

Laws on interim rule may be ready

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

VARIOUS far-reaching "dummy" Bills to pave the way for an interim government are believed to have been drawn up and to be capable of adaptation at short notice to match negotiated agreements among the major parties.

Speculation is that if agreement on an interim government is reached before the brief October session of parliament, the government will be in a position to present legislation almost immediately and have it ratified in the shortest possible time.

The government is known to be entering the next phase of negotiations in a high state of readiness, but sensitivity surrounds its own strategy and the steps it has taken or intends taking to ease negotiations.

The ANC has demanded concessions and it is clear the government has used the present hiatus in negotiations to formulate a strategy to get the process moving again.

The brief session of parliament starting on October 12 — and probably lasting about 10 days — is a key period on the 1992 political calendar.

President De Klerk heightened speculation about legislative preparations when he answered questions from the steps of the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Wednesday.

He said: "The government is not working on a go-it-alone option but you can expect at least some basic legislation to be put before parliament.

"It is not just general legislation. It will be constructive and aimed at assisting progress, without us in any way trying to act unilaterally."

The government had been working hard to prepare for the session, at which it hoped to "present ... the results and the fruits of negotiations".

The strongest speculation is that government law writers have been hard at work producing a range of optional legislation — like "dummy" Bills — which can be easily and speedily adapted to negotiated agreements.

This would cut delays in ratifying the results of negotiations.

Already there has been confirmation of fresh dialogue between the ANC and the government and optimism about the resumption of negotiations is growing.

AP1992-13-8-7

The Argus 7-892

Argus 7.8.92

CITY / NATIONAL

ANC warns of more mass action

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has warned of another lap of "rolling mass action" unless the government heeds the call for an interim government and a constituent assembly and embarks on constructive steps to end violence.

Speaking during a visit to Empangeni, Mr Ramaphosa indicated that this week's mass action campaign would be taken further unless demands were met.

He was reacting to President De Klerk's announcement this week that the government was prepared to resume talks.

On Wednesday Mr De Klerk said there was an urgent need for negotia-

tions to be resumed. "I am prepared to sit down tomorrow," he said.

But Mr Ramaphosa threw the ball back into the government's court yesterday, saying any new talks would depend on the government's response to ANC demands.

Recent reports indicated that the government, the ANC and the IFP might meet under the auspices of the National Peace Commission to discuss violence.

Also speaking at Empangeni yesterday, Cosatu secretary-general Mr Jay Naidoo said organised labour would continue to support the ANC demands.

Expressing Cosatu support for continuing mass action, he said that being voteless, the black people had no other means to express political aspirations.

School attendance mixed

By Monk Nkomo
and Joe Mdhlela

SCHOOLING CONTINUED to be at a standstill in urban areas, the Department of Education and Training said yesterday.

However, a check on schools in Lenasia, Bosmont, Newclare, and Riverlea showed attendances of almost 100 percent.

Also, although the SA Democratic Teachers' Union, whose members come from all races, said all its teachers would be on strike, members at white, Indian and coloured schools reported for duty.

We have in our possession a circular to teachers in Johannesburg coloured and Indian schools teachers from their Central Areas branch executive which says:

"While the executive supports the reasons for the mass action campaign, including the stayaway, it could not, with a clear conscience, demand that members stay away on Monday and Tuesday without having consulted them on the matter.

"Also, we are convinced that the purpose of education would be better served if teachers attend school on those two days".

Teachers at Coloured and Indian schools were therefore told by their Sadtu leadership to attend

TEACHERS' BOYCOTT Sadtu strike not

completely successful, PWV area most affected:

school and not observe the stayaway, hence schooling was normal in these areas.

Assistant general secretary of Sadtu, Mr Thulas Nxesi, was not available for comment.

He was said to be in an important meeting with overseas visitors.

Yesterday and Wednesday there were very few pupils or teachers at DET schools in the PWV area.

This conflicts with the Sadtu statement last week that teachers would be away for only two days.

According to reports, Mr Oupa Mpetha, of the Soweto branch of Sadtu, has said teachers would continue to protest in support of their political and educational demands.

In the same report, he said they would take part in city demonstrations and travel to Delmas to demand the reinstatement of their fired colleague, Miss Thoko Sehurutse.

Sehurutse was dismissed by the DET earlier this year for misconduct and yesterday appeared in the Delmas Magistrate's Court in connection with the neglect of duties.

Hundreds of teachers were in Delmas yesterday.

The case was held in camera, and the Press and public were barred.

Mr Geoff Makwakwa, of the DET, said certain teachers' and students' organisations aligned to the ANC instructed pupils and teachers to report for classes next Monday.

"Some teachers did not report for classes. They instead participated in the march led by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in Pretoria on Wednesday," Makwakwa said.

Northern Transvaal chief regional director Mr Job Schoeman said he was relieved that schooling was normal in the far northern areas of Messina and Warmbaths.

"We cannot afford to lose more time as exams are around the corner. We appeal to teachers and students to return to classes," he said.

He added activists in certain areas including Soshanguve, near Pretoria, and in the Vaal barred students and teachers from going to school.

Schoeman said the "no work, no pay" policy would apply to teachers who were absent. He said teachers who were intimidated or did not have transport to report for duty would be treated with consideration.

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ANC gets rapped

■ **NO CONTROL.** Excess will be remembered:

By Monk Nkomo

THE PRETORIA CITY Council yesterday accused the African National Congress and its allies of not keeping to conditions for Wednesday's march to the Union Buildings.

Management committee chairman Dr Pieter Smith said the ANC alliance also failed to control the march. The time agreed upon - from 10am to 1pm - was exceeded, Smith said.

Mandela arrived at the Union Buildings about 1.30pm. Smith said groups of people broke away from the route agreed upon by the organisers, police and the council.

"I view the ANC's non-adherence to the conditions for the march to which they agreed upon in a very serious light," Smith said.

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

He added that senior traffic officers estimated the number of marchers at

between 35 000 and 40 000.

He expressed his appreciation for the patience of motorists and pedestrians during the march and congratulated the police and the SA Defence Force for the way they handled the "disruptive situation".

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the council should rather celebrate the success of the march with the organisation instead of having "petty concerns cloud what was a peaceful march". He hoped this "pettiness" would not affect future marches.

Sarelam
04-07-92

'Whites in massacre'

■ Goldstone Commission told that armed men travelled in armoured vehicles:

By Ruth Bhengu

WHITE policemen took part in the attack on the residents of Boipatong on the night of June 17, witnesses told the Goldstone Commission in Verzeniging yesterday.

Two witnesses from Slovo Park, a shantytown near Boipatong, claimed that:

- Whites were involved in the massacre;

- Police were present on that night and that the attackers were dropped off from armoured vehicles. After the attack, the policemen escorted them back to KwaMadala Hostel.

Miss A told the commission how her mother and brother were stabbed to death with "spears and other weapons I

cannot describe".

Three of the attackers were white, she said.

"I could see they were white because they were not standing far from where we were hiding outside our shack.

"Parts of their faces that were not covered by their balaclavas were clearly visible."

Mr Themba Koti (28) said he saw uniformed white policemen taking part in the attacks.

He had earlier seen a group of men being off-loaded from an armoured vehicle.

"The group of people were carrying TV sets and various items and were escorted by two "Hippos" as they moved towards KwaMadala Hostel, Koti said.

Vlok linked to Goniwe probe

■ **NEW DOCUMENT** Probe reveals that National Security Council discussed future of slain activist:

A potentially explosive document linking the former Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to a probe of slain Eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe, has been uncovered by the Eastern Cape Attorney-General, Mr Michael Hodgen. Hodgen was appointed earlier this year by the State President FW de Klerk to re-investigate the killing of Goniwe and three other Cradock activists after it was

found that a SADF signal, signed by a senior official, ordered the activists' "permanent removal from society". Eastern Cape Deputy Attorney General Malherbe Marais allegedly told Vlok in a "tapped" telephone call in June this year he (Vlok) was "going to bleed" as a result of the discovery of the document.

See story page

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Minister linked to the Goniwe probe

■ Attorney-General tells Vlok he's "going to bleed" in light of probe:

Sowetan Correspondent

EASTERN Cape Attorney General Michael Hodgen has discovered a potentially explosive document which shows that before the death of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe, a Government minister chaired a sub-committee meeting of the State Security Council dealing with Goniwe.

An investigation has revealed that as a result of the discovery of the document, Eastern Cape Deputy Attorney General Malherbe Marais allegedly told Minister Adriaan Vlok in a telephone conversation at the beginning of June that he (Vlok) "is going to bleed".

Contacted last night, Vlok refused to comment on any of the allegation "because the Goniwe murders are being investigated by the Attorney General, and it would be improper to comment at this stage".

Hodgen was appointed by President FW de Klerk in May this year to investigate an alleged "death warrant" signal sent to the State Security Council by the SADF's Eastern Province Command on June 7 1985 - three weeks before Goniwe and three other anti-apartheid

activists were murdered.

The alleged signal called for the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe and two of his colleagues.

The sub-committee, according to the document, was charged with discussing Goniwe's future as a teacher - in State employ - in Cradock.

Vlok, now Minister of Correctional Services, was at the time Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Defence.

The document will be produced as evidence in the reopened inquest into the Goniwe killings. No date has been set for the inquest.

After its discovery in early June, Hodgen and Marais flew to London to interview former security police colonel John Horak about the document, and the structures and workings of the State Security Council.

Horak had formerly been employed in the secretariat of the SSC.

Hodgen is scheduled to travel to Pretoria next week to investigate the document further.

Sources close to the investigation believe that the telephone conversation was tapped.

Hodgen has refused to comment on his investigation or the discovery of the document.



Adriaan Vlok ... "going to bleed"

The journal *Africa Confidential* reports in its issue of July 31 that Hodgen is understood to have been persuaded in the course of his investigation that the "Goniwe signal" was approved by the State Security Council.

Africa Confidential says such a meeting would have been attended by at least three Cabinet ministers who are still serving: Foreign Minister Pk Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, and Environment and Forestry Minister Magnus Malan, the former defence supremo.

Santam
01-08-92

Codesa is dead - Makwetu

THE PAC believes that with the United Nations as convenor, the possibility of forming a new and a more representative forum than Codesa exists.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said during a four-day visit to Namibia yesterday that the organisation was striving for an alternative forum.

Makwetu said the PAC believed Codesa was dead.

PEOPLE'S LIVES *The fight moved out of the boardrooms of Codesa to the streets of our country*

WE ARE NOW picking up the pieces after the breathtaking week of mass action mounted by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

It is now time to see what has been achieved and to try to read the road ahead.

The successful stayaway on Monday and Tuesday, the march on Pretoria on Wednesday and the spread of the support for the campaign across the country have demonstrated the capacity of the alliance to organise resistance to the Government.

Why, the disenfranchised, even in little towns that are just indistinct dots on the map, stood up to be counted.

The alliance has put forward two reasons for the campaign:

- To force the Government to accede to a Constituent Assembly drawing up a new constitution for this country; and

- To force the Government to stop the violence sweeping the country.

On these two issues Mandela has told the world: "Our fundamental position...is that we cannot accept an undemocratic constitution aimed at



Joe Thloloe's Perspective

ANC alliance now has the best of two worlds

addressing the fears of a minority party about its own future at the cost of democracy. This is at the root of the negotiations deadlock.

"It is for this reason that we focused attention on the Constituent Assembly. We are clear in our demands that the National Party Government abandon positions directed at subverting

the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly, which include subjecting it to a veto by a second house and ensuring that a minority in the Constituent Assembly shall be able to frustrate an overwhelming majority...

"With regard to the violence...our demands centred on three aspects:

- "Ensuring that the direct and

indirect involvement of the National Party Government, its surrogates, the security forces and the police are brought to an end forthwith;

- "Ensuring that the De Klerk Government immediately implements agreements reached with the ANC more than a year ago on curbing violence; and

- "The establishment of an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all aspects of violence as well as the international monitoring of violence."

The collapse of Codesa 2 seemed to vindicate the organisations like the PAC and Azapo that had been opposed to Codesa in the first place.

But ironically it did not collapse as a result of their campaign to discredit it, but because of the withdrawal of the ANC and the SACP.

If they had been waiting to collect ANC members who were disillusioned because their leadership had not anticipated the failure of Codesa, they were disappointed.

ANC strategists did not allow this to happen. They immediately took the fight out of the boardrooms of Codesa

“ We have a difficult time ahead of us, even if negotiations resume soon ”

to the streets of our country in a way that left their colleagues in the liberation movement standing flatfooted.

The members of the alliance can now have the best of two worlds: On one side they are reasonable men ready to talk; on the other, they are tough revolutionaries who will not allow De Klerk to ride roughshod over them.

When they do return to the negotiating table, they will, however, have new problems: their members will not accept anything less than what they went out into the streets to fight for.

Compromise will become difficult. And that means we have a difficult time ahead of us, even if negotiations resume soon.

07-08-92

Sowetan Comment

THE disclosure that teachers and pupils have extended their stayaway and will be reporting to schools on Monday is disturbing.

Thousands of workers around the country stayed away from work on Monday and Tuesday as part of the mass action campaign organised by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

The Department of Education and Training, however, reports that pupils and teachers have extended theirs.

This is a whole week wiped from the school calendar for this year. We seem to be cutting off our noses to spite our faces.

Trade unions and political organisations call strikes to put pressure on their opponents to agree to settlements that favour them. This weapon is, however, costly, financially and emotionally, to both the person who wields it and to the company or country that is the target.

It is used after a lot of soul-searching. But who is the target when children and their teachers don't go to school? At the end of the year we will be screaming again about bad results. We will be blaming the DET. We seem to forget that the damage to our children is permanent.

Already we have a lost generation that will remain unemployable because it has not been to school for long enough. Even after we have a non-racial, democratic government, we will still have white domination of the economy because they will continue to have a monopoly on skills.

It is particularly disturbing that although the teacher and pupil organisations that called for the stayaway are non-racial, in Johannesburg, for example, only the indigenous African children were affected.

Other pupils and teachers went to school as usual.

FEW words can adequately describe our horror and disgust at the shooting of 13 youth choir members in Alexandra Township on Wednesday night.

There have been numerous massacres and horrific killings in our country in recent years. Few, however, surpass the latest shooting in senselessness and cowardice.

What could possibly be the motivation for the shooting of defenceless children preparing to sing hymns at a vigil?

We reiterate our view that shootings like that in Alexandra Township are part of a pattern and a scheme to sow as much terror and mayhem among residents in our township.

The killers are resourceful and have access to vehicles, arms and sanctuary.

Our warning to the masterminds, however, is that eventually you are going to be exposed.

When it does happen, expect no forgiveness or mercy for the heinous crime committed in Alexandra Township.

Sanction

07-08-92

This nonsense X must be stopped

I WOULD like to appeal to all the striking people to stop this nonsense as we are suffering.

I don't think these were properly planned by our leaders.

To me, it seems, all strikers don't care about their black brothers and sisters.

They forget that whites are not affected.

I'm talking from experience. One day I was very sick and went to a nearby clinic.

To my surprise there was no staff. I had to go back home without seeing a doctor.

Is this right, or is this the new South Africa everybody was crying for?

Is this the freedom we wanted?

How can anybody in this world go on strike?

What is wrong with the black nation.

I blame the ANC, Azapo, Cosatu, PAC and the unions.

Really, it's pathetic.

Johannesburg will no longer be the city of gold. Everything will come to a standstill.

Please people, let us fight the correct way. Let there be peace.

Don't let your own people suffer because other nations laugh at us.

When is this going to end? We are sick and tired of dying, especially us blacks.

Don't we realise that the black nation will end up nowhere.

We won't gain anything by destroying what we have.

Let us first unite and build this nation. I think black people are lost.

Everything they do to each other is irrational.

Enough is enough.

PHUMZILE FINAH FAKUDE

Orlando East, Soweto

The Sowetan
07.07.92

Women's Day recalled

Rallies, marches, vigils scheduled nationwide for Sunday:

By Lulama Luti

RALLIES and marches to be held in major cities throughout the country mark the celebration of the 36th annual National Women's Day on Sunday.

Among important activities will in-

clude a march in Soweto, led by ANC Women's League NEC member Dr Nkosazana Zuma, and in central Durban, led by ANCWL treasurer-general Makho Njobe.

A night vigil service conducted by Father S'mangaliso Mktshwa is scheduled at Funda Centre Soweto tomorrow and will be followed by a

march on the hill next to the Soweto College of Education, where a cross will be erected.

Memoranda will be handed to the authorities at Baragwanath Hospital and to police representatives at the Soweto police headquarters in Protea.

The "people's picnic", including cultural performances and prayers in commemoration of National Women's Day.

Sowetan 07-08-92

Minister linked to the Goniwe probe

■ Attorney-General tells Vlok he's "going to bleed" in light of probe:

Sowetan Correspondent

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activists were murdered.

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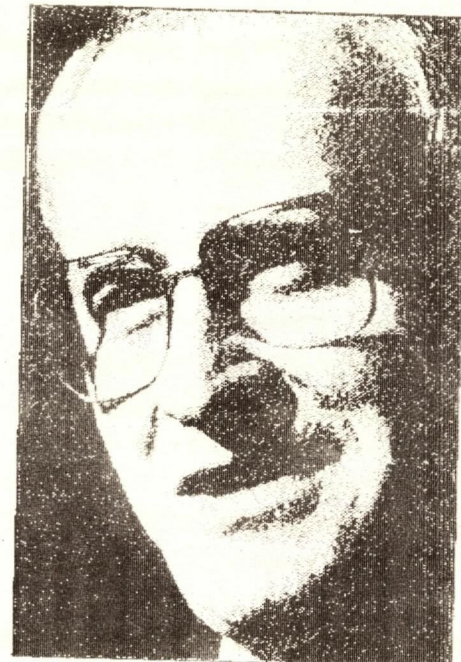
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The Citizen 07-08-92

Mayekiso arrest: SAP accused of harassment

Citizen Reporter

THE National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) yesterday accused the police of harassing Numsa general secretary, Mr Moses Mayekiso, following his arrest in Alexandra on Wednesday night.

Mr Mayekiso and his bodyguard, Mr John Phike, were charged with possession of a firearm in an unrest area.

Mr Mayekiso appeared in the Randburg Magistrate's Court yesterday and was released on R50 bail.

