa was the "only show in town" and thwarting Codesa was akin to trying to thwart mainstream politics. He said the reconstruction of the negotiation process would take place only at tremendous national cost.

"This cost will have to be paid firstly in terms of a tragic loss of life in what could emerge as a civil war."

Enormous economic hardship would result from the ANC's actions which would also impair a future democracy, he said.

Codesa should continue its tasks and the management committee should not cancel its scheduled meeting. Inkatha would call for a plenary session to review what the convention stood for and how to proceed following the latest developments.

"If Codesa is so vulnerable that we cannot proceed without the ANC, then we must re-examine our options and re-commence negotiations on a different tack," said Buthelezi.

He accused the ANC of portraying the negotiation process as simply between itself and government, when in fact it was a multiparty affair.

Government, the DP and at least seven other parties will attend a Codesa management committee meeting on Monday.

Meanwhile, management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday the committee's fate was still to be decided on the basis of consultation with the various participants in Codesa.

He said the ANC's withdrawal was a serious blow to the negotiation process and every effort had to be made to resolve this impasse quickly.

DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday there was no question of the party withdrawing from Codesa. "If there is a management committee meeting, we're going."

Government sources also voiced their intention of attending the June 29 meeting, although they were doubtful whether there would be a quorum of two thirds of the 18-member committee.

De Beer said it seemed the ANC remained fully committed to negotiations.

He said in a statement the DP was deeply distressed to hear the ANC was withdrawing from Codesa. "However, this morning's media accounts put matters in a better perspective. It seems the ANC remains fully committed to negotiations, and has already been in touch with government for this purpose. This clearly means that all is not lost."

DP national council chairman David Gant said yesterday the party would hold talks with all political groups to get talks back on track.

He told a meeting in Somerset West the DP was determined to prevent a continuation of the unhealthy, antagonistic political rivalry between the ANC and the NP.

"The intransigent style of the Nationalist government at Codesa, its ramming of bad legislation through Parliament at the last minute, its indifferent attitude towards its accountability for corruption, and its apparent inability to deal with the perpetrators of violence, raise questions as to its competence to govern for another single day and its bona fides at Codesa," Gant said.

"The response by the ANC and the return to protest politics and mass action is short-sighted, dangerous and unconstructive. It may appeal to the masses today, but they will suffer the most from the consequences tomorrow." — Sapa.

It's the betrayal of Nkomati all over again

BUSINESS DAY

25-06-92

Dear Sir,
THE national peace accord has strong similarities to the Nkomati accord which bound the Mozambique (Frelimo) and SA (NP) governments to non-aggression, including cessation of support to elements hostile to the other.

The Frelimo government went on to close the ANC's Radio Freedom base in Maputo, limited the number of ANC personnel and closed MK bases. The SA government continued to train, equip, fund and arm the murderous bandits of Renamo.

Whenever there was an exposure of the SA government and its security and intelligence establishment's continued support for Renamo, we were given the stock answer of "rogue elements... right-wing elements... we shall investigate."

Similarly, here in SA, following the national peace accord and other preceding agreements, the ANC suspended the armed struggle, helped SA back into international sport, and joined local and regional peace initiatives while repeatedly appealing to its members and supporters to be disciplined and non-violent and to give the negotiations process a chance.

On the other hand, the media exposed an intensification of secret plots aimed at weakening the ANC by disorganising the black communi-

ties and even assassinating ANC leaders. We all saw and continue to see Renamo-style political violence increasing among the oppressed with innocent commuters and townships residents slaughtered regardless of political affiliation. Government's response is the same as it was regarding Renamo.

The net effect of all this is the failure of the national peace accord. It also confirms that the NP government and its security forces cannot be trusted to govern this country or maintain law and order, let alone honouring peace agreements.

The other casualties of the Machiavellian double-dealing are people with good intentions like John Hall and all those who have tried to make regional and local peace initiatives work.

The stench of murder, corruption and racism cannot be tolerated any longer.

All peace-loving South Africans must unite behind the ANC and other democratic forces to remove the present governments and install an interim government of national unity which will lead to a constituent assembly which, in turn, will bring about a democratic constitution that will rid this country of fear, misery and poverty.

PAUL SEFULARO
Johannesburg

PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000
Fax: (011) 836-0805

□□□□

Dear Sir,
YOUR objective summary of the current state of affairs (Comment, June 22) is marred by one unsubstantiated assumption.

You say: "Both Mandela and De Klerk, and the organisations they head, must realise the people responsible for Boipatong and the wave of violence tearing the country, are a desperate minority."

The implication is that "the people responsible" are other than those under the direct orders of the two principals. But there are doubts that this is so.

Such fears expressed by the SA Council of Churches are customarily dismissed as being from an ally of the ANC.

When, however, Ray McCauley of the Rhema church sends a message to President F W de Klerk "noting a growing perception among moderates that allegations of police/-Inkatha collusion in violence are not wild propaganda", the situation is serious indeed ("Peace accord still holds, says Hall" — June 22).

That the SAP is entirely under the

control of the President is factual; his close association with Buthelezi, the head of Inkatha, is manifest.

The "desperate minority" must include these two persons, and their actions be a reflection of a cold-blooded and deliberate policy.

JACK CURTIS
Norwood

□□□□

Dear Sir,
THE ANC's suspension of negotiations due to the Boipatong massacre is hypocrisy of the highest order.

The mother of violence in this country is Winnie Mandela, the estranged wife of the leader of the ANC, who openly advocated the use of matches, not only to hasten the so-called freedom process but to discourage any opposition to the ANC.

