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Ny

killed and four seriously injured when a van transporting people to work was ambushed near Umgababa on Natal's South Coast yesterday morning.

The charred bodies of seven of the victims were still in the back of the open van at noon yesterday while one of the victims was shot dead, in what appeared to be an escape bid, a few metres away.

The Ctimn fafre
g killed In Natal
â\200\230Ã@â\200\231PgAth A};/e\o'}ï¬\201 e ambu Sh

The attackers struck at about 7.15 am and fired at least 50 rounds of AK47 and 9 mm bullets. It appeared those in the back of the van were shot dead before being set alight.

A heavy army presence was brought into the area on Monday morning while police forensic ex-

ents from Pretoria were expected to arrive later to carry out detailed investigations.

Police at the scene showed reporters a multitude of bullet holes in the burned-out van. The at-

tack took place on the
Umgababa-Mfume road,
about 1km from the
Santh Coast highway,
40 km south of Durban.

Police said they were
unsure of the motive, al-
though the Inkatha Free-
dom Parry said the attack
was part of ongoing political
violence.

IFP spokesman Ed Till-
et said the driver was an
Inkatha supporter and it
appears the passengers
were as well as they all
come from Hlanzentsi
which is an IFP stronghold:
hotdâ\200\235.

The IFP/ANC political
conflict in the Umgababa
area has been relatively
low-key since the late
1990s. A
peace meeting between
the IFP's Frank Mdlalose
and the ANC's Jacob
Zuma at the time defused
the conflict with only
sporadic clashes reported
since then.

Six United Nations un-
rest monitors are ex-
pected in Natal tomorrow

as political violence in the

region continues to
sweep through townships
with attacks and killings
reaching levels last ex-
perienced in the mid-
1980s.

One year after the sign-
ing of the National Peace
Accord, and at least 1 200
lives later, peace struc-
tures on the ground are
few and far between in
Natal.

The Human Rights
Commission said Natal's
death toll since Septem-
ber 14 last year had
topped 1 200 with August
the worst month in which
195 people died in the
province's political war
involving Inkatha Free-
Nationalist and Uonghed Fian
porters.

Local structures of the

Pesce Accord have
pattled t6 get off the
ground with several Local
Dispute Resolution Com-
mittees still in theix infan-
Âçy and others not operat-
ing or bauling to be
launched. â\200\224 Sapa.

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U GSINESS DAY, 15 SEPTEMBER 1992

COMMENT

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Unhappy start

EACE cannot be imposed, nor

can it be brought about with

the wave of a magie wand,

Perhaps the biggest failure of the national peace accord after a somewhat unhappy first year is Its inability to live up to unrealistic expectations of what it eould achieve.

A year ago the 29 signatories, including the major political parties, promised to try to end political violence and to get up codes of conduct, procedures and mechanisms to achieve this goal. They didÃ®not promise there would be peace within 12 months, and no signatory to the accord would have expected this to happen, They did, however, expect levels of violence to decrease, and the horrific number of deaths to decline, Photographs of President de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi led the public to hope that the pact would bring peace,

As violence increases and the death toll rises, the question to be asked is not whether the accord failed, but whether there was a realistic chance of more suceess than has been achieved so far. And, as the participants increasingly use the peace accord for their own political purposes, turning a document of hope into a tatty political weapon, they must be asked whether they really intend it to succeed.

There have been successes â\200\224 scores of them â\200\224 many in far-flung places and many unrecorded by the media. Conflict has been averted,

- and lives saved. Local dispute reso- -

lution committees have resulted in political opponents meeting, talking and agreeing instead of fighting. The presence of peace monitors has helped prevent violence at rallies

~and marches, though not at Bisho

last week; former police erities sit on a new Police Board, though not yet on a military one.

The failure, as in our political process, is one of will; it is a failure not of the secretariat but of the . politicians.

Within months of the signing last September it was clear things were going wrong, that violence was escalating. There have been several calls for the principals to get together publicly and rededicate themselves to peace; De Klerk, . Mandela and Buthelezi specifically were urged to send messages of peace to warring followers. Such a meeting was eventually planned for this month but has been postponed.

The lack of peace led to the appeal for outside observers; 50 UN monitors have been sent to strengthen the peace accord structures, to observe potential conflict situations and to report to the UN secretary general. They will be kept busy, but they are here to observe our follies, not to stop them.

Although peace is an end in itself, the accord signatories alsoâ\200\231 recognised that peace was an essential prerequisite for multiparty democracy. If we are to have hopes of either in the next 12 months, the peace accordâ\200\231s second year will have to be better than its first,

UN monitors expected
in violence-racked Natal

DURBAN â\200\224 Six UN unrest moni-
tors are expected in Natal tomor-

row as political violence contin-

ues to sweep through townships,
with killings reaching levels last
experienced in the mid-'80s.

And the UN announced the
appointment of a special envoy yes-
terday, while Commonwealth coun-
tries were to send a team of observ-
ers to SA to report on the latest
violence and encourage the resump-
tion of negotiations, Cornmonwealth
secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku
said.

" Another eight people were killed in
an ambush on a van in Umgababa on

Natal's south coast yesterday, exact- .

ly & year after the national peace
accord was signed. Weekend violence
claimed at least 15 lives in Natal

Regional ANC and Inkatha spokes-
men yesterday welcomed the UN
monitoring teamâ\200\231s presence in Natal.

ANC southern Natal spokesman
Dumisani Makhaye said internation-
al monitors were needed to curtail
â\200\234gtate-gponsored violenceâ\200\235.

Inkatha spokesman Kim Hodgson

said the peace accord had not worked

in Natal and he welcomed â\200\234any inter-

national involyement that can create
a climate of peaceâ\200\235.
The monitors will be stationed in

-Durban, Maritzburg, Empangeni and

Port Shepstone. o

UN Sedretary-General Boutros
Boutros-Ghali announced through a
spokesman he had appointed Viren-
dra Dayal of India, a former UN un-

dersecretary-general, as the special
envoy to SA.

