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oS-SR -

THE CITIZEN

Cohen optimistic
after SA talks

US Assistant Secretary
of State, Mr Herman
Cohen last night said
he was optimistic as all
the parties he had con-
sulted during his South
African visit â\200\224 except
the Pan Africanist
Congress â\200\224favoured
an early return to ne-
gotiations.

He was however dceply
concerned about the
ecopomic sitmation in
South Africa which had
gone from stagnation to a
downward spiral.

Speaking at Jan Smuts
Airport prior to his de-
parture, Mr Cohen said a
concerted effort to ad-
dress and lcverse the
downward Â£CONOmMIC

trend could not start untl
there was an internal pol-
itical settlement in South
Africa.

â\200\234That is why I feel a
rapid retum to ncgotia-
uons is extremely unport-
ant.â\200\231

Mr Cohen said African
National Congress presi-
dent Nelson Mandela had
a â\200\230â\200\230return lo negonations
scepario very clearly in
mindâ\200\235, but wanted the
question of violence ad-
dressed first.

Although the violence
was of great concern and
should be addressed, Mr

Cohen said he felt the violence question should not hold negotiations hostage.

We therefore call upon all parties to lend

greater support to the national peace accords so that they can be implemented effectively.

In addition all parties should work to instil political tolerance of opposition groups and to refrain from the establishment of exclusive zones that were maintained by force and intimidation.

He said the US would support an enhanced international presence in as far as this would be helpful.

Mr Cohen did not think there was a direct role for US measures in South Africa.

We can support an international presence which we are doing now."

The US would debate

the recommendations of United Nations envoy Mr Cyrus Vance, he added.

If an international presence will be useful,

.we will support that.

The US could be helpful in bringing parties together on the violence question, Mr Cohen said.

We want to continue our work that has been going on for the last year to persuade all parties that a liberal free market economic system in South Africa is the best solution for a post-apartheid society.

For Codesa's unfinished business, a more efficient less unwieldy mechanism is sought, said Mr Cohep. Sapa.

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OSSR H

VWednesday_S August 1992

. Disruptio

33 000

DISRUPTIVE mass action was the reason pensions were not paid to 33 000 people in the PWV area this week, the Transvaal Provincial Administration said yesterday.

Payments scheduled to have been made on Monday in Soweto, would now be made on August 17; those due yesterday would be paid on August 18, payments scheduled for today were now due on August 19, and so on.

â\200\234The pensions normally paid out during the week of August 10 to 14, will be paid as usual.â\200\235

In Benoni on the East Rand, Pensioners in Johannesburg and on the smallholdings who missed pay-

ment (del)â\200\224;e;am

pensions: TPA

ment this week, would be paid on August 10, and KwaThema pensioners would receive their pensions between August 11 and 14,

â\200\234Pensions normally Paid out during the week of August 10 to 14, will now be paid during the week of August 17 to 25"

Delmag pensioners would be paid on August 10 and 11, those in Bot-

leng on August 12 and 13,
and those i Baifour on
August 14,

Pensions due between
August 10 to 14 would
now be paid the following
week.

Concemmg those
townships around Ger.
miston, the TPA said that
on August 10, pensions
would be paid in Tembisa

and Tokoza,

On Augugt 11 payouts
would be made in Tembi-
sa, Toko2a and Katle-
hoeg, and on August 12,
13and 14, in Tembisa and
Kadchong.

â\200\234Pensiong normally
paid oyt during the week
of August 10 o 14, wiil
00w be paid during the
week of August 17 o 2128

Randfontein would see
Payouts being made in
Kagiso ang Mohlakeng
on August 10, 11 ang 12.
Pensions wouyld also be
Paid in Kagiso oq August
13.

Payments in Jachtfon-
tein and Mohlakeng
Would be made on August
10, and Bekkersdal pen-
sioners woulqd receive
their money on August 13
and 14, â\200\224 Sapa.

15:02 VOS=IFF 444

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SACC wants â\200\230vigorousâ\200\231
probe into violence

THE SA Council of
Churches yesterday called
for a â\200\234vigorous investiga-
tionâ\200\235 of violent incidents
which occurred during the
two days of mass action
throughout the country,

It said in a statement ag
investigation would clar-
ify how much violence
was a direct result of the
mass action, how much
was criminal and how
much was as a result of at-
tacks on people who had
peacefully taken part in
the action.

â\200\234The investigation
should be conducted as
soon as possible by a
group that we would re-
commend and wclude the
United Nations monitors
and representanves of the
Natonal Peace Accord,
Goldstone Commission
and all major political
parues,â\200\235 the SACC said.

It also expressed rehref
that violence dunng the
mass action campaign hac
not reached the propor-
tions some had predicted.
and at the same time re-

munded South Africans,
â\200\234as this week of mass pro-
tests continuesâ\200\235, of the
Code of Conduct for
Mass Protests which
church leaders had issued
last week.

The code asked that
people respect the right of
persons to cither partici-
pate w the stayaway or go
to work.

â\200\234Accordingly, we were
Yery sorry to bear reports
of people who wanted to
g0 to work being prevent-
ed from doing so. We also

â\200\230were distressed at Ciskei
T â\200\224â\200\224

leader Brigadier Oupa
Gqozoâ\200\231s deciared vow not
to allow a march on the
capital, Bisho to go for-
ward.

â\200\234His confrontational
stance violates peopleâ\200\231s
right to peaceful protest,â\200\235
the SACC said.

â\200\234There is violence in
South Africa at times and
for reasons not connected
to mass action, therefore
We warn against the temp-
tation of some to declare
all violence during this
week as being due to mass
action.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa,

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- Mass action won't hit
food aid, says Spoornet

Citizen Reportes

THE countrywide mass
action is not likely to af-
fect shipments of food aid
maize being railed to
neighbouring countnes
and officials at the Grain
Operations Control
Centre (GOCC) in Jo-

hannesburg are confident
that the mullionth ton of
maize should be delivered
in about a month's fime.

Spoornetâ\200\231s GOCC co-
ordinator, Mr Andrew
Willson, said yesterday
absenteeism was of no
real significance and even
if Black harbour workers
should stay away, contin-
gency plans that had been
made would cnsure that
the massive humanitarian
project is not slowed
down.

â\200\234We have 28 ships,
with a total maize load of
924 000 tons, en route to
South Afncan harbours
right

now,â\200\235â\200\235 PortnÃ@tâ\200\231s
assistant manager at the
GOCC in Spoornetâ\200\231s
Braamfontein headquar-
ters, Mr Manus Lode-
wyks, said.

He pointed out that
cight ships were presently
discharging cargoes in
Durban harbour and an-
other seven were being
offloaded in East Lon-
don, Port Elizabeth and
Cape Town harbours.

He said to date 77 ves-
sels had off-loaded with a
total of almost 2,2 million
tons of assorted bulk im-
ports which included
wheat, barley, soya, sorg-
hum and seeds.

Harbours in Mozambi-
que were unable to off

load rapidly enough,
which meant that several
vessels had been rerouted
to South African har-
bours.

â\200\234We were able to cope
and only recently did a
ship have to wait before it
could be attended to,â\200\235 he
said.

Mr Willson said the en-
tire transportation project
has been gaining momen-
tum and much of the in-
itial problems had been
sorted out.

â\200\234Turnaround times for
maize trucks have been
more than halved to
about 10 days and a maize
train from Durban now
reaches Beit Bridge in
two days. A train from
Cape Town reaches Lusa-
ka within six days.

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ANC slams
adverts

THE ANC yesterday ac-
cused the government of
a "massive disinformation
campaign at taxpayersâ\200\231
â\202-Xpenseâ\200\235 prior to this
weekâ\200\231s mass action.

The ANC's Depar-
tment of Information and
Publicity said in 2 state-
ment in Johannesburg the
run-up to the week of ac-
tion had once again em-
phasised the urgent need
for an interim govern-
ment.

â\200\234We take strong excep-
tion to the series of ad-
vertisements against the
national strike placed in
the print media by the
government,â\200\235 it said.
Sapa.

15: 060 VOS-IFP 444 3198

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New Police Board lacks
authority â\200\224 delegates

THE newly established
Police Board was ineffec-
tive because it lacked real
authonty, according to
most delegates at a crime
conference at the Human
Sciences Research Couns
cil in Pretoria yesterday.

Police, on the other
hand, felt they were 10 a
process of changing past
errols,

Most speakers at the
conference, attended Dby
the police, Department of
Corrcctional Services,

political parties and aca-
demics, felt it was difficult
to change a 40-vear police
culture of being above the
law.

Exccutive director of
the South Afncan Insti-
tute of Race Relations,
Mr John Kane-Berman,
said the poiice were un-
prepared for the era of
change announced by
State President De Klerk
ln 1990,

He said the pohce
would have to be re-
trained not to see Black

people as the enemy of
the state.

The police said lt was
difficult to gain the confi-
dence of the man in the
street because, although
they were doing their best
to cope with cnme, fear
and intimidation were th-
warting their efforts.

American cnminologist
Professor Norval Morris
said there was no doubt
people in the top struc-
ture of the police were se-
fous about their purpose,
but they too were strug-
gling with a 40-year police
culture

He said the police must
change from being reac-
tive, to community pro-
tective, before matters
could improve. Sapa.

1S: 010

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CP will avoid split
â\200\224 confident Dr T

By Fred de Lange,
Brian Stuart and Sapa

THE leader of the
Conservative Party, Dr
Andries Treurnicht,
yesterday expressed
confidence that a split
in the party could be
averted despite rank-
and-file demands that
the party get rid of the
MP for Potchefstroom,
Mr Andries Beyers,
and a number of other
MPs supporting him.

Dr Treurnicht said in
an interview with The
Citizen yesterday thar
there was no question of
any plans by the CP lecad-
ership to kick Mr Beyers
out of the party tomor-
row,

Differences of opinion
among members of a pol-
itical parry was normal,

and the CP leadership
and Mr Beyens' group
would be able to work out
their differences.

â\200\234We are not happy
with what Mr Beyers had

said at Lekkerrus on
Sarurday but despite this
the CP leadership and Mr
Beyers' group mostly

basic
Treur-

agree on all the
pnnciples,â\200\235 Dr
mcht said.

Both groups agreed
that the Afrikaner nation

had an ideatity which was different from that of other nadons in South Afnica, that the Afnka-ner, with other Whites in South Africa, had the right to its own land, own government and international recognition of its self-determination.

There was also agreement that the sovereignty of Whites in an own fatherland was not negotiable and that Whites would have to accept a smaller piece of land as an own fatherland.

Final borders would have to be negotiated with all the leaders of other nations which would lead to the identification of the different states, solving the question of citizenship and creating a government in a confederaton or commonwealth of states.

Dr Treumicht said the only major difference between the CP leadership and Mr Beyers' group, was the size of such a

Whitc homeland.

This difference could, however, be solved by the investigation currently ongoing within the CP on the exact form such a homeland should take.

Mr Beyers yesterday said he had great appreciation for the conciliatory role Dr Treurnicht was playing.

â\200\234I have a lot of respect for Dr Treurnicht and for the role he is playing, but there is a considcrable gap between us and the CP leadership,â\200\235 he said.

With support for Mr Beyers growing and more and more CP MPs admitting that they agree with his views, there is a feeling among the CP's head office personnel and other MPs that Mr Beyers and his group should be

kicked out of the party.

The office manager of the CP's head office, Mr Dries Kenlder, wrote a letter to Mr Beyers in which he accused him of misleading the voters and those who had helped him win the Potchefstroom by-election.

â\200\234You won your parliamentary seat under the

flag of the CP and with the CP paying the bill (R108 000). Now you are turning your back on the party (steek die party in die rug). This, after you were sequestered and the CP picked you up from the mud,â\200\235 Mr Keulder said.

The executive committee of the CP constituency organisation in Potchefstroom has dissociated itself from the speech and actions of Mr Beyers.

Constituency chairman, Mr J GJ Botha, said the executive committee had noted with â\200\234disappointmentâ\200\235 the statements and actions of Mr Beyers. and called on him â\200\234to abide by party discipline and to refrain from airing his opinion in publicâ\200\235,

The CPâ\200\231s national executive is due this week to study a text of the speech Mr Beyers made last Saturday, and to decide on any possible action

A third member of the Conservative Party caucus has added his support to Mr Beyers.

Standerton MP Rosier de Ville said yesterday he fully supported Mr Beyersâ\200\231 views on the need for negotiations, a smaller â\200\234volkstaatâ\204¢ and a possible alliance with former political opponents.

The other two caucus members supporting Mr Beyers are Free State CP

leader Cehill Pienaar, and
Bethal MP Chns de
Jager.

Meanwhile, the CP
youth branch at the Uni-
versity of Pretoria has
reaffirmed its support for
Dr Treurmcht,

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

No victory

THE two-day general strike is no triumph for the ANC.

There was intimidation and violence, and the cost was R250-million in lost production.

But it did not prove anything and it did not cause the government to capitulate to the ANC's demands.

According to the South African Chamber of Business, 2 million stayed away on Day One, with 5 percent more workers going to their jobs on Day Two.

The ANC claims 4 million did not go to work.

Even if the ANC exaggerated the number of strikers, we accept that there was a very large stayaway. .

It is wrong for the ANC to claim that the 'overwhelming' response is a 'clear demonstration of the ardent desire for democracy and peace'.

Many township dwellers stayed away because they were just too scared to leave home.

That is because past strikes have been accompanied by rank intimidation and violence against those who went to work.

This time there was even more intimidation. For example, a front page picture in The Citizen yesterday showed strike supporters armed with home-made weapons.

This despite a ban on weapons in 20 unrest areas. : :

Why run around with weapons except to intimidate people who wanted to go to work? Furthermore, it is not possible to judge the effectiveness of the strike by the number of people staying away from work, since many had made prior arrangements with their employers to take leave or to make up for lost

time through additional shifts. L

Disruptions of transport also made it impossible for people to get to work and contributed to the large stayaway.

In any event, experts have stressed that the fact so many Blacks absented themselves from work is not necessarily a show of voter support for the ANC and its allies. :

As one expert put it: 'The percentage of

people who stayed home doesn't tell us if they support the cause, if they are happy about staying home, or if they would vote ANC in an election.

.

Another said: One never know, : Lowhat extent it (staying away from work) is voluntary many people think it is just not worth it to risk going to work, in case they get beaten up or worse.

Mr Jay Naidoo, the secretary-general of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, shrugged off claims of intimidation, saying that many incidents could be laid at the door of agents provocateurs as well as acts of intimidation by the security forces.

We rather agree with Minister of Law and Order., Mr Hemus Knel, who said that intimidation was rampant in many areas.

In addition, countless barricades, obstacles, incidents of stone throwing and illegal marches were reported.

He added: Bus and transport networks were disrupted, commuters were assaulted, journalists were attacked, and many people were sjambokked into participating in certain rallies and other actions.

What is particularly upsetting is the violence, which led to the death of more than 40 people.

The strike is not the end of mass action: more protests, including occupation of city centres and business districts across the country to move the campaign to centres of White power, are to be held.

This is dangerous, but we will not get the ANC to give up mass action.

However, reasonable men will hold it responsible if the death toll mounts, since there is no reason to stage mass action in such a dangerous period.

We do not under-estimate the serious losses suffered because of the strike, but it is not a weapon that is going to panic businessmen or the government.

Indeed. the strike was counter-productive since there is a growing feeling among Blacks that the ANC is placing its own interests above those of the workers, many of whom lost two days' pay.

The only hope is for a speedy return to the negotiating table.

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Gunmen shoot at car/
carrying ANC leadef

DURBAN. â\200\224 pierer. spokesman Captain Hen- Earlier 3 Pietcrmarit;. maritzburg police have ry Budhram said he had burg Teporter said Ay confirmed that gunmen been informed of the inci- Gwala Managed to escape opened fite in the vicinity den;. but details were still injury after hijs â\202¬ar was of a car â\202¬AITVing African sketchy. shot at during 3 march jp National Congress Mid- Mr Gwala had, howev. Edendaie, Pietermarirg- lands leader Mr Harry I, survived the attack burg.

Gwala in Edendale ycs'- and there were po im- The mareh followed , terday afternoon mediate reports of nju- rally g aearby Wudley chxerman'tzburg police pes, Stadjum. â\200\224 Sapu

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2 policemen injured

in Daveyton violence

Citizen Raporter

TWO policemen were injured. and a man was wounded during ongoing incidents of violence in

Daveyton. Benoni, on Monday night.

A petrol bomb attack on the house of a townD councilior failed.

According to police the recent outbreak of violence in the township 18 apparently linked to the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) and the current mass action by the ANC/Cosatu/'SACP alliance.