At the time she was not censured in any way.

Now that a backlash is being experienced and everyone else is being blamed for the massacre except the ANC and its prime motivator of violence, the ANC must remember the words uttered by a famous person many hundreds of years ago: "He (or she) who lives by the sword will perish by the sword."

G B NORTON
Craighall

□□□□

Dear Sir,
CERTAIN views in the recent article on SA's import propensity (Business Day, June 5) missed the point.

Isn't it more likely that, generally speaking, South Africans prefer imported goods simply because SA goods don't compare?

For years — decades even — we have been insulated from much externally sourced competition. Aren't there grounds to argue that obsessive protection policy often forces SA consumers to accept inferior quality and/or artificially high prices, plus the entrenchment of sometimes militant trade unions?

Our preference for imports may be less a condition in itself than a symptom of the underlying take-it-or-leave-it attitude that over-protection, with the resultant lack of competition, produces. Prompting SA industries to get their act together, by starting a phased withdrawal of protection from imported competition, may be the route to winning consumer confidence.

S W LUNTZ
Observatory Extension

□ While pseudonyms are sometimes acceptable, correspondents should sign letters and give their names, a street address and a daytime contact number. The Editor reserves the right to shorten letters.

THE paradox in the ANC's decision to call off talks and yet still want to inform President FW de Klerk personally of its demands reflects the tenuous position in which the organisation finds itself two years after its unbanning.

Having tried the full gamut of strategies to force the government from power, the ANC leadership finds itself trapped between the militancy of its followers and the obstinacy of government.

The paradox manifests itself at a number of levels. The armed struggle has been suspended, yet ANC officials are killed at will. Exiles are returning, only to face police harassment at home. To cap it, in the midst of the ANC's misery, De Klerk is fêted around the world.

The ANC thrashes about in this political no man's land — issuing ultimatums, making demands yet urging reasonableness. Its resources strained to the limit, its patience tested and its moderates embarrassed, the ANC casts a nervous eye at its constituency and fails to recognise it through the fog of political uncertainty.

A senior national executive committee (NEC) member relates how ANC leaders, facing township audiences, are confronted by new songs — which the leaders do not recognise — calling for guns. In the face of this grassroots militancy, the ANC has little option but to suspend negotiations. It does so, however, with the claim to being the custodian of negotiations, a graphic admission that a negotiated settlement is in the interests of its leadership.

Two visits to Boipatong at the weekend illustrated the challenges and the problems facing the negotiation process.

De Klerk's face-to-face meeting with black anger — an encounter no other NP leader of government has yet experienced — taught government several lessons that will have an impact on negotiations. Astute politician that he is, De Klerk under-

estimated black anger at the continuing carnage in the townships and at him as head of state. NP hopes of putting together a winning election alliance appeared in that fleeting visit to be ill-considered. The pressure on government to remove itself from power with the remaining grace it can summon is imperative as black anger rises by the day.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's visit the following day and the rapturous welcome he received illustrated just as graphically that the ANC and its leader is the only political force in the country with the capacity to control the townships. The alternative is ungovernability and unpopular security measures.

These are hard political facts for the NP to swallow. Yet, even harder to swallow, for the country as a whole, is an agreement with a political leadership divorced from its constituency. This is what government's campaign to undermine the ANC could come to, and it is a development that can only set SA on course for a disastrous confrontation between white diehards and township radicals with nothing to lose.

The ANC's demands contained in this week's NEC statement are "eminently reasonable", secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said. In

essence they are similar to those linked to the ultimatum the ANC made last year, regarding security matters, and in some respects put SA back to the pre-Codesa era.

Codesa had come to a virtual standstill since the May plenary session and it was generally accepted

that progress in bilateral talks between the ANC and government was necessary before there would be progress at Codesa.

The political challenge facing SA now lies in the resumption of the negotiating process. The ANC will find it difficult to find solid reasons for restarting talks unless De Klerk acts on at least some of the demands presented to him. As with last year's impasse, the demands require that De Klerk puts a distance between himself and the security forces and that he show himself to be impartial in regard to security force conduct.

Whether he is willing or able to do so remains one of the big unanswered questions in SA political life. As with a year ago, Mandela maintains that either De Klerk is behind the violence or that he has no control over his security forces.

Codesa made some progress on the question of joint control of the security forces, but negotiations will remain bedevilled as long as there is a perception that the security forces are less than wholeheartedly committed to a negotiated solution.

It has become a truism to say that negotiations offer SA the only route to democracy. But negotiations can take place both before and after civil wars.

Caught between *BUSINESS DAY* militant supporters *25-06-92* and obstinate govt

PATRICK BULGER



□ RAMAPHOSA

In the next few days government and the ANC will attempt to restart talks. In the meantime, SA's participation in world sport and its return to the international community will remain under threat. The economy will wither as political uncertainty drags on.

The ANC's long-term demand for a democratic constituent assembly is not going to be forgotten or dissipated in compromises that offer anything less than full-blown majoritarian democracy. Government will sooner or later have to test its strength among the electorate. De Klerk's Boipatong visit suggests he has no time to waste.

For the ANC, difficult months lie ahead. It will have to persuade its followers — against all the evidence to the contrary — that government is serious about a negotiated transition to democracy. It will have no chance of success should the township killings continue and should the security forces appear partial to political groupings.

Government will be hard pushed to persuade the international community of its sincerity. It faces a renewed loss of standing among world leaders who effectively granted government a last chance to negotiate itself out of power when De Klerk unbanned the ANC.