Dayal is to begin a week-long visit
to SA tomorrow.

Anyaoku gaid the mission would

try to defuse tensions and not seek to determine who was to blame for last week's massacre of ANC demonstrators by Ciskeian troops.

He said economic sanctions would continue.

Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall, who chairs the Commonwealth foreign ministers' committee, said an advance party of observers left London yesterday and would be followed by a team of 12 observers, among them two Canadian

ones who would probably have police backgrounds.

- TIM COHEN reports that an eight-man OAU delegation arrived in SA yesterday for a three-week visit to

publishes > DAY, 15 SEPTEMBER 1992

to

discuss -what role the organisation could play in restarting negotiations and resolving violence.

The trip was a follow-up to the visit of OAU leaders to SA in May. ;

The delegation would meet a broad range of political players and hoped to determine what new action it could take to assist the political process in SA. Yesterday the delegation met ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki.

RAY HARTLEY reports that national peace secretariat officials began a two-day briefing session with a group of 16 UN monitors on the situation in SA yesterday.

In other incidents of violence a narcotics detective and a police informer were seriously wounded yesterday when they were shot near the Woluter hostel in Jeppe, Johannesburg. - " Witwatersrand police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said the attack was not in any way political

and was purely a criminal matter.

In Cape Town, damage estimated at R20 000 was caused when a delivery van was set alight in Khayelitsha on Sunday, police said yesterday. The

driver escaped. .

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Planh to occupy towns and cities

ANC alliance
intensifies }/ '

mass action

THE ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance â\200\224
stung by accusations of recklessness
during last week's march on Ciskei --
yesterday hit back by announcing an
intensified mass action programme,

The mass action will unfold even as

preparations get under way to haul consti-
tutional negotiations back on track.

The campaign includes the the blockad-
ing and occupying of SA cities, marches
and tax revolts. â\200\234

However, a planned march into Bophu-
thatswana to unseat President Lucas

"Mangope was called off yesterday during a
_meeting in Johannesburg of alllance repre-
.sentatives. i

. ANC campaigns committee chairman
. Ronnie Kasrils gaid: â\200\234Preparations in Bo-
- phuthatswana have not been adequate for
any action by this weekend.â\200\235

lt is understood the repercunssions of the
Cigkei incident in which 29 people were
killed, and the relative weakness of the
ANC in the western Transvaal, played a
role in the decision. ;

But both Cosatu and the SACP gave
additional impetus to the mass action cam-
paign yesterday. Cosatu deputy secretary-
general Sam Shilowa," speaking after a
weekend Cosatuy campaigns conference,
said mass action and negotiations were not

mutually exclusive. And .the SACP.said .. p
mass action had given' the-alliancÃ© the (1. e l'f."i~\202.â\200\230h an%

1o PATRICK BULGER |

upper band over President F W de Klerk.
Cosatu actions include a regional

stayaway in the eastern Cape to coincide with the funeral on Friday of the Ciskei victims, a march to the electrified fence on the - Mozambique border, a week of marches and other protests from October 11 to demand the release of political prisoners, and an attempt to prevent the sitting of Parliament on October 12 by mounting large-scale occupations and blockades of towns and cities. - Cosatu said marchers should stop delivering memorandums but should demand responses, Cosatu set November 1 as a target date for it and the ANC to stop paying PAYE to

government and November 1 as 2 target -

dste for employers to stop paying PAYE. In addition, Cosatu announced campaigns against companies responsible for dismissing workers during stayaway. s he SACP â\200\224 defending the actions of its central committee members at Bisho â\200\224 jashed ous at what it called the victimisation of white communists for what bad happened at Bisho, and said mass action had strengthened the alliamcs: -) â\200\234Everywhere in mass action, throughoat

Pags 274",

Mass action

red flag of our party has been in-evidence,â\200\235 a party central committee statement said. The committee said it had noted a very significant shift in the balance of forces in favour of the broad liberation movement. â\200\234This shift is due notably to the three months of rolling mass action for peace and democracy throughout our country. The central committee salutes the millions of South Africans who have taken part in the mass action campaigns. â\200\230

) From Page 1

the August

dth of our conntrz the-

"W.e call upon i-\201xem to intensify the.

struggle for a constituent assembly, an interim government of national unity and for the extension of free political activity to every corner of our country,â\200\235 the statement said.

The SACP reaffirmed its commitment to a negotiated settlement and said it

backed the ANC's decision not to meet De Klerk until he had responded satisfactorily to the ANC's demands.

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BUSINESSDAY, 165 SEPTEMBER 1992

18:43 VOS-IFP 444 313

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LUSAKA.

leader Nelson Mandela
reiterated here yester-
day that a meeting with
South
Government to resolve
the deadlocked peace
talks would not take

â\200\224 ANC
African

unless State

President De Klerk ac-'{ VÂç
cepted his organisa- ; P
tion's conditions. {
Mt Mandela, who is on
a two-day visit to Zambia, ions
said Mr De Kierk should
telease the remaining pol-!
itical prisoners, â\200\230ban they
carrying _of traditional :

t, hostels.

weapons in Black town-.
s and .send secutity

â\200\234We say these condit-
must

~

Mandela conditions

FROM PAGE 1

to be tackled. If not what
will we be having dis-
cussions for?â\200\235

Mr Mandela called on
the Organisation of Afri-
can Unity (OAU) and the
Frontline States to fully
support other South Afri-

can liberation movements, saying the lack of their full recognition had contributed to the inter-party political rivalry.

â\200\234For years, the OAU and the Frontline States have only given full support to the ANC and the PAC, but political trends

L

in our country have changed and the two organisations should power seriously consider fully supporting other organisations as well.â\200\235

The: OAU and the Frontline States would be creating a2 problem by politically aligning themselves to politics of the 1960s, he added.

On the Ciskei massacre Mr Mandela said the death of the ANC. support-

would not stop his organisation from having mass action demonstrations in other nominally independent homelands. Another such protest would take place this weekend in Bophuthatswana.