Numsa believed the SAP was deliberately harassing him as part of a campaign against Numsa members and officials by the security forces and vigilantes.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer, Captain Eugene Opperman, said Mr Mayekiso and Mr Phike were arrested in Alexandra during a snap search following two shooting incidents on Wednesday.

In the first incident, a zulu man was killed near

Second Avenue, Alexandra, at about 4.40 pm on Wednesday. Spent 9 mm cartridges were found at the scene.

A teenage girl was killed and 13 young choir members were seriously injured in the second incident which took place in Second Avenue at about 8.15 pm. Spent 9 mm cartridges were also found at the scene.

Police arrested Mr Mayekiso and Mr Phike when they found 9 mm pistols in their possession during snap searches at the scene of the shooting.

Mr Mayekiso had a Transkei-issued 9 mm pistol licence in his South African Identity Document, but this was not valid in South Africa, said Capt Opperman.

He also had a permit to take the weapon out of SA — issued on July 13, 1992.

Capt Opperman said the circumstances of Mr Mayekiso's possession of the pistol were under investigation.

Both weapons would be sent for forensic tests

The men were held under unrest regulations which require a regional police commissioner to consent in writing to the possession of a firearm or other designated weapon in an unrest area.

The regulation, gazetted on August 3, is applicable in Alexandra.

Mr Mayekiso and three other men appeared in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court on May 20 charged with the possession of illegal firearms.

At the time Numsa said an application made on Mr Mayekiso's behalf for a licensed weapon for his protection was not granted.

Numsa said the union had no faith in the will or ability of the SAP to protect Mr Mayekiso.

The trade union said yesterday that its officials had been threatened repeatedly, and more than 15 of its members had recently been murdered.

Several attempts had been made on the life of at least one Numsa organiser, Mr Nico "Blackie" Swartz.

The Citizen 07-08-92

UN man's speech was 'interference'

Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party has criticised a United Nations observer, Mr Hisham Obayad, for telling an ANC march in Krugersdorp on Wednesday that "the UN is very proud of you".

Mr Obayad is from Ghana.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, CP representative in Krugersdorp, said yesterday that neither the Krugersdorp Town Council nor the magistrate had granted permission for the ANC march, or for its occupation of the local sports grounds.

However, the police had allowed the ANC to proceed, in spite of this being in contravention of local municipal ordi-

nances.

"It is clear that the Minister of Law and Order has adopted a policy of allowing the ANC free rein, whether local councils or residents want it or not.

"Krugersdorp's ordinances were simply ignored by the Minister in order to placate the ANC, and the police were forced to protect those committing illegal acts."

He added that Mr Obayad had addressed the ANC marchers, during which he said: "The UN is very proud of you. We are with you all the way. We wish you all the best."

Mr Derby-Lewis said: "The UN has no right to interference in the affairs of Krugersdorp."

The Citizen 07-08-92

ANC continues Pta mass action

Citizen Reporter

THE ANC yesterday continued its mass action in Pretoria with at least eight illegal marches and one legal march in the city.

Most of these marches went to police stations in and around the city, where memorandums were delivered to station commanders.

About 1 000 people marched to the Silverton Police Station, 400 to the Pretoria Moot Police Sta-

tion, 100 to the Hercules Police Station, 400 to the Pretoria West Police Station and 100 to the Sunnyside Police Station.

There was also a legal march to the Adriaan Vlok Police Station in Verwoerdburg, and illegal marches to Munitoria and the Mamelodi administration offices.

Police say all the marches were peaceful, and despite the fact that most were illegal, no action was taken.

The Citizen 07-08-92

ANC marshals praised by a Jhb shopowner

Citizen Reporter

AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) marshals yesterday earned the praise of a shopowner in downtown Johannesburg when they came to his aid after a crowd of ANC supporters had stolen his merchandise.

The man, who wished to remain anonymous, said as a crowd began forming in front of the ANC headquarters in Wanderers Street near his clothing store, a group of young men — mostly teenagers — entered the shop and began taunting his young shop manager.

"They started taking clothes — displayed on

the pavement — off the hooks and taunted him and our security guard, shouting "shoot me, shoot me!"

"They ran off with the clothes and also robbed a newspaper vendor of his money.

"I was still fuming about the incident when several of the ANC marchers came back to the shop with most of the stolen articles and clothes.

"They apologised profusely, saying that the culprits were some 'irresponsible' youngsters who had obviously been smoking dagga and did not stop to consider the consequences."

The Citizen 01-08-92

1 882 firearms handed in

THE official moratorium on the possession of illegal firearms, which ended on July 31, netted 1 882 illegal firearms, including 21 AK-47 rifles, police said yesterday.

Thousands of rounds of ammunition had also been confiscated by police during the amnesty period from July 27 to July 28, police said.

Meanwhile, the rewards offered for information leading to the confiscation of illegal weapons such as AK-47 rifles remain unchanged until further notice, the police added.

Automatic rifles could be worth as much as

R6 000, while the authorities would pay R800 for a handgrenade, R2 500 for any other type of rifle, and up to R950 for any handgun.

The police pointed out that since the new regulations pertaining to the possession of illegal arms became effective on August 1, minimum jail sentences of five years to maximum sentences of 25 years could be imposed.

— Sapa.

The Citizen 07-08-92

Police arrest 117 ANC in Springs

Citizen Reporter

POLICE yesterday arrested 117 African National Congress (ANC) supporters at Springs after they occupied several buildings and offices in the town.

Police liaison officer, Major Ida van Zweel, said 100 Blacks were arrested after they had occupied the offices of the Department of Education and Training (DET).

They were released after they were warned to appear in Court on September 10 and 11.

She said another 50 ANC supporters, occupying the Kwa Thema Town Council offices, were allowed to go after a five-man delegation negotiated with officials and the police.

However, 17 people who occupied the Department of Manpower building were arrested and released after being warned to appear in court on September 14.

The Citizen 07-08-92

Rebels meet Treurnicht: No decision

By Brian Stuart and
Fred de Lange

CAPE TOWN. — No decision was reached at yesterday's Conservative Party talks between the leadership and the five pro-negotiation volkstaters, with CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, due to respond to the talks today.

Attitudes appear to have hardened on both sides of the dispute, with some CP members threatening to resign if the party does not evict the five MPs.

A brief statement issued by CP chief whip, Mr Frank le Roux, after yesterday's meeting said a committee under the chairmanship of Dr Treurnicht had met the five to discuss their document, entitled "The Road Ahead".

This was the document they presented to the recent national congress, setting out proposals that there should be negotiation for a smaller Afrikaner volkstaat.

The document was signed by Mr Andries Beyers (Potchefstroom), Free State CP leader, Mr Cehill Pienaar (Heil-

bron), Mr Chris de Jager (Bethal), Mr Moolman Mentz (Ermelo) and Mr Rosier de Ville (Standerton).

All five attended yesterday's meeting, held at the CP's head office in Pretoria.

The committee headed by Dr Treurnicht comprised Mr Jurg Prinsloo (Roodepoort), Mr Andrew Gerber (Brits), and Mr Le Roux (Brakpan).

This committee was set up at last week's abortive meeting of the four provincial executive committees, in Bloemfontein, which was supposed to resolve the issue.

Mr Pienaar said yesterday the group of five was satisfied with the composition of the smaller committee. "We believe a smaller committee can give better attention to the detail than a large committee such as that which met in Bloemfontein.

Neither side would comment on the substance of yesterday's talks, nor on whether reconciliation was likely.

Dr Treurnicht and the committee heard the views of the five and said they would respond when the two groups met again today. All five of the MPs are remaining in Pretoria until the matter has been decided.

Earlier this week, Dr Treurnicht said the CP leadership would do all in its power to resolve the differences between the rebel group and the rest of the party to prevent a split in the party.

Other sources, however, said most senior officials and MPs in the party wanted the five men and their followers to be expelled from the party, and it was expected that this group would have a strong influence in the committee.

The Citizen 07-08-92

Gunned down

A MAN was gunned down outside the Vosloorus shopping centre on the East Rand at 8 pm yesterday, police spokesman, Col Dave Bruce, said.

African National Congress branch chairman, Prof Moloi, said the dead

man, known only as David, was a member of the ANC marshal structures.

Mr Moloi said the man was shot after leaving the women's hostel where he had been visiting his aunt.

The hostel is about 100 m from the shopping centre. — Sapa.

The Citizen

07-08-92

Police talk IFP 'war party' out of attacking

ABOUT 50 armed members of the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday confronted 2 000 members of the Construction and Allied Workers' Union marching down Commissioner Street in the Jeppe area of Johannesburg.

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Police monitoring the marchers intervened and were told by the IFP group that the march had upset them.

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The police spokesman said a further statement would be made today to address issues such as why the police allowed the IFP group near the marchers.

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the Master Builders' Association to hand over a memorandum demanding employers pressurise the government to agree to the immediate installation of an interim government.

Cawu general secretary Oliphant Mathew also warned employers "if you do not talk to the government to take . . . the call for an interim government seriously, our members will ensure that PAYE (tax) is no longer deducted from our salaries". — Sapa.

The Citizen 07-08-92

More want to leave SA — fewer can

By Chris Steyn

POLITICAL upheaval is causing more South Africans to consider emigration — but fewer are able to leave the country as the worldwide recession has forced foreign countries to apply stricter immigration criteria.

A spokesman for the Australian Embassy in Pretoria said yesterday that inquiries from South Africans who wanted to leave the country were still at a "very high level", and had peaked during the referendum and the recent Boipatong massacre.

The spokesman said well over 2 000 inquiries were received by embassy staff every month.

However, with one million people unemployed in Australia, authorities there had "tightened the reins", and were now focussing on the "economic side" of potential immigrants, with professionally skilled people being favoured.

The spokesman said he doubted whether as many South Africans would be

able to emigrate to Australia this year as last year when 1 335 people settled there.

However, the number of South Africans emigrating to Canada is up 25 percent this year, and it is expected that at least 900 people will go there this year.

Mr Hendrik de Pagter, Second Secretary in the Immigration Department of the Canadian Embassy, said yesterday he expected this upward trend to continue.

"Canada has a five-year immigration plan and 250 000 people will emigrate there this year and

next year. South Africa will contribute its fair share," Mr De Pagter said.

According to the Immigration Department of the American Embassy, emigration from South Africa was "fairly stable", with about 90 immigration visas being issued every month.

Figures compiled by the Central Statistical Service of the Department of Home Affairs show that 852 people emigrated during the period January to March this year compared with 1 135 for the same period last year.

The Citizen 01-08-92

Easy to intimidate millions

I AGREE with Major-General Meller's comment given on the GMSA phone-in programme on Tuesday. He remarked that the mass-action stayaway was a "success of intimidation".

Dr Pallo Jordan then countered all references to intimidation by the ANC by saying repeatedly that it was impossible to intimidate four million workers and that if Meller was correct, the ANC must be a very formidable power. What an odd perspective from an erudite man such as Pallo Jordan!

How easy it is to intimidate millions of people without doing it on a "politely persuasive" basis. Mathematically, it only requires one intimidated

bus-proprietor, if he owns a large bus seating 70 passengers, to prevent that number of people from going to work by withdrawing his bus.

Now multiply that number by all the other bus and taxi drivers who were intimidated, add to that total the number of commuters who could not get past "barriers" of toy-toting people at railway stations as was reported, and others who could not use roads because of road blocks.

Add to that total those with no real interest in politics but who, in the past few years, have witnessed necklace murders,

homes and vehicles being burned, and the activities of kangaroo courts.

All this will add up to a few million workers, and as these frightened folk seldom talk, the actual number of workers who individually approved of the mass action will never be known.

It is amazing then, with the culture of intimidation still so prevalent, that some workers were sufficiently courageous to honour their commitments. Employers should quietly bear such people in mind for the future!

REALIST

Uvongo

The Citizen 07-08-92

Once a Communist, always one

MR Mandela cannot demand anything unless he:

1. Stops his mass actions which are the cause of all the unrest, murder and thuggery.

2. Registers as a political party with a democratically elected leader

3. Breaks with the unacceptable SACP and Cosatu, which are not political parties but, with Slovo and Jay Naidoo, are more inclined to be liberation movements. People in army uniforms with AK-47 rifles in Pretoria this week!

4. Undertakes to negotiate instead of demand. The government will not

give in to demands - it will not be bullied.

5. Learns to control crowds when he has mass action.

Are the people who wore army uniforms and carried AK-47 rifles to be charged? In the 1899-1902 South African War, people were shot for doing less than this. Is this not high treason?

In 1963, Nelson Mandela wrote: "We of the Communist Party are the most advanced revolutionaries in modern his-

tory and we are the fighters of the drive behind the plan to revolutionise the world. In South Africa the Communist Party is carrying on the struggle for the oppressed and it is inspired by our policy."

The Judge-President of the Transvaal, at the end of their trial, likened their crimes to that of high treason. Once a Communist, always a Communist.

PIET

Johannesburg

The Citizen 04-08-92

What a mess!

I ARRIVED at work in Church Street yesterday morning — and what a mess!

Church Street was littered with cooldrink tins, squashed oranges, orange skins, orange bags, papers, pamphlets, etc. Even the lawns of the Union Buildings was littered with rubbish!

What a complete contrast to when the farmers came to Pretoria. They had breakfast in Church Street, as well as lunch and supper. They even danced in the street.

The next morning when they left, there was not even a match stick to be seen littering the streets!

Yesterday's mass march in Pretoria, proved to me that it is quality before quantity.

ALIEN CITIZEN

Pretoria

The Citizen 04-08-92

Student shot

PORT ELIZABETH. — A Fort Hare University student was shot dead when protesters clashed with Ciskei Police at Alice on Wednesday.

Ciskei Police Commissioner General J J Viktor said unruly crowds barricaded the streets of Alice on Wednesday. — Sapa.

The Citizen

07-08-92

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The Citizen

07-08-92

Natal massacre: ANC alliance meets police

EMPANGENI. — A top-level delegation from the African National Congress, South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday visited sites of a weekend massacre in Esikhwini and met Kwa-Zulu Police (KZP) to address allegations of their complicity in violence.

The tripartite alliance's secretariat of Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Chris Hani and Mr Jay Naidoo called for an urgent sitting of the Goldstone Commission there as well as a permanent United Nations unrest monitor in Northern Natal.

They flew to Empangeni yesterday morning after 11 people were killed in nearby Esikhwini at the weekend amid allegations of KZP involvement in the murders and ongoing complaints about ineffective and biased policing.

After visiting scenes of Sunday's killings, the three leaders, accompanied by other Natal

leaders of the ANC and its allies, met KZP district commandant, Brig Cono Mzimela.

On Sunday's massacre, Mr Ramaphosa told Brig Mzimela the community was convinced police had not started, and were not interested in, investigating the murders as members of his force were heavily suspected of being involved.

The community was also calling for the removal of the KZP from the township as they were regarded as a "wing of Inkatha", working to a political agenda.

In light of these allegations the tripartite alliance would call for Mr

Justice Richard Goldstone to urgently appoint a commission of inquiry into Sunday's massacre and ongoing violence. They would also request the UN to send a permanent violence monitor.

Brig Mzimela agreed in principle but said the final decision lay with his superiors.

During the meeting with Brig Mzimela at Esikhwini's police station, Mr Ramaphosa produced shotgun and rifle cartridges allegedly found at the scene of Sunday's massacre.

The brigadier confirmed these were the same as those issued to his men.

— Sapa.

Marchers sjambokked by Whites in W Tvl X

By Cathy Thompson

MARCHERS taking part in the mass action campaign were assaulted by sjambok-wielding Whites in Wolmaransstad on Wednesday.

The Commissioner of Police in the Western Transvaal, Brigadier Tokkie Nienaber, said yesterday that there had been various instances of inter-racial conflict in the region since the start of the

ANC alliance's mass action campaign.

Brig Nienaber said he wanted to state "clearly and categorically that no member of the public will be allowed to take the law into his own hands and that stiff measures will be taken against those who arouse racial violence by their actions."

A senior police officer has been appointed to investigate the incident in Wolmaransstad.

"However, this can

only take place once formal charges have been laid," Brig Nienaber said.

An agreement in this regard had been reached with the ANC representative in the area, Mr George Molefe.

Brig Nienaber appealed to residents of the Western Transvaal to recognise and respect the rights of others.

He stressed that no member of the public or of any organisation would be permitted to act in

contravention of the country's laws.

Incidents linked to protests action also took place in Carletonville and Klerksdorp yesterday.

Damaged

In Carletonville, a wall around the offices of the National Union of Mine-workers was damaged when a group of about 300 people gathered there after 11 am with the purpose of marching to the offices of the Department of Education and Training.

The two offices are both situated in Van Zyl Smit Street, and are about 100 m apart.

The group, which had originally been small and consisted of primary and high school children and teachers, was informed by police that they could send a 10-member delegation to the DET offices, as they had no permission for a march.

The DET offices were closed and the delegation was unable to hand over their memorandum of demands.

The entire group left for the taxi and bus terminus, where they were fetched by two buses and taken to Khutsong at about 3 pm.

In Klerksdorp, about 250 people held a peaceful protest march, during which a memorandum was handed to a senior policeman.

On Wednesday, 79 people were arrested at the community hall in Covendale, Bloemhof, for holding an illegal march, and 40 of these were charged.

A police spokesman said they were given the option of paying R100 admission of guilt fines or appearing in court again on August 26.

The Citizen

01-08-92

The Citizen 07-08-92

FW's 'coffin' burnt after ANC march

Citizen Reporters

A CROWD of 7 000 African National Congress supporters yesterday cheered as a symbolic "coffin" of State President De Klerk, draped in a South African flag, was burnt in Kempton Park when they held a protest march through the central business area.

It was the biggest march ever held in the town.

A United Nations observer, Mr Shola Omorege, accompanied by the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, Dr Anthony Gildenhuys, arrived towards the end of the march to monitor the proceedings.

They did not see the incident.

The march started about 11 am at the railway station and proceeded toward the Magistrate's Court building.

A group of people from Ivory Park was armed with sticks and knobkerries.

While a delegation of eight men, led by the chairman of the Tembisa Action Committee, Mr Timothy Mabena, handed over a memorandum to the Chief Magistrate, Mr Nicolaas van der Merwe, the crowd sat down in C R Swart Drive next to the complex.