On Monday night. about 9.30, a man hurled a brick through the front window of a police vehicle after three Black men told members of the Benoni Crime Information Unit (CIU) to pull their vehicle off the road.

Two of the policemen sustained cuts in their faces and on their hands by broken glass.

The suspects fled the scene.

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Alleged Spy 4 held .,

PTETEKNLARITZB URG: <. Four alleged me
township selfsdefence units were arrested by Pieter.
manâ\200\230!zburg police yesterday ip connection wip Seven
Mmurders,

Several SA Pojice and Defence Force uniforms Were
confiscated

The murders took place OVer 3 two.yegr period in
â\202¬ Vailey, Inchanga apng Mpophomen; Among

the vietdms were three policemen . . Sapa,

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14:

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N C/r\}'?.rs LG N2
â\200\230Inadequateâ\200\231 ban on
dangerous weaponsâ\200\231

THE Afncan Nartional
Congress yesterday ex-
pressed concern at the
government's â\200\234â\200\230continued
lack of will"" to introduce
a total ban on the carrving
of dangerous weapons in
public

The ANC said mn a
statement the announce-
ment that the carrying of
dangerous weapons was
lo be prohibited only in
unrest areas, was â\200\234totally
inadequateâ\200\231.

â\200\234This is not a preventa-
tive measure. Action is
only deemed necessary
once violence and lalling

has reached an unaccept-
able level. In our view,

one death is unaccept-
able, and pro-active
measlres are imperative,

â\200\234Conditions for the
spread of wviolence are
also created, because as
soon as a ban on the
carrving of weapons is in-
troduced the instigators
of the violence simply
move to another area
where no such ban ex-
ists.â\200\235 the ANC said.

It said it was a well-
known fact that Inkhata
Freedom Party (IFP)
members had been bused
from one area to another
â\200\234bnnnging their weapons
of death and maybem

along with them". The latest steps taken by the government were likely to strengthen this pattern.

â\200\234The very obvious answer to the serious problem of the continuing

killing of people with assegars, pangas, spears and other weapons is to ban all such weapons in public. Despite the numerous calls of the ANC and other human rights organisations for such a ban President De Klerk continues to play political games with the lives of our people.â\200\235

In consultation with Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, an interim agreement had been reached between the SA Police, the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP on the conduct of public demonstrations. Paragraph three of the agreement stated participants in demonstrations should not be in possession of dangerous Weapons.

Mr Justice Goldstone had expressed his regret that the IFP did not agree to the terms of paragraph three and had emphasised his commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Unlawful and Unjustified Intimidation could not accept the necessity to carry dangerous weapons during demonstrations, the ANC said. â\200\224 Sapa.

14:57

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WMO Cilimgrn S-S -o12

Suspects held after .

taxi robbery

Citizen Reporter

TWO alleged ANC supporters were arrested in Soweto after attempting to rob a minibus taxi and intimidating its driver to join the strike by the ANC/Cosan/SACP ajli. ance on Monday night.

Soweto police ligison officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn, said the taxi was travelling from Jabulani to the Merafi Railway Station when the driver and his assistant stopped to pick up six passengers,

One of the male passengers produced a firearm and demanded to know why the driver was operating his taxi and not joining the strike.

Two of the male passengers then pushed the remaining male and two women passengers out of the vehicle and, during the rest of the journey, continued to argue with the driver and his assistant.

They also threatened to take the minibus from the driver,

The driver eventually stopped the taxi near the Merafi Hostel, and the argument with the three suspects continued,

Some Merafi residents joined in the argument under the pretext of helping the three suspects. and hostel residents joined to assist the taxi driver and his assistant who also

attempted to

Live in the hostel],

During this one of the
Suspects broke a leg when
the minibus was pushed
over and landed on top of
his leg. One of the other
two suspects sustained
slight head injuries.

Shortly after this the
police arrived on the
scene, the crowd dispersed
and ran away,

The two injured sus-
pects were apprehended
and were admitted to hos-
pital. The third suspect
managed to escape.

Col Halgryn said the
suspects face charges of
attempted murder, at-
tempted robbery, intimid-
ation and damage to
property

By Sapa and Kevin
Flynn

THE African National
Congress-inspired
mass action in Kru-
gersdorp ended peace-
fully yesterday after-
noon in spite of threats
from hard-line Afrika-
ner Westrandshoof-
ing members that they
would disrupt proceed-
ings.

About 100 members of
the radical Right-wing or-
ganisation barred the
demonstrators at route 10
from the town council build-
ings, but overwhelmed by
the sheer number of mar-
chers, retired to the side-
walk.

The 1000 demon-
strators proceeded to the
Krugersdorp Town Coun-
cil complex, where a
memorandum was pres-
ented to Cabinet Minister
and National Party MP

for the town, Mr Leon
Wessels.

Mr Wessels and two NP
councillors in the Right-
wing Conservative Party-
dominated council ac-
cepted the memorandum
from the marchers.

Mr Wessels also re-
sponded to demands
handed to the govern-
ment by the ANC in the
Black township of Kagi-
S0, outside Krugersdorp,
last month.

The Cabinet Minister
reiterated the govern-
ment's call for a return to
the negotiating table. He
again denied allegations
of government and secur-
ity force complicity in the
violence, and said these
were "unwise, unfair and
dangerous".

Your accusations that

the NP in Krugersdorp
and I are not concerned
about the suffering of
Black South Africans
does not do justice to

actions and public siare-
ments,â\200\235 he added in his
written reply.

Earlter ANC support-
ers pathered al the Jan
Lotz Stadium abou
11.30 am while a large
police contingent -â\200\224 ip.
cluding two Caspirs and
members of the dog unit
â\200\224 and the AWB mem-
bers assembled outside.

Although the osganis-
ers had not applied in
time for permission 10
march, the supporters
marched to the local
police station and the
town council building

â\200\234This march is a pro-
vocative action ... it js il-

Jegal and lthese people
have no right 10 be here
if the police do not stop
them, we will,â\200\235 an AWR
spokesman, Colonel Hen-
iy de Beer, 10ld wice.
chaimman of the PWV re.
gional dispute resolution
commitice, Mr Rupert
Lorimer and leader of the
United Nations monitos-
ing group, Mr Hisham
Omayad of Ghana.

Upon their arnval, Mr
Lonmer and Mr Omayad
were: greeted by other
Right-wingers who
shouted â\200\234get out of our
country, we donâ\200\231t want
you heyeâ\204ç.

Mr Lonmer urged the
Broup to refrain from tak-
ing any action. He said he
and the UN group were
not faking sides and tha
he was merely there 10 ai-
fempt 10 keep peace.

Mr Omayad told them

/hc believed the people of
South Africa should solve
their own problems ang
that ibe United Narion
was stnctly there 10 ob-
serve

When the chanting
ANC supporters emerged
from the stadium, the
group of RÃ@ghmvi\ngexÃ«
was told by the police to

move out of the road.

They retired to the
sidewalk.

Col De Beer said that
he bhad laid a charge with
the police against the pro-
testers for occupying the
stadivm without permis-
ston, but, said police hiai-
son officer, Major Hen-
nictte Bester, the stadiom
was not the AWDB's prop
erty and they could not
lay a charge

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DURBAN. -
workers stayed away in
their thousands again
yesterday with em-
ployers recording an av-
erage stayaway rate of
between 51 percent and
65 percent, and the
ANC and its allies
claiming a success rate
of over 80 percent in the
province.

Police meanwhile said
at least 18 people had
been killed in Natal
since early Monday
morning. They also ce-
ported at least 40 buses
were stoned. while the
Inkatha Freedom Party
listed several incidents
of intimidation,

Police did not link al-
the deaths directly to
the mass action cam-
paign organised by the
ANC/SACP/Cosatu,

SA Police spokesman
Captain Bala Naidoo
said the toll included
killings throughout Na-
tal and KwaZulu. with
the highest toll in Umhla-
ntsi. where at least eight
people had been killed
since 2 am on Monday.

The other deaths oc-
curred in various town-
ships stretching from
Port Shepstone on the
South Coast, to Natal's
far North Coast.. 200/224
Sapa

Mandela will
march on
the centre of
white power

8y Ross Dunn in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICAN Blacks
plan a mass march to the
doorstep of white power
today by converging on Presi-
dent de Klerk's office
After bringing the national
emergency to a halt by calling a
six-hour general strike, Mrs
Velsa Mandela, African
(National) Congress president,
will lead the march by thou-
sands of blacks to Pretoria
(Outside the State Presi-
dency office, the crowd
| expected spontaneously to
install Mrs Mandela as leader
of South Africa
The event is part of the
ANC's action plan of demon-
strations and colour strikes
to push for a quicker transfer
of power to the black
majority
The campaign is being
slowly mounted this week
by Lated Nations chancellors
Black also plan to occupy
city centres and business dis-
| tricts across the country as
they move their campaign
(into what the ANC has
described as the 'centres of
white power')
The actions have raised ten
| thousands of many areas. yester-
day, unidentified attackers
| tried to shoot the ANC's
| Natal Midlands leader, Mr
| Flarey Gwala, during a protest
mass
The protesters were march-
ing to the homes of gangs
accused of killing another
ANC official when police
asked them to disperse. A few
minutes later, a minibus sped
by, and the occupants opened
| fire on Mr Gwala's car. The
windscreen was shattered.
but he escaped injury

Fifteen people have died
in a space of a few days
Natal this week. A further
eight were reported killed
yesterday in the Johannes-
burg area Police said it was
not clear how many deaths
were linked directly to the
mass action campaign.

In the black homeland of
Ciskei, the authorities
clashed with protesters after
shops were set ablaze and
streets blacked with burn-
ing tyres

Trouble reared as the head
of the South African Commu-
nist Party, \r Chris Ham,
attempted to lead a march of
thousands of black protesters
into the homeland, after the
government there banned a
demonstration on Tuesday
and refused to allow a boycott
UN monitors.

The ANC said the second
day of the general strike had
shown an increase in the
number of participants.

Ar Cde Ramaphosa, ANC
general secretary, told jour-
nalists in Johannesburg that
at least four million workers
had stayed away on both days
of the strike. Millions of stu-
dents boycotted classes

\r Ramaphosa said sup-
port for the strike was double
that of the number of voters
who participated in the
white-only referendum o
referendum in March

"We are satisfied that the
level of the support received
for the general strike is a true
reflection of the mood and

temper of the majority of

South Africans," he said
Johannesburg Chamber of

Commerce added that the

level of absenteeism on the
second day was as high as the
first. But it expressed concern
about reports of intimidation
Members felt that threat
and lack of transport had can-
tributed to the success of the

stoppage. However, monitors

TR .

For the chamber admitted
they had no hard evidence of

intimidation'

Mr Ramaphosa said it was regrettable that there had been incidents of stoning of vehicles and building of barricades in Black townships

and unequivocally condemn these actions, and where (pur) members are found to be implicated, the

appropriate disciplinary action will be taken.' He said Mr Ramaphosa said the presence of UN observers at potential flashpoints had been effective in helping to prevent possible violence.

In the Richtersburg area at Krugersdorp, west of Johannesburg, racial incidents were hurled at black marchers by members of the white extreme:

is* Afrikaner Re

Movement (AW 3
confrontation was

head at the UN observers

Hasim Omarov,

the Hearst Feer

NM Omarov later praised
the group
Ay

the ANC for
peace efforts by
blatantly

was shot
dead with an AW E member

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Residents of Ravensmead township march to the district of Cape Town yesterday under police watch

sister
'\lt"lâ\200\230v'
savorde
after the intervention of the

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Mandela to head p

FROM RaY KENNEDY
[N JOHANNESBURG

NELSON Mandela, tae presidem of
the Afocan National Congress, ill
today lead the next phase of the
ANC'S mass actton campaign aster a
twa-day general strnike that has vitu-
ally brought South Afnca to a
standsoll

He will head @ march on e
Urion Buildings i Pretena, where
President e Klerk witi be mee: ng
his Cabinet, to demard a resoons: 6
e ANC'S condiaons for resum ng

Curstnunonal negotauces

Yesterday the ANC daimed lhat
}our mulhon people had stayed away

from work, backed by hundreds of
thousands of students. Pallo Jordan,
the ANCs head of information,
desputed police claims that theusands
of people had stayed home because of
tmurudanon and fear for their lives
No marter how influential the ANC
was, he said, it would be imiossible
to inamidate four million people
Violence throughout the courtry
has claimed more than SO lives s nee
Morday tacugh police have re-
â\200\230rained from linking the deaths
directly to the mass action carpzign
The nignest toii wasâ\200\231 in Na:al
province and the KwaZulu home-
land wheee 18 people were kiiled.
Harry Gwala, (ae hardlre kader of

the ANC it the Natal Midfands,
yesterday escaped unhurt when gun-
men fired on his car in Ed=ndate
township near Pietermarizbu-g

in Alexandra township, north of
Jahannesbarg, a gun battle raged or
several hours during the night. Pol.ce
sad five peepke had been kiblzid fut
residents said up to eight had diec

[Krugersdorp, west of Johann:s-
burg, tae leader of the Uniad
Navons soserver mission aeaded off
a confrenianoa between Â¢the neo-
fascist Afnkaner Resstznce NI&v:-
mer: (AWBl and ANC suppar:ss
who had gatheced at a foothal
stadium for a march on palice
firadquaters, Althouzh the right-

wing town council had refused

pecssion for the march, police said
they would not inteefer with 1.
Some S0 arred AWB members
threatened that if the police refused to
enforce law and order they would,
and said reinforcements were on (ne
way Misham Omayzad, the Ghana-
tan UN observer, shook hands with
Heary de Beer, the tozal AWB chief,
and told him that a marca was =
democratic nght as leag as it was
peacefu:. He aaded that the UN was
in the country stricily o observe and
that the people of South Ainca
should solve thewr ovr prublems
Another member af the UN team
tusted o the Drefon ein gold mine

How diplomat kept the guns of the veld silent

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN 81SHO, CISKE]

that the afiemocn did noterd

in the southwestern Transvaal where
the National Union of Mineorkers
said seven of its members had been
kilted by Inkatha suproners
Business organisa ons stazed s
right that most employers had
managed Â© cushion the impact of
the strike although & fuld impact cn
the economy still had o be evaluaced.
The South African C-amber &7 Busi-
ness esumated the to'al stayaway zt
not more than wo ko workess
with e highest rate of absenicesm.
90 per cent, In tae Johannescurg
ared. South Africaâ\200\231s cdustna. hean
land. and the lowest. 1S per cent, :n
tie Wesiern Cape. i clazmec taer:
Fad beer a degree of nuericzticn

A FIVE-HOUR controntation
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Camn.r.

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Nateied out of King â\200\234w.lllams
Lawr .o the Eastern Cape ar
m.dday, derermined w oun-
front the mulitary oder of
Cisker, Brigadier Qupa
Gqoro, who had vowed that
no ANC demonsirzator would
set et .n his realm.

For hours urder 4 hot sun

Catryiesy el I ae

Cisien ce andsoidierss who
wire Jreparing themiselves o
re e the crowd. The fac:

waders of the demonstratar:

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lle ANCs demands dor conso-
ratanal retorm. Senaor Cam-
[iRa, a Portuguese weteran of
cther controntauors in Na-
ribia.
amed a UN flag and sped
bick and forth beraesn the
ey acedsthesthid-ine ol | Cisie

ArCINg the Sauta
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Angola and Haiu,

aoovernment and lae

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Ggozo: ANC
barred in his domain

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and Bisho, the
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marchers stepped zne szt
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Henilef:, gromding: â\200\234Iosstte
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indung forward and -he line
of police and â\200\234tuops zrudualis
ell back. Now me flood was
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uve, the parliarea: butd ne.