â\200\234We are determined to apply mass action until there is freedom of our activity throughout South Africa.â\200\235

Mr Mandela is expected to meet the remaining ANC exiles and hold a Press conference today before flying back to South Africa. â\200\224 Sapa-

AFP.

â\200\224

Frederick Chiluba.

â\200\234We are committed to
i+ guards to sl township Â\$ peace and we have not Vi
olated the peace accord
and we do not want to
be imple- give that impression. But
" mented and addressed to address the question of
. first, otherwise there will
{ be no discussions,â\200\235 he
4 10ld Zambia's President

violence thesc issucs have

P.2

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18:43 VOS-IFP 444 3198

P.3

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1 OAU oroup meets ANC |

AN Organisation of African Unity delegation met African National Congress international affairs head Thabo Mbeki yesterday, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed.

The eight-man delegation arrived in South Africa earlier yesterday. Their brief is to investigate way of removing stumbling blocks on the road to negotiations, especially violence.

Mr Niehaus said the delegation was an advance party examining ways in which OAU monitors could join United Nations monitors who arrived in South Africa at the weekend. No details of the meeting could be obtained.

The delegation is led by

Senegalâ\200\231s ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr Ousmane Camara, and will spend three weeks in South Africa,

Mr Camara said the group's mission, which followed a similar visit in May, would be to consult with as many role-players in the negotiation process as possible.

A member of the advance party of United Nations observers will travel to Schweizer-Reneke in the Western Transvaal to-

day to observe an African National Congress organised march, ;

The rest of the 18 member group would continue with an orientation programme in Johannesburg, the deputy chief of this latest UN mission to South Africa, Mr Ismat Steiner of Tanzania, last night,

The orientation programme, which has been organised by the National - Peace Secretariat and ends today, has been extremely informative, he said,

Tomorrow the group plans to split in two, with one part leaving for Durban where they will set up offices. The remaining members will be based in Johannesburg.

Commonwealth countries would send a team of observers to South Africa to report on the latest violence and encourage the resumption of negotiations, Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, said in Ottawa yesterday

The observer mission will be going to make a practical contribution to arresting the violence and promoting an environ-

Nâ\200\224â\200\224

ment in which negotiations can be started,â\200\235 he said after meeting Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall.

Chief Anyaoku said the mission would try to defuse tensions and not seek to determine who was to blame for the massacre of 29 African National Congress demonstrators by Ciskei troops.

Economic sanctions would continue in place.

â\200\234I hope we will not re-
turn to the days when it
will be necessary to begin
to discuss - sanctions
again,â\200\235 he added.

Mrs McDougall, who
chairs the Common-
wealth Foreign Ministersâ\200\231
Committee, siid an ad-
vance party of observers
left London yesterday
and would be followed by
a team of 12 obsencrs. â\200\224
Sapa-Reuter.

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IS a2 10:44 VOS-IFF 444 3198

UN names
special
envoy

UNITED NA-
TIONS. â\200\224 The Unit-
ed Nations decided
yesterday to press
ahead with its at-
tempts to brâ\200\230ins peace
to South Africa by
announcing the ap-
pointment ~of 2
special envoy.

He is Mr Virendra
Dayal of India, a former
UN undersecretary-gen-
eral.

Mr Dayal is to begin 2
week-long visit to South
Africa tomorrow. He
will meet government
officials and representa-
tives of Black groups.

Mr Dayal accompan-
ied Mr Cyrus Vance, 2
former US Secretary of
State, during a similar
mission to South Africa
in July. Mr Vance, who
was then special UN en-
voy to South Africa, is
now involved in trying
to settle the Yugoslav
ensis,

On Sunday, the first
18 UN observers arrived
to monitor South Afri-
eaâ\200\231s chronic violence,
which worsened last
week wheo soldiers in
the Ciskei killed 29
African Natiosal Con-
gress protesters.

The observers, led by
Mr lsmat Steiner, of
Tanzania, will deploy
throughout the country
to work with local offic-

jale and a government-
appointed judicial pan-
el. â\200\224 Sapa-AP.

o See Page2

SEER 48 e

10:44 VOS-IFF 444 3193

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By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The SA. Communist Party has been slammed by both the National Party and the Democratic Party for what was described as a â\200\230reckless documentâ\200\235 claiming that the Bisho killings were ordered by Pretoria.

According to a statement issued yesterday by the SACP's central committee, the Bisho killings were planned and were rehearsed two days before the event, with the final signal to shoot coming from the SADF in Pretoria.

The SA Defence Force yesterday rejected the allegations. â\200\234We categorically deny this. If the SACP has evidence on which to base its claim, it

must present it to the Goldstone Commission,â\200\235 said SADF spokesman, Col Les Weyer.

Mrs Sheila Camerer, National Party director of information, described the statement as both reckless and scurrilous. .

â\200\234It has taken the Communists 2 whole weeks to concoct this story, which reads like a piece of old-style Stalinist disinformation. :

â\200\234It is outrageous stuff, and they should be ashamed.

â\200\234It is clear that the international criticism of Mr Ronnie Kasrils and

others who risked lives in order to provoke the incident has really stung them.

â\200\234But such a version of events has already been thoroughly discredited, not only here but over the

whole world. It is really

too late for them to concoct such a story.

â\200\234We reject it with the contempt it deserves.â\200\235

The tone of the statement confirmed that the SACP was abusing mass action for its own political ends, and that Communism was endangering the countryâ\200\231s future, said Mrs Camerer.

Mr Tony Leon, DP chairman in the Southern

. Trapsvaal, commented:

â\200\234If apartheid was the enemy in the past, the greatest threat to a democratic society in the new South Africa is the Communist Party.

" While the Ciskei Government bore the brunt of blame for %Vents in Bisho last week, it was clear that Communist leaders went into the situation with open eyes, ignoring all warnings to the contrary and in spite of the danger

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SACP slammed for
â\200\230reckless documentâ\200\231

to lives that it posed.