De Klerk cannot continue to live on international goodwill indefinitely. The mood of black South Africans is ugly — it will take more than smiles and kind words on his part.

Over the next few months, the militants in the ANC will take maximum advantage of the suspension of negotiations to prove the correctness of street-based confrontation. Should their methods of protest prove more effective in moving government, they will argue strongly against a resumption of negotiations.

In the chaos and economic debilitation that will accompany mass action, precious time will be ticking away. With the negotiators outwitted by circumstance and hidden agendas, it will be left to the warlords to pick up where they left off.

FW OFFERS TWO-DAY TALKS WITH

STATE President De Klerk yesterday mooted the streamlining of Codesa to improve its efficiency and proposed that specialists of "international repute" examine police investigations into the Boipatong killings.

He also invited the African National Congress to attend two full days of discussions to break the impasse in peace talks.

His suggestions follow an all-day Cabinet meet-

ANC

ing to debate the ANC withdrawal from bilateral talks with the government and constitutional talks at Codesa in protest against the ongoing carnage in townships, particularly Boipatong.

Mr De Klerk said he intended to "plan the road ahead" with senior advisers today and would work night and day to bring negotiations back on track.

TO PAGE 2

FW offers two days of talks

FROM PAGE 1

However, he had already ruled out international intervention to break the deadlock — a key ANC demand — and said he would accept only foreign fact-finding missions.

At his news conference in Pretoria yesterday evening, Mr De Klerk made his views clear: "The government reiterates its firm stand against foreign interference in South Africa's affairs.

"We, however, welcome the international community's interest in developments in South Africa. The government has nothing to hide. It is helpful that members of the international community acquaint themselves with the facts surrounding the violence, inter alia, through fact-finding missions."

Asked whether Codesa had outlived its purpose, Mr De Klerk replied: "I'm not against streamlining Codesa".

He felt Codesa had its own shortcomings. He would be quite open to suggestions on improving its efficiency.

Mr De Klerk said he had addressed last week's Boipatong massacre, asking Mr Justice Richard Goldstone urgently to proceed with an inquiry.

"I have also requested him at his discretion to arrange for a suitably qualified person of international repute to join his commission as an assessor."

He suggested, to that... As solutions could not

"one or more experts of international standing (be invited) to evaluate police investigations of the Boipatong tragedy" to prove or refute charges against the security forces.

In reaction to demands that hostels, mostly occupied by Inkatha supporters, should be scrapped or altered into family units, Mr De Klerk said funds had already been allocated "to ensure that the question of migrant hostels is given urgent attention".

Inmates of KwaMadala Hostel are alleged to have staged the Boipatong attack.

Mr De Klerk had harsh words for ANC accusations of security force involvement in Boipatong, saying: "The charges of government complicity in the massacre are without any foundation whatsoever and we find it reprehensible".

"We also reject in the strongest terms the constant insinuations that the government is involved in violence. We have nothing to gain from it."

The time had come for political leaders, through negotiations, to take hands and create political stability.

Issues the government would raise with the ANC at the proposed meeting included the consequences of the ANC's mass action campaign; violence; inflammatory and unacceptable rhetoric; and defamatory and false accusations against political leaders.

be found only in bilateral discussions with the ANC, Mr De Klerk said, talks would also be held with other political parties.

No date had been set for the talks, with the ANC, as the government did not want unilaterally to set a specific date, Mr De Klerk said. The date had to be mutually agreed on with the ANC.

Mr De Klerk said it would be a "terrible tragedy" if all the work done at Codesa was nullified. Much had been achieved and they were "so near workable solutions".

He rejected charges that the government wanted to cling to power.

He believed that protracted negotiations would only play in the hands of radicals.

Asked about the possibility of South African athletes being barred from the Olympic Games, he said: "It would be a pity if innocent South Africans should be punished for the dastardly deeds of murderers".

He believed international sport contacts would only serve as an encouragement for a peaceful negotiations process.

The time had come for political leaders, through negotiations, to take hands and create political stability.

Furthermore, these leaders should influence their supporters not to use violence as a political instrument.

Mr De Klerk again said he was angered by accusations that the government

was involved in murder. "I reject that in the strongest possible terms. There is nothing to gain from that."

Reacting to the ANC's demands for an elected constituent assembly, Mr De Klerk said there had been "no fundamental difference at Codesa in this respect".

Funds had already been allocated to ensure that the question of migrant hostels be given urgent attention.

Solutions could not only be found only in bilateral discussions with the ANC, said Mr De Klerk. A broad consensus would be required for a new constitution to be acceptable.

Again referring to the violence, Mr De Klerk said despite the organised resistance to his visit to Boipatong on Saturday, he had driven through the area "for seven or eight minutes and people waved at me and were friendly".

"People were standing at a fence in front in their houses and reaching out to me."

Mr De Klerk said he had cancelled an appointment with the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly today and would be locked in discussions with senior advisers to plan "the road ahead".

Furthermore, a Commonwealth leader would visit him soon in South Africa while Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha was scheduled to meet the secretary-general of the UN soon. — Sapa.



State President DE KLERK addresses the media in Pretoria yesterday. He announced that he would invite the African National Congress for two days of talks with him.

• Picture by Nick van der Linde

Sport in near-chaos

FROM PAGE 1

ments had been made".

United Cricket Board of South Africa managing director, Dr Ali Bacher, said he was confident major political leaders would "soon settle their differences and come together to formulate a strategy which will lead this country into a future where there will be stability, security and prosperity for all".