Six pall bearers appeared with the cardboard "coffin" and ceremoniously set it alight to

thunderous applause from the crowd.

The burning South African flag was held aloft for the cheering crowd to see.

Shortly afterwards Mr Van der Merwe was cheered when he acknowledged that the memorandum had been received.

On several occasions ANC marshals were seen exercising strict control over the marchers, and several disobedient and unruly marchers, who failed to keep within the march formation, were hit and kicked by the marshals.

After being addressed by Mr Mabena, the crowd dispersed and no incidents were observed by the Press.

Throughout the march a strong police presence kept well to the background. According to the police, no arrests were made.

However, Dr Gildenhuys told The Citizen he was shown a man and a woman who claimed they were shot by the police.

"We saw what looked like bruise marks on the legs, but the skin was not broken. We were also shown some projectiles of unknown origin which were shiny and about the size of marbles."

• The burning of the South African flag in public yesterday by ANC supporters in Kempton Park was a "highly inflama-

tory and provocative" action, the Ministry of Law and Order said yesterday.

Ministry spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, said that such actions were clearly designed to unleash emotions and were dangerous in the present climate.

Commenting on events in Port Elizabeth, where sit-ins were yesterday staged in suburban shopping centres by staff, Captain Kotze said that it was irresponsible to make the economy a political battleground.

Everyone in the country was dependent on a functioning economy, both during the period of transition and in future.

It was obvious that any attack on the economy was an attack on the very fabric of South African society, and harm to the economy could unleash social evils such as crime and violence.

Capt Kotze said the ANC had to realise that it was not going to unseat the government through its actions.

W/Mail 7-13/8/92

How will Mandela use his mandate?

IF THIS week's mass action was Nelson Mandela's "referendum" he has clearly won a handsome mandate. He has proved that with the help of Congress of South African Trade Unions, he can call out the country's workers and close down the cities with targeted disruptive "occupation". If anyone doubted that the African National Congress could wield significant clout, those doubts should now be settled.

But the comparison between the President FW de Klerk's March poll and Mandela's August showdown does not end when the sun sets on referendum day.

After his March victory, many ana-

lysts wondered exactly what De Klerk's referendum had proved about his constituency. White voters were asked a very widely phrased and imprecise question. A broad cross-section of white opinion drew a "yes-X" even though they would not support De Klerk and the National Party in an election. In other words the "yes vote" total masked the complexity of voter feeling.

While he obviously commands majority white backing, the extent of support for De Klerk's party, policy — and even person — could not be established from merely counting the crosses.

Mandela faces a similar problem in

Will Mandela make good use of the mandate he won this week, or will he — like President FW de Klerk did earlier this year — waste it on petty politicking, asks

CARMEL RICKARD

assessing what the mass action results say about his constituency. Granted the stayaway was bigger than any such action in the past. But here too the question heard in the townships was imprecise: if you want peace and democracy, stay home. That call

would bring together many peoples including some who might not vote for the ANC in an election.

Similarly the intimidation factor cannot be ignored. Even if the ANC membership behaved in an exemplary fashion, as it clearly did in many areas, the history of kangaroo-court punishment inflicted on "sell-outs" is fresh in everyone's memory. The Monday message of burning tyres on some township roads made the intended impact. In addition, many people had no choice. Without transport, they simply had to stay home, regardless of their political position.

Even more important for the country however is what immediate use

Mandela intends to make of this referendum result. When De Klerk won his March victory, it seemed he had been given a powerful enough mandate to meet his two most serious challenges: getting on with negotiations for a just new political dispensation, and taming both the rightwing and the security establishment.

He did neither. Instead he behaved as though he had won an election rather than a referendum, and regarded his success as an endorsement of NP policies. He immediately took a harder line on negotiations, apparently reading the poll as *carte blanche* to squeeze the ANC on behalf of whites and to ensure political longevity for NP bureaucrats. And he continued to back the security forces almost without question instead of mounting a serious cleaning-out operation reaching high into the command structure.

to a large extent the future of negotiations, and therefore the likelihood of relatively peaceful transition in South Africa, depends on whether Mandela follows De Klerk's disappointing lead.

Just as De Klerk was influenced by factions within his cabinet in deciding how to interpret the referendum results, so too Mandela will have the views of the multi-faceted alliance to consider in deciding his next step.

Will he take the mandate of the people as power enough to enable tough action against members of his organisation who terrorise their neighbours simply for not toeing the party line?

Will he interpret this August acclaim as a signal to take a hard line rather than a conciliatory attitude? Like De Klerk, will he try to turn the screws on his opponents, and make demands the other parties simply cannot accept? Or does the conciliatory tone many heard in his Pretoria speech indicate he will show the statesmanship so many had vainly hoped for from De Klerk?

W/Mail 7-13/8/92

'Lied to protect himself'

By JACQUIE GOLDING

THE outcome of the one-man commission of inquiry into a *Weekly Mail* exposé of police covert operations in the Vaal is expected to be released today — and is certain to cause controversy.

The commission has heard evidence from African National Congress members Daniel Kolisang and Solly Ngomezulu that the police had abducted them, held them in a "safe house" in the Vaal and offered them money to carry out attacks on ANC members.

The inquiry has focused on the two witnesses, one of whom was described at the commission this week as "a liar and fabricator".

The Weekly Mail's counsel, Frans Rautenbach, admitted that this witness had lied, but maintained that the claim by police that "safe houses" were a necessity for investigations into crime "provides the ideal cover for various assassinations".

Kolisang had fabricated some aspects of his testimony "for his own protection", Rautenbach said. It was accepted that Kolisang had acted as a police informer, but he could also have been instructed by the police to assassinate ANC activists, he argued.

Commissioner R Wise commented

that he found it difficult to "selectively believe versions of untruthful witnesses".

Counsel for the South African Police, Phillip Hattingh SC, argued that there was no proof to justify *The Weekly Mail's* reports about police "plotting violence". He asked the commission to find that a report on secret bases and the planning of violence from them was "untrue and unsubstantiated".

Hattingh requested that *The Weekly Mail* give equal prominence to the commission's findings as it had to the original exposé.

Referring to *The Weekly Mail's* front-page photographs of policemen allegedly involved in operations from the secret base, Hattingh said the manner in which the exposé had been presented was a problem.

Hattingh argued that *The Weekly Mail's* editor, Anton Harber, had not given Minister of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze sufficient time to respond to the allegations.

It had been made clear to *The Weekly Mail* that "police were involved in covert operations", but the newspaper had nonetheless published the allegations that this was linked to violence, he added.

W/Mail 7-13/8/92

SAP slow to act

Weekly Mail Reporter

POLICE have made no attempt yet to question witnesses to the shooting this week of Phillip van Niekerk and Paul Taylor.

Van Niekerk, of *The Weekly Mail* and stringer for a number of major overseas publications, and Paul Taylor, a *Washington Post* correspondent who had been in the country for only five days, were shot by car hijackers in Evaton township while covering this week's general strike.

Van Niekerk was shot at point-blank range through the neck. The bullet entered just below one ear and passed out below his other ear. By a hair's breadth it missed his spine and artery, though it badly smashed his jaw. He underwent surgery on Wednesday to repair his jaw and will take four to six weeks to recover.

Taylor was shot in a shoulder. The bullet was removed by doctors on Monday night. Both are stable and recovering in Johannesburg clinics.

The two have received a flood of messages of comfort from around the world, including from the state president's office and the department of foreign affairs. Nelson Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa of the African National Congress paid personal visits to Van Niekerk this week.

The police, however, have made no effort to contact the principal witness to the attack, fellow journalist Hubert Matlou, nor the two victims. They also appear not to have interviewed residents of the area who watched it happen.

The official police report of the incident placed it in the wrong township. They told the media it had happened outside the Sebokeng Zone 13 post office, when in fact it had happened at the entrance to Evaton township.

Asked about police progress on the case, General Leon Mellet, head of the division of public relations in Pretoria, was unable to answer. By late yesterday, he had not answered queries about the case.

Local representatives of the ANC and Congress of South African Trade Unions have conducted their own investigation and submitted a report to their head offices. The report, written by Cosatu organising secretary Z Vavi, says Vaal leaders of the ANC alliance "took it as their task to investigate the attack and have been very busy with it, doing everything in their power to trace these hoodlums".

W/Mail. 7-B/8/02

Pupils swap books for barricades

By PORTIA MAURICE

PUPILS put their books aside to rally to the African National Congress-led mass action campaign on Monday and Tuesday — but in many cases the entire school week was lost to distraction and apathy.

Most urban African schools reported total stayaways on the first two days of the week — as pupils heeded a decision by education bodies like the National Education Co-ordinating Committee that they boycott classes.

At coloured and Indian high schools, attendance hovered at 50 percent and below. There was much confusion as divided staff dilly-dallied with their consciences, in some cases teaching depleted classrooms with five or so pupils. At schools which were more organised, those pupils who pitched ran cultural "awareness" programmes.

However, many township schools failed the acid test of discipline on Wednesday and Thursday — politicised pupils were enticed by huge city occupations and drifted out of play-

grounds late morning. Such actions "create curiosity" among pupils, South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) Soweto general secretary Veli Mnyandu said.

A Department of Education and Culture official in Port Elizabeth described the first two days of the strike as "not so normal". Local Sadtu spokesman Ampie Williams said schools in the largely coloured Northern Areas had experienced stayaways of up to 90 percent while about 50 percent of teachers heeded the call.

Although teachers at the Indian high school, Woolhope High in Malabar, reported for work, there was no teaching on Monday and Tuesday. Many Northern Areas pupils joined a mass march yesterday to commemorate the 1990 uprising in the area.

Universities like the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape effectively closed shop for the two days.

"Universities have a primary res-

ponsibility to education and a decision to close even for a day or two cannot be taken lightly," said UWC rector Jakes Gerwel.

"One of the major campaigns on the agenda of the democratic forces in the country this year is that of rebuilding and strengthening the culture of learning in our educational institutions.

"There has been a studied avoidance on the part of responsible education actors of measures which would disrupt the schooling or academic programme and undermine the culture of learning," he said.

"It is therefore an indication of the gravity of the social and broad political concerns of the universities for them to have decided on closure for the two days."

Adding its voice to the call for "peace and democracy now", the South African Students' Congress (Sasco) called for the restructuring of governing structures such as university councils. Thirteen campuses were targeted. — Ecna, Sasnews and Sapa

Fall in, ANC tells self-defence units

THE WEEKLY MAIL, August 7 to 13 1992

THE African National Congress this week began a top-level probe into reports that self-defence units, including fighters from Umkhonto weSizwe, had run amok in various townships around the country.

"An internal commission of inquiry is sitting at this moment and taking evidence from members of rival self-defence units in the Vaal townships and will make urgent recommendations direct to Nelson Mandela about how to deal with this problem," said Tokyo Sexwale, chairman of the ANC's powerful PWV region.

Sexwale said the commission, administered by the office of ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, would examine evidence that members of an ANC-run unit in Sebokeng was responsible for the murder of a union shop steward and other killings in the township earlier this year.

The commission will also consider strong recommendations from Chris Hani, secretary general of the South African Communist Party, about the need to impose discipline and political control over maverick elements that have taken over defence units in various parts of the country.

Hani urges that recruitment of members for these units be carried out with much more caution and that political organisations "must be seen to be punishing people who act contrary to the aims and objectives of the democratic movement and of the self-defence units".

Other proposals include:

- The need to establish political control and a clear line of command over the units. "I have heard of examples where some self-defence units have tried to exact a special tax on business people with some implied consumer boycott if they don't comply. Political organisations must curb any such tendency immediately."

- Strong action against members who use weapons to settle private disputes. *The Weekly Mail* has reported cases where former MK fighters have attacked, and killed, other activists during jealous tiffs over women.

- "Weapons in the hands of defence units must never be used to settle political differences ... even if leadership has become extremely unpopular the only way to settle political differences is through the proper democratic chan-

W/Mail 7.13/8/12

Soccer 4, Stayaway 2 is the shebeen score

By MONDLI MAKHANYA

THE talk in Soweto shebeens at the height of the stayaway early this week centred on soccer, crime and the weekend's drinking binges. Only occasionally did peace, democracy and the mass action campaign manage to squeeze into conversation.

While thousands of activists braved the winter cold to march to police stations on Monday, many Soweto residents simply stayed at home or marched in a different direction — to their favourite watering holes. Patrons started trickling into shebeens around mid-morning and by 2pm they were packed.

The flair of visiting Brazilian soccer team Fluminense dominated conversation, with everyone agreeing that even Kaizer Chiefs would have had great difficulty containing the skilful side which totally outclassed Jomo Cosmos and Amazulu.

The shebeen patrons also lamented the township's crime rate, relating

tales of hijackings, shootings and stabblings.

Some customers had been "on the job" since Friday evening, continuing their drinking binge through Sunday in the knowledge that the "long weekend" would shield them from having to go to work with a hangover on Monday.

But the extended weekend was posing worries for some. As a patron at a Moletsane shebeen put it: "Some of us are paid on a weekly basis. We've been at this since Friday, we're almost broke already and this week we're only going to get paid for three days."

The prospect of losing two days' pay did not bother strikers like Tshepo, who claimed to be a "member of the struggle" who supported "anybody who strikes hard blows at the government".

"We've been doing this for many years now — it's the only way of getting rid of the oppressors," he said. "But we must just have a long one

now that will get rid of them totally. Then we will never have to stay away again."

While shebeen patrons were prepared to stay away from work, many were definitely not going to support the protest marches. "I'll stay at home and lose my pay, but there's no way I'm going to toyi-toyi in the street with children. Besides, after the demands have been given to the *boers* they simply throw them in the rubbish bin. How many demands have been handed to them this year alone and what have they done?" inquired one bespectacled drinker.

An ardent unionist visiting a Jabulani shebeen chattered excitedly about the mass action campaign and vowed he would be participating in every one of the week's activities. Besides taking part in the stayaway, he planned to join Wednesday's march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria and take part in a sit-in at his workplace on Thursday and Friday.

Another enthusiastic striker was "Oupa", block chairman of the Soweto Civic Association in his area. He said he had been up since Sam monitoring railway stations — "to make sure there was no intimidation" — and lobbying would-be strike-breakers to stay at home. He conceded that there had been minor incidents of intimidation, but attributed this to the "people's hunger for freedom". "You cannot teach a hungry man table manners," he said repeatedly.

Business was better than usual for three unsavoury looking young patrons at a Phiri shebeen who said they made a living by hijacking delivery vehicles in the townships. They wandered into the shebeen selling biscuits and an assortment of canned foods, taking advantage of the fact that most township shops were shut and few hawkers could be found on the streets. Judging by the speed with which their goods were being bought, the trio had done their homework.

Many marchers but few incidents in Cape Town protests

THE woman on the bridge surveyed the seething mass of people making their way along the freeway in a gigantic toyi-toyi stretching back for almost half a kilometre. "I feel so sorry for them," she said. "Of course, they've all been intimidated."

The enthusiasm of the singing, chanting marchers should have cancelled out her concern. Even if it wanted to, it's doubtful the African National Congress could ever mobilise sufficient forces to coerce so many people into joining a 12km long march, from Langa township to the city centre.

Singing and chanting, the huge column of marchers, filling both sides of the N2 freeway, made its way into the city — combining with a crowd already assembled on the Grand Parade to make one of the largest demonstrations Cape Town has seen since the 1989 march for peace led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

The march from Langa was intended to echo the 1960 march led by Philip Kgosana against the pass laws, when 30 000 people approached Cape Town in almost total silence to be confronted by a huge police contingent and a tense stand-off.

This time, the atmosphere was almost festive and police kept a low profile: control of the crowd was left chiefly to khaki-clad marshals who insisted that marchers hand over the sticks some were carrying, and to marchers themselves, who were quick to remonstrate when anyone tried to damage property.

Two clothing shops' windows were smashed and cars parked outside police CID offices had their tyres slashed and windscreens damaged. But given the sheer numbers of people involved in the march and subsequent "occupations" of city buildings, the incidents were negligible. Four people "arrested" by marshals for breaking windows and pick-pocketing were publicly castigated by western Cape ANC chairman Alan Boesak; they were later handed over to police but released "for lack of evidence", according to the ANC.

After Women's League veteran Dorothy Mfatu lit the "flame of freedom" — to be kept in St George's Cathedral "until we have freedom, when we will put it in parliament", according to Boesak — the crowd moved to the Receiver of Revenue's offices, chanting "No vote, no tax". Other public buildings — the Department of Manpower, Telkom SA, the

A low-key police presence and crowds well controlled by marshals allowed the protest march in Cape Town to pass off relatively peacefully.

By **GAYE DAVIS**

Department of Home Affairs — were also "occupied". A tense situation at Culemborg — interrogation centre of the former security police — was defused after a crowd confronting police with dogs and batons was persuaded to disperse.

If the burning barricades gave the impression that the clock had been turned back to the political turmoil of the mid-1980s, the police's response did not. In Manenberg, where local gangsters and youths manned barricades and stoned any police vehicle that approached, Casspirs would simply lumber through the hail of missiles — occasionally pausing for a volley of teargas or rubber bullets to be fired above the heads of the crowd.

But while the low-key police response in the Peninsula reduced township action to a kind of ghetto sport, in outlying rural areas such as Grabouw — where police shot a man dead after he threw a half-brick at a Casspir and wounded several others with birdshot — it was a different story. Black Sash members who helped monitor the strike noted the contrast, attributing it to the over-zealousness of Stellenbosch riot squad members.

Sash member Anne Greenwell, who toured Nyanga, Langa, Guguletu and Crossroads during the strike, said the police presence was "almost discreet ... we all felt it was a good thing". The presence of United Nations monitor Joan Seymour also helped, she said.

Indications that police were under orders to stay cool emerged from a conversation between a riot policeman and a reporter accompanying a patrol in Khayelitsha: "We cannot stop them the way we used to before the ANC was unbanned," he told her. "People are watching us and waiting for us to make mistakes." It was difficult and frustrating, he said, to adjust one's way of working "when one minute someone is your enemy and the next thing you have to risk your life to protect him".

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W/Mail 7-13/8/92 (2)

THE WEEKLY MAIL, AUGUST 7 TO 13 1992

THE ANC CAN PULL A CROWD, BUT WHAT NEXT?