The Communist Party has made itself a party to an application to the courts on the holding of the march, then deliberately flouted the court order, showing wilful disres-

pect to the judiciary and disregard for the consequences of its actions.

â\200\234They are the enemies of democracy and the achievement of an open society,â\200\235 said Mr Leon.

The SACP statement said its general committee has assessed the Bisho massacre and found â\200\234evidence that it was a deliberately planned ambushâ\200\235.

â\200\234The ambush was rehearsed two days before. What is more, there is strong reason to believe that, while the triggers were pulled in Bisho, the plot was hatched in Pretoria.

â\200\234According to an international intelligence monitoring publication, there was an SADF Department of Military Intelligence signal from Pretoria ordering the massacre.

â\200\234On top of all this, there is at least one more element pointing to 8 major conspiracy â\200\224 the present, highly-orchestrated anti-SACP media campaign around the massacre began not on September 7, the day of the massacre, but exactly 24 hours earlier in the regime-supporting Sunday newspaper, Rapport.â\200\235

â\200\234Everywhere in mass action throughout the length and breadth of our country these past three months, the red flag of our party has been in evidence,â\200\235 said the SACP, in calling for an intensification of mass action.â\200\235

P.6
10: 45 VOS-IFF 444 3138

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. NPA helped contain
' violence: Chairman

THE National Peace
Accord had played a ma-
jor role in containing viol-
ence, peace committee
chairman John Hall said
on the accord's first anni-
versary,

Mr Hall's statcment
came as organisations ar-
gued the accord was a far-
ce and a failure and a

homeland leader called
for the agreement to be
revamped.

In a statement yester-
day, Mr Hall said critics
could, on the basis of
statistics, say that the
accord was not working,
However, indications are
that without the accord
we would be in 2 much

-

worse situation,

In an apparent con-
tradition of Mr Hall's
comments, the Human
Rights Commission said
that 3400 deaths and
5055 injuries had been
recorded in a surge of vi-
olence throughout the
country in the period be-
tween September 14 1991
and August 30 1992,

The figures did not in-
clude the September 7 Bi-
sho massacre in which 28
African National Con-
gress supporters were
killed and more than 200
injured by Ciskei soldiers.

The HRC said there
had been an average of
270 unrest-related deaths

a month since 19 parties, including the government, the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the homeland governments signed the accord.

In the 12 months prior to the signing the HRC recorded 2 649 deaths in political violence.

Accordingly, the

Peace Accord era marked an increase of 28,5 per-

cent (in deaths), " report-

ed the HRC. Sapa. -

1045 VOS-IFP 444 3198

P.7

Toe, Cineen flis|=isie

Two held after death
of Natal policeman

| PIETERMARIT2-

;â\200\230â\200\234 4 BURG. â\200\224 Two alleged

fix i members of the ANC's

Â« . military wing Umkhonto

ir: we Sizwe have been ar-

"' rested in connection with
the death of a policeman
in Pietermarizburg last
week.

Colonel Willie van den
Bergh, head of the Pieter-
marizburg Murder and
Rnhhrryâ\200\230:l.'ni(â\200\230*aiq rgagers
day dereÃtivesâ\200\231 had â\200\234at-

rested the two men last
Friday.

â\200\234One person recsived
military training in Tanza-
nia and recently returned
to South Africa while the
other was locally train-
Â¢d.â\200\235 said Col van den
Bergh,

Constable Marius Blom
(22), who was a member
of the Internal Stability

when he stopped a sus.
pected stolen vehicle.

As he approached the
vehicle, he was shot and
killed instantly.

Meanwhile, no arrests
have yet been made in
connection with the kill-
ing of Richmond farmer
Derrick Speirs (61).

Col Van den Bergh said
detectives were following

Unit. in Piaurmari!.hburs,v-{'up_ a numoer of {eads.
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wsâ\200\231 o patrobin Yhe &ty Â¥ Â\$gpyâ\200\231 v v

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| = sUsiEss DAY, 15 SEPTEMBER 1992

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PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has agreed to WILSON ZWANE

declare the violence-ravaged section of Al- -

alexandra township known as â\200\234Beirutâ\200\235 a di- Wil in turn, be in charge of how t
hey will
saster area, but residents have rejected be channelled,â\200\235 he said. : _
conditions for the declaration. Alexandra community leaders et Law

A source close to the Alexandra branch anddiOrder Minister He";\â\200\230â\200\234â\200\231
K"â\200\230e}â\200\234"' April

of the ANC said yesterday aJetter W8 to discuss violence In LiF townÃ©n p.

v recelved from De Klerk last wedk in which Kriel was then asked lo refer the com-

\\ 03 Â¢ .\ ' " " i dersâ\200\231 t th â\200\234B tâ\200\235 be
i lD \g:, :srÂ«Â« Ay e T

w i v Kriel agreed and indicated he would

O)@â\200\224Qsd \â\200\231Q.Â« whig:tw:ere!jâ\200\231::: f.dttâ\200\230:: ::r::ts:?â\200
\230:\.dihons. visit Alexandra â\200\234soonâ\200\235 to examine the sâ\200\234â\200\234&
L e (N The source said one of the conditions :gf"â\200\230.?:gs:&i¬\201g st;i:nzï¬\201â\200
\230t"erday b be

was that residents in the area should apply ANC offictal Paul Mashatile recently

individually to his offtice for relief aid. said thousands of residents had peen dis-
\:â\200\230 â\200\230\3 â\200\231Z/â\200\230 \N)V\ â\200\234We reject this condition as it
makes the placed by violence and their homes had
receipt of aid very difficult. been loot

â\200\234What De Klerk must do is to make De Klerk's office could not eonfirm or
funds available to the council â\200\224 under deny thathe had declared â\200\234Reirutâ
\200\235 a disas-

Aâ\200\224â\200\230S \O\ 629.63 whose jurisdiction â\200\230Beirutâ\200\231 falls â\200\224
which ter area.
CAVSP