"There is a great deal of gloom and despair in South Africa at the moment, but I do believe that the country's sportsmen and women should not overreact," he added. "I would hope, therefore, that the ANC will not find it necessary to prolong its call for a renewal of the moratorium beyond a very short period."

The South African Rugby Football Union's general manager, Mr Arrie Oberholzer, said the ANC's call to suspend international competition would be discussed at an Sarfu executive meeting tomorrow.

Sarfu joint president Dr Danie Craven said however Sarfu operated according to the agreements reached when the former SA Rugby Board and the SA Rugby Union moved towards unification last year.

Dr Craven said it meant there could be "no interference on political grounds from the ANC or any other political party".

General-secretary of

the National Olympic Sports Congress, Mr Mto-bi Tyamzashe, told radio New Zealand that a decision was expected to be made on Saturday whether the rugby tours will be called off.

He said it would not be wise for a foreign sports team to visit South Africa without the ANC's blessing. "I hope New Zealand would be responsible and listen to the balance of information. The question is whether they will believe the situation is all right if only Sarfu are saying it."

"Individuals have a democratic right to express their opinions, but the NOSC urges them to give the non-racial sports movement, a chance to formulate their position properly without being marginalised."

South African Olympic leader, Mr Sam Ramsamy, said yesterday his organisation was in constant touch with the ANC and they would consult each other "all along the way".

Asked if their was a possibility that the South African team may not go to Barcelona, Mr Ramsamy said his organisation was "not discussing such a possibility at the moment".

"We are not talking in these terms," he said. "We are constantly monitoring the situation, and if circumstances called for it then we would have to re-examine our position."

"Liaison with the ANC is very close," he said.

"We have an excellent working relationship with them, and they have helped us considerably in being recognised by the International Olympic Committee and in enabling us to increase the size of the Olympic team."

A major sponsor of the South African team to the Olympic Games expressed its concern yesterday at the ANC's call.

Caltex Oil (SA) said in a statement it was contractually bound to adhere to any decision taken by Nocsa regarding the games.

The company regretted the events leading to the breakdown of negotiations on the future of South Africa, and the call for the withdrawal of the Olympic team.

It hoped South Africa's participation would be ensured.

Australia has adopted a wait-and-see policy on possible resumption of sporting sanctions against South Africa.

Prime Minister Paul Keating said he was appalled by the Boipatong massacre and deeply concerned it had caused the ANC to withdraw from reform negotiations.

Mr Keating said the government was keeping in touch with other countries and with sporting bodies over calls for resumed sporting sanctions.

But Mr Keating told Parliament it was premature to make a decision.

Foreign Minister Gar-

eth Evans said Australia was adopting a wait-and-see attitude to the question.

Australian Rugby Union spokesman Greg Campbell said officials were monitoring discussions between the ANC, (NOSC) and (Sarfu).

"As far as the ARU is concerned, the ANC gave its blessing to the Wallaby tour earlier this year and we've heard nothing to change that," Mr Campbell said.

New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger was reported yesterday as saying the All Black rugby tour of South Africa should go ahead.

Mr Bolger, speaking to the New Zealand Press Association during a European tour, said there did not seem to be much logic to the view that the tour should be called off.

"The rules that we required of South Africa was that a sport be integrated, and then we would be prepared to engage in sporting contacts with them," he said.

The chairman of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU), Mr Eddie Tonks, said no decision would be made on the tour until Sarfu gave clear advice.

Mr Tonks said he agreed with South African rugby officials who said that once a sport in South Africa was fully integrated racially, then the politics should come out of it."

Pull out of Olympics, stop tours **ANC call plunges sport** **into near-chaos**

By Sapa-Reuter, AFP
and Pieter Kruger

LOCAL sporting bodies were thrown into near chaos yesterday when the African National Congress called on all international sporting codes to reimpose the sports moratorium on South Africa.

The announcement not only puts South Africa's chances of competing in the Barcelona Olympics in jeopardy, but is also likely to affect the upcoming soccer tour by Cameroon and rugby tours by

New Zealand and Australia in August.

The bombshell was dropped by ANC spokesman on sport, Mr Steve Tshwete, yesterday morning.

Mr Tshwete said the ANC were compelled to review South Africa's participation in international competitions against the backdrop of the violence ravaging Black townships.

"The prevailing wave of violence carried out by

the regime and its henchmen against innocent people in the Black townships, and in particular the recent Boipatong massacre, has compelled the ANC to review South Africa's participation in international competitions."

The ANC also asked local sporting codes to review their participation in international sport "with a view to putting them on ice".

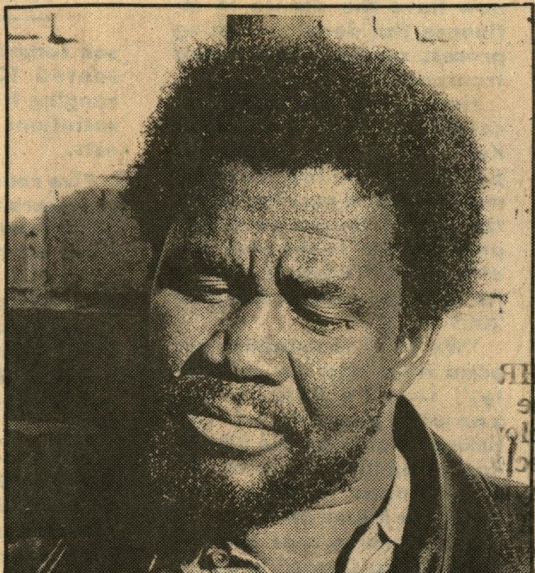
The ANC's recommen-

dations were met with mixed reaction.