— and we're coming inside

does enable the ANC to claim that it has won widespread endorsement in this "black referendum".

By the end of the week, President FW de Klerk was looking increasingly like former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev in the days before the coup attempt of August last year: sandwiched between rightwing security forces, whom he is unwilling or unable to pull into line, and rising popular discontent.

Like Gorbachev, he enjoys enormous international standing, but at home he appeared this week to be losing control of the forces he himself let loose through his reforms. Also like Gorbachev, this takes place against a deteriorating economy that can only add to the pressures mounting against him.

Both men faltered when it came to facing up to the final consequences of the reforms they had started; in De Klerk's case, it was an inability at Codesa II to accept full democracy.

The major difference, however, is that Gorbachev appeared incapable of dealing with the rising tide of forces against him and of dealing with popular discontent. Not so De Klerk: he has Mandela and others to deal with as representatives of popular discontent.

Mandela spelled out this week what he believes De Klerk now has to do: move towards an interim government of national unity, commit himself to a democratically elected constituent assembly and take steps to curb violence. The ANC appears willing to talk, but not until more progress is made in meeting these demands.

Cosatu and the ANC are now making it clear that they are aware of the government's intention to simply ride out this week's activities, and that they will therefore continue the campaign in the coming weeks. A revitalisation of the campaign to force employers to stop deducting Paye (Pay-as-you-earn) tax from workers' salaries is on the cards and ANC-aligned civic organisations are also set to intensify grassroots campaigns.

Word from the alliance is that even if formal talks resume between the ANC and the government, nothing short of concrete agreement on an interim government and a timetable for constituent assembly elections will halt the campaign of "rolling mass action".

Employers are tired of having to bear the brunt of political disputes, but withholding workers'

pay for days missed makes them vulnerable to further political campaigns and as a result, large employer bodies are increasingly leaning on the government to make concessions.

Following the recent collapse of the tentative accord between Cosatu and the employer body Saccola, top businessmen have been consulting the government in a bid to exert pressure on it to speed up the political transition. Business sources predict that this behind-the-scenes lobbying will gain momentum in the wake of the strike.

Regional branches of the ANC and Cosatu will be meeting this weekend to assess the week's actions and to plan ways of taking the campaign forward. "This has been a decisive week and we will now be going back to the drawing board. Our people have been galvanised and, although the government is making the right noises, the mass action will have to continue. This week was only one peak in the campaign," said Cosatu representative Neil Coleman.

WINKIL 7-13/8/92 (2)

The African National Congress'
self-defence units, criticised for
violence, murder and intimidation of
the very people they're supposed to
protect, will be drilled into shape by
the ANC. By EDDIE KOCH

nels."

●The leadership of community groups must exert effective control over the units and this should include regular reports from the units and checks on the "material" they use.

●Thorough screening must take place to ensure that "lumpen elements open to manipulation" and those with a track record of militant rhetoric are excluded.

"We have seen an alarming revival of kangaroo courts and kangaroo justice and even the horrifying necklace. It is extremely important to note that the entire national liberation movement

has taken a very strong stand against the barbaric method of killing by necklacing," says Hani.

"Some elements have used defence units to obstruct the police when the police have been engaged in justifiable crime prevention activities. Defence units must never be seen to be sheltering criminals."

Most of these proposals have been outlined in a recent edition of the SACP journal, *Umsebenzi*. While making frank criticisms of some self-defence units, both Hani and Sexwale believe the units cannot be disbanded.

"There can be no question that the formation of these units has contributed to saving many lives in a situation of escalating violence," said Hani.

Sexwale notes that the police have lost all credibility in most townships around the country and that residents, faced with a huge increase in violence since the unbanning of the ANC, will arm themselves to protect themselves.

"Unless we try and give them some form of direction, chaos will reign," said Sexwale.

However, provisions of the National Peace Accord — which prohibit political parties from having their own armed units — have made it difficult for the ANC to exert the amount of discipline required to control the units.

"The National Peace Accord has forced us to leave the running of self-defence units to members of the community who often lack military and political experience. This opens the situation to a number of elements who are not subject to our discipline," said Sexwale.

"Ideally, the security forces should protect the people, or at least co-operate with the self-defence units in providing some kind of law and order in the townships. But with the existing police force this can never happen. Instead, they go around kicking down doors, kicking around peoples' jaws and pushing old women around."

Sexwale said that if the commission found evidence that members of the self-defence units were involved in murder and other serious crimes they would be expelled from the organisation.

will mail 7-13/8/12

ANC told to carry 'traditional weapons'

By CARMEL RICKARD

If Inkatha members continue carrying "traditional weapons", should African National Congress members do the same? ANC southern Natal general secretary Shu Ndebele says they have no choice.

"It is our tradition too. If the police allow Inkatha to carry dangerous weapons, we will have to do likewise."

While the call has proved popular with many Natal ANC supporters, it has come in for criticism. Durban's Legal Resources Centre says the idea is irresponsible and reckless.

The ANC head office has reaffirmed its policy that people "cannot come to marches armed in any way", and Inkatha says ANC members were carrying such weapons even before Ndebele's call.

Ndebele warned several times that the ANC in his region would begin carrying "traditional weapons" as a strategy to make police disarm Inkatha. He says patience ran out last

month when a group of armed Inkatha Freedom Party supporters confronted ANC members at the start of a Durban city centre march.

The ANC was planning to try Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a mock trial and IFP supporters aimed to stop the "trial". Police intervened and prevented a fight, but Ndebele says the group should have been disarmed long before they reached their destination.

After that incident Ndebele called for ANC members to carry weapons. They were first seen in great numbers this week at a march of more than 10 000 people in Inanda outside Durban. Many in the crowd were kitted out with spears, sticks, shields, axes and pangas. They marched in regiments, singing traditional fighting songs and brandishing their weapons. A number also wore skins. Many people appeared to enjoy the opportunity to combine traditional and political feelings.

During the ANC's mass action in

central Durban this week, a number of marchers again carried such weapons. In a speech to thousands of protesters, Ndebele said "traditional weapons" would become a part of ANC marches.

"They would be carried at all gatherings in the future as long as the police allowed Inkatha to bear such weapons in public. Ndebele said later that he was against the bearing of these weapons, but felt that the new strategy was the only way to stop them from being carried by Inkatha. "The day the IFP marches without these arms, the very next day so will we," he said.

Legal Resources' Howard Varney said he understood ANC frustration with police failure to enforce laws barring the carrying of such weapons in public. However, the ANC response — calling on its members to bear weapons — was quite unacceptable.

Varney added: "Weapons' bearing in the current climate is nothing more

than a show of strength and an act of intimidation, regardless of which organisation is behind it."

Varney said if ANC members were to bear arms in the same way as Inkatha, it would further entrench a culture of weapons, violence and intolerance. "It may well be that this trend may become unstoppable."

The IFP's Ed Filleit also criticised the ANC move: "Two wrongs do not make a right. We disapprove of our members carrying non-traditional weapons. When it was made unlawful to carry non-traditional weapons we began taking steps to ensure only sticks and shields are carried in future. Last Saturday's march in Durban showed the message has now reached most supporters."

Meanwhile, the ANC head office says there must be a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public. If the government banned weapons in particular areas only, as happened this week, instigators simply moved elsewhere.

ANC ducks the AWB's right hook

By ROSALEE TELELA

IT was a very uneven fight, with about 30 members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging vowing to stop at least 8 000 African National Congress marchers at the Jan Lotz Stadium in Krugersdorp, west of Johannesburg, this week.

In the centre of the ring was the United Nations referee, Hisham Omayad, while the police and members of the media took ringside seats.

The 8 000 ANC supporters gathered at the stadium outside Krugersdorp in preparation for a march to the town council as part of the nationwide mass action campaign. They intended presenting a memorandum to Minister of Local Government and local MP Leon Wessels. Watching their arrival was a small group of AWB supporters, armed with pistols and batons.

The last to arrive was the head of the UN monitoring team, Omayad, who was loudly greeted by ANC supporters cheering, ululating, and shouting slogans. He was accompanied by the PWV regional peace committee chairman, Rupert Lorimer.

Round one was about to begin. Lorimer pleaded with the 30 AWB supporters not to throw the first punch.

Inside the stadium the ANC marchers were dancing and singing. ANC Kagiso branch chairman Uhuru Moloa said the police should not let the AWB carry "their traditional weapons".

AWB leader Colonel Henry de Beer gave an impromptu media conference — for whites only. A photographer from *The Sowetan*, Mbuzeni Zulu, was prevented from taking pictures by AWB members.

De Beer tried to go for a knockout, claiming that "the march is a provocative action ... it is totally illegal. They (the ANC) don't ask, they just take over". He threatened that "if the police don't stop this, we will".

An AWB supporter said "reinforcements" were on the way. At this point Omayad stepped in, asking De Beer to "give the police a chance to resolve the situation". He assured the AWB that the UN observers "understand their position", but added that the people of South Africa should resolve their own problems. "The United Nations is here strictly to observe," he said.

When marchers began to leave the stadium on their way to the centre of Krugersdorp, AWB members blocking the road were ordered by the police to move out of the way. Reluctantly they walked away, their fists clenched. The bout ended without a punch being thrown and the march continued, peacefully.

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WIMail 7-13/8/92. (1)

THE political tide turned this week as the mass action campaign took off with the country's biggest-ever general strike and the largest series of protest marches.

The desultory start to the campaign in the past few weeks was forgotten as between three and four million workers stayed away from work, and between 200 000 and 400 000 people took part in some of the biggest protest marches the country has ever seen. The numbers were hotly disputed, but not the assessment that the action was far more successful than expected and that the African National Congress emerged from the week considerably strengthened.

Just last week, the campaign seemed doomed to failure and warnings were given that the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) were risking their credibility.

But not only did the strike get the support of more than three million workers, but subsequent mass action during the week attracted a great deal more support than expected. This in the face of stern opposition from the Pan Africanist

Your door is wide open, FW

Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and Inkatha, and a barrage of criticism from most of the media.

Strike observers say even Nactu-organised factories showed a very high level of absenteeism — though Nactu attributes this to intimidation and a lack of transport.

With absenteeism estimates ranging from 76 percent in the western Cape to 95 percent in the PWV, the ANC alliance is on a high. Even passive support translated on Wednesday into active support that cannot be dismissed as the result of intimidation. Mass demonstrations in Pretoria, Cape Town and King William's Town drew crowds of the size last seen during the euphoric weeks just after the release of Nelson Mandela.

The African National Congress' Cyril Ramaphosa told the huge crowd massed in Pretoria on Wednesday: 'We are at the door of the Union Buildings — next time, FW de Klerk, we will be inside your office.' For the first time, the message could not be dismissed as bluster.

By ANTON HARBER and MONDLI MAKHANYA

When ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa told the crowd massed in Pretoria, "we are at the door of the Union Buildings — next time, FW de Klerk, we will be inside your office", the message could not, for the first time, be dismissed as bluster.

The government and the security forces were quick to attribute the large numbers to intimidat-

ion, saying the campaign served only to delay the resumption of negotiations.

However, there was little evidence of intimidation and most of the violence of the past week appeared to be organised attacks against ANC supporters and participants in the general strike. This does not mean one can dismiss fear as a motive for many people staying at home, but it

W/Mail 7-13/8/02 (1)

Goniwe probe: State
wants amnesty deal

Trail leads too close for comfort X

By EDDIE KOCH

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is under severe pressure to put an amnesty in place as the official investigation into the Goniwe murders accumulates potentially explosive evidence about the identities of those who ordered the assassinations and carried them out.

Michael Hodgen, a senior law officer

investigating the Goniwe murders, has received vital evidence about the identity of the men involved in the killings.

The Weekly Mail is in possession of the names of the operatives who are alleged to have killed Matthew Goniwe but is withholding these while the Attorney General's investigations continue.

Hodgen visited London in the past two

months to interview renegade policemen Dirk Coetzee as well as John Horak, a former security police officer, in connection with indications that current members of De Klerk's cabinet served on a committee of the State Security Council which processed the signal message.

● Continued on PAGE 3

Honing in on Goniwe killers

● From PAGE 1

According to Coetzee, Hodgen was interested in finding out which committees Minister of Prisons Adriaan Vlok sat on in the State Security Council at the time of the Goniwe murders.

And information supplied to Hodgen, the acting attorney general for the eastern Cape, suggests that the assassinations were carried out by members of the Civil Co-operation Bureau, a South African Defence Force unit known as "The Hammer Forces" and members of the South African Police.

The Hammer Forces was an irregular unit founded by General Christoffel van der Westhuizen, the powerful head of military intelligence, to carry out dirty tricks against anti-apartheid groups in the eastern Cape.

There has been a flurry of activity in military intelligence circles to establish who leaked a secret document implicating Van der Westhuizen in the operation to eliminate Goniwe and his colleagues.

De Klerk is being pressed to take action against the general in the wake of reports that Van der Westhuizen's personal assistant, Lieutenant Pamela du Rand, was deported from England this year on suspicion of plotting Coetzee's murder.

Indications are that De Klerk faces an explosive political situation as his investigators close in on those responsible for the Goniwe killings. He will have to deal with the humiliating prospect of acknowledging that at least one of his current ministers was implicated in the killings and runs the risk of a showdown with his security chiefs if he takes action against Van der Westhuizen.

He could try to defuse the situation by ensuring that junior operatives involved in the actual assassinations are prosecuted but this is likely to generate antagonism and further leaks about the involvement of senior officials.

The safest way for De Klerk to deal with the looming crisis is to set in place a general amnesty, exonerate everyone involved in the murders, and ask the ANC to let bygones be bygones.

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W/ Mail 7-13/8/92 (2)

Weekly Mail Reporters

AS investigators uncover the trail of the killers of activist Matthew Goniwe, the government has started pushing hard for a general amnesty for all political offenders.

The idea of a general amnesty — which would let off the hook members of the security forces involved in crimes against the African National Congress — has been discussed in meetings during the past two weeks between the government and the ANC over the release of political prisoners.

According to diplomats, a general amnesty has the backing of the United States and Britain and was promoted by UN special envoy Cyrus Vance during his visit to South Africa which ended last week.

"Mr Vance's idea was that there needs to be a clean break with the past that would enable a gear-change to a future-directed dialogue," said a Western diplomat close to the UN initiative.

The talks about a possible amnesty have been held over the past two weeks in the context of a securing the release of 420 remaining prisoners who the ANC insist fall in the political category.

As a result of Vance's intervention, government and the ANC have held two high-level meetings over the past two weeks to discuss the issue. The government delegations have been headed by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said both ANC delegations had been headed by ANC international department director Thabo Mbeki, who had been mandated by the ANC's national work-

● Continued on PAGE 2

State in push for amnesty

● From PAGE 1

ing committee to "negotiate the release of political prisoners".

Niehaus said it was possible that the question of a general amnesty had been "touched on" at these meetings but that the ANC had no "firm position" on a general amnesty.

However, other ANC sources confirm that the matter had been discussed internally. The ANC's position on the issue is much the same as its hands-off attitude to the government's desire to release rightwing political prisoners: we will have nothing to do with it and anyway we don't have the power to do it.

It is understood that there are differences of opinion within the ANC on the wisdom of a general amnesty. A number of members strongly oppose letting the security forces off the hook at this early stage — at least without finding out what they did and who was involved. And the ANC would have difficulty in getting its general membership to accept, particularly since they have recently been calling for the culprits in the security forces to be punished.

In terms of the amnesty, security force members who had taken part in clandestine operations against anti-apartheid activists and in the covert destabilisation of the ANC would be granted blanket immunity. In return, the ANC would secure the release of the 420 remaining prisoners who they insist are political.

A general amnesty could also resolve the question of the status of several thousand Umkhonto weSizwe cadres who remain outside the country until the ANC formally terminates its armed struggle.

It would also assist President FW de Klerk in dealing with the mounting problems within his security forces, particularly among those elements undermining his political initiatives.

The idea of a general amnesty was also promoted by US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen during meetings with government officials earlier this week, according to diplomats.

The Western diplomat was adamant that the government and the ANC were keen on the idea of a general amnesty as a mechanism for making a clean break with the past. The idea of cleaning the slate to make way for progress was pushed by Vance.

The proposed amnesty would create a new cut-off date for immunity against prosecution for agents of the state and the liberation movements who were acting under instructions or in line with the official policy of their organisations. The current agreement allows only for a selective amnesty — excluding security force members — for certain categories of exiles for acts committed before October 8 1990.

Justice Ministry spokesman Nic Grobler said that talks between government and the ANC were "too sensitive" to disclose details. "But I can say that the question of a general amnesty was raised by the ANC earlier in the negotiating process and it remains on the table for discussion," he said.

W/Mail 7-13/8/92

AFRICAN National Congress officials in northern Natal claim 11 people from Esikawini township killed last Sunday night were the victims of a "Boipatong-style massacre".

They said that as in Boipatong, a number of individual, well-organised night attacks were carried out at Esikawini, next to Impangeni in northern Natal, within a relatively short period of time. The attackers in all six incidents appeared to belong to the same group, wore similar clothing and used similar weapons.

According to statements given the ANC by survivors and by others in the area at the time of the attacks, the 11 dead and four injured were hit during a half-hour shooting spree involving six incidents. In all, eight men wearing balaclavas and using pump action shotguns were involved.

Among the dead were five women, including one said to be an Inkatha organiser, and a two-year old child. The four injured included a 20-month-old toddler and Verali Gumbi, the treasurer of the northern Natal ANC Women's League. Statements taken by an ANC official indicate the shootings took place between 7.30 and 8pm at various spots in the pro-

Attack at Esikawini was an organised massacre, says ANC

Statements given to the ANC after 11 people were killed in Esikawini township indicate it was a co-ordinated attack.

By **CARMEL RICKARD**

ANC J1 section of the township. The attacks came just hours after a march of about 1 000 ANC supporters from Section J1 to the local kwaZulu police station. A memorandum complaining about KZP behaviour was handed over at the police station.

In one incident, the attackers burst into a shebeen and told the women in the first room they wanted "the men". They then searched the premises and killed four men: Citizen Sibiya, Mutukathandwa Ntshangase,

Johannes Ngema and Khulekani Nzuza. The women and a young man who survived the attack said the gunmen were Zulu speakers and that they wore identical blue tracksuit tops, grey trousers and balaclavas. According to these witnesses, they carried shotguns.

