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Clashes in Ciskei

ANC claims Brigadier Gqozo has 'declared war' on his own people

EAST LONDON: A claim that Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had "declared war" on his own people has been made by the African National Congress in East London after a series of clashes between his security forces and political protesters.

Clashes have been reported from several centres amid claims by the ANC that scores of protesters had been assaulted and arrested.

The protesters in most centres were taking part in the ANC's mass action campaign when they were dispersed by Ciskeian Police.

The ANC has been campaigning to bring about the downfall of the Ciskeian "military regime", which it regards as a puppet of the South African Government.

The campaign is to reach a climax on August 4, when the ANC will call on "all who sup-

KEITH ROSS

Daily News Reporter

port democracy" to converge on the Ciskeian capital, Bisho.

An ANC executive member, Dr Chrispian Oliver, would not disclose yesterday how the planned mass demonstration within Brigadier Gqozo's stronghold would be achieved. He said details of how the demonstrators would enter Bisho would be released later.

Yesterday's ANC statement strongly criticised the recent actions of the Ciskeian security forces.

It said: "unnecessary violence has been used against peaceful demonstrators, legitimate meetings have been broken up, defenceless men, women and children have been assaulted and community leaders across Ciskei have been detained."

ANC youth leader Themba Kinana said much of the violence against peaceful demon-

strators had been concentrated at Dimbaza, an industrial centre in the heart of Ciskei.

But, he said, there had also been serious incidents in several other towns and villages. In Nomgwadla, near Dimbaza, shots were fired at a toyi-toyi-ing group of demonstrators and a girl was wounded in her leg.

He claimed that in Pakamisa, near King William's Town, people had been tear-gassed indiscriminately by Ciskeian Policemen.

"In Keiskammahoek Ciskeian policemen surrounded a hall where a peaceful meeting was being held and fired tear-gas inside," Mr Kinana said.

He said shots were fired. People panicked and fled and were sjambokked by the police.

Mr Kinana said three people were injured in the scramble to escape the police.

The ANC's assistant secretary-general in the Border area, Miss Donne Cooney, said

her organisation did realise that there had been a number of violent incidents aimed at Ciskeian authorities.

She said "the people" had been roused to anger on some occasions and this had resulted in a number of such incidents, including the burning of houses.

"Even though we can understand their anger, we distance ourselves from their actions," she said. "We, therefore, call for discipline and an end to that kind of thing."

The ANC's campaign in Ciskei was bitterly attacked by Brigadier Gqozo on Monday, shortly after he had returned to Bisho from New York where he addressed the United Nations.

He promised that strong action would be taken against those who attempted mass violence in Ciskei.

Brigadier Gqozo could not be reached for comment yesterday.

ANC mock trials for Durban today

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PRESIDENT de Klerk and four homeland leaders will be publicly "tried and sentenced" in an open air demonstration in central Durban during the "rolling mass action" march tomorrow.

A spokesman for the ANC Youth League in Durban said the "trials" would be conducted in West Street opposite OK Bazaars during the march and would feature leaders of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

He said posters depicting Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Brig Oupa Gqozo and Mr Lucas Mangope had already been prepared.

Meanwhile Durban's deputy chief constable has warned people not to make unnecessary trips into the city centre tomorrow morning because of the two protest marches.

"Traffic could be chaotic, and we may have to close West Street to all traffic except buses," he said.

SACP general secretary Chris Hani will address the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance rallies at Qokololo Stadium, Edendale today and at Osizweni Township, Newcastle tomorrow.

By Siza Ntshakala
Political Staff

Another demonstration will be held at Freedom Square in Pietermaritzburg tomorrow.

The Durban march will begin at the Cathedral and proceed down West Street to the City Hall where a memorandum will be handed over to police.

The march is part of a series of demonstrations organised by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

The ANC northern Natal region has planned another march to Esikhawini Police station near Empangeni to demand equal access to venues and free political activity and an end to violence.

This flies in the face of Justice Minister Koble Coetsee recent strong condemnation of mock trials by the ANC Youth League saying such trials "pushed one's tolerance to the extreme".

The national peace committee asked lawyers to arbitrate in a dispute between the Government, Inkatha and the ANC over a mock trial ANC officials held in Pietermaritzburg on June 26.

Pretoria pleuges action on critical Boipatong report

By Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg

CRITICISM by British experts of South African police for "inadequate and incompetent" handling of the Boipatong massacre will be taken very seriously by the government, Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Law and Order, said yesterday.

The government accepted with the "utmost gravity" the findings of Dr Peter Waddington, of Reading University, and two senior British police officers who investigated the response to the killing of 42 squatters by Zulu hostel dwellers last month, he said.

The report, published yesterday, blames the police for "a failure of leadership at all levels" and described as incompetent the force's general systems and organisation structure. The handling of the massacre and the response to it were "woefully inadequate", Dr Waddington found.

However, he rejected the African National Congress's repeated assertion of police and government complicity in the Boipatong killings. "Omissions arose, not from deliberation, but from incompetence," he said.

Dr Waddington criticised:

- The lack of immediate or effective response to calls for help from township residents;
- Inadequate intelligence which failed to uncover the plan to attack the camp;
- Lack of police contingency planning;
- A "confession-orientated" investigation with insufficient supporting evidence;
- The lack of a system for holding individual policemen accountable for incompetence or over-reaction.

The ANC hailed the report as a "damning indictment of the country's system of policing" but declined to comment on the finding that there was no official complicity in the massacre.

President de Klerk is expected to use the report's criticism to support government plans for a sweeping restructuring of the police force. Pretoria sources said Dr Waddington's findings seemed "objective and fair".

● The ANC and its allies said yesterday a two-day general strike and "unprecedented mass action" next month would go ahead following the breakdown of talks between the Cosatu trade union alliance and business leaders.

Cosatu had asked industrialists to close plants on Aug 3 as a gesture of solidarity. The government supported the suggestion, but it was rejected by several influential

business organisations as showing too much partiality in the present crisis.

● Mr Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali, yesterday continued his mission of ending the deadlock in the Codesa constitutional negotiations. He held talks with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, and other black political figures.

Witchcraft on rise in S Africa

AN UPSURGE in burnings of alleged witches, and ritual murders in which parts of the body — particularly the genitals — are used for magic potions, has accompanied political change in South Africa, according to a report yesterday, writes Christopher Munnion.

No overt political involvement was evident, the Human Sciences Research Council said, but there had been a marked increase in reversion to traditional beliefs and rituals, particularly in rural areas, since the release from prison two years ago of Mr Nelson Mandela.

The report said that many youths in the Transvaal tribal homelands of Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu had felt that, with Mr Mandela's release, the time had come to revert to traditional beliefs.

Youths taking part in witch-hunts used political slogans and waved banners and flags of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party. In some villages, anyone accused of being a witch was killed without question.

The African National Congress dismissed the report's findings as "unscientific propaganda".

The Human Sciences Research Council, funded by the Pretoria government, has achieved international recognition for work in sociology, demography and education. The ANC has used its findings in the past to support criticism of the government.

The South African authorities have expressed concern about the findings, particularly after the discovery of three victims, including two children, whose bodies had been mutilated for magic, or power-giving potions.

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Weapons ban: IFP rebuked

By PAUL STOBER

THE Inkatha Freedom Party was rebuked, surprisingly sharply, by Judge Richard Goldstone after refusing to agree to the banning of the carrying of weapons in public.

"The commission cannot accept the necessity, let alone the right, to carry dangerous weapons in demonstrations," said Justice Goldstone in a statement yesterday.

The rebuke followed an announcement that an interim agreement had been reached on the conduct of public demonstrations between the South African Police, the African National Congress, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party. In a letter to the commission, the IFP said they endorsed all aspects of the agreement except for clause three which could be interpreted to ban the carrying of cultural weapons.

Ignoring pleas by the IFP for a search for a compromise wording, Justice Goldstone said: "Having regard for the present political climate in South Africa, the commission cannot hold back on an agreement as important as this in order to search for a compromise wording. The display in public of any dangerous weapons is unacceptable. On that broad principle it is unable to compromise."

The agreement states that the public has the right to demonstrate peacefully and that the SAP has a duty to protect this right and to ensure that demonstrations are peaceful. It also outlines procedures to be followed by the organisers of protest action before the start of demonstrations.

The agreement is based on a report by an international panel appointed to advise the Commission on rules and regulations to govern mass actions.

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■ASKED in the latest issue of the *Work in Progress* Speaking Personally feature to complete the sentence "If I were a dictator for a day..." Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa replied: "Eh ... But I am a dictator already. You should ask a man who is not a dictator. Do you think I am here legally (laughs)?" And we all laugh nervously along with him.

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Uwusa-Cosatu conflict leads to violence

SHOP floor battles between affiliates of the Congress of South African Trade Union and Inkatha's United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) have claimed in excess of 20 lives this year and workers in the food industry are threatening a general strike to force employers to act on the violence.

This week three workers at Mool River Textiles — said by the Inkatha Freedom Party to be its members — were gunned down in Bruntville, near Mool River. Cosatu's South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union

(Sactwu) is on strike at the factory.

Inter-union conflict at Mootex led to its three-week closure last month and is said to underlie the resurgence of violence in the township.

In the food industry, a general strike is being mooted in response to an all-out war at the Langeberg Ko-op in Boksburg between Uwusa and Cosatu's Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu), which has resulted in 17 deaths since late last year. Fawu's Ernest Buthelezi said there were tensions at other factories on the east Rand.

Some of the violence seems directly

Tensions between Inkatha and the ANC have spilled over on to the shop floor as Uwusa attempts to make inroads into Cosatu territory. Twenty people have died so far, report

**MONDLI MAKHANYA and
FERIAL HAJFAJEE**

connected to recruitment drives by Uwusa. Mootex management confirms, for instance, that violence at the factory

only began last year when Uwusa began organising in the factory. At that point Sactwu was the majority union in the factory but has now been superseded by its rival.

Strikes can exacerbate underlying political tensions — Uwusa follows an active no-strike policy. A recent case was at the NIP factory in Johannesburg, where Uwusa members refused demands by National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) strikers to join a strike. Violence ensued.

Numsa has borne the brunt of the conflict. Three workers at Denver Metals in Johannesburg were killed earlier this year after some workers joined Uwusa and then tried to force colleagues to follow suit.

Inter-union tensions may also lie behind the killing of 10 Numsa members in violence directly related to the strike ballots currently being held in the metal and engineering industries. Numsa claims that members living in hostels have not participated in the ballot for fear of

retribution.

"A lot of people in heavy engineering who live in hostels are scared of being seen voting in Numsa ballots," said union official Bernie Fanaroff.

Industrial relations consultants comment that factory-based violence is a logical spinoff of conflict in the townships.

"One cannot expect workers to ditch their differences when they come to work. The situation is just too polarised for that," one said.

Cosatu sources say that because of its ineffectiveness in trade union terms, Uwusa has still not been able to establish a significant presence in the PWV region. A small minority in most factories, its members were, however, belligerent and heavily armed.

While many hostel-dwellers were prepared to align themselves with Inkatha in the hostels, material interests made them opt for Cosatu membership in the factories.