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shuifling pase Â¢ie sports stad:-
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had stored cow after row of
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waders addressed them. The |
memorardum was delwered
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admunistrazion (- Cisker to
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2raon e Souta Africa
Ireday was a model fior che
test ef tac oy

1) INTERNATIONAL

stand-off with
Ciskel police

ALONGSIDJ: o wign that read
â\200\234Bisho welcomes youâ\204¢ stood 120
soldicts and policemen yesterday
afternoon, guns pointed at the
30,000 African Nationad Congress
(ANC) supporicrs marching deti-
antly towards theny Jt was hard 10
judge which of the two contin-
ZCIS was mone apprehicnsive

Fhe narchers were detenmned
to enter Bisho, the tiny capital of
what Pretorta deems (o be the â\200\234in-
dependentâ\200\235 Xhosa homeland of
Ciskel. The soldiers were under
arders (o stop them

The marchers knew that to
press on meant certain death. The
sokdicrs knew that il un opening
volley did ot discourage the mass
of the erowd â\200\224 which enaked buck
foi amule -+ fiom continuing theis
advante, they would be torn to
plcces. i

In aninterview two hours cag-
licy, the Cisker Defence Fowce
chret, Brigadicr Matius Oelshig
had siid that he would not allow
â\200\234these peapleâ\204¢ nto Ciskeian ter-
ntory. â\200\234If they ty, we'll do what
we hâ\200\230s'\-C to do

Naot only does the ANC detest
the quintessentrad apartheid
mechinusm that Ciskel devised
as a duwnping-grouad for blacks =

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represents, fth present
Brigadicr Onpa oÂ« ST
popular as Â¢
final days

Phe bigadicr took power in a
coup two-and-a-hall yeurs ago, he-
tone he Jumsclt was taken oveg by
South African
gence, whose agents
documented
turn against the ANC wud entes
into a political alliance with the
government and the Zulus of the
Inkatha Freedomn Patty Bud,
save for hos soldiers and some epvil
servanis, the brigadier hias po con-
sfituency 10 speak of

Some of the Communists head-
ing yesterday's march had reck

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military intelh-
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convieed tim lo

Tihs

From John Carlin
in Bisho, Ciskei

oncd that here ut fast was the -
surrection they had long dreamt
of - not feasible, they know, in
greater South Africa. But in
Ciskei they thought it might b
Happily, when they got to within
50 yards of the â\200\234Bisha welcomes
you' sign, they halted, The next
four hours saw an intense game of
Ingh-stakes diplomacy,

â\200\234We're not going to be stopped
at the border, because we don't
recognise it," said Chris Hani, the
Communist Party general secre-
tary and the most senior ANC
leader on the march, â\200\234We have or-
ders to shoot if they try it,â\200\235 re-
torted the white Colonel in charge.

But on hand was a member of
the United Nations observer team
monitoring â\200\234mass actionâ\200\235, José
Campa, of Portugal, and his lo-

Activists claim
strike victory

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 The ANC
yesterday claimed a â\200\234resounding
victoryâ\204¢ against white rule after a
two-day general strike by millions
of blacks, but the South African
government said the protest had
fuelled violence b

UN monitors of the unrest ap-
pealed for restraint during mass
occupations of cities planned for
today, saying it was difficult to de-
termine whether any of the 34
killings since the start of the
strike were linked to the protest.

The ANC counted at least 27
people killed in incidents it linked
to its mass action campaign to

oust the government, and police
impounded M known dead since
Monday morning.

cul guide, an enormously tall law-
yer by the name of Antonie Gil-
denhuys, who is chairman of a
(hitherto) massively discredited
national body known as the
Peace Secretariat.

Between them they engaged in
frenetic bouts of shuttle diplo-
macy to prevent what seemed to
be a certain massacre of a muassa-
cre with tightfist consequences
for the broader South African
practise.

Messrs Campino and Gilden-
huys scampered over to see the
Ciskei cabinet and then scam-

- pered back to Mr Ilam at the

front of the marchers, Proposal af-
ter proposal, compromise after
Compromise, was ruined, down
After two nerve-shattering hours
under a burning sun, with the
marchers continually threatening
to break ranks and the soldiers
trigger fingers increasingly
twitchy, Mr Gildenhuys brought
word that the South African For-
eign Minister, Pik Botha, was on
the phone at a nearby hotel and
wanted to speak to Mr Hani,

Mr Hani went, and they spoke,
They finally reached a deal, spoke
again, and then everything col-
lapsed. By now the crowd had ad-
vanced about 200 yards and the
soldiers, to the relief of the dozen
journalists standing in the man's
land in between, had retreated

Then, as a number of priests
among the marchers explained it,
3 minutes happened. Mr
Gildenhuys negotiated a compro-
mise allowing the marchers to
stage a rally at the local soccer sta-
dium. It was night by now. The
soldiers suddenly fell away and the
marchers surged forward, punch-
ing the air and bellowing: 'The
ANC! The ANC!' The ANC!

And everybody, not least the
soldiers themselves, smiled,
laughed and even joked. All of
South Africa could breathe again

HIIHANI

S INTERNATIONAL NE

- Support for
ANC strike
holds up

Patrick Laurence
in Johannesburg

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Congre
A o SUCK
timating tour amllion wo
had jotned in the stayawa
Wa have nevaor had
general stvike the
our country, said Oyl
phosa, the ANC's
penetal
While abservers tron
posite side of the fone
that the level of support for
strike was sustamed on th
second day, they did not en
dorse the ANC's conclus
that four million workeys had
staved -away on cach day, ov
wilh its interpretation that the
frike was a mantlestation of | pe
ort for the ANC and its
alhes
The South African Cha
ot Busmess put the nur
workers who staved)
ch of the two days omil- [the crowd
while empl i) ed tl
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the stonwi;
PUSSCNEONS &
sation - from
â\200\234camradesâ\200\235
Lhe strike served
lude to mass marches tod:
cluding one in which the AN
president, Nelson Mandela, will
lead protesters trom all over | Â«
South Afriea through Pretovia | aibiyg
to present a memorandum to | by work
President F. W, de Klerk's | up losttin
otfice But thor
The strike took place amid | protest marche
further clashes between ANC | today could furthe
and Inkathie Freedom Party | cconomy ata time win
forces, although the tightmg | tfigures show 4 oneth
might have occurred even with: | crease in company hq
Ont a srike during the st half
In Natal, scene of continual | eomparved with & year

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oS-SR At

Orchestrated bid to divide }
CP must cease â\200\224 Treurnichty

PRETORIA â\200\224 CP leader
Andries Treurnicht said
yesterday â\200\234orchestrated at-
temptsâ\200\235 to divide his party
should cease.

He said in a statement in
Pretoria there were basic
points which united all CP
members.

These inciuded talks with
the leaders of other nations
to achieve a confederation
of states, and CP membersâ\200\231
willingness to accept a
smaller geographical area
as their country to promote
an honest and fair agree-
ment on borders.

Treurnicht reiterated the
CP would mobilise whites
to make them resistant in
the current revolutionary
times, which could become
more dangerous.

The CP supported na-
tions who insisted that the

government identified bor-
ders for their nations be-
fore elections were held
and a constitution was
drawn up.

Referring to attempts to
sow division within the CP,
Treurnicht said it was clear
that Nationalists and others
feared the CP and were
jealous of the fact that
whites and certain black
leaders had accepted the
CP's vision of the future.

Meanwhile, a third mem-
ber of the CP caucus yes-
terday added his support to
Potchefstroom MP Andries
Beyers.

Standerton MP Rosier de
Ville said he fully support-
ed Beyersâ\200\231 views on the
need for negotiations, a
smaller â\200\234volkstaatâ\200\235 and a
possible alliance with for-
mer political opponents. â\200\224

> VOS-IFFP 444

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Pretoria goes on the defense

PRETORIA â\200\224 Shopkeepers in the city centre yesterday were bristling at the thought of an ANC-alliance march past their premises today.

The march has been routed around Church Square in the heart of the city but this has not allayed the fears of shopkeepers nervous about being swamped by thousands of toyi: toyilng protesters.

They spent yesterday preparing to patten down the hatches ahead of the march to the Union Buildings.

The city council has not allowed a march to proceed along Church Street before, but it agreed with the organisersâ\200\231 argument that the width and straightness of the street would facilitate proper crowd control.

A council spokesman denied the march had been routed around Church Square because â\200\234Oom Paul sÂ¢ plekâ\200\235 was holy ground, saying too much disruption would be caused if the square was included. Organisers Â¢claim the march will draw between

& TIM COHEN

50 000 and 70 000 people.

Some shopkeepers were encouraged by the fact that the march would be led by ANC president Nelson Mandela.â\200\235 the big chief is there, they won't want to embarrass him,â\200\235 one said.

Others have expressed a desire to tell ANC supporters what to do with themselves. â\200\234If they come in here, I'll shoot themn,â\200\235 said one.

But most are bracing themselves

although many from their windows and keep their security bars up.

Pamphlets warning motorists along the route to remove their cars by this morning were distributed by police yesterday.

Cars will be towed away if they are still on the route but owners will not have to pay a fine to get them back.

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Govt purging

GOVERNMENT was purging the statute book of laws and restrictions which contradicted the formation of a constitutional state with an enshrined bill of rights, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking at the official opening of the new magistrate's court in Ver-eeniging, he said government was committed to a constitutional state.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was busy working through the statute book, he said.

The bill of rights was another important task that had to be tackled before there could be an independent and sovereign judiciary.

De Klerk believed it was necessary for all those involved in the judicial system to acquire the proper orientation required for exercising justice in a constitutional state.

This was being done through discussions on the establishment of a bill of rights for SA.

T BILLY PADDOCK

Government was constantly watching the increasing pressure being placed on the courts, whose workload had increased.

De Klerk said that from December 1990 to May 1991 there was an increase of 45,5% in the work of district courts.

Regional courts' workload had increased 28,5%.

in the past year the workload in district courts had increased so dramatically that nationally the total extra court time was 54 411 hours.

There were an extra 4 000 criminal cases and 110 000 admission of guilt fines paid.

The current economic climate had also put extra strain on the court, with 80 000 civil cases and 98 000 civil motions dealt with in that time.

The courts were also a major source of revenue for the state, with

the statute book

the system accounting for RS,233bn over the past year, De Klerk said

However, he warned that pressure on the courts would increase with rising crime and the development of a broader policing function for the SAPS.

To lessen the pressure on the higher courts and make justice more accessible to the community, government was investigating broadening the jurisdiction of the lower courts.

Proposals emanating from the investigation included that senior civil magistrates be established along the lines of regional magistrates and that they have a higher level of jurisdiction.

This would lessen the load on the Supreme Courts and offer magistrates the opportunity to specialise in civil matters.

Another issue receiving attention was the independence of magistrates, De Klerk said.

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HNP to fight
votes ruling

PRETORIA \200\224 The HNP
was considering lodging an
urgent application in the
Supreme Court in order to
have special votes cast in
the Florida by-election de-
clared valid, the party an-
nounced yesterday

HNP chief secretary
Louis van der Schyff said
the party was consulting its
legal advisers.

The party rejected the
decision by the Home Af-
fairs Department that spe-
cial votes cast before July
18 in the Florida by-elec-
tion were invalid.

Meanwhile, the SABC
had indicated to HNP
leader Jaap Marais that it
was willing to host a debate
between him and Foreign
Affairs Minister Pik Botha,
the HNP said. \200\224 Saa.

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Mangope â\200\230prepared to use forceâ\200\231

BOPHUTHATSWANA would defend its independence â\200\224 with force if necessary â\200\224- to safeguard it from SAâ\200\231s political turmoil, Bophuthaiswana President Lucas Mangope warned in a speech to the SA Institute of Race Relations last night.

Bophuthalswana was not a puppet but was independent and would take decisions in the interests of its people.

He said Bophuthatswana had been spared much of the turmoil taking place in SA, but added: â\200\234We have no guarantee that this wave of bloodshed will not break across our borders, and should that happen, I will not hesitate to use all my available power to exterminate it

â\200\234I say this with caution, hoping that it will not be necessary, but with the firm intent of doing so if compelled
10,â\200\235 Mangope said in a speech read in his absence by his senior constitutional negotiator, Economic Affairs Minister Ephraim Keikelame.

[PATRICK BULGER)

â\200\234I will be the last person to advocate violence. I hesitate to fight fire with fire. On the other hand, a free state which does not defend itself against its enemies and is not applying basic law and order is gambling away the freedom of its citizens.â\200\235

He said notable progress had been made at Codesa. Boycotts, mass action and a unilateral withdrawal from the negotiation process were not constructive.

Mangope ruled out Baphuthatswanaâ\200\231s return to a unitary SA with only delegated authority to second

and third-tier governmental structures. This was not a feasible alternative, he said.

â\200\234A)] possible scenarios regarding our future position and relations with anew SA have been thoroughly investigated and debated,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234One aspect that became predominant is that there need not be a direct rela-

tionship between a political dispensation in a country and the need for economic co-operation and development between countries. In fact, efforts to link these two concepts are nothing other than a form of political intimidation to achieve specific political aims in an undemocratic way.â\200\235

He said there were three possible scenarios for the homeland. These were a sovereign Bophuthatswana existing in a confederal arrangement; the maintenance of the status quo; and a federal arrangement with constitutionally entrenched responsibilities and powers.

â\200\234The only criterion we have is that an alternative constitutional dispensation must ensure our people a better future or a future at least as good as the present situation we enjoy,â\200\235 he said.

Bophuthatswana was already engaged in several exercises of regional co-operation with the northwestern Cape and the western and the southwestern Transvaal, he said.

BUSINERE DAY, Wadnasday, August 6 1992

COMMENT

e
No cornucopia

HEN the tumult and the shouting dies, the tourists will return. They are potentially a huge boost to the economy, bringing in billions in foreign exchange and creating thousands of jobs. Nevertheless, cries that this potential may be wasted unless government dishes out subsidies and indiscriminate tax breaks now should fall on partly deaf ears.

Government is involved because of the impact of tourism on national wealth. The multiplier effect of every tourist dollar or yen is such that tourism is viewed as the kick-start to a stalled economy. We are urged to emulate countries where tourism is the major foreign exchange earner, or even the major industry. That can happen, we are told, if government will give subsidies to developers and tax breaks to hoteliers, and pour its own millions into infrastructure such as roads and airports.

There is merit in all these arguments, to which government has listened over the past two years as the tourist industry examined how best to capitalise on South Africa's return to international respectability. While planners saw: a rush of foreign tourists as an answer to our economic woes, visiting consultants said our tourist facilities were not up to international standard. If we wanted four times as many foreigners, particularly those with marks and yen, we would have to have more and better hotels, more friendly service, more efficient airports, more luxurious coaches.

Much of this is true, as South Africans who travel abroad will testify. The question is not whether it should be done, but with what degree of urgency. Then there is the matter of who is to pay. The usual

answer is the taxpayers, but this time the taxpayers are broke; government's income is shrinking and it will have to cut back on expenditure. There will be no largesse, and probably fewer tax breaks. There is also no reason why some incentives should not be related to the industry's ability to generate foreign earnings. The more foreign currency a hotelier brings in, the greater his tax or incentive benefit.

Tourism Minister Org Marais rightly questions the wisdom of tax incentives for new hotels when existing ones are only half full. Those beds are not empty because of inadequate service, or buses, or airports. They will fill up when we have a political settlement and social stability,, when the TV images change and foreign governments stop advising their citizens that this is a dangerous part of the world to visit.

Certainly we must plan for the time when we can fill twice that number of beds and more, and for the other facilities needed to support Increased tourism. Government appears committed to helping the hotel industry expand and refurbish; it should also encourage individuals and companies to risk their own money now to reap a share of the tourism reward.

Enforcing the law

HE long argument about the

carrying of weapons and whe-

ther these are a cultural or

not has been taken a stage further by government's tightening up of the unrest regulations. The immediate effect will be that carrying something as ordinary as a brick or screwdriver will be an offence in 20 Reef townships declared unrest areas, if circumstances suggest the item is intended for use as a weapon.

The move, inadequate though it is, may be regarded as some a victory for the ANC, because there are no exemptions for cultural weapons which it has been exploited by Inkatha This is a minor consideration. The real question is whether or not the regula-

tions should be applied everywhere, | and then be properly enforced.

For a start, it is up to the police to enforce the regulations in the areas
â\200\230where they now apply. Unless they do, the exercise will be shown up as no more than a gesture. Then the regulations should be extended countrywide.

We do not suggest foolhardy attempts by undermanned police patrols to disarm militant imps. What is required is competent policing by a force which by now should be experienced enough to handle volatile situations. This includes pre-emptive moves based on sound intelligence work, liaison with local community leaders and â\200\224 when it is needed - decisive action by trained officers and personnel

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Iâ\200\231?iE Cisket border area near the capital, Bisho. was still tense last night after a six-hour stand-off between mass action supporters and Ciskelan security forces.

Only after dark were 30 000 demonstrators eventually persuaded to disperse from the Bisho Stadium where they had gathered after an attempt to march on the Bisho Civic centre 3
~ Members of the national peace secretariat were instrumental in defusing the volatile situation, sources said.

Earlier, there were fears of a major clash and threats of bloodshed at the border post. Journalists were advised to leave the area.

About 150 armed members of the Ciskei Defence Force confronted the 30 000 dem-

Business Day Roponor' Â¥ -â\200\224-;

p2

LaÂst-minute talk
defuse Ciskel crisis

demonstrators as they approached the capital after marching from King Williamâ\200\231s Town with the intention of occupying administration buildings.