Another attack shortly before targeted a van leaving a family party. Two women, Gloria Ntuli and Nonhlanihla Kunene, as well as a two-year-old child were killed in the shooting, while a 14-year-old girl and another woman survived. They said they saw three attackers, all wearing balaclavas, grey trousers and long coats, carrying "big guns". During a later inspection, ANC officials found shotgun cartridges at the scene.

Survivors said that it seemed the

attackers divided their forces into two groups of four, which launched simultaneous attacks in J1. Shots were heard from two areas at roughly the same time. Regional media officer for the ANC, Bongani Msoni, said many in the community regarded the KZP as responsible because of the firearms used and the clothes worn by the attackers.

He urged that the KZP "prove themselves" by finding and arresting the culprits. He also said a full, independent inquiry was necessary into the events.

KZP colonel Lindelile Khanyile said those blaming the KZP had no evidence for their claims. The district commandant had assured him that the KZP was not involved in any way. Those responsible had not yet been identified and no one had come forward to give the police any information either about the incidents or about the identity and political affiliation of those killed.

Khanyile said investigations were continuing and that the KZP were "very keen" to solve the case. He added that if members of the KZP were "positively identified" in the case, steps would be taken to bring them to court.

Mail 7-13/8/92

Number game but strike's a success

By MONDLI MAKHANYA

ALTHOUGH no one is disputing the success of the mass action campaign, there is a great deal of number juggling going on.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has claimed about four million people stayed away on Monday, representing about 90 percent of formal sector employees. The federation collated its figures from 70 monitoring points country-wide and consulted the South African Rail Commuter Corporation and Putco bus companies on occupancy levels.

However, organised industry disputes these figures on the basis that the mining, agricultural and public sectors, which together employ half the country's workforce, were virtu-

ally untouched by the stayaway.

"Considering the fact that there are officially 5.3-million people employed in the formal sector and these sectors were unaffected, at the most only two and a half million people could have taken part," says South African Chamber of Business economist Keith Lockwood.

Although the build-up to the strike was marked by hysterical warnings about the irreparable damage such action would do to the economy, more sober assessment reveals this will be minimal. Most manufacturers are already operating below full capacity and two days' lost production is unlikely to hurt much.

Also, as Econometrix director Tony Twine points out, since the mining, agriculture and the public sector —

which account for 55 percent of gross domestic product — were mostly unscathed and damage to the economy was minimal.

"On a public holiday when the entire economy shuts down lost production amounts to about R930-million, so a day's lost production during this stayaway would be half of this. You can safely estimate the two day's stayaway to be around R900-million," says Twine.

But the heaviest victim of the general strike will be business confidence, which has in the past 18 months taken a heavy knock from the stagnant economy, violence and the political impasse. Instability on the labour front will contribute to the delaying of investment decisions by potential domestic and foreign investors.

W/Mail 7-13/8/92

Sactwu bids for recognition in Bop

By MONDLI MAKHANYA

IN an agreement describe by the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (Sactwu) as a first, a joint union-employer delegation is to meet the Bophuthatswana government to lobby for the union's recognition in the homeland.

Representations will also be made to South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha to lean on Bophuthatswana.

The agreement formed part of this year's settlements in the clothing industry which agreed on wage increases ranging from 14 to 15 percent.

South African unions are outlawed in the homeland but Sactwu is intent on spreading its wings beyond its existent bases of the western Cape, Natal and the Transvaal. Bophuthatswana has a significant clothing industry, in which Sactwu organisers have been heavily organising in recent years.

Within South Africa, Sactwu already controls 94 percent of the industry, mainly due to closed shop agreements in most factories. Sactwu's attempts to get recognition in Bop will be closely watched by the National Union of Mineworkers, which has a majority representation

at the Impala Platinum mine but is not recognised by the Bop authorities.

There were other "firsts" in the agreement which were varied according to regional industrial councils. Employers who are not members of employer associations will now also be covered by the closed shop agreement in the Transvaal and the western Cape and union rights provisions will be extended to non-employer associations members in all three regions. Also significant in the agreement is that highly paid work categories will now be covered by the industrial council in the Transvaal.

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, August 7 1992

3

Sweden joins Norway in cutting aid to Namibia

STOCKHOLM — Sweden said yesterday it had excluded Namibia from receiving drought relief aid after reports that it had spent large sums on a presidential plane.

Sapa-Reuter reports that foreign ministry official Kaj Persson said: "Buying that plane indicated that Namibia did not lack money. Furthermore, Namibia wasn't that severely hit by the drought."

Sweden's long-term bilateral aid to Namibia of \$20.4m a year was unaffected, he said.

On Wednesday, Norway said it would not give Namibia any special drought relief.

The Norwegian government said in Windhoek yesterday that it found it "difficult to respond" to the appeal for drought aid be-

cause of the Namibian government's priority in purchasing the \$29.3m executive jet and the fact that the drought was more severe in other parts of southern Africa.

However, ordinary development assistance would not be affected.

In response, Namibian Prime Minister Hage Gein-gob said Namibia would not interfere in the affairs of other states and expected to be treated similarly.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that Namibian Finance Minister Gert Hanekom said it was re-

grettable that Norway and Sweden had made a linkage between the purchase of an aircraft and drought relief.

"We have provided for drought relief in our budget and I think we will be able to manage although obviously we were relying on some relief from donor countries," he said.

"The decision to buy the aircraft and the signing of contracts was done a long time ago and certainly before we had any idea that we were facing a drought. What are we to do? Dishonour the contracts?"

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, August 7 1992

CP rebel walkout looms as talks falter

THE chief executive of the CP was in intensive discussions yesterday and today in a last-ditch effort to stave off a party split despite "irreconcilable differences", a prominent CP executive member said last night.

CP chief whip Frank le Roux said yesterday CP leader Andries Treurnicht had chaired a meeting with the five dissident MPs who drafted a position document, The Road Ahead, calling for negotiations with all parties to negotiate a federal structure.

He said the meeting was adjourned until today when a decision on a walkout would most likely be made.

The five, Andries Beyers (Potchefstroom), Cebill Pienaar (Free State leader), Rosier de Ville (Standerton), Chris de Jager (Bethal) and Moolman Mentz (Ermelo) were still intent on leaving the party before the meeting.

After the adjournment one of the five said discussions were particularly difficult but essentially it was up to the leaders.

"They must decide whether they will

BILLY PADDOCK

move towards our position which is a much more realistic one than the one the party is following currently, which is essentially a resurrection of the HNP in the CP, led by Ferdi Hartzenberg," he said.

That position was totally irreconcilable with that of the five rebels.

Another of the group said that after the meeting he felt "more hopeful of some form of reconciliation than before the meeting. But we must wait and see."

The chief executive (hoofbestuur) met late yesterday to try to work out some form of compromise but there was little hope. Treurnicht's position was that a split was not necessary, "especially at this stage", but he acknowledged the political position of the five was irreconcilable.

One of the dissidents also said it would be "almost intolerable" to sustain a happy medium between themselves and deputy leader Hartzenberg, who leads the old guard and refused to speak to the five at a special committee meeting last week.

COMMENT

First task

FOR South Africans already living with the spectre of unemployment and poverty among vast numbers of people, there could hardly have been a more depressing prediction than the one by AHI chief economist Nick Barnardt at the Fedhasa congress. He believes that in the next year another 500 000 will join the millions of jobless. There are no official statistics, but the total figure could be as high as 7-million, or 40% of economically active people.

Barnardt said there was a "state of emergency" in the economy, and something had to be done to stop the downward spiral and create a refuge of last resort for the unemployed.

Government's poverty relief schemes, introduced mainly to help victims of the drought, are pitifully inadequate, and other agencies like Operation Hunger can do no more than attempt to hold off starvation. The critical question is not how the millions can be fed, but how the tide can be turned so that increasing numbers of them can at least fend for themselves and their families.

The long-term requirement, of course, is "economic growth". There has not been any for three years, and unless the decline in national productivity can be halted there is no way South Africa will be able to support its population. This is accepted even by proponents of outmoded philosophies, who cling to the ideologies and myths on which much of their popular support depends.

Barnardt says political change in the next 12 months, in the context of the increased unemployment he predicts, carries the risk of even worse violence, crime and instability, and there seems no reason to question his view. That being so, it is for the country's leaders to face up squarely to the situation when they resume constitutional talks.

ANC representatives were involved in the Old Mutual-Nedcor scenario planning exercise which showed convincingly that South Africa's future depended on adequate job creation. The researchers concluded that the best way of tackling joblessness was through deregulation to assist the informal sector and a massive housing programme, followed by electrification projects which would stimulate the manufacturing sector. Billions of rands have been raised for low-cost housing, yet programmes have hardly been able to get off the ground because of the township turmoil, and the much-vaunted "kick-start" to the economy is in danger of becoming a fable.

But this does not mean the plan itself is defective. It remains a better option than funding labour battalions, subsidised wages or training schemes, useful though these may be. What the country really needs is leadership — from President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela in particular — which puts other issues aside and devotes all the energies necessary to halt the strife and get job-creating, home-providing programmes under way.

Myth and reality

THE sense of crisis engendered by the political deadlock of the past 12 weeks has been cynically exacerbated for narrow party political ends by both the ANC and government. President de Klerk's generous concession to the ANC on Wednesday evening that he appreciated the effort it had put into keeping its marches peaceful was a stark demonstration of that.

Ever since the announcement of the ANC alliance's "mass action" campaign, its proponents have used language at least as much as the action itself to instill in their political opponents and, as a consequence, in those members of the public outside their ranks, a sense of unease in excess of what the reality required. In true Alice in Wonderland style, they have referred to a

planned two-day stayaway as a "general strike", to marches as "city occupations" and to workplace meetings as "factory occupations".

Members of the government and their broadcasting service have, in turn, in alarmist fashion, repeatedly issued dire warnings of the possible consequences of political protest. Their intention was to discredit ANC strategy as irresponsible. They partially succeeded, but also helped to scare off investors and plant fear in the hearts of their own supporters — as witnessed by fearful rumours which have been doing the rounds. And now that negotiations are about to resume, De Klerk suddenly characterises the mass action in a different light. What are we to believe?

2

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, August 7 1992

Thousands march as mass action campaign rolls on

MARCHES on police stations, businesses and government offices involving tens of thousands of people continued to take place throughout the country yesterday in support of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance's mass action campaign.

Demonstrations, marches and sit-ins took place in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, Maritzburg, Umtata, Kempton Park and Cape Town, adding to Wednesday's 682 marches which resulted in almost a thousand arrests.

Police said at least 47 people had died nationwide during the three days of mass action.

About 40 people were arrested and three injured in incidents across the country yesterday.

More than 7 000 marchers converged on the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court to hand over to chief magistrate Nicholas van der Merwe a list of demands including a call for President F W de Klerk to resign.

ANC PWV region spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said security forces had opened fire on the demonstrators, injuring three.

In downtown Johannesburg there were three marches involving hospital workers, the Construction and Al-

ADRIAN HADLAND

lied Workers' Union and the SA Students' Congress.

Police confirmed that nine marches had taken place in Pretoria without incident, seven of which were to police stations.

Mamoepa said the Department of Education and Training offices in Springs had been occupied, as well as the offices of the Receiver of Revenue, the NP and the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

He said eight people had been arrested after marching on the Evaton police station, while the NUM office in Carletonville had been surrounded by security forces, preventing a march to the local DET office. One student had been arrested but was later released.

Cosatu Pretoria region spokesman Jackie Masemola said marches had been planned to Maizecor, the Mamelodi city council and administrative offices in Pretoria.

More than 200 people who were arrested in Pietersburg on Wednesday appeared in court yesterday charged with violating municipal by-laws. Police said some of the accused could not pay the R300 bail and had been remanded in custody.

Further incidents were reported in

Port Elizabeth — where thousands of workers staged sit-ins at suburban shopping centres, Cape Town, Umtata, Stellenbosch, Maritzburg, Benoni, Olifantsfontein and KwaThema.

CHARLIE PRETZLIK reports that ANC Alexandra spokesman Teboho Mosonogi alleged that Inkatha was "directly linked" to Wednesday's incident in which a youth choir in Alexandra was shot at and two people killed.

Mosonogi accused the police of being slow to respond to the attack on the choir.

Inkatha central committee member Themba Khoza told a news conference that the deaths and destruction during the mass action campaign "had not come as a surprise to me".

Khoza said government shared some blame for the deaths as it had "allowed the ANC to go ahead with its mass action".

The Human Rights Commission has reported that 86 deaths and 176 injuries were recorded between Wednesday last week and Tuesday this week. HRC commissioner Max Coleman said the death toll was only marginally higher than the weekly average of 80 recorded since March.

He said security force action during the period had resulted in 11 deaths, 40 injuries and 639 arrests.

13/10 Day 07-08-92

Vance to recommend 'observer squad'

WASHINGTON — UN special envoy Cyrus Vance is believed to have recommended that the Security Council send a small observer force to SA to help "augment" existing institutions like the Goldstone commission and the national peace accord machinery.

Diplomats said Vance's report on his 10-day mission to SA was in Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's hands yesterday and could be distributed as an official UN document as early as today.

In the document, Vance is said to advocate placing fewer than 200 observers, on a basis that is not intrusive, to help smooth

SIMON BARBER

the way for agreement on an interim government as soon as possible.

Their function would be to help foster a climate for successful negotiation, in part by acting as an important incentive for all parties, including the police, to refrain from actions that might lead to violence or throw further obstacles in the path of negotiations.

It seems certain that they will work in concert with the Goldstone commission and the peace accord, as well as other peace mechanisms agreed between the parties.

Western officials made clear that the force would be even-handed and that a key part of its brief would be "not to do for the South Africans what they should be doing for themselves".

The Security Council is scheduled to hold consultations on Cyprus today. Boutros-Ghali may take the opportunity to brief the council on Vance's conclusions.

As for formal action on the report, the council is expected to try to reach consensus behind the scenes and then swiftly adopt an implementing resolution, perhaps early next week.

Funding for the operation would then have to be approved.

07-08-92 B/Dan

Reconciliation is having to say you're sorry

"WHEN they left me in my own house at last, I was convinced that it was not the end, that they would come again." This was the final sentence of Ruth First's published chronicle (117 Days) of her torture in 1963 under 90-day detention. In the event they did come again. Ten years ago — on August 17, 1982 — she was murdered by parcel bomb in her office at Maputo's Eduardo Mondlane University. Mondlane himself was blown up by post in the 1960s, a method of execution our security establishment was to copy extensively from the Portuguese fascists.

Why did they come for her? She had no connection with MK's armed activity. She was no longer the full-time anti-apartheid publicist of her journalistic days. She was not serving on any leading body of the SACP, having blotted her copybook as a pioneer of anti-Stalinism.

But a motive for her assassination does suggest itself. The ideas Ruth taught to students at her Centre of African Studies spread a conviction that a bargain with P W Botha's Pretoria of the Nkomati type would be a self-wounding exercise — as it turned out to be. And so, someone in apartheid's strategic think tank, programmed to consider options rather than human beings, ordered the parcel of death to be prepared and went off to have his dinner.

More than once, sitting opposite government teams at the negotiating table and facing, among others, luminaries of the security establishment, I wondered which of them gave the nod for the killing of my wife and the likes of David Webster and Steve Biko.

Seeing Barney Simon's Death and the Maiden got me thinking again about the problem of retribution for apartheid's crimes. I identified with the lawyer-husband who, in the play, heads a commission to uncover those responsible for crimes against detainees in Pinochet's Chile. His wife, Paulina, had been brutally tortured by a suspect whom he had unwittingly brought home, and the focus is on an unresolved tension between reparation and reconciliation.

Can there be true reconciliation without forgiveness, and can there be forgiveness without confession and reparation? For those affected and for the survivors there is at least a need to know the guilty ones. In Paulina's words: "I can only forgive someone who really repents, who stands up among those he has wronged and says 'I did this, I did it and I will never do it again.'" Perhaps this will help her find peace of mind. Surely a small enough reparation! If Nuremberg-type trials are not on the agenda then, at the very least, the truth must out.

RED ALERT

JOE SLOVO

The most unconvincing aspect of President F W de Klerk's political conversion is that, unlike his church, he refuses to confess his own complicity in apartheid's crimes. This covers at least a share of the political responsibility for the torture, and cell and death squad killings, of so many hundreds of political activists.

A readiness to die was part of the bargain of those of us involved in armed combat. But people like Ruth, Webster and Biko died — not in battle nor as bystanders caught in crossfire — but as victims of calculated, cold-blooded murder for the sole reason they were political opponents whose ideas had to be killed. So, let's hear De Klerk say: "I helped do it, and I'll never do it again."

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I WAS sorry to miss the jamboree on federalism in Washington attended by Codesa parties. Among other things, I would have liked to have heard the black judge with the un-

likely name of Leon Higgenbotham jr. He apparently brought the house down with some ad libs. One of his gems was a reference to the opening words of the US constitution: "We The People". Judge Higgenbotham made the point that "We the people" were busy picking cotton while the white plantation slave-owners were writing the constitution.

□□□□

IT BRINGS to mind that even now, more than 120 years after the abolition of slavery, blacks still occupy the bottom rung of the social and economic ladder. The median black household income (according to the US 1990 census) is \$19 758 compared with \$31 435 for whites, and 44% of all black children lived in poverty compared with 13.8% for whites. In the US, it seems, all people are equal, but white people are still more equal than blacks.

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FORMER US president Ronald Reagan some time back invited then Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev to fly over California to see "the workers' houses and their pools. No flight is recorded during his recent visit, and I doubt that, at \$200 000 a lecture, the new-look Gorby would have risked rubbishing his hosts too vociferously. But he certainly would

have noted, according to Chris Reed writing in The Guardian, that in the worst hit (riot) area, South Central LA, mainly populated by blacks and Hispanics, there are no pools and half the "workers" are unemployed.

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COMING back to "We the people", the contrast between myth and reality is highlighted by a recent survey of general knowledge of US university students. Of the students tested 25% believed that the formulation "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is a quote from the US constitution. It is, of course, Karl Marx's definition of the meaning of communism.