Mr Solomon "Stix" Morewa, secretary-general of the South African Soccer Association (Safa), said he sympathised with the ANC but they would be seeking special dispensation as plans for the Cameroon tour — due to start in 10 days time — were already "far gone and big invest-

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HOSTEL SPOKESMAN: Petros Mdiniso says KwaMadala inmates are virtually under siege in a hostile environment.

◁ **INKATHA STRONGHOLD:** The first pictures taken inside the hostel after last week's killings. Hostel inmates deny they were responsible for the massacre, and tell of the animosity of township dwellers who necklaced the girlfriend of an inmate on the Sunday before the June 17 rampage.

● **Photographs:**
JOE LOUW and ABDUL SHARIEF



Boipatong carnage leaves host of riddles in its wake

WHEN the bitterly cold winter winds scour the litter-laden, dusty streets of Boipatong, there can be few more miserable places on Earth to live.

From piles of uncollected rubbish, plastic bags fly through the air seeking the homes they came from; eyes and noses fill with a foul mixture of dust, coal smoke and factory waste, and not even the thickest jacket can bring a moment's comfort.

In the past week, since the horrific massacre in the township, scores of local and foreign journalists have tramped those dusty streets looking for answers to a seemingly endless list of questions about the night of June 17 when death stalked those streets. Question piles upon question, to be met with obfuscation, contradiction and sometimes just plain silence.

Were Zulu-speaking men responsible for the attack?

Initial reports suggested that the attack on the town was carried out by several hundred "Zulu-speaking men". But close questioning of many survivors this week revealed that people heard several languages spoken by the attackers, including Zulu, Afrikaans, English, Sotho and Xhosa.

Did the police disperse the informal



BOIPATONG: Scores of local and international journalists have tramped its dusty streets looking for answers to an endless list of questions.

township guard, known as the "Boipatong Boys", shortly before the attack?

An off-duty black policeman confirmed that the nearby Powerville riot squad had in fact dispersed the Boys — the first time they had ever done so and despite the fact that the township was, at that time, absolutely quiet.

Police confirm they dispersed the group, but say they were first attacked three times — presumably by the Boys — and used birdshot to disperse them.

How did the attackers get to Boipatong?

Despite initial reports of men being dropped off from police vehicles, the Saturday Star could find no one who had actually seen this happening. It is also illogical, as probably only 20 men at most can fit into a Casspir — the type of vehicle that residents say they saw at the scene. Therefore it would need 10 to 15 vehicles to transport the numbers believed to have been involved in the attack.



WHERE WERE THEY?: The role of the police is again in the spotlight.

SATURDAY STAR 25 JUNE 1992

police by pressing an alarm button. But when they arrived 15 minutes later, they ignored his pleas to investigate and later tried to remove him and a night-watchman from the scene. The next day he and six other men working at the station were fired.

Why would the police not investigate his claims and then try to remove him from the scene?

The man assumes it was because they feared he saw too much. He has now gone into hiding for fear of his life.

Were white men involved with the attackers in any way?

Close questioning of residents failed to turn up any incontrovertible substantiation of white men being involved. Tuis Matope, a resident of Slovo Camp, said he heard a white man order others "to shoot, not talk". Asked how he knew it was a white man, he said he "just knew" the sound of white men speaking.

Wilson Moloi said he heard white men speak when attackers broke into his house. Later, he said, he saw them when he climbed onto his roof. However, his adult daughter, who was with him at the time, said it was far too dark at the time of the attack to see who was who. She said that when the attack occurred, everyone in the

house fled and her father locked himself in a bedroom.

Other claims of white men being present were all second-hand.

Did police Casspirs escort the attackers before, during or after the attack?

At least three different sources, including an off-duty policeman, reported seeing either one or two Casspirs in the company of the attackers as they returned to KwaMadala.

One woman described the Casspirs as "driving" the attackers back — in the sense of driving cattle — while the off-duty policeman described a Casspir as driving behind the marching and loot-laden attackers and "escorting" them towards the hostel.

Harder to explain is why a Casspir reversed into and knocked over the iron fence in Hlubi Street moments before attackers broke into the house and killed 65-year-old Flora Moshupe and another woman. Township residents say this was done to facilitate the attack.

What happened, according to the police?

The SAP has refused to give any account of the movements of police vehicles on the night of the attack, despite the fact that the movements of their vehicles are carefully logged at police stations.

A puzzling feature of the attack is that it surged through the township towards the hostel, meaning that if the hostel dwellers were to blame, they first had to get to the far side of the township undetected.

The only explanation of how this could have been done has been offered by a petrol attendant at a service station opposite the hostel. The man, whose name is known to the Saturday Star, said approximately 300 armed men surged out of the hostel at around 9.30 pm — shortly before most people say the attack began — and marched along the main street adjacent to the township from which they could have entered the shanty-town known as Slovo Camp, reportedly where the attack originated. He denies having seen any police vehicles.

He says he summoned

The case of the 200 missing detectives

IN THE wake of last week's Boipatong massacre, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel ordered "200 experienced investigators" into the township to get to the bottom of the killings.

But a Saturday Star investigation has not managed to turn up even one family in the bereaved township that has been questioned by detectives. Hostel dwellers also deny that there has been any large-scale police questioning of inmates.