Residents reject govt conditiondÂ®
' 5%

â\200\234OAY, 15 SEPTEMBER ' | 992

Buthelezj warns
public sServants

Own Connpondom
ULUNDJ â\200\224 RwaZniu Chief Mints.
ter and IFP president Dy Mango-
suthu Buthelez; has warned (he
estimated 109 ggo public servants

government to pledge their
â\200\234undivided loyaltyâ\200\235 or â\200\234get outâ\200\235,
In a tough Statement Jggt bight,
Buthelesi hinted that the region
might secede, and intended to
shape a COURtry in which fÂ¢ would
either hey Incorporated or ex-
cluded. â\200\230He would explafn to UN
Seereury~Genern Boutros Boy.
tros-Ghajt that, Â¢ becessary,
KwaZuln woulq defy â\200\234eyen the
UN" lo clatm ity righepy) role.
After the IFpâ\200\231s annual confer-
ence in Ulundj gy July, Buthelesi
said he found Secession an â\200\234intep.
on",

â\200\234At this time, whep South

Africa is gÂ¢ the crossroads, we
feel that the public servants of
waZulu shoulq make a decision
on whether they are with Kwa.
Zulu or not,â\200\235 Buthelezi sald,
Â¢ message evoked o sharp
response from the ANC,

ANC southery regional pubjje.
ity chief Dumiganj ghkluye said
:'nt night the ANC was â\200\234horrrj.

edâ\200\235,

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 â\200\224

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OT SO long ago, last week's
killings on the Ciskei border
would have been seen here
B Was yet another harrowing
_actin the great SA morality play,
â\200\230and a .summons to excoriate
| further the loathsome regime.
â\200\230 lo other words, it woudt have been
| seen rauch the way Dennls Goldberg,
the Rivonia explosives expert who
now serves as ANC mmzn in
Loundon, wanted CNN v Lo see
it when he debated the sabject with
-ambassader Harry Schwarz jast
Tuesday: the evil white mau and his
henchmen mow down innocent dem-
onstrators led by the latter da' (SA
egulvaleats of Martin Luther Riog.
â\200\234That has not been the respoase,
even fcom those who view Ubemn-
selves as Kiagâ\200\231s heirs. No marches
on the SA embassy led by the Rev
Jesse Jackson (he merely came
round for a quiet cbat with the am-
bassador and called for Pretoriz to
apply sanctions on Ciskelâ\200\231s Brig
Gqo). TransAfrica's Randall
inson did lead a rally outside the
White House with Arthur Ashe, but it
bad to do with Baiti-On Capltol Hill,
whence emotion-venting stateroents
and calls for aclion geoerally fssue
like coafetti, an almost eerle sileace.
Senator Paul Simon, chairraan of the
Senate Alrica subcommittee, beld 8
bearing. The subject was AIDS Io
Alrica, the atendance thio.

Tie Little Rock, Arkaasas, bead-
quarters of Democratic presidential

candidate Bill Clinton obligingly
vâ«d a Press release when asked
one. Glven his stralned relations
with Jackson, onme mighl have
thought this was a free shot for the
candidate to show he cared.

But no, the lext was balanced to
the point of being anodyae: killings
deplorable, government cannol Jook
the olher wa{. those responsible
must be brought to justice, violence
â\200\224 wenattributed ta aoy parlicular

(grty â\200\224 must be halled for the sake
of

tions and the econarny, the

eonor UN and other international

The mad massacre
~ at Bisho made
something go click

.

SIMON BARBER in Washington

observers get deployed the betler,
and (heee cheers for the Goldstone
comruission's expanded rale.

Nothing very differeat here from
what the Bush administration was
saying, except that the State Depart-
ment chose to make explicit a point
Clinton's le only implted, came-
ly that as indeteasible as the shoot-
ing was, Roonle Kasrilsâ\200\231 decision to
lead a flying -wedge through the
ra20r wire was itsell a provecation.
Or as rtsment esman Rich-
ard Boucher pul il: â\200\234'We call upon all
parties to avoid farther rovocative
acts which put at risk the lives of
innocent South Afclcans.â\200\235

One aspect of the reaction to the
Bisho affair Lhat is especlally strik-
Ing is how (ast almost everyone was
ready, as Goldberg bitterly put lt oo
CNN, to â\200\234dlame the victimâ\204ç. This
time, notwithstanding that it was far
easler to draw a direct copoection
between the state aud the shooters
than it had been at Bolpatong, no cae

was buylog the mar:[vmlog.'

Yes, the Ciskel dead might be martyrs, but they had been martyred by forces other than the SA government. Something quietly went click in the American political consciousness,

2 development all the more remarkable given Foreign Minister Pik Botha's seemingly recidivist thunderings about communists and the fact that the US media were less than generous with details about the backgrounds of Kasrils, Raymond Suttner and others involved in the

â\200\230plan to â\200\234Lefpzigâ\200\235 Ggozo.

Theendolthemonm.yplay\sm

. be welcomed. It is a pily the curtain

did not come down a little earlier. it mĩ-\201' have come down too late.

next week, the National Foreign â\200\234Trade Council is to hold a conference in New York on new investment in SA. When the organisers first selected the date â\200\224 it coincides with the IMF and World Bank annual meetings in Washington â\200\224 they had thought the news from SA would be good and that there would be considerable interest in a hearing. Fioaace Minister Derek Keys and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa make their pitches for foreign capital. Ramaphosa (is not coming now; nor are very many others. There

have been 50 acceptances rather than the several hundred the country expected. The reason for the poor response

was summed up last week by a vice-president of a major US company. â\200\234We keep being told that SA is the engine of growth for the continent,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234No it isn't. They're determined to Zambianise the place.â\200\235