"Uwusa obviously doesn't take kindly to this, as they regard Zulu workers as their natural constituency," the labour consultant said.

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THE YOUNG FIREBRANDS 'DON'T WANT TO LIBERATE CORPSES'

By PHILIPPA GARSON

ARTICULATE, bespectacled Thabiso Mosokotso, chairman of the Sharpeville branch of Azanian Youth Unity (Azanyu), is the model of studious decorum. Quite plainly, his standard dress is a crisp white shirt and smart-casual trousers, and his favourite pastime is educating the masses.

It is on his slight shoulders that the task has fallen of investigating the attack by 50 angry youths — many of them wearing the colours and shouting the slogans of the Pan Africanist Congress — on white journalists at the funeral of the Boipatong massacre victims last month.

"Attacking white journalists is not part of our strategy at all," says Mosokotso.

He explains that the youths are members of an expelled group of Azanyu supporters from Kattlehong who call themselves The Watchdogs. They were "democratically ousted" at an Azanyu congress last year after causing havoc when a decision was taken that the youth organisation should no longer be independent but become a component structure of the PAC. "They are not part of us, although they still use our emblems," he says.

Mosokotso (21) is deeply concerned about the continuing carnage in the Vaal, which has claimed the lives of at least 13 people since the weekend, three of them shot dead by police at a PAC funeral in Evaton. He points out that African National Congress members are not blameless in the violence, which is mostly perpetrated against innocent residents.

The consumer boycott started in the wake of the Boipatong massacre has been imposed on township residents without proper con-

sultation, he says. "If you start a campaign no one understands, you end up imposing your will on them."

"We are not opposed to consumer boycotts and stayaways. It's a part of mass action that we endorse. But this should not be accompanied by people being burnt alive, assaulted, killed. That's three steps backward for every one step forward."

Mosokotso acknowledges that the high levels of anguish and anger in the Vaal are conducive to random anti-government action, but points out that the PAC is cautious about badly thought-out strategies which can have negative consequences.

"We don't want to liberate corpses," he says. "It's the responsibility of the liberation movements to give people proper direction. At the moment, things are in disarray ... It's not that we're not in a hurry, but this is not a game. We are not gambling with the lives of our African people."

While some young PAC supporters may help their ANC counterparts man neighbourhood defence units, they generally prefer not to "go around in gangs" and try to keep aloof from the violence between the ANC and Inkatha, he says.

"We do not believe Inkatha is the real enemy. Inkatha is the whip that the government is using on us. We are not interested in fighting the whip, but in cutting the hand that wields the whip."

"We still see Inkatha as part of the oppressed section of our community. We must have dialogue with them and win them over so we can all fight against the government."

While some point to the lofty PAC ideals of African unity as an explanation for the organisation's lack of involvement in the factional violence on the Reef and in Natal, others hold the more cynical belief that the PAC is too insignificant to test the ground and is not regarded as enough of a threat to engage in battle. In areas where the PAC has a visible presence, like the eastern Cape, violence has broken out between the ANC and the PAC.

Comments PAC secretary general Benny Alexander: "We have decided not to target people who can engage us in a side war and sap our energies. You won't see us issuing statements condemning Inkatha and the homeland leaders. We simply act as if they don't exist, and they don't feel they have any reason to defend themselves against us."

If the PAC rank and file is following the path of peace for the moment, what role is its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, playing? Apla has claimed responsibility for the deaths of a number of policemen this year.

Says Alexander: "We cannot comment on Apla's operations, only on the political necessity of the armed struggle. The simple truth is that we don't know." He explains that Apla's headquarters is in Dar-es-Salaam and that it has its own administration and command hierarchy.

But some members warn that this "speak-to-Dar-es-Salaam" attitude is a tactical error which serves to reinforce perceptions of a weak PAC leadership, lacking sufficient conviction to support openly the actions of its armed wing.

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'DOWN with Mandela!" "Numsa job thieves!" yelled the hostel dwellers — it looked as if we were about to witness another bloody episode in South Africa's unending political war.

Bristling tensions initially marked the encounter between inmates of the kwaMadala hostel in Vanderbijlpark — the alleged launching-pad of the Boipatong massacre and numerous other attacks on surrounding townships — and a team from the National Union of Metalworkers and the African National Congress this week. But "a quiet word turneth away anger": subsequent negotiations defused the violent emotions and may have built a tenuous bridge between the two profoundly alienated groups.

The hostel, an Inkatha stronghold, had become a virtual no-go area, sealed off from Boipatong since the massacre almost a month ago. The visitors from Numsa and the ANC were checking on the progress made in evacuating the hostel, after Iscor's announcement that it is to close by September 12.

As they stood outside the building, waiting for representatives of the hostel to arrive, the Numsa team was surrounded by more than 200 angry, slogan-shouting hostel inmates. Others — including a large number of women and children — carried placards saying "Keep away from our hostel!" and "You may destroy kwaMadala but you will not destroy the mighty Zulu".

The leader of the Numsa delegation, Alfred Woodington, found himself being backed against his car while a group of men, all carrying knobkerries, stamped around him.

Violence was averted when each side allowed the other to state its case — to the hostellers' complaint that Numsa had no members at kwaMadala, Woodington replied that the visit had been arranged with Inkatha Freedom Party officials.

After a 15-minute discussion, the two sides agreed that the Numsa/ANC delegation be allowed into a section of kwaMadala facing Boipa-

First the rage, then a shaky peace at hostel

Iscor's decision to close the controversial kwaMadala Hostel could have been a spark for conflict. But cool heads and negotiations saved the day, reports

BEATHUR BAKER

tong which has been sealed off by a steel wall. This has been constructed by Iscor in response to township residents' pleas. An Iscor worker cut a man-sized hole in the steel curtain to give the delegation access.

Closing the hostel is only the beginning of an enormously difficult and delicate process. Iscor has announced that the kwaMadala inmates are to be reintegrated with the 4 500 residents of nearby kwaMasiza, its main hostel and an ANC stronghold.

In the aftermath of the massacre, Numsa officials indicated the kwaMadala men would not be welcome. And the IFP members are convinced that a return to kwaMasiza, which they fled in late 1990, will be suicide.

This week IFP, ANC/Numsa and Iscor set the wheels in motion at a meeting to decide how to evacuate the hostel and where to move the residents. Walking around the empty part of the hostel, senior Numsa official Bernie Fanaroff asked accompanying IFP members

what they suggested be done about the move to kwaMasiza. One man answered: "We must just sit around the table and talk about this thing. We can't go back to the other hostel, we will be killed."

IFP central committee member and urban organiser Vitus Mvelase added emphatically: "kwaMadala is the only place our people can flee to; we believe our people must stay together."

The hostel dwellers faced huge and daily problems, he added. "Because they are known IFP supporters, they say they are not safe from township residents, which adds to their isolation."

Afterwards Fanaroff summed up the problem from Numsa's side: "The reality is that kwaMasiza people do not want them. They are very suspicious because they feel the kwaMadala people have been involved in massacres." Although the community of Boipatong initially wanted kwaMadala destroyed, Fanaroff said: "We felt that we cannot put kwaMadala residents in the veld."

During the tour of the hostel, some of the inmates described how they had to walk around in groups of six or more for protection. "We cannot even catch taxis, because the drivers are stopped from picking us up," said one man.

Despite these fears, Iscor is adamant that the move must go ahead. Said Iscor spokesman Ernest Webstock: "The main aim still remains to integrate kwaMadala people into kwaMasiza."

Iscor is also insisting that only its workers will be housed, and has excluded non-employees from kwaMadala. This has created a mini-crisis — these men have nowhere to go — but has ironically placed Numsa and the IFP in the same camp. Both agree that temporary accommodation must be found.

This week's encounter may have taken another small step towards reconciliation. At the end of the three-hour visit representatives shook hands, nodded in agreement over the agenda and set the date of the next meeting — July 22.

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FOR A FEW DAYS, THERE SEEMED TO BE REAL HOPES OF PEACE ...

Vance gets to hear it all ... again

UNITED NATIONS special representative Cyrus Vance this week faced the unenviable task of having to listen to South Africa's political parties restate the cases they made to the United Nations Security Council last week.

The seasoned diplomat and United States secretary of state in the Carter administration met leaders of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organization yesterday to hear their proposals on how the UN can help control the township violence and advance the peace process. He met President FW de Klerk on Wednesday.

If he allows himself the luxury of a whisky after the briefings, it will have to be a stiff one to help him start figuring out what recommendations he will make to the UN on the role it can play.

He could reflect that since his arrival the stalemate has, if anything, grown staler.

With mass action looming and the cabinet heading for the bush for a think-tank, special envoy Cyrus Vance faces a formidable task to figure out what role the UN can play in South Africa. By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

The collapse of the Congress of South African Trade Unions-Saccola pact has closed an avenue that was starting to open up for talks to be restarted. One ANC official conceded this week that if the pact had succeeded, negotiations would have been back on the rails within three weeks.

The private sector having failed to find the path for the political parties, the onus for an initiative goes back to De Klerk who has taken his cabinet back into the bush this week for yet another group think-tank. They have a lot to put their minds to.

De Klerk's people have let it be known that concessions on the core issue of democracy are coming. But with a two-day general strike looming, the very last thing that De Klerk will want is to appear weak.

The fog that usually accompanies new moves on the constitutional front might help disguise a significant concession, offset by thundering rhetoric about mass action and signalled in morse code to the ANC, but this does not ease the conundrum. The ANC will have to take a visible gain back to its constituency if it is to explain why it is willing to accept De Klerk's bona fides and go back to the table. The general strike, now restricted to two days, is to go ahead anyway.

De Klerk has already taken the first real strides towards meeting the ANC's 14 demands that are linked to the resumption of talks. Last week, he announced the disbanding of Koevoet and 31 and 32 Battalions, moves towards guarding and upgrading the hostels and tougher measures

against the carrying of dangerous weapons in public. Couched as responses to the Goldstone Commission recommendations, it was no coincidence that they were simultaneously designed to meet demands on the ANC shopping list.

The ANC kneejerk public rejection of De Klerk's moves, on the basis that counter-insurgents would be accommodated elsewhere in the security forces, is not necessarily the private reaction. In their submissions to Vance yesterday, the key ANC request was for a UN monitoring force in the townships. But there was also a request that military personnel be included in the UN team, with one of their tasks being to monitor former combatants of 31 and 32 Battalions and Koevoet.

None of this adds up to a breaking of the deadlock. But it does give Vance something to swirl over, after two days of listening to South African politicians, that could provide the basis for a marginally more hopeful deal than his last diplomatic foray, in Yugoslavia.

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ANC-Cosatu plan daily paper

By REG RUMNEY

THE African National Congress-Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance is planning to launch its own daily newspaper.

The publication will not, it is reliably learnt, rely solely on donor money but will mobilise private sector funds. Details are still sketchy but it is understood a company will be set up to run the paper. The company will be controlled by a trust, comprised of two ANC representatives, two Cosatu representatives, one South African Communist Party representative, one other and private investors. The trust and the private investors will appoint the board of directors of the new company.