What has happened to the 200 tough detectives?

When reporters visited the Moshupe home this week, where 65-year-old Flora Mo-

shupe and another woman were killed on the night of the 17th, they were shown a bullet hole in the cinder block wall made, the family allege, from a bullet from the Casspir that knocked down their front wall.

Moments after the wall was demolished, attackers brandishing spears and pangas attacked the house, killing the two women. The next morning uniformed police arrived to inspect the scene and collect the bodies. The bullet hole was pointed out, but the family were brusquely told to mind their own business.

Not one of the 200 detectives has yet visited the scene or

tried to recover evidence in what must be regarded as elementary police detective work.

In fact teams from The Star and Saturday Star have been unable to find one home visited by detectives investigating the estimated 45 murders that took place in Boipatong on the 17th.

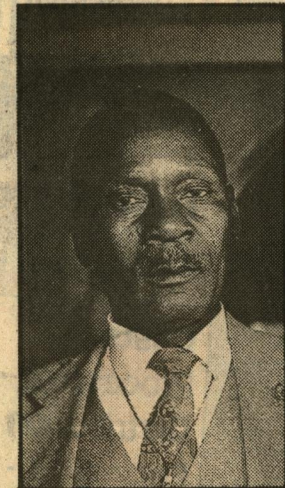
At the KwaMadala hostel, the hostel manager said no inmates had been arrested, but some had been questioned by uniformed police.

The police officer in charge of press inquiries concerning the Boipatong investigation, Colonel Dave Bruce, said police were facing "tremendous difficulties" in the investigation.

"The people are refusing to speak to us, and our job is being made more difficult by political organisations making accusations against the police — and you can quote me on that."

When it was pointed out that it was impossible for the residents of Boipatong to speak to police if they did not visit the scene to ask questions, Bruce suggested that some press people were in fact biased against the police.

Bruce promised to reply regarding just what the 200 "experienced investigators" were investigating, but at the time of going to press had not yet done so.



NO QUESTIONS: Not one resident who has been questioned by detectives could be found.

The Star 25/6/92

The ANC withdrawal from Codesa was inevitable, argues Joe Latakgomo

Pace too fast for followers



AS SOUTH Africa reels from the political crisis brought on by the African National Congress decision to withdraw from both Codesa and bilateral talks with the Government, the question now is what alternatives there are, and whether South Africa can survive those alternatives.

It was inevitable that the ANC would, sooner rather than later, withdraw from Codesa. The organisation seemed to be waiting for an event which would give it the courage to do so, while still retaining the moral high ground.

Signs of dissatisfaction over the organisation's role within Codesa had begun to emerge months ago. The feeling was that while the leadership bargained and negotiated on the various issues, there was little reporting back to its constituencies. This meant that while the organisation was moving forward in agreements, a large body of its constituency was

being left behind.

Clear signals that grassroots support of Codesa was not forthcoming were noticeable in constituencies like the Natal Midlands region, under the leadership of hardliner Harry Gwala, and also in Transkei and the eastern Cape, where the ground was becoming more and more fragile under the feet of even the regional leadership over the Codesa issue.

The ANC negotiators were accused of being "salesmen" with briefcases who are selling out the black cause. Indeed, briefcases were derisively called "Codesas".

In the Natal Midlands and the eastern Cape, preference for addressing rallies went to Chris Hani, Peter Mokaba and Winnie Mandela, rather than Thabo Mbeki and Cyril Ramaphosa.

The leadership, however, clearly realised they would need a major issue to break off talks.

Simply quitting would seem to vindicate the Pan Africanist Con-

gress, which had held that while it believed a settlement could be negotiated, Codesa was not the appropriate forum.

The organisation was also too deeply involved simply to get out and scupper the talks. As Ramaphosa pointed out, the process was started by the ANC and by the Government, even before the organisation was unbanned and Nelson Mandela was released.

By all accounts much headway had been made, to the extent that predictions were made of an interim government before the end of the year.

But that also created resistance from their supporters. There were those who believed that there was too much urgency to "get to Tynnhays", with a perception that this was being done "at any cost". The ANC was perceived to be compromising far too much, too quickly, while the regime had done little to return

This view was reinforced after

the white referendum. Among Codesa delegates, the feeling was that before the referendum, the Government was moving fast to obtain the best possible deal for whites.

However, after the referendum a hardening was perceived: the Government was sure of its support — even though this was a misjudgment — and began to dig in its heels.

The ANC had not tested its own constituency. That is why the need for mass action arose, as the only test of support, and a way of showing the Government its strength so that the balance on the scales can be brought back to equilibrium.

At about this point, terms like "white minority regime" and "illegitimate regime" began to re-enter the language of the ANC leadership.

The Government clearly underestimated the pressures on the ground that the ANC had to deal

with. They believed that the ANC would not — could not — quit Codesa. Quite rightly, they pointed out that only negotiation can bring about the desired democratic state, and that the alternative was a slide to anarchy.

In any event, both had no practical alternatives to negotiation.

A major factor which undoubtedly changed support for Codesa to resistance was the violence perceived to be State-sponsored or Inkatha-inspired.

How could the ANC leadership, people asked, talk to the people who are responsible, directly or indirectly, for the killing of innocent people on trains, in their homes, in the streets?

In the period since Codesa, hundreds of people have died. The view that a "third force" — determined to wreck Codesa and the negotiation process — was involved, is often reinforced by the nature of the killings: clinical, random, well-planned operations

done with military precision and efficiency. If that is the case, then they have achieved their objective. Their next step would then be to spark off anarchy.