During the ensuing stand-off urgent discussions were held between representatives of both sides as well as peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys, SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo and SACP secretary-general Chris Hani, Sapa reports.

A UN observer, JosÃ© Campino, diligently followed the entire day's proceedings

Gildenhuys spent most of the day driving

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- - N
Ciskei
between the stke(council of state and the

march organisers in a white BMW with a
thuge UN flag flying from a back window.

The first real sign of a breakthrough
came when he announced at the border
just after 2pm that the SA government,
through Botha, had offered to act as a
â\200\234facilitatorâ\200\235.

Botha sent a message via a security
force walkie-talkie that he wanted Hani to
call him urgently from a nearby hotel.

The SACP leader agreed, but returned
almost two hours later, muttering: â\200\234It's a
stalemate.â\200\235

Botha had reportedly been unable to
reach Gqozo but did get hold of ANC secre-
tary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, and plead-
ed with him to intervene.

By now the protesters had edged their
way a couple of hundred metres across the
horder into Ciskei. The sun was beginning
to set and the Ciskei security forces issued
a warning that if the protesters moved
forward again they would be shot.

The leaders of the march then came up
with their last compromise proposal: they

wanted to be allowed to take the crowd

s

the morning. No other details were

[1 From Page 1

into the nearby Bisho Stadium.

â\200\234Negative, negativeâ\200\235 came the reply
over a walkie-talkie.

Gildenhuys was clearly not prepared tp
accept this and raced off for a showdown
with the Ciskei council of state.

As always, Campino was in tow, note-
book at the ready.

About 15 minutes later â\200\224 it was almost
dark â\200\224 Gildenhuys came back with the
unexpected answer that the Ciskel council
of state had agreed the marchers could
enter the stadium.

Gildenhuys won the praise of most of the
participants involved in the negotiations
for having made every effort to resolve the
issue peacefully.

â\200\234Everything that saves lives makes me
happy.â\200\235 a smiling Gildenhuys said as thou-
sands of protesters sang and danced past
him on their way to the dark stadium.

In the stadium, Hani addressed the crowd and 2 memorandum was handed to a police representative.

1 Gqozo said yesterday a Ciskel policeman had been shot dead with an AK-47 rifle in given.

1 wo-day strike over, mass

THE second day of the ANC ailianceâ\200\231s general strike â\200\224 which officially ended vesterday â\200\224 was at least as effective as the first day, spokesmen for business and labour said.

While many employers are hoping to-dayâ\200\231s mass action will not affect production, substantial disruption in major urban areas is still likely

Police said at least 20 people died in violent incidents yesterday, bringing the total death toll over the strike period to 42.

Mass action organisers said they planned to occupy city centres and business districts across SA today in a bid to

act
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| DIRK HARTFORD

white powerâ\200\235,

Police said they were prepared for any new mass campalgn actions.

A Justice Department statement last night said the real or attempted occupation of private property amounted to trespassing which was a criminal offence and owners could lay charges where such occupation was not authorised.

People whose rights were infringed and who might suffer damage as a result of unlawful activities could also consult their lawyers with a view to civil actton, it said.

ion continues

hands of local and regional structures. .

The focus of mass action is aâ\200\231march through Pretoriaâ\200\231s Âcity centre to the Union Buildings. led by ANC president Nelson Mandela, and one through the Cape Town city centre.

@ Reports: Page 2

Organigcers of the Pretoria march expect about 70 000 people to take part. Yesterday police in Pretoria placed pamphlets on cars along the route, warning motorists to remove the cars by this moraing, or have them towed away.

move their campaign into centres of

e X

Mass action

in Cape Town, a freeway will be closed today to allow protesters to walk into the city from Langa.

In Durban, demonstrations are also likely to take place at major retail stores.

In all, hundreds of thousands of workers are likely to participate in various forms of mass action, including smaller marches in other parts of the country.

RAY HARTLEY reports that UN monitoring mission head Hisham Omayad, speaking at a news conference in Johannesburg last night, called on all parties involved in demonstrations today to exercise maximum restraint. I urge all of them to live up to the commitments they made when they signed the national peace accord.

Omayad said the monitoring mission would not be issuing a report to the UN on its observations, but hinted that the mission had a say in the report by UN special envoy Cyrus Vance, to be submitted by the end of the week,

He said it was impossible to say whether or not mass action had led to greater violence.

Regional peace secretariat chairman

Today's activities have been left in the

Page 2

[1 From Page 1

Rupert Lorimar said he was convinced the presence of the UN monitors had defused potential violence during the general strike.

There is no doubt in my mind that their presence has contributed to a peaceful situation. The visit of the UN team has made everybody behave better. More of this would be very beneficial indeed, he said.

Omayad would not be drawn on the possible extension of the mission.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said yesterday that although gold miners who supported the stayaway on Monday had returned to work yesterday, the overall level of participation had increased.

Sacob and the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCI) said yesterday's action was as great as Monday's.

Spokesmen for the JCCI and the United Workers Union of SA said there was no hard evidence of intimidation.

The ANC alliance said at a news conference yesterday that most people killed during the mass action were supporters of the general strike. If it was found that alliance supporters had been intimidating people, appropriate disciplinary action would be taken.

3198

Govt flexible on interim rule

Key players
repare to
resume talks

TALKS to haul constitutional negotiations back on track could take place within two weeks, with government no longer committed to a negotiated interim constitution or to Codesa as a forum.

However, according to a senior government source, it is unlikely that legislation to iraplement anm interim government would be ready for the October parliamentary session. It would be ready by the beginning of next year.

In discussions with businessmen ate last week, ANC president Nelson Mandela indicated the likelihood of an early return to negotiations and his desire for the speedy establishment of an interim government of national unity.

In separate talks with DP constitutional expert Colin Eglin and Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal, Mandela said he believed oace the stayaways and mass action had run their course, talks would resume after a "cooling off period" of about 10 days.

The upbeat prognosis was given further impetus by US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen.

Cohen, who left SA last night after talks with government, Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was confident that negotiations would resume soon. This was, however, on condition that government took certain clearly defined steps relating to violence Government was prepared to fulfil these conditions

A senior government source confirmed government was not committed to first

T GRLY. RADDOR .
and TIM COHEN

negotiating an interim constitution, but "would speed up the process" would happily negotiate amendments to the tricameral constitution for the interim period.

According to government and diplomatic sources, there would first be a period of bilateral talks between the ANC and government on the resumption of negotiations and the forum for such negotiations. It is understood these discussions would attempt to address the constitutional issues â\200\224 including regionalism â\200\224 which led to the impasse at Codesa IL There is apparently room for manoeuvre on both sides.

The bilateral talks would result in expanded multilateral negotiations, possibly including newly formed right-wing groups.

Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delport said last night government did not want to be prescriptive about the forum for negotiations.

At a media conference last night Cohen said: â\200\234In terms of the configuration of the negotiating forum I have the impression that the very large, complex system of Codesa was quite appropriate for the many issues that have taken them nine-tenths of the way. But for the last, very difficult one-tenth, a more efficient and less awkwardly mechanised system is being sought.â\200\235

He said he did not think negotiations should be held hostage by the issue of violence but there was a real danger that violence could become part of the fabric of SA society

3198

A TOUGH battle between a democracy and modified apartheid for a constitution-making body would be waged in the near future, the ANC journal Mayibuye predicts in its August issue.

Mass action would ensure that the election took place soon. ANC structures should see to it that the Campaign for Peace and Democracy strengthens the democratic movement as a whole and helps to prepare it for a decisive election victory against the defenders of the past, Mayibuye says.

The campaign was not a pro--

gramme for insurrection, but had at its centre the quest for peace and a speedy, negotiated transition to democracy. \$

Negotiations would resume when government took practical actions to address the problem of violence. Government had to accept a democratically elected, one-chamber constituent assembly and agree to set up interim structures to ensure free and fair elections.

It had to end violence By: disbanding covert and special forces and charging the murderers; taking practical measures to fence in and guard hostels as well as starting to phase them out; banning the carrying of all dangerous weapons in public; and accepting an international commission

PATRICK BULGER

of inquiry and monitoring

"The ANC will constantly weigh the total situation depending on the regime's practical actions on violence and its response to other issues," Mayibuye quotes ANC consti-

tutional negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa as saying.

The demands should not be seen as preconditions to be mechanically ticked off one by one.

What is needed are measures that will make negotiations worth the effort. Otherwise the murderers will continue with their evil projects. And

the parties will be bogged down in haggling about agendas and issues which are in fact the basis of democratic practice,â\200\235 Valli Moosa says.

Mayibuye says the present stalemate s a result of the attempt by the NP leadership and security force generals to weaken opponents of apartheid, prolong the transition and carve for themselves a central place in the future.

It says government will attempt to use control of radio and television and its network in the print media â\200\234to paint the campaign in the most abominable colours. The hope is that the â\200\230Big Lieâ\200\231 of the past decades will denigrate those who stand for democracy and frighten off potential supporters.â\200\235

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ANC witnesses â\200\230unreliableâ\200\231

PRETORIA â\200\224 Counsel for the Weekly Mail and the ANC conceded yesterday that two witnesses who testified against the police on â\200\234safe housesâ\200\235 gave unreliable evidence.

Frans Rautenbach, in his argument, told the Goldstone commission committee inquiry - into allegations of police involvement in underground operations to kill ANC activists â\200\224 that the committee should accept

part of Solly Mngomezuluâ\200\231s evidence

while Daniel Kolisang's was totally unreliable.

Kolisang told the committee he first had contact with the police on December 7 last year before he was

promised a Transvaal Provincial Administration job by Sgt J Seag. On January 2 1992 he was taken to a police safe house in the Vaal Triangle where he was interviewed by a white policeman called Brian who told him he was to kill activists. But police argued that the man was an informer on their payroll. Mngomezulu claimed after he returned from exile he was taken by a policeman to a safe house near Parys, where he was told to be an informer, Police denied the house was a safe house and said Mngomezulu had agreed to be an informer. â\200\224 Sapa.

25 L e D1

Truth on violence Y}
â\200\230starting to emergeâ\200\231

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA â\200\224 The disinformation campaign on violence was faltering and the truth was beginning to come out in the local and foreign media, SA Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman said yesterday.

Speaking on political violence at a Human Sciences Research Council conference on managing crime in a new SA, Kane-Berman said reports of agencies such as the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission were not helpful. While they rightly castigated Inkatha and the police for involvement in violence, they turned a blind eye to ungovernability.

At best their reports were one-sided and simplistic, at worst they amounted to disinformation.

Kane-Berman said the way had been opened for the international monitoring of violence. Allowing monitors to travel in Casspirs in the townships might help achieve a better balance in the outside worldâ\200\231s view.

â\200\234For UN or other foreign officials to come under attack from stone-throwers, petrol-bombers and comrades with AK-47s would be one way for them to find out what the ICJ and the HRC do not tell them.â\200\235

Most violent incidents were ordinary crimes. For instance, in 1990-91 80% of the 15 000 murders committed appeared to be unrelated to politics.

Kane-Berman said the police had killed as many as 650 people in political demonstrations since Sharpeville in 1960. No top-ranking police officers and no politicians had paid the price for â\200\234those and other police shootingsâ\200\235.

Prof L Vogelmann and V Stavrou, of Wits University's centre for the study of violence, told the conference that 94% of respondents to a survey on 'Crime in Alexandra township had alleged that police were involved in political and other criminal violence.

Stavrou said the influx of squatters and inadequate policing were seen as significant factors in the escalation of crime and political violence.

Durban and Capi - ; |
â\200\224 pital retail stores will close if eâ\200\231s trouble
during todayâ\200\231s mass action ' : HEEhgpes Rl

alert

VasanthaiA'ngi-\201amuthu
Political Reporter

and Pietermaritzburg are

ready to close their doors
at lunchtime today at the

first sign of serious trouble
to counter the mass ac-
tions plan to â\200\234invadeâ\200\235 and
â\200\234occupyâ\200\235 buildings and
stores.

â\200\234We will close our doors
at the first sign of trouble,â\200\235
Garlicks general manager
John Qurmbay said. â\200\234We have
' made contingency plans and
our customers will be pro-
â\200\230tected.â\200\235
Similar plans have been made
by most retail stores and gov-
ernment and municipal offices.
There has been a slow start to

ALL major retail stores| and retail stores has drawn

in the centre of Durban

Vows by the African National
Congress that the next few days
will see supporters occupying
government buildings, factories

sharp criticism from the Gov-
ernment and business and police
have warned that firm steps
will be taken against those
breaking the law.

Police have linked 40 deaths,
many injuries and enormous
damage to property to the mass

â\200\234action. The ANC replies that the

Government and other oppo-
m b

_ a over
the past two days to what the
ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance is
claiming as its most success-
ful and peaceful worker action
ever.

The alliance is claiming an
overall provincial average of 80
percent stayaway yesterday.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC attacked the Government for embarking on a massive dis-

workers returning after the two-day stayaway and buses and taxis running into the Durban city centre appear to be half empty. -

information campaign at the expense of taxpayers, claiming that the series of advertisements against the national strike had projected the party

Boal:wtm position of the National
S e i â\200\230

: Law and Ordef
Ho;:vlel:mus Kriel and the Inkatha Freedom Party said that the success of the ANC campaign was achieved through

widespread intimidation. i
The South African Chamber of Business has saidÂ»thlat sgchiaa(11,
ements by employe!

arranged to cushion the impact of the stayaway on the econ-

~ omy.

" Sacobâ\200\231s regional breakdown of worker absenteeism was: southern Natal and Zululand (20-30 percent), Pietermaritzburg (55 percent) and Durban metropolitan area (75 percent:â\200\230),.
@ Inanda almost turned into a battlefield yesterday when shots were fired from the Inkatha-supporting Mshayazafe area
2 At Stional Con
00 African Nation -
ot supporters to the Inanda police station. ;
Panic set in when the sound of gunshots ricocheted through ' the Inanda valley â\200\224 almost disrupting the march and resulting in a stampede â\200\224 but ANC marshals acted quickly to discipline the marchers and additional security force personnel were

called in.

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THe D/ % IVews

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The Daily News

Mass action: the
+/danger phase

THE two-day mass action stayaway is due to end today, giving way to protest marches and the occupation of city centres, factories, retail stores and government buildings.

The stayaway was highly effective on the first day, less so on the second. The African National Congress and its allies claim it to be an overwhelming endorsement of their political position, while opponents disagree. There was without doubt a degree of physical intimidation while the mere possibility of reprisals against those choosing to work is as effective as the fact of intimidation. While only the purblind would dispute widespread sympathy for the ANC/Cosatu/Communist alliance, the degree of support for the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party is almost certainly not reflected in the stayaway.

If the ANC has made an expensive political point, its mass action moves into a phase today which is more threatening to public order. The authorities are highly unlikely to allow occupation of their premises, which means that a small force could be employed. The occupation of fac-

ories and department stores would be a pointless, random

tactic falling well within the definition of intimidation. It could amount to an assault on private property and could contain a built-in propensity for disorder. If the Alliance believes this would do anything for its standing, locally or internationally, it is sadly mistaken.

By contrast, Mr Nelson Mandela's planned march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria would have the symbolism and dignity appropriate to this episode of protest. The campaign should then be ended before it gets out of hand and falls into the control of mischief-makers and criminals.

Mr Mandela himself has wisely repudiated the Leipzig option, a curious belief that sit-ins and protests could collapse the present government in the same way they did the communist regime in East Germany. He and Mr de Klerk have virtually committed themselves anew to the negotiation process.

The current campaign is now an interlude. The point has been made and it is time it ended.

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OMMOROW will pÂ® 1 the Pretoria Minute, the Gov-

Two years ago tomorrow South African politics recorded a historic victory with the signing of the Pretoria Minute. The achievement of that accord and the optimism it generated

are a far cry from the present political mire where leaders are unable to agree on how to proceed. MARTIN CHALLENGER, Political Correspondent, reports.

policy if the negotiations process

unheralded in the book

of political

tensifying friction between political opponents.

On August 6, 1990, President de Klerk and African National Con-

ernment and ANC set a target date:

; anniversary of April 30 last year for the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnities. mass action, stayaways and prisoners' protests today,

S
But the problem of political prisoners in spite of about 1 300 releases and two years of meetings.

The ANC is annoyed and embar-

broke down.

- Today there is virtually no trust

between the ANC and the Govern-
ment. The ANC is, by some ac-

counts, not even taking telephone
calls from the Government.

The Minute envisaged mechanisms of communication at local,
regional and national levels to en-

able public grievances to be ad-
dressed peacefully and in good
time to avoid conflict.