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I DON'T believe that we have a moral right to laugh at others unless we are also ready to laugh at ourselves. So, let me try to establish my own credentials by recording an atypical mother-in-law story. Ruth's mother, Tilly First, will be 94 this Christmas Day and, memory aside, she is in reasonable shape. One of my daughters tells me that, on her last visit, Tilly asked after me and inquired what business I was engaged in. She was told that I was working for the Communist Party. Her response was immediate: "That's not much of a business these days, is it?"

B11 Day 07-08-92

'Numsa' hostel dwellers face death threats'

DIRK HARTFORD

NUMSA members in Witwatersrand hostels were being threatened with death unless they resigned from the union and joined the Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa), Numsa spokesman Bernie Fanaroff said yesterday.

He said Zulu-speaking Numsa members at the Jeppe, Wattville and Kwesine hostels had received such threats in the past two days. He claimed men from Jeppe, Denver and George Goch hostels had been threatening striking workers.

Fanaroff said about 200 000 Numsa members were on strike in the metal, motor manufacturing and tyre and rubber industries. Seifsa confirmed that the strike was large and growing, but was unable to provide figures on the number of strikers.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Seifsa brought an urgent interdict against Numsa yesterday for irregularities in its strike ballot. The case continues today.

Fanaroff said Toyota was the only motor manufacturer to sustain production yesterday, the fourth day of Numsa's strike.

He said Toyota's exemption followed an agreement between it and Numsa after two recent related wildcat stoppages. Company spokesman Flip Wilken said full production had resumed on Wednesday.

Fanaroff said Numsa was due to meet auto employers on Monday. A meeting had also been planned with Seifsa.

Dave Kirby, chairman of the auto industry's employer grouping, said BMW, the Delta Motor Corporation, Samcor and Volkswagen had all halted production because of the legal strike.

New Tyre Manufacturing Industry industrial council secretary Brian Wilson said Gentyre, Tycon and Firestone had been affected by the strike.

□ Sapa reports that about 50 armed Inkatha members confronted 2 000 Construction and Allied Workers' Union members marching down Commissioner Street yesterday. A police spokesman said the police told the Inkatha members, who were armed with sticks, lengths of pipe and spears, that the march was legal and escorted them back to their hostel in Jeppe.

B1 Day 07-08-92

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — The ANC alliance mass action campaign took an ugly turn yesterday when scores of minibus taxis blockaded major intersections, suburban roads and the freeway during a six-hour siege of the city.

Pedestrians scattered as taxis drove over traffic islands and mounted kerbs, ignored red robots and drove against the flow of traffic along one-way streets.

Mobs ran between cars caught in traffic jams, rocking them, banging on windows and doors or jumping onto bonnets.

There were reports of some motorists being threatened and assaulted. Two women were dragged out of cars and assaulted by taxi passengers, and a witness said she

Six-hour taxi siege chokes city centre

saw one victim being kicked and manhandled. Police spokesman Capt Henry Budhram said a man was removed from his car and badly scratched.

Some reports put the number of taxis involved at about 370.

The blockade was also in protest at alleged harassment of taxi drivers by traffic authorities.

Sapa reports that ANC Natal Midlands secretary Sifiso Nkabinde denied that people taking part in the protest had assaulted motorists, saying any violence was perpetrated by criminal elements. The ANC would investigate the allegations.

B/D Day 01 - 08 - 92

Moses Mayekiso on weapons charge

NUMSA general secretary Moses Mayekiso was arrested in Alexandra on Wednesday night and charged in the Randburg Magistrate's Court yesterday with possessing a weapon in an unrest area, Sapa reports.

The arrest was made during a sweep of the township for weapons after three separate fatal shooting incidents in the township earlier that evening. In one of the incidents, a youth choir was fired at, resulting in two deaths.

Police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said Mayekiso's bodyguard John Phike was also arrested during the sweep.

Opperman said the .9mm pistols confiscated from the men would be sent for ballistic tests.

The weapons were licensed in Transkei, but such licences were not valid in SA, Opperman said.

DIRK HARTFORD reports that Numsa spokesman Bernie Fanaroff said yesterday Mayekiso's arrest was part of "a sustained campaign of harassment and intimidation" of Numsa members. He said 13 Numsa members had been killed recently.

B / Day 01 - 09 - 92

Taxis, buses to get 'freedom of the streets'

A NETWORK of streets in central Johannesburg will be set aside for the exclusive use of taxis and buses if a new plan for the inner city gets city council approval.

Some CBD streets will be changed to pedestrian areas, while others will be reserved for private vehicles, in terms of the draft proposals from municipal officials and consultants.

The council's metropolitan planning director Graham Pirie said yesterday the first phase of the Johannesburg central area public transport project should be implemented by the middle of next year. It

THEO RAWANA

would take five years to complete.

A grid of about eight main arteries — including Main, Plein, Delvers, Pritchard and President streets — would be reserved for public transport. These routes would link major taxi and bus terminuses on the periphery of the city centre.

Routes for private vehicles — including Commissioner and Market Streets — would be one-way "super streets" with no stopping or parking allowed, Pirie said.

He said an analytical study of the CBD in

1987 had identified a series of arterial roads referred to as the "supergrid traffic network". A number of transport options for the network had been produced, but it had been decided to segregate public and private transport completely.

Buses and taxis, which stopped frequently, disrupted traffic flows on roads used by private vehicles as well, the planners said.

"Streets not used in the public or private networks could be pedestrianised or converted into parking streets," Pirie said.

He said the scheme would allow better traffic flow.

B1 Day 04-08-92

'Special treatment' for armed wing

Govt, ANC struck deal on Umkhonto

GOVERNMENT and the ANC had concluded a deal on the status of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe which effectively excluded it from the provisions of the national peace accord, according to a senior ANC official.

The agreement on close co-operation on the supplies, activities and existence of Umkhonto was disclosed in documents submitted to the national peace committee by ANC national executive committee member Sydney Mufumadi. The agreement is an elaboration of the D F Malan accord dealing with the armed struggle.

The national peace committee is examining Umkhonto's existence at the request of Inkatha, which has demanded that it be disbanded by next month. Inkatha, which argues that Umkhonto is a "private army" and therefore subject to the peace accord, has asked the committee to refer Umkhonto's continued existence to arbitration.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi pulled out of a summit meeting with peace accord signatories President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela partly because Umkhonto continued to exist a year after the peace accord was signed. The peace committee meets again today to prepare for the summit.

RAY HARTLEY reports that national peace committee chairman John Hall — who had not seen the ANC documents — said last night the issue of whether Umkhonto was a private army could go to arbitration soon if all parties agreed.

Mufumadi's submission was made in

PATRICK BULGER

February when Inkatha was refusing to sign a code of conduct for the security forces because of Umkhonto. It provided details of an ANC-government agreement on Umkhonto and its weapons which had previously been rejected as speculation by both parties.

Mufumadi said Umkhonto was keeping to the letter and spirit of the peace accord "notwithstanding the fact that its continued existence and operations are regulated by bilateral agreement and hence fall outside the accord".

He said in his document that Umkhonto's existence and operations were covered by existing bilateral agreements between the ANC and government. "The matters covered by these agreements and negotiations fall outside the scope of the peace accord ... which states: 'This accord will not be construed so as to detract from the validity of bilateral agreements between any of the signatories.' Although the existence, function and operations of Umkhonto continue to be regulated by the bilateral accords, these will also be the proper subject of discussions at Codesa."

According to Mufumadi, a working group set up in terms of the Pretoria Minute, under which the ANC suspended its armed struggle two years ago, had agreed "to a process of informing the government of the extent and nature of arms under its control. Such arms and ordinances will be placed under the joint control of any transitional authority and Umk-

□ To Page 2

Umkhonto

honto upon the formation of an interim government. Umkhonto will be disbanded upon the completion of the process of transition to a democratic constitution."

Mufumadi submitted that Inkatha was aware of the agreement when it was involved with peace accord negotiations.

"The existence of Umkhonto and the exclusion of matters covered by the (agreement) were explicitly dealt with

□ From Page 1

during the negotiations of the accord. The IFP was represented during the negotiation of the accord. The reference to private armies in the accord plainly emanates from the signatories' desire to regulate self-protection units. The existence of Umkhonto falls outside the discussion of such units," Mufumadi said.

Government has indicated it intends dealing with the issue of Umkhonto in its deliberations with the ANC on prisoners.

B11 Day 07-08-92

ANC allies seek new strategy

ANC-aligned patriotic front groupings which attended Codesa would meet soon to formulate a joint strategy before the resumption of negotiations, front sources said yesterday.

The "Codesa PF" — in contrast to the patriotic front which includes the PAC which has so far chosen to stay out of negotiations — consists of the ANC and the eight parties and homeland governments which generally support its stance at Codesa. Cosatu will also be represented.

It is understood that the patriotic front convening committee will meet on Monday and the full front a week later to discuss, among other things, a negotiating strategy to attempt to secure the ANC's demand for a democratically elected constituent assembly.

One front source said: "The way might be clear to start talking again. The ANC can say it has made its point with mass action and it can now go back and talk."

PATRICK BULGER

He said a resumption of negotiations depended largely on when mechanisms to monitor and prevent violence had been put in place. The release of UN envoy Cyrus Vance's report would indicate the extent to which the UN would become involved.

The source said UN monitors accompanying police and army, UN access to SAP communications networks, public access to the UN and its close co-operation with the national peace accord would constitute sufficient movement by government on the violence issue for negotiations to resume. □ Sapa reports from Windhoek that PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday the organisation believed that with the UN as convenor, the possibility of forming a new, more representative forum than Codesa now existed. The PAC was striving for such a forum, and in the event of substantive talks, "the PAC will be there".

The Citizen 04-08-92 (2)

'Whites in massacre'

FROM PAGE 1

THE participation of White men in the June 17 massacre in Boipatong was alleged by two witnesses giving evidence before the Goldstone Commission in Vereeniging yesterday.

A young woman, whom commission chairman, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, ruled could not be identified, gave a chilling account of how she witnessed the murder of her mother and older brother by a group of seven men, including three Whites.

The woman, who was identified as Ms A, aged 22, told the commission she was sleeping in her home in Stovo Park when she was awakened by the sound of screaming and shouting.

She heard men shout

in Zulu: "We are killing the dogs".

"My mother shouted 'the Zulu's are attacking'. I heard our neighbours screaming."

Her mother and nine-year-old brother ran from the house into a storage hut in the yard. The hut was open on one side and had wire mesh on the other.

She followed her mother and brother and crept as far as possible into the hut.

Her older brother, accompanied by his wife, then ran out of the house. His wife ran towards a toilet, but he followed the family towards the hut.

"The men saw him and rushed at him as he reached the hut. They stabbed him there. He died in a pool of blood."

It was at this point that she noticed that three of the seven attackers were White men dressed in camouflage uniforms and balaclavas which exposed their faces only.

They participated in the stabbing, holding assegais in one hand and

"longish" guns in the other.

As the men left the scene, one of them noticed her mother. He drew the attention of the other men to her presence and three of them returned.

They then stabbed her mother to death. This time the White men did not participate in the killing.

The attackers then moved on to other homes in the area.

She and her brother returned to the house and hid under a bed until they were certain the attack was over.

Three White policemen had arrived on the scene, but, after looking at the bodies, had left without talking to anyone. The police returned the next morning to take statements and the bodies were removed about 11 am.

Another witness, Mr Edison Themba Koti (28), also from Stovo Park, earlier testified he had seen two White men among the attackers. He also alleged that armoured vehicles had dropped attackers off in

the township.

He and a friend had heard the sound of shots being fired, screaming and breaking glass.

"I went outside to see what was happening. I saw a group of men standing in front of my house on the corner. There were two White men and three Black men."

The White men were dressed in camouflage uniforms and were armed with "long guns".

He saw a large group of men coming down the street towards the men. They attacked the home two doors down from his house.

Mr Koti told the commission the men had spotted him and one of them armed with an axe and a shield, had chased him back into his house.

The attacker smashed a window and then ran out of the yard.

Concerned for his parents who lived in nearby Bapedi Street, Mr Koti left his home with his friend to visit them.

"As we looked up Bapedi Street, we saw a Hippo dropping off some men with white head-

bands."

He realised it was dangerous to go to his parents' home. Instead, he went to the home of a friend, Mr Simon Moloi, and found that his pregnant wife had been killed.

"I then ran up Moshoe-shoe Street and Lekoa Street to my parents' home." They had not been attacked.

Mr Koti said he suspected the attackers had come from KwaMadala Hostel, but had wanted to make sure.

"I hid in the veld (on the KwaMadala side of the township)." From his vantage point he had seen men coming out of the township carrying loot including televisions.

"Behind the men I saw two Hippos moving slowly. They did not take any action concerning these men. They (the Hippos) were camouflage in colour," Mr Koti said.

The commission will continue hearing evidence on the massacre today. It is confirming itself at present to allegations of security force involvement in the massacre. — Sapa.

TO PAGE 2

WHITES TOOK PART IN MASSACRE —

CLAIMS

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Sit-ins at shops

FROM PAGE 1

commercial and industrial workers occupied buildings and staged sit-ins.

Mr Vlok and Midlands Chamber of Industries director Brian Matthew said they had received widespread reports of employees occupying premises and refusing to work.

"A number of firms have gone as far as threatening staff with dismissal," said Mr Vlok.

"Many others have locked their doors in an attempt to prevent employees occupying the buildings."

Mr Vlok said he had heard of a number of cases where staff had turned up for work at supermarkets and other businesses, "but refused to work and ended up sitting around in the canteens".

Mr Matthew said many industrial firms that had not shut down for the duration of the mass action campaign had reported similar action.

"Many of the big companies felt it was wiser and less costly to close up during the mass action campaign, but smaller firms that stayed open have now been hit by sit-ins and threats of occupation," he said.

Trade union representatives said the sit-ins were part of the mass action campaign and represented a "show of strength to the government".

Pick 'n' Pay general manager, Mr Terry Carroll, said the company's Walmer Park and Commercial Road stores had to be closed yesterday morning when staff entered the shop and began demonstrating.

They had closed the stores "in the interests of the safety of their customers".

A Greenacres shopping centre spokesman said some workers were holding sit-ins at the bigger shops in the complex.

Sit-ins were being held at Checkers, OK and Woolworths, but everything was peaceful, she said.

More than 22 000 people participated in yesterday's continuing actions organised by the African National Congress, South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Police estimated 110 000 people took part in 61 mass actions countrywide on Wednesday, leading to the arrest of 953 people for participat-

ing in 621 allegedly illegal demonstrations.

Saying political violence had tripled over the past week, police also noted at least 13 people had died since Wednesday. This had raised the death toll since Monday to 62. — Sapa

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Demos sit-in at supermarkets

THE tripartite alliance's mass action campaign, quietening on its fourth day, turned its attention to shops and shopping centres in Port Elizabeth, with sit-ins at supermarkets and other stores.

There was no indication last night that similar tactics will be used in the Transvaal.

Yesterday Port Elizabeth suburban shopping

centres, Spoornek and Portnet offices were occupied by staff who staged sit-ins. Many other shops closed their doors.

On Wednesday, the city centre and Greenacres shopping centre were paralysed by mass action crowds.

Even if customers return for weekend shopping, shopkeepers will still have to meet two days' overheads — leases, wages, running expenses — which have brought

them little in turnover.

Other commercial concerns have also been closed down for two days.

Chamber of Commerce director, Mr Anton Vlok, said: "It is impossible to assess the cost of the mass action campaign, but it must most certainly be described as astronomical."

Mass action took on a new slant in Port Elizabeth when thousands of

TO PAGE 2

The Citizen 0-109-912

SADF makes documents available

THE South African Defence Force has decided to make certain "sensitive" documents available to the Goldstone Commission which is hearing evidence on the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

Counsel for the SADF, Mr A Mostert, told the commission the documents, which had been requested by counsel for the African National Congress, Mr Arthur Chaskelson, were irrelevant and would make no contribution to the matter being inquired into.

"However, we will not run the risk of not making a full disclosure."

The documents would only be made available to the four-man committee.

The chairman, Mr

Justice Richard Goldstone, said he would consider the documents overnight and would rule today on whether they were relevant or not.

Mr Mostert on Wednesday told the commission that the documents included briefing documents reflecting SADF instructions on or before June 17, and general documents dealing with secret standing orders and operational planning.

"You will find it a sensitive document," he told Mr Justice Goldstone. — Sapa.

Sanctum
04 08 - 92

ANC gets rapped

■ **NO CONTROL** Excess will be remembered:

By Monk Nkomo

THE PRETORIA CITY Council yesterday accused the African National Congress and its allies of not keeping to conditions for Wednesday's march to the Union Buildings.

Management committee chairman Dr Pieter Smith said the ANC alliance also failed to control the march. The time agreed upon - from 10am to 1pm - was exceeded, Smith said.

Mandela arrived at the Union Buildings about 1.30pm. Smith said groups of people broke away from the route agreed upon by the organisers, police and the council.

"I view the ANC's non-adherence to the conditions for the march to which they agreed upon in a very serious light," Smith said.

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

He added that senior traffic officers estimated the number of marchers at

between 35 000 and 40 000.

He expressed his appreciation for the patience of motorists and pedestrians during the march and congratulated the police and the SA Defence Force for the way they handled the "disruptive situation".

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the council should rather celebrate the success of the march with the organisation instead of having "petty concerns cloud what was a peaceful march". He hoped this "pettiness" would not affect future marches.

Sowetan

04-07-92

'Whites in massacre'

■ Goldstone Commission told that armed men travelled in armoured vehicles:

By Ruth Bhengu

WHITE policemen took part in the attack on the residents of Boipatong on the night of June 17, witnesses told the Goldstone Commission in Verconiging yesterday.

Two witnesses from Slovo Park, a shantytown near Boipatong, claimed that:

- Whites were involved in the massacre;

- Police were present on that night and that the attackers were dropped off from armoured vehicles. After the attack, the policemen escorted them back to KwaMadala Hostel.

Miss A told the commission how her mother and brother were stabbed to death with "spears and other weapons I

cannot describe".

Three of the attackers were white, she said.

"I could see they were white because they were not standing far from where we were hiding outside our shack.

"Parts of their faces that were not covered by their balaclavas were clearly visible."

Mr Themba Koti (28) said he saw uniformed white policemen taking part in the attacks.