The ANC and Cosatu have started to raise funds. Nigerian investors are said to be interested, and the ANC has commitments from Italian unions and the Italian government to set up a democratic media centre. Potential local investors such as the Federation of African Business and Consumer Organisations and National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry have also been approached.

Whether to buy an existing operation or start a new paper from scratch has not yet been decided. But it is unlikely the Anglo American-controlled English media groups will sell any of their papers. Anglo is believed to be strongly opposed to selling any of its newspaper interests to political organisations.

Argus chief executive Doug Band says his company's position is clear: it has no publications for sale to political organisations. However, it will be willing to help any "political" newspaper with distribution and printing and the like. "Should the ANC and Cosatu wish to buy or start a newspaper we would help them in any possible way."

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KwaZulu uses apartheid in land grab

By JEREMY BROWNE

THE kwaZulu government reverted to "grand apartheid" policies in the Balgovan district of the Natal Midlands this week when it demanded the transfer of 22 000ha of trust land to its control.

The kwaZulu delegation, led by Interior Minister Nkosi Ngubane, and farmers' organisations were testifying before the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation, which will advise the State President FW de Klerk on the future of trust land.

Hundreds of thousands of hectares

of land were purchased by the state over several decades for transfer to the homelands in the grand apartheid era. The land division policy was formally abandoned with the passing of the "Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act" last year.

The commission, sitting at the Everglades Resort in the Dargle/impindle area, was gathering submissions from local communities on the future of about 22 000ha of land purchased in the mid-1980s for eventual transfer to kwaZulu.

Farmers, forestry companies and

conservation bodies all gave evidence, with farmers whose land had been expropriated being among the most vociferous of the speakers.

The kwaZulu delegation emphasised that the land parcel had been bought "in compensation" for another piece of land taken away from kwaZulu during homeland consolidation.

The kwaZulu government had therefore lost land, and should now be compensated by the transfer of the 22 000ha to its control, delegates said.

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THE skyscraper housing the United Nations casts a long shadow. It reaches even to Ulundi, where last weekend's annual conference of the Inkatha Freedom Party took place in its shade.

Speaking soon after his return from the special session of the UN Security Council, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi voiced his outrage at attacks on the party made by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela at the UN.

Buthelezi accused Mandela of going to the UN aiming to destroy the credibility of the government, the National Party and the IFP "as a negotiating partner". He said Mandela had destroyed the trust necessary for compromise and negotiations between their two parties, and ended his speech: "As far as I am concerned, Dr Mandela has declared war on the IFP".

Tough talk. But this last minute addendum reflected the mood of the rest of his speech, prepared before the security council session.

Buthelezi told his followers the ANC's military wing had to be disbanded by September 14, the first anniversary of the signing of the National Peace Accord. He would continue in the negotiation process only if the government conceded Umkhonto weSizwe's continued existence was not a bilateral matter for "secret discussions" between the ANC and the government, but the legitimate subject of concern for the other parties as well.

Setting out the September 14 deadline does not tie the party or its leader to any specific action if the deadline is not met. However, Buthelezi's decision not to participate in the next

Buthelezi comes out smoking after Mandela's speech

meeting of the peace accord signatories and the significance of choosing the anniversary date make it likely there will be future threats to withdraw from the peace accord if the deadline passes.

A key issue addressed by Buthelezi was the need for the party to ready itself for elections, preparing "nation-wide electioneering tactics and strategies". One of the conference working groups was allocated to make suggestions about how to improve "election preparedness".

Even more intriguing than plans for election readiness were his references to the need for political alliances and for "manoeuvring political positions of power. Politics is also about relating to other parties and making friends with them so that you can be effective in dealing with your political enemies," Buthelezi said.

No formal alliances have been announced, but a number of parties are keeping their options open. National Party, Democratic Party and Conservative Party representatives attended the conference, along with representatives of Ciskei, kwaNdebele and QwaQwa, the National People's Party, the Reform Party and Solidarity. There's no denying the current political frisson between the CP and

Outraged by comments made at the UN by Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi responded harshly at last weekend's Inkatha annual conference.

By CARMEL RICKARD

the IFP in particular: the CP delegation was given the loudest applause at the conference, while CP officials take every opportunity to praise the IFP and its leadership on public platforms.

For the IFP with its strongly regional base, a federal system offers the best deal in a new constitution. That makes the party an ideal ally for other pro-federalists including the NP and the CP.

While the NP might be reluctant to ally itself formally with the IFP at this stage, the Conservatives are more open about their belief that the IFP and kwaZulu remain the CP's best hope to prevent a unitary state.

Natal University politics professor Mervyn Frost says CP leader Andries Treurnicht keeps talking about emerging ethnicity in Europe and warning it will surface in South Africa too. Frost thinks Treurnicht is correct, and that



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... Urged IFP members to buy guns

the real challenge to constitution writers is how to incorporate various nationalisms "into a harmonious whole".

Inkatha is at a political disadvantage compared with the ANC in terms of the nature of its constituency. Its strongest support comes from people in the rural areas of kwaZulu. Except that is, for the hostel dwellers. It was to this group that Buthelezi addressed special attention, saying they were the most maligned and attacked people in the country.

And it was in his words to the hostel dwellers that he first mentioned IFP help to people wanting to establish defence committees.

He urged that his audience should buy guns to defend themselves (and contact him if they had trouble obtaining licences), according to *Nlanga*, and should form "self protection units". Careful not to breach the letter of the peace accord, he said the IFP itself could not set up defence committees as this would amount to a private army. However, the IFP would help if approached for advice.

Shady figures head IFP's new offshoot

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

A COMMITTEE set up to launch the Inkatha Freedom Party in the western Cape has not a single black member and includes two former stalwarts of the rightwing National Students' Federation (NSF), which was disbanded after revelations that it was secretly funded by the government.

Another member of the committee was formerly active in the Democratic Party. While DP officials have no record of his ever resigning, they are keen to meet him to discuss the issue of about R5 000 written off as a bad debt after a 1989 election campaign which he helped organise. Just two months ago, the man was seen at an African National Congress meeting, when he offered his services to the ANC.

And, until this week, the committee also included self-professed Marxist George Shuttleworth — who has now been dismissed and had his party membership suspended for acting in breach of the IFP's constitution on at least eight counts.

The committee's chairman is Nicholas Myburgh, a Stellenbosch University law graduate who was president of the NSF at one stage and who founded the Popular Students' Alliance, a rightwing group linked to the NSF.

Myburgh, who said he joined the IFP in 1990, later worked for Denis Worrall's Independent Party and served on a committee of the DP's youth wing, "before I lost faith in the DP as a political force".

The committee's secretary is Lance Terry, an articled clerk in a Cape Town law firm who chaired the Moderate Students' Movement — also an NSF affiliate — at the University of Cape Town in the mid-1980s, later becoming the NSF's media officer.

Myburgh described as "balderdash" assertions that launching the IFP in a region whose black population is overwhelmingly Xhosa-speaking, and where IFP-ANC conflict is virtually unknown, is a provocative act.

The IFP's first public meeting in the western Cape will be held in Fish Hoek on July 30.

w/maail

24/7/92

AWB's prison 'arms factory'

WHITE MEN'S

AWB uses prison as arms factory, claim warders

TWO prison officials have claimed that white warders who belong to an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging cell at Leeuwkop Prison, near Johannesburg, are forcing black convicts to make spears and pangas for use in township violence.

The officials have not been named for their own safety. Their evidence is corroborated by eight prisoners who have told *The Weekly Mail* of convicts being used to manufacture "traditional weapons".

"These weapons are hidden inside a disused cell near the engineering works at Leeuwkop Medium A prison. Some of the weapons are stockpiled in the veld near the cells where members of the AWB hold meetings at night," said one of the prison officials.

The Department of Correctional Services has rejected the allegations as being "malicious and devoid of all truth".

Prison authorities rejected allegations that members at Leeuwkop shout slogans and flaunt the insignia of the AWB and asked for names of the members involved so that these can be fully investigated.

The Weekly Mail sources say white sergeant employed at the prison workshop was arrested earlier this year with a load of "traditional weapons", hand

guns and balaclavas in the boot of his car.

This sergeant, named as Vermaak, is said to be heavily involved in AWB activities at the prison. This claim was also rejected by the Department of Correctional Services.

Tipped off by the eight convicts of the far-rightwing activity, *The Weekly Mail* made contact with the two officials who separately corroborated the details.

One said he personally witnessed warders displaying AWB insignia on prison premises in violation of departmental regulations. The other was interviewed while he was doing guard duty at a remote section of Leeuwkop's prison farm. He provided a detailed account of where the engineering shop and cell alleged to store arms, was located.

An investigative team from *The Weekly Mail* visited the jail and tracked down the former prison officials after receiving a number of letters smuggled out of the cells at Leeuw-

Prisoners at a Transvaal jail are allegedly forced to make traditional weapons by white warders who belong to the AWB. By EDDIE KOCH and GRAHAM HARVEY

kop. The letters include claims that

•Warders shout AWB slogans while doing physical training at the prison.

•Members of this right-wing group subject convicts to severe racial assaults and abuse. *The Weekly Mail* has a pile of letters smuggled out of the prison which allege abuse ranging from racial assaults to homosexual rape of convicts.

•Leeuwkop is a training base of the AWB.

•Weapons used for violence in the towns are made at the "passerswerkswinkel" (workshop for fitters and turners) at Leeuwkop's Medium A

section.

•A base located on a farm near the prison is used as a meeting place for members of the AWB and "there is a weapons cache" here.

"We know their hideout and where the weapons are stored," says a letter signed by four inmates who supplied their full names and prison numbers.

All the informants asked that their identities be withheld on the grounds that their lives would be endangered if these were published.

The allegations follow a top level probe by the Department of Correctional Services into reports by a Natal newspaper that right-wing warders were promoting political faction fighting among black inmates of the Pietermaritzburg New Prison.

Brian Zulu, a former convict of this jail, alleged that warders belonging to the AWB smuggled knives to Inkatha prisoners and encouraged them to attack African National Congress members in the cells.

Zulu's allegations were published in

TWO warders at Leeuwkop prison claim that a right-wing "arms factory" inside the prison workshop manufactures spears and pangas for use in township violence.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members hold meetings in prison cells at night, shout AWB slogans and wear their insignia, the warders claim.

The men's detailed allegations have been independently corroborated by a group of convicts at the prison, but have been rejected by prison officials as "devoid of all truth".

• See PAGE 2

The Natal Witness in March this year.

He claimed that an ANC supporter who shared his cell, named as Vusi Mkhize, was stabbed to death in the prison dining hall. The attacker was allegedly an Inkatha supporter who had been supplied with the weapon by a white warder.

Zulu says he personally witnessed three white warders at the Pietermaritzburg prison beat a prisoner to death. "He fell down and the warders pulled him inside the cell. They put a blanket on him and locked the door. The prisoner did not cry or ask for help. The next morning he was dead."

Lawyers for Human Rights in Pietermaritzburg have affidavits from black warders of this prison which report that white warders attend AWB rallies and training sessions on the prison premises at night.