Today, apart from the tottering
local regional dispute resolution

has failed because it has not secured:

ANC leader Nelson Mandela led
their delegations in a marathon 15-
hour negotiation at the Presi- political prisoners. The Govern-
dency in Pretoria, finally emerging ment is suspicious because it be-
for a Press conference at 11 am on Tuesday. It has released all people
jailed for political offences and the committees set up in terms of the
With Mr de Klerk were Foreign haggling continues. : National Peace Accord, there is no
Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Another dispute: In the interest evidence of g
rievance committees.
Development Minister Gerrit Vil- of moving as speedily as possible The Government did commi
t it-
joen, Justice Minister Kobie Coet- tywards a negotiated peaceful p9-;self to lifting the s
tate of emergen
see and Law and Order Minister litical settlement, the Pretoria cy in Natal, which
was duly done.
Adriaan Vlok. Minute said, and in the context of It promised also to rev
iew security
Flanking Mr Mandela was secre- the agreements reached, the ANC legislation. This was done.
tary-general Alfred Nzo, interna- annopnced that it was now sus- Senior Government figures
tional. affairs director, Thabo pending all armed actions with im- today admit to a feelin
g of pessi-
Mbeki, MK supremo Joe Modise mediate effect. g 'mism. I have been pessimistic for
and SACP secretary-general Joe As a result of this, no further the past few months,
one top

Slovo.

There was much buoyancy. It re-
flected in the Pretoria Minute: We
are convinced that what we have P
agreed upon today can become a
milestone on the road to true

peace and prosperity for our coun-
try;

However, national euphoria at
the signing of the agreement and

the initial Groote Schuur Minute

three months earlier, proved pre-

mature and the hope of millions of

South Africans for a quick transition to democracy proved breathlessly naive.

The dizzying momentum of Mr de Klerk's sensational six months of politics when he unbanned the ANC in February 1990, freed Mr

- Mandela afterwards and opened talks with the ANC soon after that, started to bog down at the news conference after the Pretoria Minute's signing.

In what was to be just the beginning of a series of public attacks by the ANC leader on President de Klerk, they immediately differed on what they had formally agreed concerning the role of the police.

And it was the first of many P!

scraps between the Government and ANC over interpretations of the imperfect Pretoria Minute, which was inexact in crucial areas, leaving room for interpretation and differences.

armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military

' wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.

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

Two years later the Government and ANC are still arguing about armed action, with the Government insisting there can be no movement towards a new constitution until all aspects of the armed struggle are

dealt with and it is entirely abandoned. Vs g b

Both sides committed themselves in the Minute to a peaceful solution and to expedite the normalisation and stabilisation of South African politics in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders involved.

As it was, the deal was struck against the background of the SACP's Operation Vula, an insur-

rection contingency plan. Police said they had 2000 pages of information from an ANC/SACP computer about the deployment of ANC/SACP cadres around the country and the infiltration of arms. |

The Government insisted this was a devious plot to overthrow it, being enacted even as the ANC prepared peace and settlement. But ANC and SACP leaders described Operation Vula as a mere insurance

to sit down to talk of 1

source said. Many like him are fed up with the ANC and the Communist Party.

- There is some frustration because the Government knows it cannot act unilaterally, yet does not have a rabbit-in-hat plan to get negotiations going again. : There is suspicion in the Government that Mr Mandela and the ANC want total power and are not prepared to compromise. â\200\234If we give into the ANC demands there will be a white backlash,â\200\235 the source said.

For its part, the ANC has said it would talk to the Government again only if President de Klerk accepted an interim government, an elected constitutional assembly, terminated â\200\234hit squadsâ\200\235, disbanded all special forces, prosecuted security force members allegedly involved in violence, phased out of singel-quarters hostels, set up an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence, allowed international monitoring of political violence, released all political prisoners, and repealed all repressive legislation.

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

" "There is also contact, albeit often acrimonious, between the â\200\230main parties within structures of the National Peace Accord.

If the negotiation process does start again â\200\224 and the signs are hopeful â\200\224 the Government expects

the first step would be bilateral

â\200\230talks between itself and the major

parties. Ministers do not want another Codesa meeting unless a compromise on contending politi-

cal programmes is worked out be-

forehand in bilateral talks.

Nor would they want another vague Pretoria Minute which could trigger years of ent and in-

argument terpretation as to what it really meant.

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Mandela hails mass .
action as â\200\230great eventâ\200\231

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Nelson Mandela today hailed
the ANC allianceâ\200\231s mass ac-
tion campaign as â\200\234one of the
greatest events in our his-
toryâ\200\235 and said the way the
rest of the campaign went
would depend on the Gov-
ernmentâ\200\231s response.

In a speech prepared for
delivery on the steps of the
Union Buildings, while Presi-
dent de Klerk and his Cabi-
net were meeting inside, Mr
Mandela said the campaign
should become a â\200\234tidal wave
whick will thrust our coun-
try into a future where jus-
tice prevails, peace is as-
sured and democracy be-
comes a way of lifeâ\200\235.

He stressed, however, that
the ANC and its allies re-
mained comrmitted to a ne-
gotiated settlement.

â\200\234We have engaged in mass
action with the clear objec-
tive of ensuring that the out-
come of the negotiations is a
democratic future for our
country,

â\200\234What happens next, and
wha' form the campaign for

Letâ\200\231s 'thiï¬\201kica_ka'iqâ\200\230;â\200\231!
â\200\224 tour skipper
SYDNEY â\200\224 Australian
Tughy captain-Nick Farr-
Jones â\200\230aid .yesterday !
was-disturbed by
deqths in Soutk Af:
ing this weekâ\200\231s â\200\230norioial
strike, adding he wanted a
mnunui¬\201mnggi¬\201ybggmmk
nent tour, o l:
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s personal yiew.Â\$y
Jiâ\200\230The Australian B
Football Maion \$aid ves.o;

i-\202',ay:}t&e astril;q'?,haq mot
changed plans for the tour,
~Sapa Reuter. ' AL

peace and democracy takes,
depends on how the Govern-
ment responds to our de-
mands.â\200\235

An interim government of
national unity and an elected
constituent assembly were
now a matter of urgency.

He said the ANC had not
come to the Union Buildings
to gloat, but to take SA to-
wards peace and democracy.

If the Government re-
sponded in the same spirit,

â\200\234our action will have been
the best thing that could
have happened for the nego-
tiations processâ\200\235

Mr Man

J) {
â\200\234risis,
committ
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selves

the Gover
who had
their powe
campatgn.

â\200\234Nothing can detract from
the fact that this general
sitke was peaceful. Those
who still cling to the idea
that the success .., was
based on intimidation do
themselves an injustice.â\200\235

He praised employers who
â\200\234aligned themselves with the
forces of democracyâ\200\235 by
closing their businesses or
not vietimising workers who
Joined the campaign.

/erything
to defeat the

By Charmeela Bhagowat
and Brian Sekutu

Six people, including a pregnant woman, were killed in an attack by gunmen on 2 squatter camp early yesterday in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg.

The slayings brought the known national death toll over the last two days to 35.

The attack on the â\200\234Iragâ\200\231 squatter camp, during which five shacks were

gutted,
prompted a march by about

g e N B

12000 angry residents to the Alexandra Town Council offices yesterday afternoon.

They demanded the closure of Madala and Nobuhle hostels in the township, and that the council evict â\200\234illegal residentsâ\200\235 from homes in â\200\234Beirutâ\200\235, an IFP stronghold in the township.

In a joint statement read at a press conference, Alex-

andra Civic Organisation, Interim Crisis Committee and local ANC leaders challenged police to explain their failure to intervene in the attack.

â\200\234Witnesses have said that police told them they could not risk (their lives) by intervening in a situation where unarmed residents were shot at with automatic rifles,â\200\235

said ANC branch secretary Obed Bapela.

A woman who did not wish to be named told the conference that police, whom residents saw patrolling the

area shortly before the at-

tack, started shooting at shacks at about 1 am.

The witness, who was visiting her sister at the time, said she ran out of the shack

to find the area surrounded
by police vans and â\200\234saw po-
lice ting randemly at
peopleâ\200\231.

â\200\234When I ran for cover, I
saw a policeman push my
sister 'Thabitha into ber
shack. I heard her scream-
ing.â\200\235 she added.

Ten minutes later, when
the shooting stopped, she
found ber sisterâ\200\231s body burs-

Police accused as gunmen kill 6 in Alex squatter camp

ing i the shack. The wit-
pess's brother-in-law)ay
dead next to the shack

Witwatersrand police

kesman Colonel Dave
Bruce strongly denied {he al-
legations.

He said: â\200\234The allegations
of the ANC are by no means
pew. And if the ANC bas any
evidence that the police
were involved, they shovld

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communicate ibe evide
the police.â\200\235

In terms of the Natic
Peace Accord, said Coll Â¢
Bruce, the ANC was (OÂ¢
quired to assist tbhe police i
their investigation,

â\200\234qÂ¢ s highly srresponsibi
for the ANC to produce wi
nesses ai a press conferem
{for publicity â\200\235

The ANC had â\200\234good lint
of communication with i
police which they shou!
useâ\200\235, he added.

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Mt 6'\::-.){ = e L()/

Â® Huge turnout in Pretoria

@ Joâ\200\231burg traffic disrupted

Mass action targets cities

Stafi Reporters

Som -~ 50000 chanting
AN. _lliance supporters
marched to the Union
Buiidir in Pretoria
today as .ore than 1000
policemen and Defence
Force personnel were de-
ployed to ensure the
march was peaceful.

And, in part of the coun-
trywide mass action cam-
paign, the Johannesburg
CBD was disrupted with
traffic blockages and clo-
sures of intersections by ve-
hicles including Putco buses.

Thousands of people ar-
rived ip Pretoria this morn-
ing by train and buses from
the PWV area, the Far
Northern Transvaal, the
Eastern Transvaal and from
KwaNdebele.

The demonstrations are
part of the mass action cam-
paign which the ANC vowed
to take into â\200\234the centres of
white powerâ\200\235 throughout the
country today.

@ More reporis
â\200\224 Pages 3and Â\$
Â® Opinicn â\200\224 Page 10

several blocks of Pre-
toriaâ\200\231s northern city centre
were jammed as tens of
thousands of ANC supporters
Tiooded into the streets.

The hum of freedom s0ngs
was pierced by a eircling po-
lice helicopter and the beat
of drums.

Thousands of city workers
â\200\224 white and black â\200\224 toc;lltoup

antage points on roeilops
:nd baglcolt)xis of office build-

ings to watch the activity.

More than 1 000 policemen
and SADF troops were de-
ployed on the streets, watch-
ing as the toyi-toying masses

overflowed into several
streets connecting Brown
and Prinsloo streets.
Banners, flags, posters and
wooden AK-47s all contribut-
ed to the colour of the event

Open humorous banner de-

picted a grave with: â\200\234NP
RIP-ofisâ\200\235 written beneath

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UN observers and ANC
steward Walter Sisulu ar-
rived at about 10.30 am to

much excitement.

A purple banner of the
Gay/Lesbian Organisation of
the Witwatersrand (GLG)
stood out among the black, '

green and gold ANC flags,

Buses and trains carrying
thousands more marchers

were still arriving at

11.30 am when the crowd fig-

ure was estimated at 50 000,

The marchers proceeded
along Prinsloo Street into
Church Street to the Union
Buildings, where Mr Mande-
la was to address them.

At the Union Buildings a
heavy police presence of
about 200 men armed with

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rifles, handguns, batons and -
two police dogs awaited (he

marchers.

Mass action targets the

Â® From Page ; The Unschedyled blockade Cosaty cancelle
of Booysens, Trump, Sauwer, to Joh
Tree ang Simmonds Street
Extension began at about
10 am,

Johannesburg traffic offj.
riving cials said at 11 am that every.
Street, thing was pack to norma) jp the Uniop Buildings.

Most iraders along the the ity ceptre. Dr Visser describeq
route closeq shops, hut there Puteo tion by his staff as 5 broader
Was no sign of iJJ-discipiine type of imimjdation to achieye
among the marchers, a politiea) objectiye.

In Johanncsbnrg this morn. "My own view j
ing, m)â\200\231d-mommg {raffic wag

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Goldstone starts
Boipatong probe

The Goldstone Commission Of
Inquiry into public violence
and intimidation will today
begin its investigation into the
June 17 Boipatong massacre.

The commission will be sit-
ting at the Vereeniging Civic
Centre from 10 am

The sitting will be chaired
by Mr Justice Richard Gold-
stone, who will be assisted by,
among others, Mr Justice aM
Bagwati, former Chief Justice
of India.

More than 40 people died in
the massacre when a large
group of armed men attacked
the township. \200\224 Sapa.

Hope for eqyy

y talks resumption

There wag hope for the eariy
tesumption of negoliations, UsS
Assistant Secretary of State
erman Cohep said in Johap.
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He said aj; Parties he haqq
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Ration into 2 downwargs Spiral Was an interns] ot (lement in

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great Concern, Mr Cohen satd he
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tions boslagcâ\200\235.

He Warned {hag the escaly.
tion of Violence coeld Penetrate
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Stayaway rebelâ\200\231sâ\200\231
home burnt down

The house of a Wesselton man
who defied the stayaway and
went to work was burnt down
early yesterday, police said.

And in Pretoria a man who
stood in for a striking messen-
ger was shot and injured after
being asked by two men â\200\234why
he stole black peopleâ\200\231s jobsâ\200\235.

Police said three alleged
ANC members with AK.47
rifles arrived at Solomon
Nkosi's home in Wesselton on
Monday and sent his wife away
after she told them her husband
was at work.

Police said Walter Stander
(26) who stood in as a messen-
ger for a book supply firm was
shot in the chest after getting
lost in Watlow, near Mamelodi.

He is in hospital. â\200\224 Lowveld
Bureau and Staff Reporters.

HLIG U6 92 14:25 VOS31eP 444 3198

ANC â\200\230peacefulâ\200\231 mass
action campaign
death toll reaches 40

Staff Reporters

At least 40 people have died
violently since the start of the
ANC allianceâ\200\231s mass action
campaign on Monday.

The brunt of the violence has
been borne by Natal, but town.
ships around Cape Town were
seething yesterday and early
today. :

In Gugulethu, unknown gun-
men stormed into a house yes-
terday and killed a woman and
seriously injured her boyfriend.

In Beaufort West, a 25-year-
old man died on the way to hos-
pital after a clash with police.

Police said the man had dbeen
one of a group who had stoned a
police vehicle and the police
had returned fired, wounding
the man in the stomach.

In Kleinvlei, a sit-in at a com-
munity hall erupted into chaos
last night when police fired
teargas into the hall at about
6 pm â\200\224 two hours after UN
monitor Joan Seymour had left
the area.

Police withdrew from the
area at 8 pm as the hall erupt-
ed. Unconfirmed reports said
four people were injured.

In Natal, gunmen opened fire
on the car of controversial ANC
Natal Midlands leader Harry
Gwala yesterday in Edendale,
outside Maritzburg.

Maritzburg police spokesman
Captain Henry Budhram said he
had been informed of the shoot-

ing but details were sketchy.
Mr Gwala had, however,
escaped the attack and there
were no immediate reports of
injuries.

Nata! has been worst hit by
the violence this week, with at
least 19 people killed since
Monday.

Last night Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel said the stayaway resulted in a dramatic rise in levels of violence

Statistics have shown that violence over the past two days has increased by 300 percent compared to figures for last week.

Police were attacked, journalists were attacked and many people were sjambokked into taking part in rallies and other actions.

The ANC claims its campaign has been largely peaceful, and well supported.

The ANC alliance yesterday condemned the regrettable instances of the stoning of buses and the erection of barricades to prevent free movement during the stayaway, and said appropriate disciplinary measures would be taken against those implicated.

Three people were killed and three injured when hostel-dwellers allegedly fired on an ANC funeral procession in Rantanda near Heidelberg yesterday, said police.

UN monitoring team leader finds all round co-operation

The United Nations team monitoring mass action should not be considered as just 10 people, but as including all those involved in Jocal peace committees, head of the team Hashim Omayad said yesterday.

Speaking at a media conference, he said with the support they were receiving, they could do more than 1000 observers working without co-operation

Mr Omayad spent the day

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monitoring an ANC alliance march in Xrogersdorp.

UN team member Shola Omoregie spent the day monitoring Soweto, including negotiations at Baragwanath Hospi-

tal between marchers and the hospital administration

Mr Omayad said he was pleased his colleague Jose Campino could enter Ciskei after being refused entry on Monday.
â\200\224 Staff Reporter.

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Marchers move into
Ciskei capital after
hours of stand-off

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

BISHO â\200\224 In fading light, the
ANC yesterday finally marched
into the Ciskei capital after in-
tervention by the National
Peace Secretariat and the South
African Government.