American businessmen, and they are not all that unuseful, have been prepared to discount a lot of the ANC's more unnerving ideological rhetoric, believing the movement to be educable. They have shown interest in SA in the expectation that its next government will knuckle to economic reality and will not destroy those things â\200\224 the infrastructure, the legal system, the indigenous talent pool) â\200\224 that make the place intrinsically attractive. They have been impressed by the seeming capacity of all parties to negotiate, but

tbe apparent reservoir of gnodwlt{,
and an intangible sense (hat SA is not
an alien place. Few, probably, have
got around to reading Rian Malan's
My Traitor's Heart

Then, that click, that suddeo litte
shiver of recognilion that there Is far

more going 0o than meets (he eye,
followed closely by the realisation of
just how implausible a decent out-
come may be. Enraged mobs taking
out hatreds, new aod atavistic, on
each otherâ\200\231s communities is â\200\230bad
enough. Add to the mix death squads
and tinpot dictators with armies
willing to machine-gun down un-
arl protesters. Then season it all
with hard men happy to throw those
innocents al those machine guns
with a view to destroying what ting
ember of reconciliation is still able
to glow. Madoess. R H

At .this point, all the encoura| nâ£

. backroorm encounters with the Man-

delas, the Mbekis, the Ramaphosas,
the Mbowenis â\200\224 alt (he assurances,
the logic and the urge to belleve that
these good men know the real-world
score and want to make a go of
things â\200\224 fly straight out the window,
It's not (hat they caonot be trusted;
rather (hat (hey are powerless. Pow-
erless not only in the face of forces
which apartheid and their struggle
against it have unteasbed but also to
deal with the demons within their
own movement bent on whipping op
the madness lo their own ends. -7

e
T his, rather than the press of oth-
er business â\200\224 of which, of coussÃ©,
there is plenty just aow â\200\224 is why
America responded so quietly to.the
Bisho horror. On all sides of the spec-
tcom, those who care about SA sud-
denly grasped somelthing that made
them pause and recoil. They will
need 3 lat of coaxiag to recover.
Without that, SA becomes Coaradian
Alrica, a place lo frighten the child-
ren and otherwise be put out of miod.
When a problem is seen as hope-
Jess, thece ks otten an urge to band it
over to some form of colective re-
sibility s0 that po one bas to LakÃ©
biame while everyone can coD-
sole lhemselves that something is
being done. That may help explain
the enthusiasm with which the mafor
Yowers granted Mandela's reqgest
or UN Intervention. With the Secar-
ily Council selzed of the malter; no
one else has to be. ;

raz 1@:d6 Yo
BUSI

culated to break the deadlock. -
i Our concentration is on the
F installation of democracy in the
L country, and for this, compro-
) mises income absolutely essen-
" tial, That is why I decided to
, respond as I did. I first had
* doubts as to whether I should
! act, because Mr de Klerk's invi-
. tation had its propagandistic
_ elements, but people have died.
' The biggest question is how we
' are going to avoid a repetition
- of Biko.
. Of course there are certain
i preconditions, and I hope you
. will regard these as reasonable.
" The Government agreed to act
. on the hostels, political prison-
" ers and dangerous weapons.
' This they can do without meet-
] ing us.

, On our part we are going to
o go

On the prospects for the summit

co-operate, and I hope Mr de

Klerk is going to co-operate. My
- message to the Government is:
make good on the undertakings
you have given to us and Mr -

Cyrus Vance. We are not chal-
lenging here, not demanding. It
is our deep concerns we have
put forward. :

What has happened now is
that the negotiations process
has lost credibility, has become

. discredited. You must realise it

was a heated debate within the
ANC when we decided to sus-
pend armed struggle and to ne-
gotiate. But we convinced one
another then. Now my people
are beginning to say to me:
"What was the value? Let's

. abandon negotiations, they will

never be able to take us to our
goal."

I am saying, therefore, it is
urgent that the Government

makes some visible, practical

" move to restore the credibility

of negotiations.â\200\231 And once the
Government does that, by mov-
ing just on these three points,

.we are prepared to reconsider -

the whole question of having

] pulled out of negotiations.

sl i

!fan interim
government is
introduced,
.: these
_ | S A A, g, conflicts will
! We must go !i\201 L g e\ fallaway 9
back to TR e S e G :
Codesa i

in terms of
structure

48

~If Mr de Klerk can just say to
; me: â\200\234You have expressed your
| three concerns. I give you my
. undertaking that I will address
: them ,..â\200\235 I have said to him we
. have identified 120 political
. prisoners. Just add 80, and re-
. lease them, and give me an un-
. dertaking that the rest will be
r released in the next two
; months. Give me a date on
: which hostels will be fenced and

â\200\230

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v

; hing is possible, even the
: ension of mass action.
. When you negotiate you must
: be prepared to compromise,
But that compromise must not
: undermine your own position. It
; must be seen as an effort to
: move forward, to pull South
. Africa out of this quagmire.
: Therefore, if the Government
. does something visible to show
. that thÃ©y are now prepared to
- negotiate in good faith, there
: will be no necessity for mass
. action..
i â\200\234If at Codesa 2 in May this
ryear the Government had
, agreed that an interim govern-
: ment of national unity had to be
: introduced say within six or 12
. months, if they had just made
- that agreement, there would
have been no need for mass ac-

I cannot speak for the Govern-
ment, but I Â¿an speak for our
- alliance. ;
~ - From our side, we are trying
. to push the country away from
that horror. We are trying to

give South Africans of all co-
lours hope that the democrats

We havenâ\200\231t got much.time. The
next elections are in 1994. The
economy is falling to pieces,
and that we cannot afford. 1
have been talking to business-
men. We have to come up with
strategies that give the country
and investors hope that we are
working together to ensure that

our economy is not destroyed,

. I have a special interest in this. Of the seven million unemployed, the overwhelming majority are blacks. We are sitting on 2 time-bomb. The youths in the townships have had over the decades a visible enemy, the

THE STAR, 15 SEPTEMBER 1

On how progress at the summit can change the political atmosphere

secure them. Give me an under-

' taking that within a month or

two we will be able to ban dangerous weapons. .

I will be able to go back to

my people and say: "Look, he

has met us. Let us meet him."