"Alleged AWB activities of members at the Pietermaritzburg Prison was thoroughly investigated and no substantiation for the allegations could be found," said the Department of Correctional Services. "It appears that the so-called testimonies are based on facts and they must be seen as propaganda stunts."

The Weekly Mail has agreed to provide the department with names of alleged members of the AWB at Leeuwkop so that these can be properly investigated.

W/MAIL

24/7/91

It's the Keystone Cops, says Goldstone expert

THE demand for a fundamental reform of the South African Police's methods of policing, organisational structure and style of community relations is likely to follow the scathing critique delivered this week by British academic Dr Peter Waddington.

Waddington's report is all the more damning because the police investigation of the Boipatong massacre was a best-case scenario, conducted knowingly under the international spotlight.

Waddington, director of Criminal Justice Studies at University of Reading, was invited by Judge Richard Goldstone to scrutinise the police investigation after President FW de Klerk had opened the way for an international review.

It was the first time that a foreign observer has been allowed such a close-up and complete view of an SAP investigation. Being the first of its kind, with the eyes of the world focused so closely upon it, the expectation was that the SAP would pull out all the stops to perform as competently and fairly as possible.

Still, the SAP failed to convince the British policing expert that they were anything other than deficient and grossly inept.

After 74 pages of detailed and blistering criticism, Waddington described the SAP's response to the Boipatong massacre and their subsequent investigation as "woefully inadequate" and "incompetent".

He found that the police operation had "been

A British policing expert has slammed the SAP investigation of Boipatong as 'inadequate' and 'incompetent'.

By **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**
and **PAUL STÖBER**

bedevilled by a failure of leadership at all levels; contingency planning was inadequate; non-commissioned officers were left at the scene of a rapidly unfolding disaster to make fateful decisions as best they could.

"Command has been notable for its absence for much of the time; junior officers have not been adequately debriefed and lessons have not been learnt; and all the while community relations have suffered."

Waddington found that if the obvious failures of the investigation were in any way representative of policing, they suggest "the SAP is an unaccountable police force."

"The difficulties encountered by this inquiry team in uncovering the most routine aspects of the police response and investigation suggest that systems do not exist for either internal or external accountability."

The report backhandedly clears the police of complicity in the attack or a covering up state involvement, saying: "Omission arose, not from deliberation, but incompetence."

However, Waddington stresses that the movements of Defence Force units which were seen to escort kwaMadala Hostel residents across the road between Boipatong and the hostel was still under



Peter Waddington ... scathing report

investigation by the Commission.

He said that two military vehicles from the SADF witnessed the group of hostel dwellers crossing the road on their way to perpetrating the massacre and "blocked the highway so as to prevent the traffic flowing across it. Their reasons for taking this action must be a matter of specu-

lation for the inquiry team".

The report criticises the African National Congress and its allies for "orchestrating a campaign of non-co-operation designed to frustrate the investigation" and censures the press for reporting gossip and unsubstantiated rumour.

However, Waddington found that the police took only limited steps to contact those members of the community who could have used their influence to calm the volatile situation.

"The investigating officers have repeatedly complained about the hostility and obstruction of the township residents, apparently at the behest of the ANC, but the police have explicitly abstained from any steps to liaise with the ANC or any other local influential bodies and personalities except through formal channels which continue not to function."

Waddington contrasts the eagerness of the police to negotiate with the hostel dwellers of kwaMadala to their hardline approach to the township residents, commenting on the fastening danger to community relations in this discrimination.

"Boipatong residents might justifiably conclude that whereas their understandable anger and resentment was met with teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot, a similarly forceful attitude was not adopted towards the hostel-dwelling suspects."

Despite recognising the validity of many of the criticisms in the report, police reaction was extremely defensive.

Yesterday, Law and Order Minister Hermanus Kriel, provided "balance and perspective" to the report by emphasising that the inquiry had not found information indicating police complicity in the attack and condemning the ANC's call to Boipatong residents not to co-operate with the police.

Moving to pre-empt renewed calls for the restructuring of the police, SAP Commissioner Johan van der Merwe, has announced that "serious attention" is being given to aspects of the report. He pointed out that a Police Board had been recently appointed to look into the training, efficiency and the command and control of the police.

The ANC said the report confirmed police responsibility for the massacre, "by neglect and indifference". It called for the SAP to be placed under multi-party control so that the re-orientation of the police could begin. The organisation also demanded more international monitoring and an immediate review of all police structures.

In a statement on Thursday, the Policing Research Project at the University of the Witwatersrand, said report confirmed the " rhetoric of police reform had not been matched by real change in police practice and attitudes. We hope the SAP review its structures and practices in the interests of better policing."

w/mail
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Inquiry launched into ANC detention camps

JOHANNESBURG—The role of the ANC as a possible future South African government has prompted an independent commission of inquiry into alleged torture and murder in ANC detention camps.

International Freedom Foundation's southern African director Russell Crystal said Natal lawyer Bob Douglas, "the most independent commissioner we could find", would head the commission.

The body comes in the wake of another commission, appointed by the ANC itself, to look into the issue.

Mr Douglas said it was a fundamental principle of law that you could not be the judge in a matter which affected you. "There is concern that the ANC is avoiding this principle," he said.

Alleged ex-detainees he had already contacted had been unwilling to testify before the ANC commis-

sion because they said it was not independent, he noted.

Mr Crystal said the ANC commission was flawed because of this and because it was not investigating the fundamental reasons why these camps had been established.

The responsibility for excesses in these camps was also not being addressed by the ANC commission, and it was also not attempting to track down ex-detainees who remained unaccounted for.

Mr Douglas's brief included investigation of these issues, including allegations of torture and murder and recommendations for further action.

"Failure to investigate the extent of human rights violations that took place in the ANC, and the identities of those responsible, will seriously undermine SA's transition to democracy," Mr Crystal said. — (Sapa)

NATAL MERCURY
15/7/92

① The Citizen
24/7/92

TWO-DAY GENERAL STRIKE PLANNED

THE ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party, yesterday announced a two-day general strike for August 3 and 4.

The decision was announced after talks between business and labour on a Charter on Peace, Democracy and Economic Reconstruction broke down in Johannes-

burg on Wednesday night.

A proposal to replace a protracted general strike with a 24-hour voluntary national shutdown on August 3, dubbed a Day of Reconciliation, was the stumbling block.

The SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola) and Cosatu, yesterday blamed

each other for the breakdown.

However, they pledged their support for a resumption of negotiations on the broad principles of the draft charter after the general strike.

Saccola vice-chairman, Johan Liebenberg, said the breakdown in talks between the two organi-

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General strike planned

FROM PAGE 1

sations did not mean a "declaration of war".

Cosatu had only been prepared to suspend the general strike and not other mass action which would damage the economy.

"On that basis it did not seem a good deal," Mr Liebenberg said. "There was nothing in it for us."

The secretaries-general of the ANC, Cosatu and the ACP — Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Jay Naidoo and Mr Chris Hani respectively — yesterday announced plans for a week of action featuring the general strike.

"A unique opportunity has been missed for the business community to join millions of South Africans in concrete actions for democracy," Mr Ramaphosa said in a statement.

"We deeply regret the inability of employer organisations to transcend longstanding prejudice and to cross the democratic threshold."

The alliance handed out copies of the draft Charter on Peace, Democracy and Economic Reconstruction to the media.

"The failure of this initiative means that the ANC, Cosatu, the SACP and a wide range of orga-

nisations will proceed with the campaign for peace, justice and democracy as originally outlined, with the aim of uniting the widest spectrum of forces to end the violence and ensure a speedy transition to democracy," Mr Ramaphosa said.

"The ball remains squarely in the government's court."

"The crisis can only be resolved if the National Party Government responds to our efforts to break the negotiations deadlock and takes practical steps to meet the package of 14 demands put before the De Klerk regime by the ANC on June 23 without delay."

The alliance leaders warned business not to dismiss workers who participated in the general strike and other mass action.

Mr Naidoo said if employers dismissed workers, "then Cosatu has other programmes it will put into action including (further) general strikes".

Mr Ramaphosa said he wanted to make it clear to companies which dismissed workers that the ANC-led alliance "is not just going to stand by."

"The ANC will launch a massive campaign to ensure they are reinstated. They should not even try

to take action against workers."

Mr Ramaphosa said there was only one option left to business, and that was to join the ANC-led campaign aimed at forcing the government to accept genuine majority rule in South Africa.

SA Chamber of Business director-general, Mr Raymond Parsons, speaking at the Saccola Press conference, said business had been forced to reconsider its position because the mass action campaign and general strike would go ahead.

He would not be drawn on SACOB's approach to employees who participated in alliance campaign.

"Given the fact that mass action and the strike is to go ahead, SACOB will be sending out guidelines advising its members of plans to address the situation to minimise damage to the economy."

Saccola chairman, Mr Bokkie Botha, said Saccola and its 10 affiliated employer bodies did not regard strike action as a means of bringing political parties together.

"We are concerned about the fact that it will exacerbate violence."

Mr Botha said Cosatu had asked Saccola for a total shutdown of economic activity on August 3

and that this be extended to non-Saccola members, including the public service.

Saccola, in turn, asked for an unequivocal commitment to call off the intended general strike and associated mass action activities which could further damage the economy.

"The talks broke down because an agreement could not be reached because Cosatu could not commit itself in the way we asked and we consequently could not give the assurances they asked for."

The programme for the ANC/SACP/Cosatu week of action in August is:

Monday August 3 and Tuesday August 4: A complete withdrawal of labour with local rallies, marches, pickets and other actions;

Wednesday August 5: City and town demonstrations, occupations and marches;

Thursday August 6 and Friday August 7: Sectoral actions by workers and others, determined at a local level;

Saturday August 8: Local, regional and national assessment meetings and report-backs;

Sunday August 9: Combining a celebration of Women's Day with religious activities and prayers for peace and democracy. — Sapa.

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US's Cohen warns of civil war in SA

WASHINGTON — SA faced civil war unless ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi were willing to put aside their differences, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen said in Congressional hearings yesterday.

He emphasised that any attempt to force the government out of power through mass mobilisation was "unacceptable".

He also flatly rejected any attempt to use the violence as a reason for breaking off talks: "We oppose linking continued negotiations with an end to violence... Negotiations are even more essential precisely because there is violence."

In the Bush administration's toughest statement on US policy towards SA, Cohen outlined in unusual detail what was expected of the three major parties to get negotiations back on track.

Step one had to be "a moratorium on finger-pointing and name-calling" by all parties, as "inflammatory rhetoric" was serving only to fuel violence.

Government's willingness to investigate the Boipatong killings was "a crucial test of its credibility", he stressed.

In addition, government had to implement more fully the recommendations of the Goldstone commission, in particular its calls for increased police accountability and stepped up security at hostels.

The ANC had to be "receptive to government gestures concerning reducing violence and restarting negotiations".

SIMON BARBER

The movement had to ensure that its mass action campaign did not lead to further violence, and had to "exert greater influence over its members who continue to advocate and perpetrate violence."