*Ciskei military ruler Briga-
dier Qupa Ggozo had declared
the march, which was to deliver
a memorandum to the Ciskei
Legislative Assembly, unlawful
and ordered the homelandâ\200\231s de-
fence force and police not to
allow the ANC protesters to
cross the border between King
William's Town and Bisho.

The ANC was met at the bor-
der by Ciskei security forces
with cocked guns.

The confrontation seemed Set
to explode several times, but
National Peace Secretariat
(NPS) chairman Dr Antonie Gil-
denhuys finally reached an
agreement with the Ciskei gov-
ernment for the ANC to march
into Bisho Stadium.

Dr Gildenhuys moved be-
tween the two groups through-
out the day to avert possible
bloodshed.

The march was monitored by
UN observer Jose Campino,
who was refused entry into Cis-
kei on Monday, and NPS mem-
bers Deon Rudman and Nation-
al Party MP Gert Myburgh.

Qoon after the marchers â\200\224

estimated at 30000 to 50 000 â\200\224
left King Williamâ\200\231s Town's Vic-
toria Park cricket field at noon,
Dr Gildenhuys conveyed three
alternatives to marchers from
the Ciskei government: the ANC
could hand over the memoran-
dum at the border; march 100 m
into the homeland and hand
over the document; or leave the
protesters at the porder and

send a small delegation to deliver the memorandum at the Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

The marchers, led by SACP chief Chris Hani, Cosatu assistant secretary-general Sam Shilowa and ANC national executive committee members Raymond Suttner, Marion Sparg and Saki Macozoma, rejected all of the options.

At 1.30 pm the marchers were close to the border, and Dr Gildenhuys was still trying to broker a deal.

The ANC was told the South African Government had intervened and wanted to play a â\200\234facilitating roleâ\200\235.

The SA Government also requested Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa to telephone Mr Hani to persuade the ANC not to go ahead with the march.

Almost four hours later, the marchers were told agreement had been reached for them to move into Bisho Stadium, where they handed over the memorandum to a Ciskei official.

Vs

By Philip Zoio

There's nothing more exhilarating than being shot without being affected," said Paul Taylor, Washington Post journalist who was grounded by a car hijacker's bullet on his first working day as a correspondent in South Africa.

Taylor and Weekly Mail journalist Philip van Niekerk, whom ANC president Nelson Mandela visited yesterday to express his sympathies, were shot outside the Sebokeng post office on Monday.

"I took a bullet. I survived. I feel damn lucky," Taylor said from his Brenthurst Clinic bed.

For a few hours before the shooting, he had been driving through townships with Weekly

Journalist tells of hijack ordeal

Mail journalists Philip van Niekerk and Hubert Matlou.

When the men arrived at an intersection on a rock-strewn Evaton road, a car darted round and stopped in front of them. Four men got out.

The robbers told the three journalists to get out of the car and to give them money.

"It all happened in a very short time. Fear and danger didn't register. I told myself to be calm, not to resist."

While Taylor was dealing with an unarmed man at the passenger door, he heard a shot from the other side of the car.

"I then walked slowly to Philip

lip. Blood was gushing from his head. I turned to the man with the gun. I looked at him. He looked at me. He shot. Not a word passed either of our lips."

Taylor said the feeling of a

bullet passing through his arm and chest was "like a very hard punch from inside the chest cavity"

Taylor said the most frightening part of the experience then followed.

The two injured men screamed for help, but people passed by without offering assistance.

Van Niekerk, who had kept cool throughout, then said: "My

God, I'm going to bleed to death," Taylor told the Star.

But help soon arrived and the men were taken to hospital.

The doctors have told Taylor that he would suffer no lasting damage. He expected to be back on duty within a few weeks.

Van Niekerk is in a stable condition at Milpark Hospital.

He suffered a fractured jaw and is to undergo an operation today, a hospital spokesman said. He is able to talk and take liquids, although he cannot yet eat solid foods.

Taylor said that Mr Mandela,

2. @RI

Cyril Ramaphosa and other ANC officials expressed their sympathy and outrage over what had happened. N

"(Mr Mandela) was relieved that I did not see mass action as the cause, that it was simply hooliganism," said Taylor.

Mr Mandela and Mr Ramaphosa also expressed their sympathies to Van Niekerk, and wished him a speedy recovery.

Mr Mandela left Van Niekerk a written message in which he condemned all attacks on journalists, whether for political or criminal reasons,

He promised to do everything possible to create an awareness of the importance of journalism, and to ensure the safety of

journalists, Van Niekerk sa:d.

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â\200\230State of }
emergency
by stealthâ\200\231

By Jo-Anne Collinge

By using its powers to declare
unrest areas, the Government
has effectively achieved a
"state of emergency by stealthâ\200\235
in PWV townships where 5000
poitce and soldiers have been
deployed, the Human Rights
Commission (HRC) charges.

â\200\234This achieves much the
same purpose as an open decla-
ration. It is equally to be con-
demned and rejected as a viola-
tion of basic human rights.â\200\235 an
HRC statement reads.

The HRC argues that the
authorities are inconsistent in
justifying the declaration of un-
rest areas. It notes that Bek-
kersdai, Kagiso, Munsieville
and Swanieville on the West
Rand and Daveyton and Watt.
ville on the Kast Rand were
largely conflict-free when they
were declared unrest areas in
July. But conflict-ridden areas
of Natal have not been declared
unrest areas.

â\200\234The inescapable conclusion
Is that these latter declarations
completed the stranglehold on
20 townships in the PWY area.â\200\235

The first unrest areas on the
PWV were declared in August
1990,

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â\200\230 No reconciliation â\200\224 CP dissidents

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Five dissident Conserva-
tive Party MPs met last
night under Potchef-
stroom MP Andries
Beyers to discuss a po-
tential breakaway from
the CP to form the new,
nonracial, ethnic Afri-
kaner Party.

But CP leader Andries
Treurnicht yesterday
again stressed that he
saw no need for a split
and said differences
were reconcilable.

He said the CP head

committee had achieved
consensus on all issues
raised by Mr Beyers on
SABC-TV's â\200\230â\200\230Agendaâ\200\235
this week.

However, sources in
the dissident group made
it clear that they be-
lieved the CP leadership
was under-emphasising
the differences.

They said at least
three main differences
could not be reconciled:
@ The dissident group
believes it should negoti-
ate with all parties in-
cluding the ANC, but the
CP would not.

Â® The dissidents were
ready to accept a much |
smaller territory for an |
independent Afrikaner |
homeland, but the CP
leadership was not pre-
pared to go further than
the present CP-held con-
stituencies.

@ The dissidents were
prepared to accept fed-
eral status for an Afri-
kaner homeland as a
step towards full inde-
pendence, but the CP
leadership had so far not
been ready to go beyond

a â\200\230â\200\230confederationâ\200\231â\200\235 or
â\200\234commonwealth" of in-
dependent states.

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OC,-â\200\224CZ)â\200\230::&"QL

Parties need each other â\200\224 Pik

By Gien Elsag
West Rand Bureau

Pik Botha arrived at a
Florida publjc meeting
to a standing ovation
from a group of sever-
al hundred National
Party supporters when
he addressed them in the
parliamentary hy-elee-
tion campaign last night,

Mr Botha, leader of
the National Party in the
Transvaal and Minister
of Foreign Affairs, was
guest speaker at a cam-
paign meeting of NP
parliamentary candidate

Jan Bredenkamp in the
by-election on August 12,

He said the National
Party had been through
years of strife in which
there had been serious
differences of opinion
and that the party as it
now stood was hound to-
gether by the expecta-
tions of a better South
Africa.

Mr Botha said the Na-
tional Party was the only
party with the support of
all the people.

The only solution to a
better South Africa was
through negotiation. â\200\234We

â\200\224 The NP, the ANC, the
IFP and all the others â\200\224
need each other,â\200\235

Mr Bredenkamp said
the special votes cast so
far were invalid because
of an error by the De-

artment of Internal Af.
airs,
Â®The Herstigte Nasion-
ale Party was consulting
its lawyers about an ur.
gent application in the
Supreme Court to have
Is;pecial votes cast in the
lorida by-election de-

clared valid, chief secretary Louis van der Schyff said yesterday.

= The Diepkloof Hostels Residents' Association

Association would like to present their side of the story re-

* regarding the ANC's so-called mass action campaign.

People in the township are desperate to get jobs to maintain themselves and their families. The mass action stayaway will cause massive destruction to the economy and will increase the present downward spiral of unemployment, poverty and violence,

We, as hostels residents, are

sick and tired of being blamed for the violence: it is imperative that the ANC accept responsibility for their role in township violence,

" The ANC's call to close down the hostels shows a lack of understanding on their part. This is our home and we have nowhere else to go.

The Diepkloof Residents' Association appeals to the police

* to allow people to exercise their rights to go to work and to prevent intimidation of those who

People desperate for

-

;

choose to ignore the mass action boycott,

Alfas Ndandwe
Diepkloof Residents Association
Diepkloof

D D D

It has taken mass action by the ANC to bring the seriousness of the situation to everybody's attention.

Yet the polarising of our people by mock trials, war talk and mass action has - done a grave disservice to the country. All should realise that SA is on the verge of breakdown with the

prospect of loss of jobs, poorer
hospital care and education,
more starvation and far worse
conflict than at present.

What can be done to turn
around this sorry state?

We can start by realising
there is another face fo SA
which must be strengthened.

Marchers in the mass action
campaign should falk to those
next (o them saying: We should
march 10 increase friendship in

| jobs}<

the country.

Employers should counse)
their workers: March if vou
must bul come back and help
safeguard your jobs by hard
work.

Everybody should ewn up to
their own {(and not someone
elseâ\200\231s) mistakes and do some-
thing about jt.

Everyone should do some-
thing special for South Africa in
the coming weeks, like praying
for Godâ\200\231s mercy on our people,
helping our neighbours, making
peace talk, trying to relieve un-
employment and to improve
education and co-operating with
the authorities in order to im-
prove conditions.

Letâ\200\231s agree together for once
and exert a specia) effort â\200\224 to
make South Africa more lie
the land of our dreams.

{Prof) E S Theron
Spokesperson for 50 professors
and other professionnais
from Medunsa
Garankuwa

- OB~ Thg Do

4 Where is thi
force evidende?

Connoisseurs of how news-
papers distort things when it
sults them will have greatly en-
joyed your front page report on
what the Goldstone Commission
said (The Star, July 7),

In paragraph 1 you highlight
Goldstone's criticism of the
Government and its security '
forces for failing to act on some
of its recommendations. The
headline of your story 'Ignored
Goldstone lashes out' also fo-
cuses on Goldstone's criticism
of the Government.

Although you do refer in your
2nd paragraph to what Gold-
stone said regarding State com-
plicity in violence, the presenta-
tion and slant of your article is
a clear attempt to play down
this part of what Goldstone said
and play up the rest.

Given that The Star has done
more than any other daily
newspaper to spread the third
force theory, it is not surprising
that you should now be playing
down what Goldstone said.

And what he said was pretty
damning. Despite the vast num-
ber of articles written about so-
called third forces, notably in
The Star, no evidence to sub-
stantiate such allegations had
been placed before him. Good
heavens, not even by The Star!
Surely it is time for you to shed
some light on the third force, or
will you forever hide your evi-
dence under a bush?

Ivan Levivich

Auckland Park,
Johannesburg

We believe we reported Mr
Justice Goldstone's report
fairly and accurately
â Editor,

t

The Star Wednesday August 5 1992

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Striking

a lighi}L

HE ANC says it has been an un-qualified success. Business says the impact has been strictly limited. The ANC says the levels of violence have been extraordinarily low. Government says carnage and mayhem have been unleashed. The general strike is very much in the eye of the political beholder.

What can be said with certainty is that the ANC/Cosatu/SA Communist Party decision to press ahead with this most dramatic form of mass action has had considerable political impact, and has at the same time clearly exacerbated an already dangerously volatile situation.

No longer can anyone pretend that such an initiative could take place without a corresponding increase in tensions and levels of intimidation. Quite the opposite: the confrontational atmosphere is coming closer and closer to creating pockets of true ungovernability in certain Vaal townships. Anarchy, once it has arrived, will not easily be eradicated â\200\224 even if a negotiated settlement is signed.

Just as importantly, no one Â¢an deny that the economy is hurting badly. It is no exaggeration to say it might not be able to sustain many more such disruptions.

But beneath this bleak scenario, there is reason for cautious optimism as the mass action showdown peaks and then, hopefully, begins to peter out. South Africa was in an impossible position after Codesa 2. Negotiations were genuinely deadlocked, and neither the Government nor the ANC was prepared to give an inch to get talks under way again. Now that the ANC has had the opportunity to flex its muscles, albeit at a price, there may be a face-saving way back to the table.

Already, Pretoria is quietly suggesting fresh bargaining positions. It has not given in because of the strike, but it is eager to

find a way out. Likewise the ANC alliance knows that its members will not take kindly to further stayaway action â\200\224 they, after all, bear the brunt of it. Thus interests are converging once again. The two sides need each other in order to move forward.

FUNDAMENTAL problem

bedevilling our stormy transition from apartheid to democracy
15 the fact that the major players are electioneering and negotiating simultaneously and the two activities are not compatible.

As Mr Pik Botha told the Security Council last month, the National Party has set itself the goal of becoming the majority party in the new South Africa. Whether this is a realistic goal or not isn't the point: what matters is that it has been set as a target.

The National Party is campaigning hard to win support among the coloured people, Indians and supposedly the moderate blacks, by which is meant elements of the emerging black middle class as well as traditionalists in the rural areas. It is also directing its attention to alliance-building with some of the homeland and Tricameral parties spawned by the apartheid system.

The point is, if the National Party is to succeed in its objective it must win the support of the

- OB The Sk

An election would ease the transition to democracy /

moderate centre of our enlarged, all-race electorate. That means it must do all it can to attack and discredit the moderate leadership of its main rival, the ANC and the very people it should be building closer trust with in the negotiating process, 3

Thus the electioneering requirements undermine the negotiating requirements.

Worse still, the electioneering campaign compounds the constituency problems both movements face. As this column has noted before, the main danger in the negotiating business is not that the major leaders will fail to reach agreement and the lack of viable alternatives will always send them back to the negotiating table but that in the end they will not be able to carry enough of their followers with them into whatever agreement they conclude.

We saw President de Klerk's constituency problem reach crisis

point with the loss of the Potchef-
stroom by-election last February,
which he dealt with, perhaps tem-

Allister
Sparks

porarily, by rallying his followers
for the white referendum. Now we
are seeing Nelson Mandela's con-
stituency problem reach crisis
point with the Boipatong mas-
sacre and other township violence,
which he is trying to deal with by
rallying his forces for the mass
action campaign.

For both, it's a rearguard ac-
tion. The contradictory roles they
are Jockeyed into is making their
constituency problems worse all
the time. For the National Party
to succeed in winning the moder-
ate centre away from the ANC, it
must portray the ANC as a radi-
cal and dangerous movement still
secretly intent on overthrowing
the Government by violence and
dispossessing the whites and other
members of the middle class

Yet the more President de
Klerk succeeds in doing this, the
more difficult he makes it to jus-
tify negotiating with such people
the more he makes himself look
like an irresponsible leader who is
jeopardising the future survival of
his own people, which is precisely
what the rightwingers say of him.

The same goes for Mr Mandela
The more he succeeds in portray-
ing President de Klerk as a dupli-
citous manipulator who is sending
his surrogate forces into the town-
ships to kill people so that the key
elements of apartheid can be re-
tained, the more he compounds his
Left-wing problem by making him-
self look like a sellout for nego-
tiating with such a monster.

What is the answer? I believe it
is essential to have an election as
soon as possible, so as to separate
the conflicting requirements of
electioneering and negotiating.
We have to get the election out of
the way so that the negotiating
can proceed without its destruc-
tive effects.

An early election would also

clear up the problem of pervasive illegitimacy which is complicating the negotiations. The country has an illegitimate constitution, rejected by the majority of the population, an illegitimate government not accepted by the black majority; and a set of black political parties none of which has ever been subjected to a test of legitimacy because their followers have not been able to vote.

No-one knows how much support the ANC really has, or the PAC, or Azapo, or the Inkatha Freedom Party, or those funny little parties with funny names that the â\200\234homelandâ\200\235 and Tri-cameral systems produced. No-one knows whether the National Partyâ\200\231s claims to growing support in the non-white communities are real or fanciful, or whether the Democratic Party can win enough to survive.