The ANC in its list of demands to be met by the Government before it can reconsider its position, has left many escape routes for itself.

As Ramaphosa said, the demands are "eminently reasonable", and the Government, for its part, can act swiftly on all but the matter of an interim government, which, it can rightly point out, was a subject for Codesa negotiations.

By quitting Codesa, the ANC has sent out two messages: one to the Government that the organisation demands more urgency in the move towards a democratic government, and, second, to its own grassroots supporters that the pace of the process was not going to be dictated by "the white minority regime".

Sport chaos over ANC call for ban

JOHANNESBURG—Sporting bodies were thrown into near chaos yesterday when the ANC called on all international sporting codes to reimpose the sports moratorium on South Africa.

The call not only jeopardises SA's chances of competing in the Barcelona Olympics, but is also likely to affect the soccer tour by the Camerouns and rugby tours by New Zealand and Australia.

"The prevailing wave of violence carried out by the regime and its henchmen against innocent people in the townships, and in particular the Boipatong massacre, has compelled the ANC to review SA's participation in international competitions," spokesman Steve Tshwete said.

The ANC also asked local sporting codes to review participation in international sport "with a view to putting them on ice".

Sarfu joint president Dr Danie Craven said Sarfu operated according to agreements reached when the SA Rugby Board and SA Rugby Union moved towards unification. This meant there could be "no interference on political grounds from the ANC or any other political party".

SA Olympic leader Sam Ramamy said yesterday his organisation and the ANC would consult each other "all along the way". The possibility of withdrawing from the Barcelona Olympics was not under discussion "at the moment". — (Sapa)

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The Natal Mercury Thursday June 25, 1992

Mourn Boipatong on Sunday, say employers

By Siza Ntshakala
Labour Reporter

SOME employers have accepted that the Boipatong massacre deserves to be mourned, but would prefer the proposed national day of mourning to take place on a Sunday.

Victims of the massacre will be buried on Monday.

Responding to the call made by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa for the observance of June 29 as a national day of mourning, Mr Mike Norris, president of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce, said: "The massacre was undoubtedly a great tragedy and if the burial services are to be held on

Monday, then one can understand that the local community would want to make that a day of mourning and commemoration.

"However, from a national point of view it would seem that the day of mourning should be the Sunday when a large proportion of the population attend church services and these could be commemorative services."

Commenting in his private capacity, Mr Des Winship, president of the Pietermaritz-

burg Chamber of Commerce and Industries, said: "There is no question that the Boipatong massacre is a national tragedy (but) ... I personally believe that Sunday June 28 would be a more logical choice for mourning."

Mr Basil Smith, director of manpower affairs of the Natal Chamber of Industries, said the chamber regarded the call for a day of mourning a respectful gesture.

He said Sunday was a religious holiday, generally a non-working day, and accordingly was regarded as the most meaningful time for a commemorative service to take place.

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Killings 'worst since referendum'

The Human Rights Commission recorded 106 deaths and 86 injuries in the week which ended on Tuesday and included the Boipatong massacre.

"The death toll is the highest recorded in a seven-day period since the 113 deaths recorded in the week leading up to the whites-only referendum in March this year," the HRC said yesterday.

Forty-five people died in the Boipatong massacre last Wednesday, it said. This tallies with ANC figures.

"The increase in the death toll follows in the wake of strong reaction by both the Government and Inkatha to the ANC's

announcement of a mass action campaign.

"The statements made by both parties, even before the campaign was launched, that it would lead to an increase in violence created an atmosphere which made this almost inevitable.

"However, contrary to the implications of these parties' predictions, ANC supporters and innocent township residents have been the main victims of the violence, not the perpetrators."

Vigilante-related actions in the same week accounted for 92 deaths — "far higher than last week's figure of 50 deaths". Injuries dropped

from 60 to 45.

A breakdown of deaths recorded in the PWV region were: 49 in the Vaal Triangle, 21 on the East Rand and 16 in Soweto.

"The massacre in Boipatong... overshadowed other political violence in the region," the HRC said. "Yet again, reports on the massacre strongly suggest security force collusion.

"The HRC has consistently maintained that the security forces are not only part of the problem in the ongoing violence, rather than the solution, but that they have also failed to adequately investigate past incidents." — Sapa.

The Star 25/6/92

Employers to discuss stayaway

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
and Sven Lunsche

The South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola) will meet in Johannesburg tomorrow to thrash out a response to the ANC's call for a day of mourning on Monday to commemorate the Boipatong massacre.

SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) president Hennie Viljoen said yesterday the chamber would work out a joint approach with other employer bodies at the Saccola meeting in response

to planned stayaways.

Business and employer organisations contacted by The Star said they would hold emergency meetings this week to decide how to respond to the call.

The Confederation of Employers of Southern Africa (Cofesa) has drawn up guidelines for members, advising them to spell out their companies' policies on stayaways "so that employees know exactly what to expect".

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) said it believed mass action and

stayaways harmed the economy and employers would therefore be encouraged to adopt a "no work, no pay" attitude.

The call for a day of mourning follows the killing of up to 45 people in the Vaal Triangle township last week. The victims will be buried on Monday.

• The business sector yesterday launched a major initiative to encourage the immediate resumption of Codesa.

In a six-point plan, Sacob called for independent monitoring of the policing of violence.

The Star 25/6/92

Mayors in US vote to keep sanctions

Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The mayors of some 900 towns and cities across the US voted yesterday to retain sanctions against SA following the Boipatong massacre.