While the administration was "neither for nor against mass action" and recognised that it provided a means for black South Africans to "express themselves politically", "it must be done peacefully".

He called on the ANC to "dispose safely" of the arms it had "not denied" having cached both in and outside the country, and warned that transferring weapons into SA would violate the national peace accord.

Inkatha had to do more to ensure that its members were committed to peace, and had to tell its members that "carrying weapons in public is unacceptable".

Citing the Goldstone commission's finding that a common thread to the violence was conflict between the ANC and Inkatha, he warned that the "impasse" between Mandela and Buthelezi "contains the seeds of civil war which neither leader will be able to control but for which they will bear much responsibility".

He was "confident" that UN special envoy Cyrus Vance "will come up with a series of compromises that are useful for both sides", but stressed that "it is up to South Africans themselves to find their way back to the negotiating table".

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13/Day

Civil war warning

SA faced civil war unless
ANC president Nelson
Mandela and Inkatha
president Mangosuthu
Buthelezi put aside their
differences, Assistant
Secretary of State for Africa
Herman Cohen told a US
Congressional hearing
yesterday. **Page 2**

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

General strike

WE cannot say that we are surprised at the collapse of talks between the South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs and Cosatu.

Nor surprised because Saccola may represent ten organisations, but it would have been a miracle if all the organisations and firms it represents had agreed to stage a voluntary, national, 24-hour shutdown which included the public sector.

Having a national stoppage in the form of a Day of Reconciliation would have meant that the country would have been brought to a standstill.

This would no doubt be acceptable to some members of Saccola, but not to others.

And Saccola could certainly not have spoken for all firms and the public service, too.

Saccola was also going to have to subscribe to political objectives as set out in a Charter for Peace, Democracy and Economic Reconstruction.

This, too, would be acceptable to some, but not to others.

In its initial comment, Saccola said that the "breakdown (in the talks) was rooted in our inability to reach agreement on a total shutdown of all sectors of the economy, including the public sector".

Subsequently it blamed the collapse of the talks on Cosatu's inability temporarily to cease all action which could foster violence or harm the economy.

Cosatu, in turn, blamed Saccola, claiming that "many employers, while declaring themselves, as in the referendum, to be in support of democracy, are in fact supporting the government's attempts to cling to power through various mechanisms".

At the same time Cosatu made it clear that it "had sought to act jointly with business to ensure a speedy and effective political transition".

Had the employers signed the charter and agreed to a voluntary shutdown, they would have become the captives of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance just as the sports administrators became captives of the ANC and its sports affiliate, the National and Olympic Sports Congress.

A one-day voluntary shutdown of the country would have been worse than a two-day general strike, since it would have brought the whole country to a standstill for 24 hours, whereas a general strike, as experience has shown, is effective in some areas but not in others.

Predictably, the alliance has announced it will go ahead with the general strike, starting on August 3.

Instead of seven days, however, it will last two days.

Whether the alliance could have sustained a seven-day strike is doubtful, but even a two-day general strike in present circumstances will place dangerous strains on an economy that is in severe recession.

Mr Jay Naidoo, the secretary-general of Cosatu, has threatened that if employers dismiss workers, "then Cosatu has other programmes it will put into action including (further) general strikes".

A similar threat was made by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the secretary-general of the ANC, who said he wanted to make it clear to companies which dismissed workers that the alliance "is not just going to stand by".

"The ANC will launch a massive campaign to ensure that they are reinstated."

Some of the hands-uppers among businessmen would have preferred to surrender to the ANC alliance (if they have not already done so privately).

But most businessmen are sick and tired of threats, warnings, strikes, stoppages and stayaways.

They are fully entitled to adopt a policy of no work, no pay or dismissals, since the two-day general strike will have no legal basis.

Nobody wants a two-day general strike, but the alternative would have been to surrender to blackmail.

Whatever damage is done to the economy, we will survive the strike, but we doubt whether the ANC is going to win any support, here or abroad, for its destructive tactics.

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ANC call for continued UN involvement

REPRESENTATIONS for continued international involvement in South Africa were made to United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance yesterday by both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Mr Vance separately met top delegations of the ANC, PAC, Inkatha and Azapo in Johannesburg to gain insight into political violence and stalled negotiations in terms of UN Security Council Resolution 765.

His mandate is to draw up a set of recommendations to the UN on how to end violence and restart constitutional negotiations.

Yesterday's talks were described as positive by the various parties.

At a Press conference after its session, African National Congress international affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki was "cagey" on the ANC's exact representations to Mr Vance.

However, he revealed its detailed proposals were in the "context of looking at the best and most effective ways by which the Security Council could intervene to help us address these various questions".

Mr Mbeki pointed out that Resolution 765 stipulated that the Security Council remain committed to the South African issue until a democratic political transformation was achieved.

"It's a commitment to be seized and remain engaged with this issue until you have this new constitution and a new democratic government. So it's

not a temporary intervention. It's permanent to that point when South Africa becomes a democratic society."

At an earlier Press conference, Pan Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwetu said his organisation had proposed an international commission to investigate and monitor the political situation in South Africa.

"We said that the issue of violence that is confronting us is beyond our control. We need an outsider, an impartial body to look into ways and means of bringing an end to violence," said Mr Makwetu.

According to Mr Mbeki, the ANC's talks with the UN envoy were the beginning of a process with follow-up talks, attended by ANC president Nelson Mandela, expected before the departure of the UN delegation on July 30.

He said the organisation had made comprehensive representations on violence to Mr Vance, but had not asked him "to do anything" to prevent a planned week of mass action.

The ANC disagreed with representations made to the UN by Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who said mass action led to increased tension and violence.

That argument justified violence against peaceful demonstrators, Mr Mbeki said. The ANC was committed to peaceful demonstrations and people's rights not to take part in them.

Chief Buthelezi earlier yesterday told Mr Vance that despite UN intervention there would be no peace as long as the ANC/SACP alliance continued its mass action campaign.

He said the IFP, in "frank" and "in-depth" talks, had proposed a multi-party conference to review the current impasse.

He also made clear he would not attend a meeting of National Peace Accord signatories at month-end, due to what he believed were contraventions of the Accord by the ANC.

Mr Mbeki later confirmed the ANC would attend the meeting and expressed the hope that everyone interested in peace would follow suit.

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Mandela: Govt must meet our demands

LONDON. — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela said in London yesterday that the ANC would not resume talks with the government until its demands were met.

Speaking at London airport on his arrival after a Middle East tour, Mr Mandela said: "We have submitted a list of demands to the regime and we insist that they should meet those demands before there can be any discussion between the ANC and the regime."

"We believe the regime will in due course see sense. The problem facing the country is the refusal of the White minority to

surrender power to the people of South Africa."

He later had talks with British Overseas Development Minister, Baroness Chalker, when they discussed the recent United Nations resolution on South Africa and "the way forward" for the country, according to a Foreign Office spokeswoman.

Lady Chalker reiterated the British Government's view that both sides should resume talks as soon as possible, as this would help reduce tension and violence in South Africa.

Mr Mandela defended the ANC's decision to hold a general strike next week, saying: "We have

achieved a lot by mass action."

"Negotiations have not fallen out of the skies — they are the result of formidable pressure by the

masses of the people in the country and the international community."

Mr Mandela was due to fly home early today. — Sapa-AFP

Goldstone reveals deal on demos conduct

CAPE TOWN. — Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, the chairman of the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, yesterday announced an interim agreement on the conduct of public demonstrations had been reached between the SA Police, the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party, despite reservations by the Inkatha Freedom Party on a clause which dealt with the carrying of dangerous weapons in public.

The IFP had expressed reservations about the

wording of the clause, saying compromise wording should be inserted, supposedly to deal with the carrying of cultural weapons.

"Having regard to the present political climate in South Africa, the commission cannot hold back on an agreement as important as this in order to 'search' for compromise wording," Mr Justice Goldstone said in a statement.

"In any event, the issue of dangerous weapons has been debated for many months and the considered attitude of the commission has been made

known more than once. It is that the display in public of any dangerous weapons is unacceptable. On that broad principle, it is unable to compromise."

The agreement points out the public has a right to demonstrate peacefully to convey their views, and that the SAP has the duty to protect that right. It goes on to note that protest organisers, local authorities and the police also have a duty to ensure demonstrations are peaceful.

It further notes that demonstrators should not be in possession of dan-

gerous weapons, and that inconvenience caused to people not taking part in protests should be kept to a minimum.

The interim agreement also lays down certain procedures to be followed by protest organisers before the action gets underway.

"Reasonable notice of demonstrations should be given by the organisers in order that negotiations can be held with the local authority and the SA Police with regard to the conduct of the demonstrations and that such notice will include:

- "The name of the organisers and/or organisation(s);
- "The name, address and telephone number of the person authorised by the organisers and/or organisation(s) to represent them in relation to the conduct of the demonstration;
- "The purpose of the demonstration;
- "The time of the demonstration;
- "The place of assembly;
- "The route of the demonstration;
- "The place where the demonstration will end and the participants disperse;
- "The anticipated number of participants;
- "If applicable, the number and types of vehicles; and,
- "The number of marshals."

The agreement also says prior negotiations, especially regarding the time of the protest and the number of marshals, were essential between the organisers, the SAP and the local authority in order to ensure demonstrations are held peacefully.

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Union Buildings march part of plan

A MARCH by members of the African National Congress/SA Communist Party/Cosatu Alliance on the Union Buildings in Pretoria tomorrow forms part of the Pretoria Action Committee's plans for mass action for the next 10 days.

The campaign is part of the ANC's mass action campaign which includes the "mass occupation of cities and government institutions", Pretoria Action Committee publicity secretary Jackie Masemola yesterday told a news conference.

The Committee today intends continuing with the occupation of supermarkets — in protest against high food prices — and government institutions, mainly targeting the SABC's premises in Silverton to demand the broadcasting corporation's "democratisation".

Tomorrow's march by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu Alliance and civic asso-

ciations on the Union Buildings starts at 9 am in Brown Street.

At the end of the march a petition will be handed over demanding:

- The monitoring of the security forces by the United Nations.

- A commitment by the government that there will be a constituent assembly by the end of the year.

- That the government speedily end the violence.

- The reinstatement of dismissed National Education, Health and Allied Workers members following their strike.

On Monday the occupation of the city of Pretoria will follow, while "various events" have been planned for townships in and around Pretoria.

The protest activities will continue throughout the week culminating in a mass rally in Atteridgeville on Sunday August 2.

For Monday, August 3 a march has been organised on the Atteridgeville Police Station and Town Council offices, starting at the Roman Catholic Church in Atteridgeville, while various townships have planned activities.

August 3 and 4 will witness a "total stayaway" in accordance with the ANC's mass action campaign, while August 5 will see the "occupation of government institutions".

At the news conference, Mr Masemola expressed his concern about "police harassment" of "our people taking part in peaceful protest actions".

He described police behaviour as "biased in favour of Inkatha supporters and aimed at protecting apartheid".

He added his organisation believed the solution lay in placing the security forces under neutral control, and suggested the United Nations. — Sapa.