He had earlier seen a group of men being off-loaded from an armoured vehicle.

"The group of people were carrying TV sets and various items and were escorted by two "Hippos" as they moved towards KwaMadala Hostel, Koti said.

Santam
07-08-92

Codesa is dead - Makwetu

THE PAC believes that with the United Nations as convenor, the possibility of forming a new and a more representative forum than Codesa exists.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said during a four-day visit to Namibia yesterday that the organisation was striving for an alternative forum.

Makwetu said the PAC believed Codesa was dead.

Secret
07-08-92

Vlok linked to Goniwe probe

■ **NEW DOCUMENT** Probe reveals that National Security Council discussed future of slain activist:

A potentially explosive document linking the former Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to a probe of slain Eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe, has been uncovered by the Eastern Cape Attorney-General, Mr Michael Hodgen. Hodgen was appointed earlier this year by the State President F.W. de Klerk to re-investigate the killing of Goniwe and three other Cradock activists after it was

found that a SADF signal, signed by a senior official, ordered the activists' "permanent removal from society". Eastern Cape Deputy Attorney General Malherbe Marais allegedly told Vlok in a "tapped" telephone call in June this year he (Vlok) was "going to bleed" as a result of the discovery of the document.

See story page 2

Sowetan 07-08-92

Minister linked to the Goniwe probe

■ Attorney-General tells Vlok he's "going to bleed" in light of probe:

Sowetan Correspondent

EASTERN Cape Attorney-General Michael Hodgen has discovered a potentially explosive document which shows that before the death of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe, a Government minister chaired a sub-committee meeting of the State Security Council dealing with Goniwe.

An investigation has revealed that as a result of the discovery of the document, Eastern Cape Deputy Attorney General Malherbe Marais allegedly told Minister Adriaan Vlok in a telephone conversation at the beginning of June that he (Vlok) "is going to bleed".

Contacted last night, Vlok refused to comment on any of the allegation "because the Goniwe murders are being investigated by the Attorney General, and it would be improper to comment at this stage".

Hodgen was appointed by President FW de Klerk in May this year to investigate an alleged "death warrant" signal sent to the State Security Council by the SADF's Eastern Province Command on June 7 1985 - three weeks before Goniwe and three other anti-apartheid

activists were murdered.

The alleged signal called for the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe and two of his colleagues.

The sub-committee, according to the document, was charged with discussing Goniwe's future as a teacher - in State employ - in Cradock.

Vlok, now Minister of Correctional Services, was at the time Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Defence.

The document will be produced as evidence in the reopened inquest into the Goniwe killings. No date has been set for the inquest.

After its discovery in early June, Hodgen and Marais flew to London to interview former security police colonel John Horak about the document, and the structures and workings of the State Security Council.

Horak had formerly been employed in the secretariat of the SSC.

Hodgen is scheduled to travel to Pretoria next week to investigate the document further.

Sources close to the investigation believe that the telephone conversation was tapped.

Hodgen has refused to comment on his investigation or the discovery of the document.



Adriaan Vlok ... "going to bleed"

The journal *Africa Confidential* reports in its issue of July 31 that Hodgen is understood to have been persuaded in the course of his investigation that the "Goniwe signal" was approved by the State Security Council.

Africa Confidential says such a meeting would have been attended by at least three Cabinet ministers who are still serving: Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, and Environment and Forestry Minister Magnus Malan, the former defence supreme.

SA Conservative Party faces split

Patrick Laurence
in Johannesburg

SOUTH Africa's rightwing Conservative Party was locked in critical discussions yesterday which could lead to a significant change in direction or a major split.

The party's executive committee met in Pretoria to consider the implications of a reformist speech by Andries Beyers, whose victory over the ruling National Party in the Potchefstroom by-election in February triggered President F. W. de Klerk's decision to call the March 17 referendum.

Mr Beyers, who precipitated a new crisis at the weekend within his own party — rather than Afrikanerdom — called at a youth congress for negotiations with all political forces for the establishment of a smaller Afrikaner state as part of a confederation. This included, by implication, the African National Congress.

By doing so, he associated himself with a policy rejected at

the Conservatives' annual congress in June. Two MPs, Koos Botha and Koos van der Merwe, were expelled from the party for advocating a similar policy.

Mr Beyers, a former party general-secretary, received support from the youth wing and the backing of at least four MPs. But his stand dismayed the "Old Guard", who are reluctant to surrender their claim to sovereignty over a much larger area of South Africa and who oppose negotiations with the ANC.

There was speculation that Mr Beyers would suffer the same fate as Mr Botha and Mr Van der Merwe when he was called before the party's executive committee. The meeting, which did not issue a statement, continues today.

The crisis over Mr Beyers and the question of a smaller Afrikaner state is one of several to batter the party since its by-election victory.

Apart from taking a hammering in the referendum, it has expelled two MPs — one of whom, Mr Koos "Bomber" Bo-

tha, was later charged with dynamiting a Pretoria school — and witnessed the arrest of a third MP, Fanie Van Vuuren, on a charge of murdering his wife.

Analysts predicted yesterday that Mr Beyers and his supporters would form a new non-racial party, the Afrikaner Party, to propagate the idea of a smaller Afrikaner state.

The new party could pave the way for a rapprochement between Mr De Klerk's Nationalists and its former enemies in the Conservative Party.

As conservative Afrikaners considered their options for the future, the ANC's campaign of "rolling mass action" continued in a number of towns.

In Kempton Park, east of Johannesburg, 7,000 ANC supporters marched through the city centre to hand over a memorandum to the chief magistrate. It included a demand that Mr De Klerk resign. The marchers also burnt a cardboard coffin with the South African flag and a picture of Mr De Klerk draped over it.

In Esikhawini, in Natal, three senior ANC officials, Cyril Ramaphosa, Chris Hani and Jay Naidoo, called on the Goldstone Commission into political violence to investigate the killing of 11 people on Sunday.

Mr Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, produced shotgun cartridges found at the scene of the massacre, stating that the police commander, Brigadier C. Mameela, of KwaZulu, had confirmed that they were the same as those issued to KwaZulu police. Brig Mameela had no objection to being investigated by the commission.

In Alexandra township, near Johannesburg, the death toll in an attack on a choir rose to two with the death yesterday of a choirgirl. Gunmen attacked the choir at a night vigil on Wednesday.

● A Boipatong township resident told a judicial commission yesterday that he saw about 15 armed attackers get out of a police vehicle on June 17, the night 42 blacks were massacred in the township.

The
Guardian
7/8/92
London

SOUTH AFRICAN constitutional talks expected to resume after week of action

ANC will claim strike forced concessions

WHEN Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, and his communist and trade union partners in the tripartite alliance sit down tomorrow to analyse the results of the past week of mass action, they will no doubt allow themselves some satisfaction.

As the March 17 referendum among the white community showed that President de Klerk had their overwhelming support, so this week has shown that Mr Mandela has the support of blacks. While it is true that the success of a general strike can be ensured by intimidation and those wanting to work can be kept at home by the absence of transport, it is more difficult to intimidate people into turning out for mass marches.

The vast numbers who poured into city centres on Wednesday were testimony to the strength of feeling, as well as to the organising ability of the ANC cadres, who transported thousands of protesters from rural and small urban districts into the big towns. Estimates varied between 200,000 and 400,000.

There were two other impressive things about the mass mobilisation. First, the crowds were well-disciplined by marshals. There were few incidents of violence, or destruction. True, in Pietermaritzburg four cars had their

Pretoria believes the ANC protest has not affected its strategy,
Michael Hamlyn writes

tyres slashed, and after the demonstrations a couple of petrol bombs were thrown unsuccessfully in Cape townships. But during the Cape Town demonstration, marshals handed over to the police a young man caught breaking shop windows. The same marshals insisted on protesters putting down sticks or anything that might be construed as a weapon.

Second, and equally impressive, was the restraint shown by the security forces. Though in many cases police and soldiers were armed with shotguns and rifles, with tear-gas pistols and batons, though they were dressed in bullet-proof vests, steel helmets and gas masks, they stood and watched and joshed the crowd just like policemen in other less socially divided countries. It was possible yesterday to attribute only one death to Wednesday's demonstrations, and that was of a man who fell from a train going home from the Cape Town events.

But having said all that, the

question might be: what difference will it make? Despite the brave words of some leaders the government was not going to fall. "If mass action was going to bring down the government it would have been used a long time ago," said Professor Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, academic and politician.

But as *Business Day* pointed out, the country has suffered, not only from the deaths caused and the hundreds of millions of rands of lost production. "The costs include all the 'might have been' investment projects, local and foreign, that will be scrapped or at best delayed until those investors can be assured that the future South Africa will not simply lurch from one crisis to the next."

The government has always said it was ready for talks. Mr de Klerk said it the moment the ANC called them off after the deaths in Boipatong. He reiterated it this week after Mr Mandela stood outside his office in Pretoria and shouted at him from the terraces below the Union buildings.

The cabinet went into rural retreat last week for a *bosberaad*, a 'bush' council, and drew up a formula to put to the ANC when it judges the moment right.

According to yesterday's *Sowetan*, the newspaper most read by blacks, the govern-



Stop sign: a Pretoria policeman halting marchers outside government buildings

ment is prepared to abandon a key element of its negotiation package, that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) should draft an interim constitution which would act as the basis for the final one. Ismail Lagardien, the *Sowetan's* political editor, said: "It is envisaged that the present constitution could be amended to prepare the country for elections to a constituent assembly as the next stage for the country's transition." *Southern Africa Report*, a weekly newsletter, has a similar impression. "A November election for a single house

constituent assembly, where the government would have no veto powers but would demand a 70 per cent majority vote on contentious issues, is among the latest 'flexible' proposals to emerge."

If this is proposed, then the government will have gone a long way to answering the ANC's constitutional demands as well, and negotiations could begin again soon. The question to be settled then is whether the government make the concessions because it was driven by the black mass mobilisation. Or would it have made them long ago if the

Codesa process had been allowed to continue? Tomorrow's meeting of the ANC and its allies will claim the former. Government proponents will insist on the latter.

● **Appeal to UN:** Anti-apartheid leaders called for UN observers to be sent urgently to the Natal township of Estikwahini where they suspect police complicity in the shooting of 11 people. In a separate incident, two young choristers were shot dead and 12 others wounded by five gunmen in the Johannesburg township of Alexandra as they stepped out of a bus.

The Times 7/8/92 - London

What's next, Mandela?

by CARMEL RICKARD
Durban Bureau

IF this week's mass action was Nelson Mandela's "referendum" he has clearly won a handsome mandate.

He has proved that with the help of Cosatu, he can call out the country's workers and close down the cities with targetted disruptive "occupation".

If anyone doubted that the ANC could wield significant clout, those doubts should now be settled. But the comparison between the state president's March poll and Mandela's August show-down does not end when the sun sets on referendum day.

After his March victory, many analysts wondered exactly what De Klerk's referendum had proved about his constituency. White voters

were asked a very widely phrased and imprecise question. A broad cross-section of white opinion drew a Yes even though they would not support De Klerk and the National Party in an election. In other words the "yes vote" totally masked the complexity of voter feeling. While he obviously commands majority white backing, the extent of support for De Klerk's party, policy — and even person — could not be established from merely counting the crosses.

Mandela faces a similar problem in assessing what the mass action results say about his constituency. Granted, the stayaway was bigger than any such action in the past. But here too the question heard in the townships was imprecise: if you want peace and democracy, stay home. That call would bring together many people including some

who might not vote for the ANC in an election.

Similarly the intimidation factor cannot be ignored. Even if the ANC membership behaved in an exemplary fashion, as it clearly did in many areas, the history of kangaroo-court punishment inflicted on "sell-outs" is fresh in everyone's memory. The Monday message of burning tyres on some township roads made the intended impact. In addition, many people had no choice. Without transport, they simply had to stay home, regardless of their political position.

Even more important for the country however, is what immediate use Mandela intends to make of this referendum result. When De Klerk won his March victory, it seemed he had been given a powerful enough mandate to meet his two most serious challenges: getting on with

negotiations for a just new political dispensation, and taming both the right wing and the security establishment. He did neither.

Instead he behaved as though he had won an election rather than a referendum, and regarded his success as an endorsement of NP policies. He immediately took a harder line on negotiations, apparently reading the poll as carte blanche to squeeze the ANC on behalf of whites and to ensure political longevity for NP bureaucrats. And he continued to back the security forces almost without question instead of mounting a serious cleaning-out operation reaching high into the command structure.

To a large extent the future of negotiations, and therefore the likelihood of relatively peaceful transition in South Africa, depends on whether Mandela follows De

Klerk's lead. Just as De Klerk was influenced by factions within his cabinet in deciding how to interpret the referendum results, so too Mandela will have the views of the multi-faceted alliance to consider in deciding on his next step.

Will he take the mandate of the people as power enough to enable tough action against members of his organisation who terrorise their neighbours simply for not toeing the party line? Will he interpret this August acclaim as a signal to take a hard line rather than a conciliatory attitude? Like De Klerk, will he try to turn the screws on his opponents, and make demands the other parties simply cannot accept? Or does the conciliatory tone many heard in his Pretoria speech indicate he will show the statesmanship so many had vainly hoped for from De Klerk?

THE NATAL WITNESS 7-8-92

Tactical manoeuvre towards tradition?

Should ANC members assume what up until now has been an IFP forté and carry traditional weapons?

CARMEL RICKARD reports.

IF Inkatha members continue carrying "traditional weapons" should ANC members do the same? General secretary of the ANC in southern Natal, Sbu Ndebele, says they have no choice. "It is our tradition too. If the police allow Inkatha to carry dangerous weapons, we will have to do likewise."

While the call has proved popular with many Natal ANC supporters, it has come in for criticism. Durban's Legal Resources Centre says the idea is irresponsible and reckless. The ANC head office has reaffirmed its policy that people "cannot come to marches armed in any way", and Inkatha says the ANC were carrying such weapons even before Ndebele's call.

Ndebele warned several times that the ANC in his region would begin carrying "traditional weapons" as a strategy to make police disarm Inkatha. He says patience ran out last month when a group of armed Inkatha supporters confronted ANC members at the start of a Durban city centre march. The ANC were planning to try Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a mock trial and IFP supporters aimed to stop it. Police intervened, but Ndebele says the group should have been disarmed long before their destination. After that incident Ndebele called for ANC members to carry weapons.

They were first seen in great numbers at a march of more than 10 000 people in Inanda outside Durban this week. Many in the crowd were kitted out with spears, sticks, shields, axes and pangas. They marched in regiments, singing traditional fighting songs and brandishing their weapons. A number also wore skins. Many people appeared to enjoy the opportunity to combine traditional and political feelings.

During the ANC's mass action in central Durban this week, a number of marchers again carried such weapons. In a speech to thousands of protesters, Ndebele said "traditional weapons" would be carried at all ANC gatherings as long as the police allowed Inkatha to bear such weapons in public. Ndebele said later that he was against the bear-

ing of these weapons, but felt that the new strategy was the only way to ensure Inkatha members stopped carrying them. "The day the IFP marches without these arms, the very next day so will we," he said.

Legal Resources' Howard Varney said he understood ANC frustration with police failure to enforce laws barring such weapons in public. However the ANC response — calling on its members to bear weapons — was quite unacceptable. Varney added: "Weapons bearing in the current climate is nothing more than a show of strength and an act of intimidation, regardless of which organisation is behind it." Varney said if ANC members were to bear arms in the same way as Inkatha, it would further entrench a culture of weapons, violence and intolerance. "It may well be that this trend may become unstoppable."

The IFP's Ed Tillett also criticised the ANC move: "Two wrongs do not make a right. We disapprove of our members carrying non-traditional weapons. When it was made unlawful to carry non-traditional weapons we began taking steps to ensure only sticks and shields are carried in future. Last Saturday's march in Durban showed the message has now reached most supporters." He said the IFP believed responsibility lay with political organisations, not the police, to ensure that members did not carry dangerous, non-traditional weapons in public.

Tillett added that fatalities from "genuine traditional weapons" accounted for less than five percent of the total deaths through violence.

Meanwhile, the ANC head office says there must be a total ban on dangerous weapons in public. If the government banned weapons in particular areas only, as happened this week, instigators would simply move elsewhere.

The ANC added: "The very obvious answer to the serious problem of the continuing killing of people with assegais, pangas, spears and other weapons, is to ban all such weapons in public."

10 FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 19

Two die in S Africa funeral shooting

By Ross Dunn
In Johannesburg

TWO GIRLS were killed and 10 young choir members were wounded when five gunmen opened fire on them in Alexandra township, Johannesburg, as they prepared for a night vigil before a funeral.

The choir members, aged between 10 and 22, were leaving their vehicle when the men fired at them, killing a girl aged 14 known only as Nhalanhala.

Another girl died later in hospital. Wounded choir members said the gunmen appeared "from nowhere and started firing".

Motlalepule Setimela, 22, said: "We started running in different directions and I felt a burning sensation in my thigh. Then I saw blood dripping and realised I was shot."

A father of one of the victims said the choir had no political affiliations. Police later arrested two men, one of whom had a pistol.

Two men, one Zulu-speaking, were shot dead in the same area of the township earlier. It is not known if the attacks were linked.

Meanwhile, South Africa's independent commission on public violence yesterday heard more evidence about the massacre of 42 blacks at Boipatong township in June.

The commission, headed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, was told two white men in camouflage uniforms and armed with "long guns" were among the attackers.

● A black man died in police custody in Bloemfontein, raising fears that the killing of suspects is continuing. The death, in a police cell, was the third since a scandal broke about deaths in police custody 10 days ago. — AFP

Shooting in SA blights hopes for new talks

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

AMID growing optimism that negotiations between the South African government and the African National Congress (ANC) will resume soon, hopes for peace suffered a setback with the news yesterday that two teenage choir girls had died after an apparently random shooting in Alexandra township, near Johannesburg, on Wednesday night.

The killings raised the death toll since Sunday, the eve of the ANC's week-long "mass action" campaign, above 40. One 13-year-old girl died immediately and a second girl died in hospital yesterday. Ten other members of the Emanuel and Alexandra choirs were injured in the attack. Surviving choir members said from their hospital beds that a group of men "coming from nowhere" had fired shots from close range.