The vote, on a resolution put to a plenary session of the US Conference of Mayors in Houston yesterday, was passed by acclamation.

And today, scores of congressmen signed a letter to President Bush today urging him to become actively involved in getting South Africa's constitutional talks back on track and calling on him to canvass the support of the United Nations and the European Community to end the deadlock caused by the ANC's decision to withdraw from negotiations.

The letter was drawn up by Congressman Howard Wolpe, a leading member of the House of Representatives' foreign relations committee, and was signed by congressmen of both major parties.

The Star

25/6/92

Diplomats 'horrified and shattered' after tour

By Brian Sokutu
and Guy Jepson

Diplomats from nine countries yesterday visited the scene of the Boipatong massacre in a move likely to increase international pressure on the Government to end the violence.

On a three-hour fact-finding tour of Boipatong and adjoining Slovo Park, organised by Peace Action, diplomats from the US, Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Australia, Japan, Denmark, Germany and Canada spoke to survivors of last Wednesday's wholesale slaughter.

While a spotter plane circled overhead members of the touring party stood and watched an emotion charged church service outside shack 1239. The eight-month pregnant woman, Maria Mlangeni, who used to live there, was one of the first victims of the attack.

Said Han Peters, second secretary at the Netherlands embassy: "We are horrified Holland, which is part of the European Community, has issued a statement of concern at the level of violence in South Africa. The only future for the country lies in negotiations, but there has to be a climate conducive to negotiations."

Swedish representative Lena Johansson said she had been "shattered" by what she had seen in Boipatong.

"People we met say they saw Casspirs and people coming out of the (kwaMadala) hostel. We heard how they (the hostel inmates) were off loaded in the township. The story from the people is very convincing."

Denmark's Peter Brückner said visiting Boipatong so soon after such a "dramatic and tragic" event was shocking.

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Little cause to tremble over defamation judgment

By Jo-Anne Collage

The Appeal Court recently confirmed that political parties, no less than individuals, have a right to sue for defamation. Should this judgment have journalists and other political commentators trembling in their boots?

No, say media lawyers of the outcome in the case *Argus Printing and Publishing Company Limited v Inkatha Freedom Party*. The bold print of the judgment certainly holds that freedom of expression cannot override the right of political parties to protect their reputations by legal action.

But the fine print indicates that the circumstances in which legal action can be brought are limited, and the defences open to the media recognise the value of freedom of political expression.

"What's really happening is that the courts have been extending the class of people

who can sue for defamation — and this judgment is just part of that trend. But, at the same time, the courts have been increasing the number of defences available to defendants," says attorney Norman Manoir.

"I think defamation of political parties is something that the media need to be on the lookout for now. But I'm not sure we are going to see an avalanche of suits and it will be only in rare cases that the party is going to succeed," says attorney Wend Wendland, who represented the Argus Company in the recent appeal.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Grosskopf said: "Mere debate on political questions or expressions of disagreement with an opponent's political views would clearly not be actionable." He quoted approvingly the observation of Mr Justice Ludorf that the audiences of politicians would "vindicate" if the speaker were to use tones, terms and expressions that one could expect from a lecturer at a

meeting of the ladies' agricultural union on the subject of "pruning roses".

If debate is allowed considerable latitude, factual reporting of the actions of political parties is not so immune to defamation action. This gives some cause for concern — in view of the courts' extremely broad definition of political parties to include extra-parliamentary political organisations, trade unions, civic and residents' organisations — and that some of these organisations are regularly accused in the media of anti-social or violent acts.

Mr Justice Grosskopf noted that if a newspaper were sued for reporting such matters, the major defences of truth, fair comment and public benefit remained open.

"The publication of true statements about public officials and figures is generally for the public benefit."

And, the judge added, it seemed that the defendant would not bear the onus of proving the truth of the supposedly defamatory state-

ment, the overall burden of proving unlawful publication remained with the plaintiff.

Journalists argue that the foundation for an adequate defence on these criteria should be laid in the normal course of sound reporting.

Raymond Louw, of the Campaign for Open Media, observed that a report "would have to be very very wrong and injurious" for a political party to sue with hope of success.

The recent judgment reaffirmed the position that the Government does not have the right to sue for defamation and allowed that the ruling party might have to be considered differently from other parties.

Mr Manoir said apartheid had created an abnormal situation where organisations denied access to the institutions of political power used the courts as a substitute. He foresaw that as inclusive political institutions were created, parties would stick to political terrain in fighting their battles.

The Star 25/6/92

Court warns ANC chief to appear

NELSPRUIT — A Regional Court magistrate yesterday warned eastern Transvaal ANC secretary Joseph Harold Nkuna that he would have him placed in custody if he failed to appear in court tomorrow.

Mr Nkuna (27) faces charges of being in possession of an unlicensed firearm and of ammunition, and was due to have appeared in court with Stanley Mavebo Sekgobela (37) on similar charges.

Mr Nkuna arrived but Mr Sekgobela failed to attend the hearing, which was to have been postponed to July 23.

Mr Nkuna said in court that Mr Sekgobela was away on matters concerning the ANC.

Magistrate Mr W J Wilken said the court would not tolerate such excuses and warned Mr Nkuna that he and Mr Sekgobela would be placed in custody if they failed to arrive at court tomorrow.

Their appearance follows the discovery of a 9mm Makarov pistol and ammunition in Mr Nkuna's car during a service at a White River garage in January. — Lowveld Bureau.