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PAC 'call to kill Whites' denied

PAN Africanist Congress supporters were yesterday urged to kill Whites in Hillbrow, according to a Sapa correspondent.

"You should take your guns and go and kill Whites in Hillbrow," the movement's chief of information, Mr Waters Toboti, reportedly said amid chants of the slogan "One Settler, One Bullet" at a memorial service

for three PAC members killed in Sebokeng last Sunday.

Last night, however, Mr Toboti emphatically denied he had made the call.

"What I said was that people should learn to defend themselves if they are attacked and that they should stop fighting among each other. That is all."

The memorial service, held at the Free Methodist Church in Sebokeng, was called to commemorate the deaths of Mr David Lekgala (27), Mr Mac Maruping (46), and a youth, Pakiso Pume. — Sapa.

The Citizen

24/7/92

Govt building, cars set alight by Ciskei crowd

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — A building and four government cars were set alight in Zwelitsha yesterday after Ciskeian police allegedly disrupted a commemoration service for seven Nompundulo High School pupils who drowned in 1986.

The Ciskei police would not comment on the incident.

Residents claimed the policemen threw 14 tear-gas canisters into a packed church hall in Zone 4. There was pandemonium as those inside tried to escape. Several people were injured and windows were broken.

When reporters visited the scene later there was blood on the windows and floor of the hall. Chairs had been overturned and shoes lay scattered about. Teargas fumes still per-

meated the hall.

No arrests were reported.

An angry crowd then took to the streets and set alight a building at a government petrol depot. This was followed by the burning of government

cars in different parts of the township.

Schools in Zwelitsha had closed early to allow pupils to attend the memorial service in honour of seven pupils who drowned while fleeing from police after school unrest in 1986. — Sapa.

The Citizen

24/7/92

ANC to march in homelands

PIETERSBURG. — The ANC Northern Transvaal region yesterday announced that four homelands will be targeted for mass action from August 3.

Regional deputy secretary Mr Norman Mashabane said marches will be staged in Venda, Gazankulu, Lebowa and KwaNdebele, where memoranda will be submitted to the homeland leaders deploring corruption and urging the establishment of an interim government.

"The bantustans are a creation of the apartheid regime and as a result, they must be dismantled. The mass action will be followed up by sit-ins and the occupation of state buildings such as police stations, hospitals and education departments," said Mr Mashabane. — Sapa.

The Citizen

24/7/92

Strike: '13 patients died in day at Bara'

Citizen Reporter

THIRTEEN patients died at the Baragwanath Hospital in one day last week because they failed to report for timeous treatment due to fear of the actions of strikers.

In a statement yesterday, the hospital reported that many patients failed to use medical and paediatric facilities to receive timeous treatment for ailments out of fear and apprehension.

"The result was that extremely ill medical and paediatric cases have recently been admitted, many with complications involving respiratory tract infections, diabetes and cardiac

problems.

"Last week 13 patients died in a 24-hour period in comparison with two to four cases under normal circumstances," the hospital disclosed.

The hospital also expressed concern about the number of patients admitted with injuries caused by high-velocity weapons.

The number of patients admitted with bullet wounds had doubled from 984 in 1987 to 2 000 in 1991.

The hospital estimated the cost to treat one bullet-wound victim at R18 000.

Over 51 000 trauma patients were admitted

last year, of these 5 000 had been stabbed in the chest, 300 stabbed in the heart, 400 stabbed in the neck and 600 stabbed in the abdomen. Patients with head injuries caused by blunt objects numbered 7 000.

There was a marked increase in rape and child abuse cases reported to hospital social workers.

An average of four women were treated for rape per day compared to one per day three years ago.

Approximately 53 cases of child abuse were dealt with on a monthly basis.

The Citizen

24/7/92

'Waddington Report an indictment of policing'

THE ANC yesterday charged that the Waddington Report on the police investigations and response to the Boipatong massacre on June 17 was a damning indictment of the standards of policing in South Africa.

"It (the report) underlines a wide range of systematic faults in policing operations and attitudes," the organisation said in a strongly-worded statement released in Johannesburg.

"We place on record that the manifest incompetence and failures of the police, as confirmed by the report, is evidence, at best, of the neglect and indifference of the police to the plight of township residents and/or a conscious refusal to address the serious nature and consequence of the violence in our townships."

The ANC added that

the report not only underlined the disastrous effect of apartheid on police/community relations, but also the lack of SAP concern, initiative and effort devoted to improving them.

"The police exhibited a simple unwillingness to communicate with community leaders."

On the report's finding that the police failed to gather information which would have enabled them to prevent the massacre, the ANC said the police failure to monitor planned violence by hostel dwellers was all the more glaring when seen against the regularity of incidents of violence and murder involving KwaMadala Hostel residents.

"It must also be contrasted with the extensive surveillance operation conducted against the ANC and Cosatu, and,

according to Dr Waddington, the police emphasis on regional intelligence-gathering for political purposes as opposed to functional crime and violence prevention."

The ANC continued that in the light of the Waddington Report, it believed even more strongly that there was an urgent need to place the SAP and other police forces in South Africa under interim multi-party control and to begin the complete re-organisation and re-orientation of the police force.

"There is also both evident benefit and an urgent need for international monitoring. Multi-party control and independent monitoring of the SAP would build greater community confidence in the SAP, and assist in the execution of their duties. There is also an urgent need to immediately review all police structures and practices.

"The report serves to highlight the importance of a professional, accountable and committed police force both in the transitional phase and in the future," the ANC concluded. — Sapa.

The Citizen 24/7/92

Investigators slam Boipatong handling

By Sapa and
Fred de Lange

BRITISH investigators have sharply criticised the SA Police's handling of the Boipatong massacre, saying the SAP suffered from "serious organisational problems".

But there had been no evidence of direct police complicity in the June 17 massacre, according to Reading University Criminal Justice Studies director Dr P A J Waddington and two British Metropolitan Police officers.

They were appointed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to evaluate the police response to, and investigation of, the massacre. Their 50-page report was officially released yesterday morning.

Mr Justice Goldstone

said yesterday if any parties wished to challenge the untested information or relevant findings of the report, they could approach the Goldstone Committee investigating the massacre.

He said the inquiry would commence at the Vereeniging Civic Centre at 9am on August 5.

According to the executive summary of the report, the inquiry had identified a number of flaws and mistakes of both police procedure and judgment.

This suggested that the SAP suffered from "serious organisational problems".

These could be summarised under four headings: Inadequate command and control, ineffective intelligence and contingency planning, unstructured investigation, and insufficient

awareness of community relations.

Under the first heading of Inadequate Command and Control, the report noted: "The unavailability of manpower and the deployment of those that were available allowed this massacre to be perpetrated unhindered."

It added: "Senior officers showed a lack of basic strategic planning and tactical implementation."

Regarding the SAP's "ineffective intelligence and contingency planning", the report said the routine assessment of variations in tensions in sensitive areas was under-developed.

The police lacked adequate contingency plans to deal with the KwaMadala Hostel situation, that had been a source of policing problems for some time, or any other poss-

ible scenarios.

"The debriefing that has so far taken place has been grossly inadequate and lessons seem not to have been learned," the report said.

It continued, "Indeed, to judge from Boipatong, the SAP lack adequate mechanisms for internal and external accountability, since they seem unable or unwilling to establish what action was taken by whom with what result."

Discussing the police's "unstructured investigation", the report said superficial scenes of crime investigation seemed endemic, since there were few grossly over-burdened officers to do this work in the area, and they lacked adequate management.

The SAP's "case dossier" approach to investigation was inadequate for an inquiry of this complexity.

Under the final "insufficient awareness of community relations" section of the report, the investigators said the police seemed to take a "more accommodating approach" towards hostel dwellers than township residents.

This might create an understandable suspicion of favouritism in that direction, however false.

They found that the police investigation had concentrated on the KwaMadala Hostel. Weapons had been seized, "but cannot be linked to individual hostel-dwellers because of the decision to allow weapons to be placed on a pile".

The report said that while detectives were aware of the basic components of an adequate investigation, their systems undermined evidence gathering.

The Citizen

24/7/92

De Klerk 'not advised against Boipatong visit'

THE State President's office has strongly denied that Mr De Klerk was advised not to visit Boipatong last month after the massacre there.

Mr De Klerk's office was responding last night to reports on a British expert investigation into police handling of the massacre.

"It is not correct that the State President was advised not to visit Boipatong, the office said, adding that he had consulted

the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, who advised him — after he, in turn had consulted senior SA Police officers — that the visit was "in order".

"The State President was accompanied during the visit by the Minister of Law and Order as well as senior SAP officers.

The Commissioner of Police, Gen Johan van der Merwe, yesterday said: "The South African Police categorically denies that any senior officer or member of the force ever advised President De Klerk not to visit Boipatong."

Earlier a news article on the Waddington inquiry, had said Mr De Klerk disregarded advice not to visit the township.

"The President was advised against making a visit ... However (he) decided to go ahead."

It said the inquiry, headed by British university professor, Dr P A J Waddington, put the date of the State President's visit to Boipatong as June 19, when in fact it was

June 20.

Quoting the Waddington report further, the news article said police had described the township as reasonably quiet.

The report went on to describe that once stones and missiles were thrown at Mr De Klerk's convoy in the township, Mr De Klerk was safely protected within his "armoured limousine ...".

Nevertheless, the decision was taken to make an "emergency withdrawal".

"Escorted by a Njala (ballistically-protected vehicle) that burst through barricades (erected by the crowd), the convoy left the township speedily.

"It is worth mentioning that police vehicles were not present at each of the junctions through which the State President's convoy passed and at which barricades were erected."

The report puts the date of this incident at June 19, but Mr De Klerk in fact visited Boipatong on Saturday June 20. — Sapa.

The Citizen

24/7/92

'IFP will protect all who work during strike'

Citizen Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) will be forming resistance groups in townships to protect their members and others who wish to continue working during the strike.

Natal IFP spokesman, Mr. Walter Felgate, told The Citizen the IFP insisted that anyone wishing to go to work should have the right to do so just as those wishing to strike could exercise that right.

"We also insist that all intimidation cease immediately — but past experience has taught the IFP that no strike called by the ANC or Cosatu was ever successful without widespread intimi-

dation by their members."

He said roads were already being barricaded, and road-blocks manned by the ANC/Cosatu/SACP members would "definitely" lead to bloodshed, especially in Natal.

"Many people will die — that is the unfortunate reality and the result of the unforgiveable attitude of the ANC."

Mr Felgate said it was time the world saw the ANC for what it really was.

"The deliberate sinking of the negotiations with Saccola by Cosatu showed the reasons forwarded by the ANC to be completely fallacious — the ANC were defeated twice on the floor of Codesa when more than half of the delegates opposed it."

The ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance are now taking these defeated and unpopular proposals to the streets to get street-corner approval for them.

Mr Felgate said the full executive council of the IFP had discussed these

issues, and had resolved not to give in to the ANC.

The IFP has already called on its members to resign from Cosatu affiliated unions.