It was the second unprovoked shooting in Alexandra this week, six people having been gunned down on Tuesday. The response of Alexandra residents has been to blame the Inkatha Freedom Party members of Madala men's hostel, the source of continual violence during the past 18 months. More than 10,000 people marched on the Alexandra government offices on Tuesday to call — not for the first time — for the hostel inmates to be thrown out.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in Cape Town yesterday that the number of deaths during the ANC's mass action campaign had been much lower than feared. But he said that those who had died were "not just statistics". "Even the death of one human being diminishes us all," he added.

Echoing, as he increasingly has in recent weeks, ANC positions, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner said: "We urgently need a professional police force which is apolitical and neutral and which acts as a peace-keeping force and law enforcement agency."

It is movement in this direction that the ANC is demanding from the government prior to resuming negotiations. Nelson Mandela,

the ANC leader, spelled out once again at a rally in Pretoria on Wednesday that the ANC's demands fell into three categories: measures to curb political violence, and clear moves towards an interim government and an elected constituent assembly.

It appears that although the government is eager not to be seen to be bowing to ANC demands, to a significant extent it will quietly do so.

Herman Cohen, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, held talks earlier this week with both the government and the ANC. Before returning home on Tuesday night Mr Cohen said he was confident talks would resume soon. He said that he understood the government to be prepared to take clearly defined steps relating to the violence.

Senior government sources, meanwhile, have been leaking to the press suggestions that they plan to speed up the process towards an interim government. Bilateral talks with the ANC, they said, were on the cards. President FW de Klerk himself reinforced the sense that some positive movement was afoot when he told reporters on Wednesday evening that he expected a resumption of talks "soon".

Most significant of all, two Democratic Party MPs said on Tuesday after a meeting with Mr Mandela that he had told them he expected talks to resume after a "cooling-off period" of about 10 days.

The success of the ANC's mass-action campaign this week has strengthened the possibility of a return to the negotiating table. An important, if unstated, objective of the campaign was to narrow the gap that had opened up between the ANC leadership and their grassroots supporters during the six months of negotiations with the government.

Daily Telegraph
7/8/92. London



CP showdown expected today

PRETORIA — The showdown between the "new right wing" and the so-called old guard within the Conservative Party is expected to come to a head today.

A committee chaired by party leader Andries Treurnicht held talks yesterday with MPs Andries Beyers (Potchefstroom), Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), CP Free State leader Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), Rosier de Ville (Stander-ton) and Chris de Jager (Bethal). The meeting will continue in Pretoria today.

Treurnicht has denied the possibility of a split within party ranks.

Political analyst Jan Taljaard said last night a split would hurt both the "new right" and the so-called hardliners, said to be led by deputy CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and MP Schalk Pienaar.

Both factions would want to avoid a split, but the "new right", judged by its support, would want to force down its own policy from within the party rather than split the party. "They would rather try to hijack the party than split," said Taljaard.

Meanwhile, several youth leaders supportive of Beyers said yesterday they will take a decision on their future in the party after today's meeting.

— Sapa.

Strike hits all but Toyota

CAPE TOWN — Toyota was the only auto assembler to sustain uninterrupted production yesterday, the fourth day of a legal strike in three sectors by some 136 000 members of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA.

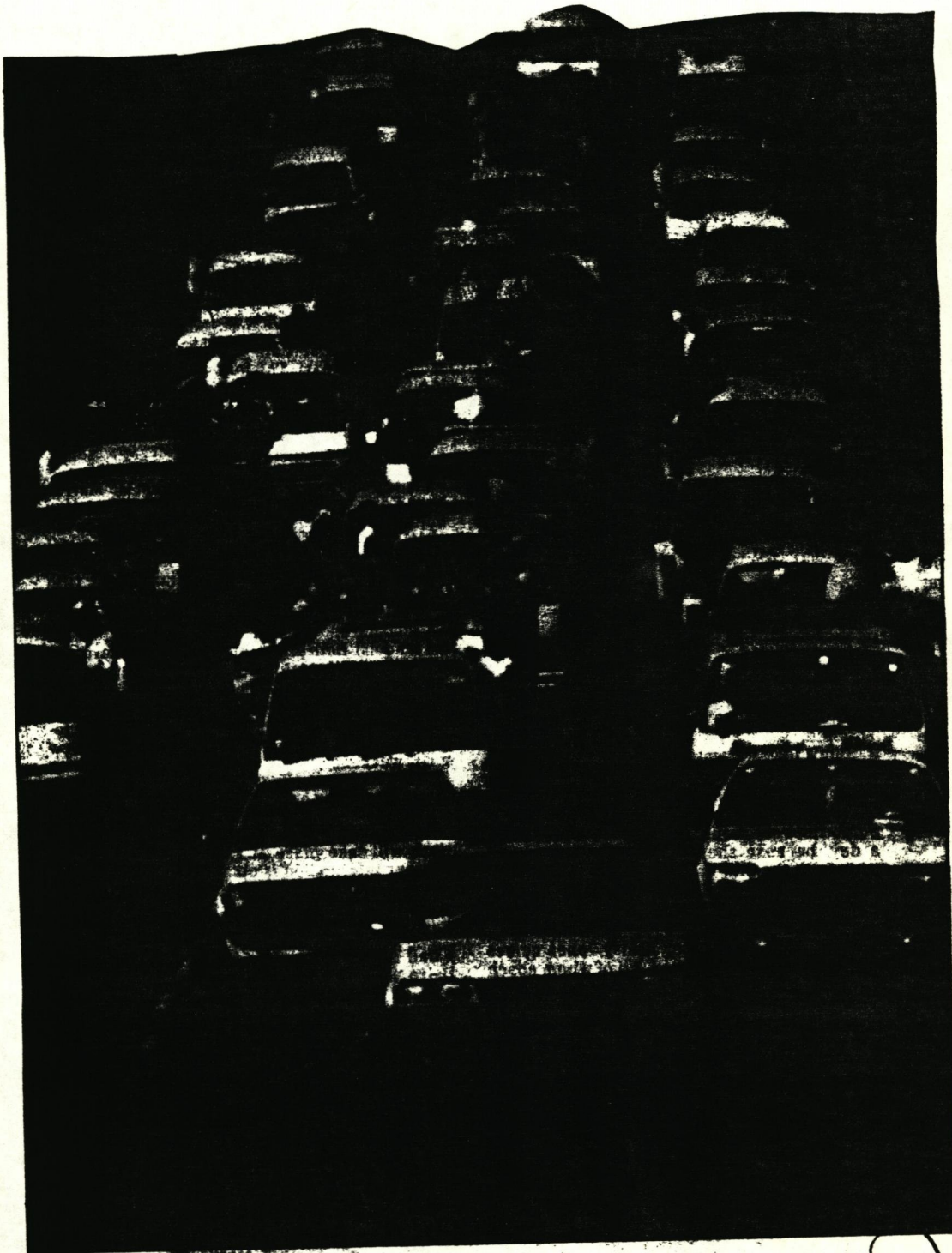
Company spokesman Flip Wilken said full production had resumed on Wednesday after the African National Congress-led stayaway on Monday and Tuesday.

Meanwhile, in co-ordinated industrial action across the engineering and tyre sectors, about 121 000 Numsa members were still on strike yesterday.

Mercedes-Benz (SA) workers in East London went to work yesterday morning, but joined mass action-related activities in the afternoon, a company spokeswoman said.

BMW, the Delta Motor Corporation, Samcor and Volkswagen (SA) had all halted production because of the legal strike, according to a spokesman.

In the tyre industry, Gentyre, Tycon and Firestone had all been affected by the strike. — Sapa.



Part of the traffic jam along the way along Washington Road after ANC delegates met traffic officials. — Picture by ELAINE ANDERSON

City river runs red — with dye

THE Bayne's Spruit in Willowton turned red yesterday. According to Umgeni Water water quality manager, Hilton Furness, it was caused by emissions of colouring dye from an industry in the area.

There was a possibility that the dye could remove oxygen from the water and kill fish and other aquatic life, he added.

"We have identified the company that polluted the spruit, and have taken water samples for analysis. Once the results are known, we will forward the information to the Department of Water Affairs. The department may decide to prosecute the company, and the evidence will then be sent to the attorney-general for further action," said Furness. — Witness Reporter.

THE NATAL WITNESS 7-8-92

Taxis take control of city centre

TRAFFIC was brought to a standstill for most of the day yesterday as hundreds of taxis jammed the main intersections of city streets. Verbal abuse, threats and assaults occurred during confrontations between motorists and taxi occupants.

Traffic officials had to divert vehicles as about 400 taxis in columns of four made their way through the city centre.

The convoy, led by ANC officials in motor vehicles, disregarded one-way streets and some sections of the roads had to be closed to oncoming traffic. Motorists had to make U-turns to avoid colliding with the convoy and some were harassed and assaulted.

Some taxis were packed to capacity with passengers. Drivers sounded their hooters, passengers stuck their heads out of the windows, some chanted freedom songs and others toy-toyed as the convoy made its way through the city.

Several pedestrians were allegedly spat on in Longmarket Street, where a number of minibuses had been driving down the pavement, scattering lunch-time shoppers and pedestrians.

Police spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said a woman was pulled out of her car and assaulted while driving along Prince Alfred Street. The same happened to a woman in Commercial Road. A motorist approaching the taxi convoy in Washington Road was pulled out of his vehicle and "severely scratched on the face" for disregarding the convoy.

City motorists jammed *The Natal Witness* switchboard with complaints about the conduct of taxi drivers. They also condemned the protesters' "blatant" disregard for the road traffic laws.

Robert Baldie (24) said that when he got stuck in Commercial Road he was told to "move or die" and that he was a "marked man".

Policeman's wife Kim du Toit said: "Two kombis pushed in front of me in Longmarket Street. The driver of one yelled at me 'make way for you white bitch'. They then shot through a red robot and five traffic policemen there took no notice at all. If I took a red robot I'm sure they would have booked me."

by MARY PAPAYYA
NIAL AITCHESON and
MARGARET VON KLEMPERER

Estate agent Bob Ferguson said he found his way to work blocked by taxis in Commercial Road and tried to pass them, but "the occupants told me they would kill me if I did not go back".

A man, who did not want to be identified, said he was assaulted with a wet leather window chamois by the driver of a passing taxi. Attempts were also allegedly made by the minibus passengers to punch him.

The manager of a city petrol station said about 200 minibuses had converged on the forecourt, and several demanded free petrol. Four petrol tanks were filled on demand, but management switched off the main power supply and halted all further provision of free fuel, he said.

Several angry motorists disregarded the convoy. One woman nearly drove through a group of youths in Longmarket street. Several motorists used foul language on supporters when they were caught in the traffic jam.

Crowds of people descended on downtown Pietermaritzburg shops, banks and businesses and proprietors hurriedly closed their doors to avert damage to goods.

The disruption of traffic started early yesterday as taxis converged on Market Square. Drivers and passengers then made their way to the Natal Provincial Administration's traffic department and the city traffic department to object to the alleged harassment of taxi drivers.

En route to the departments, traffic was once again disrupted. At the N3 near the Mkondeni off-ramp traffic came to a halt for 10 minutes when taxi drivers on their way to the NPA testing grounds drove across the median into the right hand lane, and across the grass embankment. Five police armoured vehicles followed suit.

An ANC delegation led by Midlands

ANC chairman Harry Gwala met NPA traffic officials at the Mkondeni testing ground and later met city traffic officials in Washington Road.

The convoy then made its way back to the city and was met by thousands of supporters. After circulating through the city streets, the convoy made its way to Market Square where Gwala addressed supporters before they dispersed.

Police in armoured cars and helicopters monitored the events. A policeman who accidentally fired a bullet into the tar in Church Street caused some panic.

Meanwhile nearly 100 KwaZulu Transport buses remained idle yesterday as a "people's blockade" spread to a second midlands depot.

From first light, about 200 residents prevented 35 vehicles from leaving their base at Sweetwaters. A further 55 buses have been hemmed in by protesters at Taylor's Halt since Wednesday.

KwaZulu MP David Ntombela said the blockade was sparked by information that the buses were to be used by members of the Transport and General Workers' Union to jam the city streets.

KZT managing director Chris Peckett said the company was considering taking legal action to end the blockade.

Department of Education and Training (DET) schools around Pietermaritzburg were deserted yesterday as schoolchildren joined in the mass action in the city.

Although the DET area office reported early morning attendance was normal at schools, regional office spokesman Craig Lancaster said it appeared that at about 9 am pupils left their classes. Lancaster said that at Sobantu High School people visited the school and told the pupils to come out.

Police estimate that more than 22 000 people countrywide participated in yesterday's mass actions organised by the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. By early evening, reports of 65 arrests had been received.

Police also noted at least 13 people had died since Wednesday. This raised the death toll since Monday to 62.

The Natal Witness 7-8-92

White men linked to Boipatong massacre

VEREENIGING — Dramatic testimony implicating the participation of white men in the June 17 massacre in Boipatong was presented by two witnesses giving evidence before the Goldstone Commission yesterday.

A young woman, who Commission Chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone ruled could not be identified, gave a chilling account of how she witnessed the murder of her mother and older brother by a group of seven men — which included three whites.

The woman, who was identified as Ms A, aged 22, told the Commission she was sleeping in her home in Slovo Park when she was awakened by the sound of screaming and shouting.

She heard men shouting in Zulu: "We are killing the dogs!"

"My mother shouted 'the Zulu's are attacking!' and I heard our neighbours screaming," she said.

Her mother and nine-year-old brother ran from the house into a storage shed in the yard. She described the

shed as being open on one side and having wire mesh on the other. She followed them and crept as far as possible into the shed.

Her older brother, accompanied by his wife, then ran out of the house. His wife ran towards a toilet but he followed the family towards the shed.

"The men saw him and rushed at him as he reached the shed. They stabbed him there. He died in a pool of blood," she told the commission.

She said it was at this point that she noticed that three of the seven attackers were white men dressed in camouflage uniforms and balaclavas which exposed their faces only.

They participated in the stabbing, holding assegais in one hand and "longish" guns in the other.

As the men left the scene, one of them noticed her mother. He drew the attention of the other men to her presence and three of them returned.

Ms A told the commission they then stabbed her mother to death. This time

the white men did not participate in the killing.

The attackers then moved on to other homes in the area.

Another witness, Edison Themba Koti (28), also from Slovo Park, earlier testified he had seen two white men among the attackers. He also alleged that armoured vehicles had dropped attackers off in the township.

He and a friend had heard the sound of shots being fired, screaming and breaking glass, he told the commission.

"I went outside to see what was happening. I saw a group of men standing in front of my house on the corner. There were two white men and three black men," he said.

He said the white men were dressed in camouflage uniforms and were armed with "long guns".

The Commission will resume hearing evidence on the Boipatong massacre this morning. It is currently confining itself to the issue of allegations of security force involvement in the massacre. — Sapa.

ANC wants Goldstone to probe Esikhawini violence

THE African National Congress is to call for an urgent Goldstone Commission of inquiry into recent violence in Esikhawini township near Empangeni and it is to appeal for a permanent United Nations observer in northern Natal.

This follows a whistle-stop visit to the strife-torn region yesterday by the secretaries general of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu.

Cyril Ramaphosa, Chris Hani and Jay Naidoo spent the day touring Esikhawini, about 10 km south of Empangeni, and visiting sites of Sunday's massacre of 11 people. The alliance leaders then spent an hour meeting the KwaZulu Police district commander, Brigadier C. Mzimela, to discuss policing in the

area and allegations of involvement by KwaZulu policemen in Sunday night's killings.

The delegation told Mzimela the residents of Esikhawini want his forces removed from the township because of alleged bias and involvement in killings of ANC members.

Ramaphosa produced shotgun cartridges found at the scene of Sunday's killings which Mzimela confirmed are the same as those issued to KwaZulu policemen.

The visit was originally planned to have been undertaken by ANC president Nelson Mandela, but was called off at the last minute and instead the three secretaries general went together. — Sapa.

SADF hands over 'sensitive' papers

VEREENIGING — The South African Defence Force decided yesterday to make certain "sensitive" documents available to the Goldstone Commission which is hearing evidence on the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

Counsel for the SADF, A. R. M. M. told the commission the documents, which had been requested by counsel for the African National Congress, Arthur Chaskelson, are irrelevant and will make no contribution to the matter being inquired into. "However, we will not run the risk of not making a full disclosure."

The documents were made available only to the four-man committee.

The chairman, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, said he will consider the documents overnight and will make a ruling on whether they are relevant or not this morning. — Sapa.

Mooi River's police chief 'knew about hits against ANC men'

A STATE witness said yesterday he knew he would not be arrested for killing an ANC member in Bruntville because the Mooi River station commander knew about the killings.

Thembinkosi Hadebe testified at the Supreme Court in the trial of four men charged on three counts of murder. The men, Walter Mchunu (43), Mbuseni Mngadi (44), Phika Hlongwane (51) and Mfungelwa Mchunu (27), are alleged to be members of a gang that carried out assassinations of prominent members of the ANC in the Mooi River area.

The men are charged with the murders of Mandla Habida, Boyi Sithole and Felokwakhe Ndlovu between January and March last year.

Hadebe testified before a

crowded court that he had asked Hlongwane to help him find work. He said he told Hlongwane he had been convicted of murder. Hlongwane referred him to Walter Mchunu who told him he would be paid R1 000 for killing Ndlovu, an ANC member in the area.

Hadebe said he was reassured he would not be arrested for the killing, after watching some of the other accused kill Sithole. Although he carried a firearm and stayed close to the gang when Sithole was killed, he watched the killing only to see whether the others would be arrested. He told the court that when they were not arrested he knew he wouldn't be arrested because the station commander himself knew about the killings.

— Supreme Court Reporter.

Stayaway closure ironic

AS ex-English major students of Professor Maughan-Brown, we find it ironic that he is now admitting to the so-called myth of "black savagery and barbarism" as he claims has been propagated by whites and western culture for so long. Professor Maughan Brown now fears for his own safety as well as that of staff and students — hence the clo-

sure of UNP on Monday and Tuesday. For if Comrade Maughan-Brown and the rest of the liberal-thinking academia feel intimidated by the ANC's stayaway action — the rest of us should ensure we have adequate funeral policies!

ENLIGHTENED STUDENTS
Pietermaritzburg