Everyone is a pretender, making claims and strutting and posturing to give the impression he should be taken seriously. It is a farce that must be ended. We have

to establish who is legitimate: who is not. Although the minority even minority parties should have

a say in the making of a new constitution, we have to know

is speaking on behalf of whom <.> how many. -

With the election over and relative strengths established, the negotiations could take place in a more relaxed atmosphere. Everyone would know who was who and the posturing could stop. Leaders could concentrate more on the national interest than on their narrow party interests, and (there would be less anxiety about whether concessions made would cost them votes.

It would clear the air and make everything easier. And with a 70 percent majority required for agreement in an elected constituent assembly â\200\224 a figure now effectively accepted by both sides there would be ample assurance that minority interests would be taken into account and that no single party would be able to dictate the constitution on its own. O

HE shooting in Sebokeng of journalists

Philip van Niekerk and Paul Taylor illustrates that it is no exaggeration to talk of incipient anarchy in South Africa.

The evidence so far suggests that their attackers were car hijackers. But that kind of brutal banditry â\200\224 the attack occurred in broad daylight, as have similar hijackings in white suburbia â\200\224 can happen only where authority is weak.

Sebokeng, of course, falls within an area where the writ of the De Klerk administration does not extend much beyond the barrel of a gun. But the writ of the ANC does not seem much stronger.

Parts of Sebokeng are ruled by brigands: some may be disillusioned guerillas who have become a law unto themselves; some may be gangsters who, encouraged by the weakness or complicity of the authorities, adopt a political agenda without abandoning their criminal activities. :

Thankfully, Van Niekerk and Taylor survived their ordeal, but the threat of incremental anarchy remains. If FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela do not want to see chunks of South Africa slip into irreversible ungovernability, they had better stop squabbling soon.

The best guarantee against apartheid is the installation of a transitional government with moral and political legitimacy.

Up in arms

0 FOREIGNERS, it will seem odd that

South Africa has found it necessary to issue a regulation banning the carrying in unrest areas of weapons which are clearly beyond the pale anyway. Anyone seen tottering a firearm, crossbow, sword or petrol bomb, for example, would hardly be suspected of being on a peace mission. But that's the way things go in our strange society. The Zulus, of course, will not be pleased at the outlawing of their traditional spears and assegais. And the thumbs-down for both hammers and sickles is enough to make Joe Slovo see red.

A struggle for X
common ground

WHITE teenager with
dental braces, her
cheeks rosy from fresh

Drakensberg breezes, is
shy but polite to a stranger in
the street

Yes, she lives on a farm here,
but lo, she does not know what
causes the continuing violence
in Bruntville township, and all
but curtsies as she walks away.

A white woman who runs a
restaurant and take-away on
the Bruntville side of the tracks,
where the Indian shops are,
asks an intriguing question:
"Isn't it terrible what the security
forces are doing?"

It turns out she is talking
about Northern Ireland, but she
has an opinion on the violence
here too: "It's hooliganism, like
the Mods and Rockers in the
Sixties."

If it is that simple, one wonders
why an investigative committee
of the Goldstone Commission
on violence has been
here twice, and is coming back
for more on September 2.

Mooi River, spattered across
an exposed hill in the Natal
Midlands, is small enough to
make do without traffic lights
but has a vast, freezing town
hall, where the Goldstone hearing
was held.

The 1 700 whites must be worried
about the violence because
it shut down the Mooi River
Textiles factory – by far the
town's biggest employer. With
1300 jobs – for three weeks recently.
Yet few of them came to
the hearing that will help determine
their future.

The committee was chaired
by amiable law professor Dirk
van Zyl Smit of the University

The pretty Natal town of Mool River is being scarred
by continuing violence – but there is some hope of
ending it, writes PETER WELLMAN.

of Cape Town, who looked boyish and inexperienced from the side, where the press table was.

This led one witness to ask privately whether he was really on top of the issues: violence since January, including investigations into the December massacre of 19 residents by Inkatha supporters from the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) hostel.

Head-on, although the smile is still willing, the eyes tell you this is not someone to mess with. And the witness got his answer when Professor van Zyl Smit wrapped up last week's sitting.

The committee was seized of the matter, he said, a dreadful way of saying he would not give up until he found the answers.

The news so far is not good: 172 hostel men have been arrested, but charges have been provisionally withdrawn.

Three police witnesses, who said they were impartial, blamed the ANC.

Inkatha, which effectively controls the hostel, gets on well with the police.

The Bruntville community, solidly ANC, wants nothing to do with the police, and prefers

the SADF.

This prejudice was strengthened when Warrant-Officer Johan Benade revealed in evidence that no forensic testing was done on weapons, clothing, victims or homes when 15 of the massacre victims were killed on the morning of December 4.

Like Mooi River, Bruntville straddles a hill, and strong legs are needed simply to get to work and back. It has a soccer stadium, clinic, tennis court and little else.

And it is constantly on guard.

Young men and there are plenty in this high-unemployment home to about 15 000 people

ple â\200\224 patro) the slopes in shifts, watching the hostel on Bruntvilleâ\200\231s edge, near the township offices, cemetery and clinic.

Township rents have not been paid for months because of this proximity.

ANC members Mncedi Mthethwa and Mpho Dhlamini say Inkatha members were imported in strength after residents burnt taxis because the owners had increased fares.

They say ANC houses near the hostel were then burnt, and 250 ANC textile workers fled for their lives, giving the In-

katha-aligned union, Uwusa, a majority at the factory.

Inkatha area secretary Alex Sokhela says the burnt houses belonged to Inkatha members who fled into the hostel.

. The hostel holds 1000 people, and day-night shifts correspond with day-night sharing of beds.

Bored men sit around with spears ... they are also on watch, and the place has a more military feel than the township.

Mr Sokhela says recreation facilities at the hostel could curb violence: â\200\234There is no soccer, no table tennis. The men get bored, start drinking and think of fighting.â\200\235

As usual in these situations hope is last to emerge, clinging to Codesa and a simple belief that the fighting cannot go on forever. This is true but perhaps not hopeful enough.

Retired Durban city councillor Pieter Breytenbach, appointed by the NPA in October | to run Bruntville, stays firmly | in no man's land but concedes Inkatha has pulled out of the local peace process. v

He hopes they will be back | when Codesa resumes, and says: | â\200\234We can accomplish nothing until we find sufficient common ground between the two groups to bring them together.â\200\235

It flows from this that development is impossible until

then, and a soccer field near the
hostel is only half-levelled.

Mr Breytenbach is enthusing
about development plans when
Mr Sokhela fires his last shot: If
his men are barred from carry-
ing traditional weapons, they
will buy guns, and it will be
AK-47 against AK-47". O

tiating process has been calculated as a necessary measure to gauge the level of support for the two major participants - the National Party and the African National Congress - the result so far has been incon-

clusive, and will remain so as

mass action, stay-aways and violence fudge the fundamental issues over which the talks broke down in the first place,

The country has slid back into the bad old days of 1985, when school boycotts, stay-aways, consumer boycotts and other forms of mass action were the order of the day. We have gone back to the same levels - perhaps even worse - of violence, threats, intimidation, petrol bombing of non-participants' homes, and even the boycott of DEWSDapers,

That there is disagreement between the ANC leadership and the leadership of structures on the ground is a clear indication of the rift that exists between the two. There also seems to be a widening rift between labour and the ANC, and it is significant that the current wave of mass action is largely-

driven by Cosatu, rather than political structures. The ANC had no alternative but to support the action - and now are finding they are caught in the sweep of things, instead of leading events.

Two areas of disagreement are evidence of this lack of control: the call by student organisations for school boycotts, with a firm put-down by such organisations of the ANC because, they claimed, the ANC decision to call on students not to be involved in mass action was a decision from the top, and indicative of lack of consultation with structures on the ground.

Another is the proposed bond boycott planned by the National Civics Organisation, which has decided to defy a call by Nelson Mandela. This defiance is reminiscent of the defiance of the throw

your weapons into the seaâ\200\235 call by Mr Mandela soon after his release, and the call by Walter Sisulu for an end to the school boycott.

It was inevitable that there would be hiccups in the negotiation process. Indeed, things were going far too smoothly not to have turned into a bitch. We were even beginning to pat ourselves on the

back â\200\224 forgetting the scething, ANgry masses in the townships The uneducated, unemployed, unemployable, untrained and marginalised millions, The homeless, the hungry, for whom a solution is a matter of time and now.

Trust between these groups, and the leadership, had broken down â\200\224 and if the ANC leadership knew it, they did not do much to repair the damage before it was too late. Alex Boraine observed. â\200\234The ANC has often taken its eyes off the negotiating ball and looked rather at the goalpostsâ\200\235 South African communist Party leader Chris Hani told Newsweek International recently: â\200\234We moved too fast ahead of the peopleâ\200\235, but in reaf-

his organisationâ\200\231s commitment to the negotiation process, added : â\200\234We started a movement which was non-violent,â\200\235 adding that this is the course they will stick to.

Mr Mandela stressed there was no question of mass action being an insurrection, and said the ANC was committed to negotiations, but would use mass action to bolster the demands of its voteless members.

At leadership level, there was awareness that the negotiation process was bound to be put under severe pressure from various quarters, not least from the lower structures of their own constituencies Cosatu, having played a vanguard role in the internal struggle, is anxious to remain a major player, and has to that end sought a seat at Codesa, ostensibly to ensure the protection of worker rights, but more likely to seek a political position.

Similarly, there is disenchantment from a major core of former

United Democratic Front leaders .

who consider themselves badly
done in by the ANC â\200\224 â\200\234the exiles
have simply taken over alj the key
positions â\200\235 is the familiar refrain
in those circles â\200\224 and are seeking
to reassert theinselves,

White suspicion over the ANC's
intentions have beightened be-
cause of various statements at
lower ANC siructures, including
the threat of Nuremberg trials
and the mock (rials of President
FW de Kletk and Chief Manges-
uthu Buthelezi, both of whom
were "sentenced to Jife imprison-
meatâ\200\235. There is ng evidence that
these acts were sanctioned at ex-
ecutive level]

If it therefore seems that the
tail is wagging the dog (o some
extent, there may be an element
of truth in that. And iâ\200\231 is lo that
that the ANC has had to respond.
Suddealy, Cyri) Ramaphosa has
had to admit that Codesa s â\200\234ome
of the most undemocratic instity-
tions in the Country.â\200\235 President de
Klerk, who seemed lo be on a
â\200\234highâ\200\235 after the referendury,
Seems lo have come back {o earth
with a big bump after Boipatong
and revelations of security force
â\202-xcesses, plus a decline in confi-
dence in his leadership among
whifes.

The national strike which began
on Monday, conpled with todayâ\200\231s
march to the Unon Buiddings has
been described as the â\200\234Black ref-
erendumâ\200\235. Previous marches did
not attract the members that the
ANC had hoped for, and it seemed
that the townships were suffering
from â\200\234struggle fatigueâ\200\235.

lt seems, therefore, that the <ri-
sis can lead o the two â\204çajor par-
ties beginning lo give ground; the
ANC with the knowledge that un-
less they make dramatic Pro,
and dehver reasonably to their
constituency, they may face
growth in militancy that wil]

-emerge. The unac

make governance mpo
the NP hoping (hat Âç
vide will stil] give Âç

bers clout to be 5
ANC juggernaut in oh

This balance could be
political damage to
the ANC and the Nats so
But even before that haj
NP needs to be seen to
be committed to cleaning up
the cupboards, so that
rebuilding trust can begin
and Mr De Klerk, the
man of integrity, can
play his high levels of
violence must be
reduced. This can be
achieved by placing the
Security forces under
an umbrella multiparty
control; structure emanating
from CODESA and then
seeking a more involved
role for the United Nations
and the OAU. Government
should issue a Constituent
Assembly may even lead
to the PAC, perhaps Azapo,
joining the process conditional
on the restructuring of
CODESA into a more
effective body. The future
of the country can no
more be decided behind
closed doors.

© This is another in our series of
Breaking the Logjam, 10
stimulating debate on
how to get the negotiations
back on track.

Staff Reporters

Workers who took part in the two-day stayaway which ended yesterday lost an estimated R250 million in earnings, the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) said

The ANC/Cesatu/SACP alliance announced yesterday that the two-day stayaway had ended, but that protest action would continue "until the De Klerk Government heeds the demands of the people".

At least 34 people have been killed in umres-related violence since Monday

Law and Order Minister: Hernus Kriel yesterday reiterated the Government's claim that the stayaway had been enforced by massive intimidation

o SR -2

Stayaway over but protests continue

He added that the mass action had merely delayed the granting of voting rights to the disfranchised

The ANC/SACP/Cusato alliance said yesterday at a press conference in Johannesburg, chaired by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, that of South Africa's total workforce of about 10 million, at least 5 million had stayed away. In addition millions of students did not attend classes

The alliance said the level of support for the stayaway was

double the number of white voters who participated in the March referendum

Mr Ramaphosa said the alliance "which was still wailing for the Government's response to the ANC's 14 demands" re

served the right to embark on any form of mass action in Wy-ture, including another stayaway

â\200\234The mass campaign for democracy and peace will continue. In New and ever more creative forms within the People's Government in Leeds [the demands of the people,â\200\235 alliance leaders said in a joint statement

Blaming the alliance for deaths and violence, NP secretary-general Dy Stoffel van der

Merwe said the alliance had demanded elections within six to nine months. But the way the mass action campaign had been conducted had not reassured the community that elections in which the ANC took part would be peaceful.

Sacob said the strike appeared as widespread yesterday as on Monday when absenteeism figures of 70 percent were recorded in major urban areas.

Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo said there had been significant support from employers for democratic transition in South Africa although they had differed with the ANC, Cosatu/

SACP way of achieving it

â\200\234Many employers in this COUNTRY are now starting to recognise that we are all going to have industrial peace in this country unless we have a democratic transition, as that was our fundamental call for what we are trying to achieve.â\200\231

Mr Naidoo shrugged off claims of intimidation of non-participants in the mass action, saying many incidents of intimidation could be laid at the doorsteps of agents provocateurs as well as acts of intimidation by the security forces

Meanwhile, unrest monitors observing Monday's start to [be

stayaway claimed police had exaggerated the number of roadblocks that were thrown up in the townships to prove their point of rifle intimidation and harassment.

â\200\234We have been around the townships and can say that strike supporters have been disciplined and there have been relatively few incidents of intimidation,â\200\235 Democratic Party unrest monitoring group spokesman Roy Aloslee said in Durban yesterday.

Chamber of Mines president Bobby Godsell said the strike did not seriously affect production in either the gold or coal

industries

Mr Godsell said the strike would not solve the â\200\231

would not solve the â\200\234problem

purported to address [fact] was likely to prove misleading which would increase unemployment!

Sacoby said the economic loss of earnings for workers would affect various sectors.

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry affirmed that the strike the stayaway was a

spread as of Monday although it

found no hard evidence intimidation
Police spokesman said

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South reported another 100 per cent stayaway in Pretoria yesterday with no clashes running between the city and surrounding townships "â\200\234We will hope fully be back to normal today,â\200\235 he said ;

Sapa reports that suburban : Towns in many parts of the country were virtually empty and a Metro Services spokesman said there were fewer passengers than there had been on Monday

Refuse removal remained the
Tmanicipal service mosl affected
by the slavaway and in Johan-
nesburg, no house-to-house ref-
use collection or streel cleaning
has occurred since the weekend
4 spothesman for Lhe city
cleansing department said he >
hoped things would retorn to J
pormal this morning.

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|Help restore peace: Call to ANC1

Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The
National Party yesterday
called on Mr Nelson Man-
dela and other ANC lead-
ers to seek joint action to
restore peace in South
Africa, regardless of con-
stitutional differences.

Dr Stoffel van der
Merwe. NP secretary-
general, said the ANC
leadership should co-op-
erate with the security
police in order to protect
the lives and property of
citizens

This was especially
needed in view of ANC
admissions that they had
problems in maintaining

discipline of their own
ranks

â\200\234 Since the ANC now
also acknowledges that
they have internal prob-
lems on this front, the
time has come to make
Joint attempts to restore a
climate of peace, irre-
spective of the differences
which may exist about
constitutional negotia-
tions, â\200\235 said Dy Van der
Merwe.

It was highly cynical of
Mr Cyril Ramaphosa,
ANC secretary-general,
to speak with satisfaction
about the mass action. It
reflected the unfeeling
disregard of the ANC for

human life.

â\200\234 The ANC alliance de-
mands that democratic
elections must be held
within six to nine months,
but the mass action has
contributed nothing to as-
sure the community that
elections in which the
ANC take part will be
held in a peaceful climate

â\200\234 There have been re-
peated warnings that free
and fair elections cannot
be held in a climate of vi-

olence

â\200\234A call s made on Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders actively to promote co-operation with the security forces in fu-

twe in order to protect the Jives and property of al South Afrnians.