24/7/92

The Citizen

US wants SA parties to renounce violence

WASHINGTON. — The United States wants all parties in South Africa to renounce violence and resume democracy negotiations, a senior State Department official yesterday said.

"As always, we will play the role of a concerned outsider," Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen told the House Africa subcommittee.

He said President George Bush had written to State President De Klerk, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi offering US help in restarting negotiations, which were suspended last month

after the June 17 murders of 43 Blacks at the Boipatong township.

"Nevertheless, it is ultimately up to the South Africans themselves to find a way back to the negotiating table. All sides bear some responsibility for the current situation and all sides must be willing to make the concessions which will be necessary to get negotiations back under way," Mr Cohen said.

"The government's determination in investigating the Boipatong killings and acting on the findings of the investigators is a crucial test of its credibility," he said.

Mr Cohen said the ANC and Inkatha must

exert more control over their members to prevent violence. "Both Inkatha and the ANC must accept the right of all South Africans to pursue lawful political activity in all parts of the country. 'No Go' areas are unacceptable."

Mr Cohen said the United States believed any settlement should acknowledge the right of the majority to govern while protecting the rights of all citizens. "Minorities have the right to safeguards; they cannot expect a veto."

Despite the recent violence, he said he was still hopeful democracy could be achieved in South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

B | Day

24/7/92

Strike 'will cost economy dear'

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Cosatu's general strike next month would push the economy deeper into recession, Stellenbosch University Bureau for Economic Research economist Nic de Jager said yesterday.

This year's first quarter had had negative growth of 0.6%. The bureau's forecast for the second quarter had been -0.3% and for the third quarter 0.7%. However, the strike would almost certainly mean three consecutive quarters of negative growth.

Pressure on the economy, already stressed by drought and a deeply disturbed political climate, would intensify in the three days, he said.

Econometrix director and chief economist Azar Jammine said the loss of output over the three days could amount to 40%. Hardest hit were likely to be the manufacturing, mining and construction industries. The work stoppage over the three days could chop half a percentage point from the year's growth rate. Jammine said the three days had the potential to explode into widespread violence and intimidation, degenerating into chaos and a massive decline in black workers' confidence in the trade union movement.

The consequences of the strike — wage losses and a growing disillusionment with the trade union movement — would be a severe test of Cosatu's support, especially if there was no benefit for workers.

He said August would be one of SA's most damaging months.

B/Day 24/7/92

Police, alliance agree on protest rules

POLICE, the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP had reached an interim agreement on how mass demonstrations should be conducted, the Goldstone commission of inquiry into public violence said yesterday.

The agreement came as the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance said it would intensify preparations for mass action.

Commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone said the parties agreed that "proper notice and bona fide negotiations are preferable to applications for permission to ensure that public demonstrations were held and conducted peacefully".

The parties also agreed that the agreement would assist in avoiding violence and

WILSON ZWANE

confrontation, Goldstone said.

But, he said, the agreement would not amend or supercede existing legislation relating to public demonstrations.

The agreement followed an international panel's report on procedures for mass demonstrations, marches and picketing.

Our Political Staff report from Cape Town that Inkatha has rejected a clause on the carrying of dangerous weapons at protest actions in the commission's interim agreement on demonstrations. However, it joined the SAP, ANC, Cosatu and the SACP in agreeing to all other recommendations.

13/Day

24/7/92

ANC hands Vance new conditions

RAY HARTLEY

NEW conditions for resuming talks — the release of 400 political prisoners and the scrapping of security legislation — were presented to UN special envoy Cyrus Vance by an ANC delegation yesterday.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki described the preconditions as "additional to the ending of violence".

Vance met leaders from the ANC, Inkatha, the PAC and Azapo yesterday.

He would not comment on the meetings, but described his encounter with an ANC delegation, including secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, as useful.

Mbeki said the ANC continued to favour international intervention to end violence.

He said Vance had not communicated any of his discussions with government to the ANC delegation and was not acting as a go-between.

Vance had also not been asked to intervene to defuse mass action.

Mbeki said another ANC delegation, including president Nelson Mandela, would meet Vance next week.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he had told Vance there could be no effective international intervention in SA until the violence had been ended. The ANC's mass action campaign was increasing tension, he said.

PAC president Clarence Makwethu said he had informed Vance of the PAC's rejection of Codesa and told him government was behind the violence.

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24/7/92

Buthelezi pulls out of peace summit

WILSON ZWANE and RAY HARTLEY

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would not attend a national peace accord summit with President FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela next week.

The July 30 meeting was called to bolster the peace accord almost a year after it was signed. The summit was widely regarded as an opportunity for the three leaders to get together in an attempt to resolve their differences on the issue of violence.

Buthelezi cited Mandela's alleged violations of the peace accord at the UN Security Council last week and the continued existence of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe as the reasons for his non-attendance.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said yesterday the ANC would attend the meeting.

He said: "We would hope that everybody who is interested in peace and interested in ending the violence would indeed attend."

National peace committee chairman John Hall said the meeting would probably be postponed. He said Buthelezi's withdrawal from the meeting did not threaten the peace accord.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said Mandela's statement at the UN that he did not recognise Inkatha as "an independent force" with which the ANC could enter into an agreement aimed at ending violence, showed that Mandela was intent on "smashing" the national peace accord.

Vos said Inkatha had asked the national peace committee to postpone the meeting of the signatories until Mandela's statement, Umkhonto's continued existence and intimidation arising from the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's mass action had been "properly" dealt with.

Hall said the executive of the committee would meet tonight to discuss Buthelezi's reasons for his non-attendance.

Should the matter not be resolved tonight, it would be brought before a meeting of the full national peace committee next Tuesday.

Companies in bid to head off stayaway

SEVERAL prominent companies are set to begin local-level talks with trade unions on ways of implementing the charter and programme which Saccola and Cosatu deadlocked over on Wednesday.

The talks will include attempts to head off the threatened work stayaway.

Both Cosatu and Saccola yesterday reaffirmed their support for the principles contained in the accord. Agreement could not be reached because of differences over the proposed joint action on August 3.

Saccola chairman Bokkie Botha told a news conference yesterday there had been substantial agreement on the draft charter, but the rift had become too wide when Cosatu insisted on a national 24-hour shutdown including the public service.

He said some businesses supported the shutdown while others, including some concerned about essential services, did not. Saccola had been willing to call for a "no work, no pay, no discipline" approach by businesses which did not support the shutdown.

But Saccola did not believe strikes would help to bring political parties back to negotiations.

Vice-chairman Johann Liebenberg said employers would continue to support and promote the principles laid down in the charter and would continue trying to minimise damage to the economy.

Therefore individual company management would be communicating with their employees to see if it was possible to reach arrangements at local level in line with those discussed between Cosatu and Sac-

ALAN FINE and
ADRIAN HADLAND

cola. This could include the 24-hour shutdown which some companies favoured.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said Cosatu's central executive had decided on a programme of national action for the week starting August 3, and that such action should be uniform.

However, he accepted there would be local discussions between unions and management and Cosatu could not pre-empt these. "The real issue is whether employers will stand up and back the principles contained in the charter. If they do we will welcome it," he said.

Earlier Naidoo told a separate news conference the accord contained important goals that "needed to be picked up some time in the future". He said Cosatu leaders had spent "enormous energy" in trying to sell the accord to their members.

Naidoo said some Cabinet members had discouraged businessmen from signing the charter and he accused the reticent Saccola constituents of acting on a purely party political basis.

He said Cosatu would respond to mass dismissals during the planned stayaway by staging another general strike. He was supported in this by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The draft charter contains proposals on curbing violence, combating poverty through a variety of programmes, conflict intervention and the political transition.

Business Day canvassed a number of

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Stayaway

companies on their intentions regarding implementing the charter and averting the planned two-day stayaway.

Anglo American spokesman Michael Spicer said the corporation, its operating divisions and subsidiaries would be exploring at local level arrangements which sought to implement the broad areas of agreement in the charter which Anglo saw as an "affirmation of common values in a non-partisan way".

He said the process would operate at local level as did arrangements on the day of the Boipatong funeral. On that day meetings and rallies took place at times that did not disrupt production.

Spokesmen for Shell and SAB's beer division said they had favoured the 24-hour shutdown. However, SAB's Adrian Botha said the company would not seek to implement such a plan now as this might put employees in a difficult position if other members of their communities stayed away from work on additional days.

Pick 'n Pay industrial relations GM Frans van der Walt said management was discussing the issues and would meet shop stewards early next week.

Barlow Rand spokesman Ken Ironside said each of the group's subsidiaries would take its own decision after talks.

Volkswagen's Johan Breytenbach said management would hold talks with shop stewards next week on policies to adopt.

Most of these companies said that in the

□ From Page 1

event of a stayaway they would adopt a "no work, no pay, no penalty" policy.

Saccol director Raymond Parsons said the organisation would be sending guidelines to members within days on how to deal with the stayaway.

In London, ANC leader Nelson Mandela hailed the announcement of a general strike as a victory which isolated the regime even further, reports Sapa-Reuter.

"We have achieved a lot by mass action because negotiations have not fallen out of the skies. They are a result of formidable pressure by the masses of the people in the country and the international community," Mandela said on his way back from Iran.

ANC-organised mass marches in Johannesburg and Pretoria will go ahead tomorrow in line with the four principles outlined by the international panelists of the Goldstone commission after permission was granted for the marches.

The ANC's Ronnie Mamoepa said in a statement that a liaison structure was set up with police in Johannesburg yesterday to ensure the march was peaceful. Similar arrangements would be made in Pretoria today for the march on the Union building tomorrow.

Mamoepa said more than 300 people had been arrested in the PWV area for taking part in mass action this week.

● Picture: Page 3
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B/Day

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B / Day

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Police announce urgent steps to improve investigations

CAPE TOWN — The SA Police, reeling after sharp criticism by British experts of its response to the Boipatong massacre, has announced urgent steps it will take to improve its investigations.

Police commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said last night urgent attention was being given to a police board investigation into training, efficiency, command and control as well as relations between police and the community.

The report, conducted by University of Reading criminologist P A J Waddington and two senior British police officers, found the police response to the massacre "woefully inadequate and incompetent".

TIM COHEN and
Political Staff

The ANC has claimed the report is a "damning indictment" of the quality of policing in SA, demonstrating the need for joint control of the security forces. However, the ANC was also slated in the report for frustrating the investigation.

Van der Merwe conceded the report was valuable, saying steps to improve police investigations included:

- Ensuring that murder scenes would be properly guarded;
- Upgrading operational rooms and providing them with computers and other sophisticated equipment;

□ An investigation of international systems of documenting and classifying crime information;

□ Having an experienced member of the force co-ordinate the handling of documents where an investigation required this;

□ An investigation into efficient use of manpower; and;

□ Increasing the numerical strength of the internal stability unit.

But Van der Merwe also said there were aspects of the report he did not agree with. He believed Waddington's team had not taken all the facts and local circumstances into consideration.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday government took the criticisms contained in the report "very seriously", and had instructed the police to view it in this light.

But he said the report noted that the police had not been forewarned or involved in the attack.