We would then be able to ask ourselves the question whether, in that particular atmosphere, we should continue with mass action, ,

.- On when mass action will stop and sanctions will be dropped

tion. e

An interim government is going to represent us all, and the ANC is not going to have mass action against itself! We will be in government, the ANC

will be fully represented like all =

other political parties. There

will be no question of mass action. There will be no question

of sanctions. There will be no question of isolating South Africa-

ca. South Africa will go back to : the United Nations " we will

be saying this. All that will remain are the arms and oil embargoes, to be lifted as soon as a democratic constitution is accepted. But even on that there can be compromise.

" The point is that if an interim government is introduced, these conflicts fall away.

whether Bisho has shocked politicians
into pulling back from the abyss

in this country are able to deal
with the situation, to acknowl-
edged their mistakes, and to be
able to work together to ensure
that whatever errors were com-
mitted are not repeated.

I give that assurance today
from our side. '

On the urgency of the summit

Government. Now that enemy
{s no longer visible, because of
the transformation that is tak-
ing place. Their enemy now is
you and me, people who drive a |
car and have a house. Itâ\200\231s order,
anything that relates to order, .
and it is a very grave situation.
Now it is absolutely neces-
sary to us, bearing in mind
Derek Keys's frightening analy-
sis (of the state of the economy),
that this summit takes place as .
soon as possible. I sincerely
hope that Mr de Klerk is going
to make sure that those prob-

lems are addressed. I appeal

to him to do so.

i

â\200\2341

. I'am dead against a restructur-
- ing of Codesa. If we do that we
. will waste another year arguing
. about what form it should take.
~There are many organisations,

i|: not political parties, which have
1|:.. asked for representation at Co-
~desa â\200\224 the churches for exam- -
| ple. We said no. If we allow rep-

' resenation for.you, Cosatu, the
V. G

On the state of the economy

We want to break the deadlock,
because if we don't I fear that
thÃ© economy is going to be so
destroyed that when a demo-
cratic government comes inte

" power it will not be able to

solve it. The longer it takes for
demacracy to be introduced, the

more difficult it will be to repair the economy. 3 :

- I have always known this to be the case, but on Friday I got a briefing from Trevor Manuel

after he met Derek Keys. He brought a statement from Keys

P

992

. On whether Codesa should be restructured

churches and all-other organisations, it can't work.

We must go back to Codesa exactly as it is in terms of structure, with more political parties hopefully joining in. We would welcome all political parties being added to the process. That is not restructuring.

&

which is well-considered, and spells out in detail the actual state of our economy. Anc: I got frightened. Before Trevor finished I said to him: "Now what does this mean as far as negotiations are concerned?" Be-

. cause it appears to me that if

we allow the situation to continue, we are going to face the prospect that even when we have introduced a democratic system and are able to organise resources from abroad, it will still be very difficult to repair our economy. :

On the role and concerns of business

I believe business must take positions, We have said to the Government we are prepared for the adoption of the constitution by a two-thirds majority, and we even went up to 70 percent. The Government wanted 75 percent and we could not agree. I say to business, take a position. If you think we are wrong, say so. If you think the Government is wrong, tell them.

We say we are well aware of

the concerns of whites in this country, which are genuine, if mistaken. We are prepared for -

checks and balances, but that must be done in a constituent assembly. I would like to remove the concerns of business. There is the potential for co-operation. One has to be very,

very careful not to use rhetoric that is going to frighten people; but rather to enable people to have confidence that we have a workable strategy â\200\224 however difficult the situation is.

I think business has generally â\200\230responded very responsibly during the period of mass action. I have thanked them for that, and I have told my own supporters my view. I said we have had co-operation, and therefore we must avoid any attitudes of hostility or actions which will further damage the â\200\230economy â\200\224 given that business must under-

. 'stand that if there is no pro-

gress in negotiations, mass action is the only alternative available to us. I am hopeful that we will be able to resolve these problems. -

THE

b1

On why the ANC insists on mass action

One of the mistakes that has been made by both the ANC and the National Party is that we have embarked on an election-eering campaign while we are negotiating. One party is talking to the other while at the same time trying to undermine that party. Now that destroys the whole atmosphere of negotiations. = - .

But I have explained that we -

must have free political activity, and the efforts we have made to ensure that. In addition it is quite clear that the Government is now fighting an elector-

al campaign, and that they are -

where they can start with maximum votes, where they have no competition. . |

Look at our situation. We have done everything in our power. We are left with two years (before elections). We must make sure that all political parties can operate throughout the country. If we can't

make progress as far as nego-

tiations are concerned, if we can't make progress in discussions with the bantustan leaders affected, what are we expected to do? We can't sit down and fold our arms. The ordinary people in these particular areas want action.

using the homelands as areas within the limits of acceptable mass action .

We are very concerned about -

the situation, but as I've said, we cannot just fold our arms. However, while the regions can take decisions, they must always keep in mind the national perspective.

Nothing should be done by the organisation which suggests that we now want to violate the parameters of the National Peace Accord or the guidelines of the Goldstone Commission.

And in the last meeting of the NEC I stressed this point, as I did in King William's Town the day after the massacre. We must be seen to respect the structures that have been created, and the guidelines.

- else?

We do not feel that the mere launching of mass action in itself is anything which needs to - worsen the position. No. The masses of the people, the overwhelming majority, want the right to operate in their own area. And they have been prevented by Gqozo. I am saying, therefore, that as far as we are concerned, we will make sure that in this volatile atmosphere we will not do anything that is likely to worsen the situation. But we must do something when people are being persecuted in these areas, when there

* is no democracy there, Can we

be expected to do anything

3 g

@ cther the Bisho march crossed the line between protest and insurrection

Regional leaders must always

consider what effect their actions will have on the country.

as a whole. Now our image has been affected to some extent by what happened in Bisho. Even some of our loyal friends locally and internationally have got reservations about what we did in that demonstration.