â\200\234This 5 particularly necessary in the hght of M Chris Hani's findings ht some elemenis of the ANC are out of control. ard Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s ac-knowledgement that se-rious disciphnary prob-Jens are expenenced in some instances.

Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s most re-cent statements were m sharp confrast with -stuctions to members of th: ANC at the time of th: Boipatong massacre, nct 10 co-operate with the pclice. Now he admitied

that there were â\200\230those among his own people who were taking the faw nto their own hands, he said

However. words alune are not enovgh. and the ANC should take part in joint altempts to restoe peace. The time had come for constautive ne gotiations, with pive-and-lake, buslt on the progress already made, sad Dr Van der Merwe

The party lauded the stabihsing role the SAP was playmng, particulatly m Black areas. under dif-ficult conditions

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political: N ewsman

By Carat Hills

JOURNALIST. Mr
Paul Tuylor (43), iy sat-
isfied that Monday's
incident in which he
und fellow newsman,
Mr Philip van Niekerk
(36), were shot, was
not puhucally motj-
valted,

He is convinced the
motive for the attack was
robbery.

Mr Tuylor, the Wuch-
ington Post correspon-
dent in South Africa. told
The Citizen he had been
in the country for about
week and wanted (o get a
feel of the townships on
the first day of the genery)
stnke

He, Mr Van Nickerk of
the Weekly Muail, and M
Hubert Matloe, a stringer
100 the Weekly Muil,
worked their way through
Soveln, Omngc Furm
and Evaton

â\200\234There was no sense of
being wn danger," sid Mr
Tix)lOf

They were stopped at
afi tnlnrsecuon near Seho-
keng when o car suddenly
sped up uionside thein
and blocked them off

â\200\234Howas a pretty candom
sort of thinp

â\200\234Four men jumped
out. One had 4 pun point-
cd at Phil They suid they
Walted and
money .,

e â\200\234car

Mr Taylor got out of
the car and was Standing

with lus back 10 jt trying
lo deul wth his assailapt.

"I was explaining that |
Was i journalist 1 got my
wallet vut 10 show him my
Press curd â\200\224 not thar |
thought it would make
any real difference â\200\224 and
right at thut moment |
heard a shot.

â\200\234The guy hassling me
stopped, and all four de-
aded 10 jump into both
cars."

Mi Taylor suid he walk-
ed around the car 10 the
driver's side and saw Mr
Van Niekerk on the
ground with blood 4l
over hus face.

â\200\234The guy who shot Phil
wus still next 10 him. |
looked 4t him and he

Jooked at me und he Just
shot â\204¢

The men sped off in
thair car and the journal-
istsâ\200\231 rentul car

Mr Matloe . meanwhile,
tun for help and managed
to flag down . passing
motorist who gave the
wounded journalises a lift

My Van Niekerk was
shot in the head at point
blank range. The bullet
entered below his left ear,
passed through his mouth
â\200\224 shaticring his jaw â\200\224
and exited below his right
ear,

Mr Tuylor was shot in
the left shoulder.

They were uirlifted to
the Johannesburg Hospi-
tal

Mr Van Nieckerk was in
a satsfuctory condition

following surgery at the
Hosprai on

Milpark
Monday.

A hospital spokesmun
yesterday sujd he would
probably be transferred

lo the Rosebank Clinje
for further treatinent.

Mr Taylor underwent
SUrgery to remove the
bullet in his shoulder on
Monday night in the
Brenthurst Clinie,

He was feeling fine yes-
lerday and was experi-
encing little pain Doctors
had told him there was no
perinanent damage.

Mr Taylor said he
would not return to the
United States following
the shooting, but would
complete his three-year
tour of duty in South
Africa

WUS-TFF 444

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BISHO. 200\224 A tense standoff for most of yesterday between mass action supporters and Ciskei security forces ended at sunset when Brig Oupa Gqozo agreed to allow more than 30000 demonstrators to officially enter the Bisho Stadium.

The crowd then had the last say when they refused to use the back entrance to the stadium as instructed by the Ciskei security forces, and instead toyi-toyed down Bisho's main road and through the front entrance

There SA Communist Party secretary-general Chns Hami addressed the crowd and a memorandum was handed to a Col William Henna, who represented the Ciskei Commissioner of Police, Maj-Gen J J Vikto.

Brig Gqozo and the ANC. SACP and Con-

gress of SA Trade

.\Ciskei clash averted

Unions alliance sup-

porters started the day with hardline positions which seemed to offer no compromise,

The brigadier vowed the marchers would not enter the Ciskei, while his opponents insisted

they would not be stopped from marching on the Legislative Assembly buildings in Bisha.

Negotiations to end the impasse brought in Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, and SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

A United Nations observer, Jose Campino, diligently followed the entire day's proceedings, which began when the marchers gathered in the Victoria cricket grounds in the centre of King William's Town. about 4km from the Ciskei border.

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Tâ\200\234Acconding to Sacobâ\200\231s

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' of employees who had

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Mmems, " o said.

Sa0bâ\200\231s regional break-
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Â® Western Cape: 15

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Â® Somthern Natal and

Zalotand: 20 to 30 per-

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tam 2rea: 7S percent
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Â® Eastern Transvaal:
60 percent

Â® Eastern Cape/Border: 35 percent

Â® PWY region: 90 percent.

The business group expressed its concern for the loss of life, saying the situation remained volatile.

Sacob believed the loss of earnings would affect spending power in various sectors of the economy, while the impact on business confidence would invariably be negative.

The risks of politically motivated stayaways from work were increasing as the further disruption of business operations would threaten the foundations of future economic activity, Sacob said,

A significant drop in sales in the retail trade and at chain stores occurred during the two-day national strike, resulting in some of these businesses closing down for the duration of the strike, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut said yesterday

AF! manpower committee chairman Mr J P Landman said, however, contingency measures taken by manufacturers generally ensured that production was not adversely affected

The delivery of goods was a major problem experienced throughout by businesses. Mr Landman said in a statement

This was due to the absence

of Black drivers as well as fears for the safety of personnel and damage to delivery vehicles, especially

pecially near townships.
There had been significant support from employers for democratic transformation in South Africa

in 2011 although they had delivered 2241

ferred with the
Cosatu/SACP method of
achieving it, according to
Cosatu general secretary
Jay Naidoo said on Monday.
day.

234 Many employers in
this country are now starting
to recognise that we
are not going to have industrial
peace in this
country unless we have a
democratic transition as
that is our fundamental
call for what we are trying
to achieve, 235

According to Mr Naidoo,
the calls Cosatu had
received from business

cost of strike

ANC/ !

people on the mass action
had been largely sympathetic

but there had been
differences of opinion on
the tactics and strategies
used by the tripartite alliance.

234 However, what

was

important was the fact

that we
shifting many employers
in this country in accepting
the legitimacy of our
right in what are essentially
political and socio-economic
demands, 235 Mr
Naidoo said. 224 Sapu

succeeded in

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Sacob

THE South African Chamber of Business has estimated that the loss of earnings for the two-day strike was probably R250 million.

This would also affect spending power in various sectors. Although private enterprise had been able to cushion the impact of the mass action and general strike on the economy to some extent, the effect on business confidence here and abroad

had nonetheless been

negative.

The overall impression gained by Sacob is that the level of absenteeism on the second day of the general strike was broadly the same as on Monday. This was to a large extent attributable to the fact that contingency planning and other alternative arrangements by employers had been based on a planned two-day general

strike

Once again there were regional and sectoral differences throughout the country â\200\224 but overall the attendance at work was increased by about 5 percent.

Sacob said the use of temporary staff, the continued maintenance of essential services, exemption work to compensate for

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14:53 VOS-IFF 444

MASS action organisers yesterday said they
planned to occupy family centres and business
districts across the nation today in a bid to

move their campaign into the centres of White
power

Potice said they were
prepared for any new
mass campaign actions
and accused organisers
of not keeping (o
democratic agree-
ments reached before
the campaign was
launched.

A statement released
at an ANC news confer-

ence in Johannesburg
declared the next Mo
days will witness new
forms of protest.

Throughout the
country people will
gather for marches and
demonstrations in
centres of White power.

Page? gl

T TOPAGE? -

They will lead 300
marches on Union Buildings
in Pretoria
there will be similar
events in other parts of the
country. The
earlier IOCTVIEW.
said the plans
that comes in the
would be linked off to-
day would depend on
the actions of the

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Strike death toll rises '

FROM PAGE 1

Latest reports of violence reveal that:

â® Three people were killed and three were injured

; injured when hostel-dwellers allegedly fired on a funeral procession in Randburg, east of Johannesburg, yesterday, according to police liaison officer. Lt-Col Dave Bruce.

â® Five people were killed and one was wounded by unknown attackers in Alexandra township early yesterday.

Colonel Bruce said one woman was burnt. another woman was shot, one man was shot and burnt. and two men were shot at about 1.15 am.

A fourth man was admitted to Alexandra clinic with gunshot wounds

â® At least 18 people have been killed in Natal since early Monday morning, according to SA Police spokesman, Capt Bala Naidoo. The deaths, however, have not been linked directly to the mass action campaign.

Mr Knet said the sooner the ANC/Cosatu SACP allianceâ\200\231s mass action campaign ended, â\200\234the sooner negotiations to ensure that everyone in this country can participate in the democratic process can be resumedâ\200\235â\204ç,

The campaign had

failed â\200\234in its stated aim of overthrowing the government. The government is still in power and is firmly in the saddleâ\200\235

Mr Kne! alleged that the mass stayaway action had been achieved â\200\234by the use of massive intimidationâ\200\235

â\200\234Bus and transport net-
works were disrupted,
commuters were as-
saulted, police were at-
tacked, journalists were
attacked, and many
people were sjambokked
INTo parucipating in cer-
tamn rallies and other ac-
tions.â\200\235

Mr Knel said only
about 80 000 people had
attended ANC/SACP/Co-
satu rallies â\200\224 â\200\234less than
0.2 percent of the popula-
tionâ\200\235.

At Ratanda, trouble
broke out at 3.15 pm at
the funeral of alleged
Afnctn National Con-
gress members,

Residents of the hostel,
situated Opposite the
graveyard, allegedly fired
on the funeral procession.
Fire was returned.

Local ANC chairman,
Mr Obed Nkosi, alleged
that a group of ANC sup-
porters in the funeral pro-
cession were confronted
by axe and stick-wielding
Inkatha Freedom Party
supporters

The -ANC mourners
were on their way to bury

three victims of an alleged
IFP attack last week.

Mr Nkosi claimed when
the IFP group started to
attack, the ANC mourn-
ers abandoned the coffins
and fled.

The ANC mourners
later regrouped and bur-
ied the three victims after
police intervened and es-
corted the IFP supporters
into Ratanda migrant
workersâ\200\231 hostel.

Mr Nkosi said two
people were shot and
killed and several were
wounded in the attack,
and taken to hospital,
Their condition could not
immediately be confirm-
ed.

At Alexandra Town-

ship, police blocked and turned back a group of hostel dwellers armed with traditional weapons as they attempted to march on a squatter camp said to be a stronghold of the African National Congress.

Residents said the marching group consisted of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters from Madaia hostel.

South African Communist Party organiser Thabo Morudu claimed seven people had been killed in Alexandra since early Monday night,

The Natal toll includes killings throughout Natal and KwaZulu. with the highest toll in Umlazi.

where at least eight people have been killed since 2 am on Monday.

The others took place in various townships stretching from Port Shepstone, on the South Coast, to Natal's far North Coast.

The toll excludes weekend unrest deaths and an attack on residents in Esikhwini township. near Empangeni, on Sunday night which took at least 10 dead. The ANC said 11 people died and claimed most were its members.

A man was killed and 10 people were injured in an ambush on the Gen- geshe Road near Richmond, in Natal, yesterday.

Police said shots were fired on a motor vehicle at 11,30 am.

The driver, Mr Dekha Poswa, was injured in the attack, but managed to drive about a kilometre further where he came across a Defence Force patrol

Oae of his two passeng-
crs, Mr Bhekheni Mtupg-
wa (40), was killed while
the other passenger, Mr
Namwakhe Jiii, was in-
Jured.

Mr Poswa and Mr i
were taken to hospitulâ\200\224
Sapa

law and Order Minister Heiner Krich. in the second statement on NAASS action is as many days, yesterday strongly criticised the two-day general strike. saying violence in the past two days has increased by 300 percent compared to the figures for last week.

More than 40 people were killed. scores have been injured and enormous damage to property has taken place,

This massive increase in violence took place despite assurances from the African National Congress and its allies that mass action would be

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Citizen Reporter

VIRTUALLY all Black schools in metropolitan areas were empty yesterday and Department of Education and Training (DET) officials were doubtful if any scholars would turn up in class today.

A spokesman said that there were also reports that many pupils did attend schools in other urban areas where

they were not subjected to widespread intimidation.

â\200\234The situation differed from area to area and attendance ranged from 0 to 100 percent.

â\200\234In smaller centres and rural areas attendance figures ranged from satisfactory to excellent,â\200\235 he said.

He said the DET received many reports of intimidation which prevented teachers and pu-

pils from attending school. In other cases pupils phoned in to say they anticipated intimidation and stayed away.

The DET said most Black pupils at Model C and Model D schools who lived in suburban areas were present as they were not as exposed to intimidation like those living in Black townships.

â\200\234They have indicated

"DET cites intimidation for most empty classes

to their principals that they would have liked to be in class but were prevented from doing so,â\200\235 a spokesman said.

The three Model D schools, Malvern. Troyeville and Orange Grove primary schools which re-opened this year as Black schools under the DET, experienced large-scale intimidation and classes were empty, according to the spokesman.

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UN observers curbed
violence, says Lorimer

THE presence of United Nations observers has had a restraining effect on violence levels during South Africa's two-day national strike, according to PWV regional peace committee chairman, Mr Rupert Lorimer.

There is no doubt in my mind that their presence has contributed to a more peaceful situation. The visit of the UN team has made everyone behave better,* he told reporters yesterday at a joint UN/Peace Committee report-back briefing in Johannesburg.

The 10-member UN team, together with about 600 National Peace Secretariat officials, is monitoring the ANC-led alliance's week of mass action across the country

The joint monitoring team yesterday praised the behaviour of police and demonstrators alike in several areas.

Everyone, I felt, was showing off to our United Nations representatives and more of this would be beneficial indeed,* Mr Lorimer said.

Though observers had not witnessed incidents of intimidation, this did not mean intimidation did not occur, he said

UN observer team leader, Mr Hisham Omayad, and colleague, Mr Shola Omoregie, said they had negotiated between opposing factions yesterday. Mr Omayad added he had instructed his team to spend as much time as possible in the field and to solve problems.

Asked if this extended their observer status, he said the UN officials were not passive observers, but were interacting and advising the regional peace committees.

He stressed that the UN mission's presence in South Africa was temporary.

Any future, more permanent, involvement would have to be determined by the UN Security Council, following the report-back by UN special envoy, Mr Cyrus Vance.

Mr Vance was likely to make his recommendations to UN secretary-general, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, later this week, Mr Omayad said.
~â\200\224 Sapa.

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â\200\230Strike did not seriously
affect gold, coal outputâ\200\231

THE natiop-wide strike
had not seriously affected
production in the goid
and coal industnes,
Chamber of Mines presi-
dent Mr Bobby Godsell
said ln a stateeunt yester-
day.
â\200\234On the vast majority
of our mines attendance
has been normal over
these past two days,â\200\235 he
said.

â\200\234Generally, where
there was a degree of ab-
senteeism it was as a re-
suit of local arrangements
between mine manage-
ments and employees.
Quite a number of these
local arrangements pro-
vided for the cmpleoyees
to work in time lost as a
result of their partici-
pation in the stayaway,"â\204ç

Mr Godsell said the

strike would not solve the
problems it purported lo
address. In fact, it was
Likely to prove a blind al-
ley which would increase
poverty and unemploy-
ment.

â\200\234It will not help anyone
if the cconomy has to
bear the burden of ex-
pressing everyoneâ\200\231s gric-
vances, of which there are

many. The mining indus-
try believes that the frag-
ile state of the economy
shoud be recognised and
that people with grie-
vances should seek ave-
nues of expression which
will leave the economy in-
tact.!

He expressed the hope
that all the major political
actors would find it poss-
ible to resome constitu-
tional negohanhons as
quickly as possible, so in-
dustry could rerum to its

task of creating the
wealth needed for all
South Africans

"We need to find ways
of resolving our problems
as a matter of urgency,
and that includes the im-
mediate resumption of
constitutional tasks but
stopping the economy is
not the way to do it," Mr
Godsell said. Sapa.