"The finding that the SAP was not involved in the massacre will now hopefully lead to the halting of the campaign against the SAP and a change in the estimate of suspicion against the security forces in general," he said.

The ANC said the report "underlines a

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Police

□ From Page 1

wide range of systematic faults in policing operations and attitudes".

In the light of the report, the ANC believed more strongly that there was an urgent need to place the police under interim multiparty control and to begin the reorganisation of the police force.

It said multiparty control and independent monitoring of the SAP would build greater community confidence in the police. All police structures and practices should also be reviewed.

The report censured both the ANC and the Press for their destructive roles in the investigation.

The ANC and its allies were slated for

having "orchestrated a campaign of non-cooperation". It said the Press should be censured for what seemed to have been "mischievously inaccurate reporting of 'gossip, tittle-tattle and unsubstantiated rumour'".

The report said police omissions arose not from deliberation, but incompetence.

It said the SAP failed the people of Boipatong because:

- There was inadequate command and control of officers patrolling and responding to incidents in the township;
- A lack of effective intelligence and contingency planning; and
- Unstructured investigative procedures.

The Star 24/7/92

Massacre report damning – ANC

Staff Reporters and
Own Correspondent

The SA Police have strongly emphasised the Waddington Report's findings that police were not involved in the Boipatong massacre, but the ANC said the report was a "damning indictment" of policing standards.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel last night said the Government was studying the document closely but hoped the finding that there was no evidence of police complicity in the massacre would end ANC efforts to convince residents not to co-operate with police.

The ANC said the report, released to the Goldstone Commission yesterday, underlined a wide range of systematic faults in policing operations and attitudes.

It not only underlined the

disastrous effect of apartheid on police-community relations, but also the lack of SAP concern, initiative and effort devoted to improving them.

Meanwhile, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe has announced that the number of specially trained men in unrest areas is to be boosted.

He said police had studied the report, and he conceded that some of the criticism was valid.

Earlier yesterday, Mr Kriel said he had ordered his generals to give him recommendations within seven days on problems identified in the report.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was "alarming" that international experts viewed the SAP as inadequately organised.

● SAP in dock — Page 13

The Star 24/7/92

Concern over plight of returned exiles in PWV

By Montshiwa Moroke

Joblessness and homelessness have become the scourge of thousands of returned exiles in the PWV area, and political violence and uncertainty have added to their predicament.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), National Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation (NCCR) and the ANC yesterday expressed grave concern about the situation.

Those who had experienced serious problems in finding jobs included highly skilled and qualified people.

Twelve pilots who had qualified in Ethiopia had found it hard to penetrate what was traditionally a white monopoly sector. Some had been told to

start training from scratch despite having flown recognised hours internationally.

Previously, people who had trained in Eastern bloc countries had experienced problems getting their certificates recognised in South Africa.

NCCR information officer Mbulelo Musi said the hardest hit were the unskilled and the semi-skilled, who were the majority of those returning.

The Government had not played its part by contributing towards the integration of returned exiles, except by providing three reception centres countrywide.

Spokesmen for the UNHCR, NCCR and the ANC said another factor which made life unbearable for returnees was alleged police raids, harass-

ment, arrests, detention and interrogation of former exiles.

Mr Musi said there had been a displacement of many returnees in the Vaal Triangle, the hardest-hit area. They were not able to live with their families and had now become "internal refugees".

At least 13 returnees had died since February, most of them in the Vaal area. One returned exile had disappeared.

Mr Musi said the Government wanted to take back the Sebokeng reception centre, in spite of the acute housing problem and unemployment.

The head of the ANC repatriation committee, Jackie Selebi, said major employer institutions had demonstrated a great deal of apathy towards the welfare of returning exiles.

The Star 24/7/92

ANC pair acquitted of possessing Makarov pistol

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Eastern Transvaal ANC regional secretary Joe Nkuna and regional organiser Veli Sekgobela were acquitted in the Neispruit Magistrate's Court yesterday on a charge of being in possession of a Makarov pistol.

The State failed to prove that the two men were the only people who used an ANC car in which the pistol was found in January.

It was proved that the pistol was found in the car when Mr Nkuna took it for a service at a garage but, because the car was registered by the ANC, it was impossible for the State to link

the weapon to the two men, the prosecutor told The Star.

After the gun was found, Mr Nkuna allegedly telephoned the garage and threatened to call a boycott of the service station, shoot the manager and blow up the garage. The conversation was allegedly taped.

The prosecutor said it was impossible to prove the caller was Mr Nkuna.

● Four ANC members were arrested as they tried to occupy the court as part of the ANC's mass action campaign.

The ANC has condemned the arrests, and police said the four will appear in court on August 13 on charges of trespassing.

The Star 24/7/92

Assassination plot against Hani feared

By Drouwya Wilkinson

The South African Communist Party said today a suspicious-looking armed man had followed SACP secretary-general Chris Hani in central Johannesburg.

The organisation believed this could have led to an assassination attempt.

The SACP said it would call a press conference in Johannesburg later today to disclose details.

SACP Border regional secretary Fkenjna Horji told The Star he and Mr Hani had gone for a short walk outside the party offices in Claim Street at about 9.30 am "to discuss political issues in the open air".

"We came out of the building, turned left and walked about 100 metres, talking all the while. We then turned back again, still deep in conversation."

Mr Horji said a woman came out of a hairdressing salon and

said she had to warn Mr Hani his life was in danger.

"She told us a man had just walked into the salon, taken out a gun and made it ready for action before just walking out again," Mr Horji said.

The woman pointed out the man, who was matching the pair's paces on the other side of the street.

"As soon as he saw we had seen him, he became very nervous and started walking faster," Mr Horji said.

The man walked further down the road to a metallic green Toyota Cressida.

"In the front of the car were two hefty white men, wearing dark glasses," Mr Horji said.

The suspected gunman got into the back seat and the car raced off, leaving the nervous SACP men to return to the office.

"About 45 minutes later, I went back to the street and the same car was still cruising around," Mr Horji said.

The Star 22/7/92

Sit-ins and demos: 500 arrested

By Thabo Leshilo,
Glen Elsas
and Mckeed Kotlolo

At least 500 people were arrested yesterday for illegal sit-ins and demonstrations on the second day of the ANC alliance's mass action campaign.

This follows the arrest of more than 200 people in the Transvaal on Monday, when several Government-owned buildings were occupied.

Yesterday, about 450 demonstrators were arrested at the Hillbrow Hospital.

More than 50 people were arrested for trespassing after occupying the Carletonville Magistrate's Court and police station and the Mamelodi police station.

Court hours were extended in some instances so that many of the detainees could be released

on warning.

About 2 400 Post and Telecommunication Workers' Association members joined the campaign by starting a strike yesterday at North Rand branches of Telkom.

The ANC yesterday denied that its "peace and democracy" campaign was a failure because few people had turned up to occupy Government buildings.

The Star

24/7/92

ANC, PAC want world finger in SA pie

Representations for continued international involvement in South Africa were made to UN special envoy Cyrus Vance yesterday by the ANC and PAC.

Mr Vance separately met top delegations of the ANC, PAC, Inkatha and Azapo in Johannesburg to gain insight — in terms of United Nations Security Council Resolution 765 — into political violence and the stalled democracy talks.

Mr Vance's mandate is to

draw up a set of recommendations to the UN on how to end violence and jump-start constitutional negotiations.

Yesterday's talks were described as positive by the various parties.

At a press conference after its 2½ hour session, ANC international affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki was cagey on the ANC's exact representations to Mr Vance.

However, he revealed that

the ANC's detailed proposals were in the "context of looking at the best and most effective ways by which the security Council could intervene to help us address these various questions".

At an earlier press conference, PAC leader Clance Makwetu said his organisation had proposed an international commission to investigate and monitor the political situation in South Africa. — Sapa.

The Star

24/7/92

Bitterness, anger in photo of Mandela

Your front page report (The Star, July 10) I am sure must have woken up a great many numb-brained whites with a nasty jolt. One did not have to read the story: the close-up photograph of Nelson Mandela (left) said it all.

All the bitterness, the anger, the lust for power and domination, the thirst for vengeance and destruction of the small but powerful white nation that has by its hard work, striving, resourcefulness, ingenuity and vision, made South Africa the strongest and richest country on the African continent. All this and much more literally screams from this picture.

This is the face of the man who failed to take control of South Africa by force during the "armed struggle", this is the face of the man who now seeks to usurp power by attempting to paralyse the economy, this is the man who is what he is and where he is by courtesy of what is apparently a terminally ill NP Government.

This is the man who seeks to convince white South Africans to give up what they have, to hand over what they have worked and fought for, to sacri-

fice their Western values and standards in favour of what he has to offer or what is more to the point, what he does not have to offer.

What does our friend Nelson really have to offer should he ever "lead" the ANC to power?

Here The Star has been kind enough to answer the question by means of the very graphic picture. I reiterate that this photograph speaks volumes and must surely go down as one of the greatest historical records of this century. I wonder if the photographer will be remembered for this truly remarkably well-captured shot.

A Robertson

Leondale

□ □ □

What a truly magnificent picture your photographer, Stephen Davimes, took of Nelson Mandela.

It epitomises exactly what Mr Mandela and his ANC/SACP alliance stand for and is a factual expression which should be cherished and published worldwide.

J G A Coutts

Bromhof,
Randburg

The Star 24/7/92

Bush fears for civil war in SA

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Bush has written to President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, asking them how the US might help to get negotiations restarted, amid growing concern in Washington that the impasse could lead to civil war.

The Bush administration has offered to assist the work of the Goldstone Commission, although it has not specified what form this might take. There is speculation that US observers acceptable to the commission

and to the parties in Codesa might be made available.

The seriousness with which the US regards the breakdown of talks and the danger of an increase in violence were expressed yesterday by the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, speaking to Congress on the situation in SA, where he bluntly warned of the danger of civil war.

This was echoed by a senior member of the House of Representatives Africa sub-committee, Howard Wolpe of Michigan, who said there was renewed interest in Congress for the reintroduction of sanctions as a

means of pressing the Government to act more effectively against political violence.

Mr Cohen warned: "The negotiating process, which so far has made tremendous progress, is now at risk. Yet the key parties continue to profess their commitment to negotiations and seem to be looking for ways back to the table."

The SA Government had to address allegations of complicity in the violence by security forces and said the US was concerned by the Goldstone Commission's report that the Government had failed to implement recommendations

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24/7/92



Gareth Evans ... not enthusiastic about changing policy in midstream.

Australia won't step up sanctions

CANBERRA — The Australian government will not consider increasing existing sanctions to step up pressure on South African, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said yesterday.

He told a group of visiting South African journalists that his government was committed to the phased lifting of sanctions as agreed to by the Commonwealth heads of government meeting last year.

"We are not enthusiastic about changing midstream to up sanctions," he said.

Trade and financial sanctions would be lifted as soon as agreement was reached on a transitional government.

The "tragedy" was that the deadlock in negotiations could have been avoided if the Government had made its concessions on transitional government at Codesa 2. "You have to drag the Government every inch of the way," Mr Evans said. — Political Reporter.