But you must understand that what happened in Bisho has not been the pattern of mass action. On August 5 I led the march on Pretoria. It was disciplined and the police said the crowd be-

haved magnificently. That was:

the position throughout the country generally, although

there were exceptions where there was intimidation and looting. When this was drawn to my attention I actually went to

to apologise. But generally speaking, we are able to control our people. .

Now we said we were going . to occupy Bisho. Remember that we occupied the Union Buildings, actually hoisted our flag. There was no interference from Mr de Klerk or his police. He was completely relaxed. After T had left he came out and addressed the press, compli-

speech.

"mented me for my conciliatory

.
â\200\230these areas to see businessmen, b

STAR, 15 SEPTEMBER 1992

On Ronnie Kasrilsâ\200\231s actions -

Our concern s not primarily the actions of individuals. What we are concerned with is what can we do to prevent a repeti-

tion of what happened at Bisho?

And in that context we are discussing, therefore, what individuals have done.

" But you must also â\200\230i-remember that I actually asked the secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa,

the head of the Women's:

League, Gertrude Shope, Steve Tshwete, the man who has normalised sport, to go down and

lead that demonstration. Now '

the concentration is on Ronnie Kasrils, which is not teally the proper perspective.

iYou 'must also remember that the idea of the marceh, to which we all agreed, was that just as we did in Pretoria, we

. would do the same in Bisho.

That was not the decision of Ronnie Kasrils, it was ours. Therefore his judgment may not have been a correct one, to go beyond the stadium once the magistrate had said we should not, but the idea of us going to Bisho was a decision of the or-

ganisation which he was merely carrying out. - : .

But I can assure you that this is a matter that we are going to examine very carefully. Ronnie Kasrils and Chris Hani are very loyal members of the ANC who have made tremendous sacrifices. Secondly, they are disciplined. If I were to say there should be no further (independent) statements by anybody (on behalf of the ANC), and this was the decision taken regarding future demonstrations, I will get their maximum support.

On who was to blame at Bisho

There have been accusations

and counter-accusations, some -

correct and others incorrect, from both sides. But leaving this aside, we still have to answer the question: has the ANC any strategy to pull South Africa out from the morass in which decades of apartheid generally, and this massacre in Bisho particularly, have plunged it?

.Now it seems to me that we should not worry very much at this stage with what mistakes individuals have made. The cru-

- eial question is how to mobilise

the democratic forces in the country to concentrate on the task of saving South Africa. I am talking about neither the ANC nor the Government, but

we, the people of South Africa, On â\200\230radicalsâ\200\231 and â\200\230mod

It is not correct.to say that .

there is a conflict between radicals and moderates in the ANC, although I fear it could develop (in circumstances like those at

_Bisho).

But you can be assured that we will be addressing any state-

e

black and white. :

Our problem is that Brigadier Gqozo ignored the guidelines for

demonstrations. The guidelines say that even if one party deviated from an agreement in the course of a march, the other party is not entitled to use force unless it is threatened. They must meet during the march. Gqozo was not prepared to talk to us right from the beginning. He violated the peace accord right from the beginning. The marching out of the stadium towards Bisho was not actually a violation of the peace accord itself. But even if it was, then the task of the other party was to have called us and discussed it â\200\224 just as has happened in other areas. :

ratesâ\200\231 within the ANC

ments.which .were. made which might have been harmful to the : cause of democracy:in this country generally, and-that of the ANC in particular. We will not be seen to be doing anything which is a violation of the National Peace Accord or the Goldstone guidelines. -

F

THE STAR, 15 SEPTEMBER 1

On pressure within the ANC

(If we cannot secure free political activity) I am going to face -

a situation in which it becomes increasingly difficult to resist the demands of my own people to arm and defend themselves, You know, when I went to Boj. Datong, I was met with placards â\200\234Mandela, give us gunsâ\200\235, And these were not coming from the youth, but elderly people, members of the branch.

Then I went to the rally, and I went round as I normally do to greet people. And the song they were singing was â\200\234Mandela, you behave like a lamb while we are being killedâ\200\235. I had to make a speech there to say I had

On political control

As you know, very late on May 15 at Codesa 2 I went to see. Mr de Klerk. I said to him: â\200\234The whole of South Africa and the world is looking upon you and I, Let us save the peace process. Let us reach some agreement. Let us leave the door open and say we have made progress, We need to fix a date.â\200\235

On that day he was adamant, he wouldn't listen to me, I was with Cyril Ramaphosa and he

' was with Roelf Meyer. (I complained that the police had not taken action against an armed Inkatha demonstration) and he answered: â\200\234Mr Mandela, when

noted what they were saying,

Now if we don't do something -

visible to show that we are -fighting against oppression, those who are demanding the resumption of the armed struggle are going to prevail. Mass action is actually a peaceful form of channelling the anger

- of the people â\200\224 for us to say we

don't need armed struggle, we
can make progress through
mass action.

. You must understand that
mass action is being used today
throughout the democratic
world, and by people who have

the vote, We haven't got the

vote. What else can we do?

of the security forces

you join me, you will realise I
do not have the power which
you think I have. That was his
answer, :

I was raising a serious ques-
tion about people using violence
in the presence of the police,
and that was his answer, This is
the kind of problem we are
dealing with. If there is any-
thing that has cooled relations
between me and Mr de Klerk, it
is his paralysis as far as vio-
lence is concerned. Because I
believe he has got the capacity
to put an end to the violence.
That is the issue for me, and we
need to resolve it.

-

@3:59 VOS-IFF 444 3193

THE STAR, 15 SEPTEMBER

1992

Eight die in Natal ambush

Secretariat chairman Dr Antop. eight passengers â\200\224 seven men
â\200\224* ie Gildenhuys to plan activities and a Woman â\200\224 managed to get
DURBAN -~ Eight people were for the group. out of the vehicle and flee.
killed yesterday at Umgababa, â\200\230We are here now and we One of the passengers, who
near Umkomaas on the Natal: hope our presence s going to be was seated in the front, was
South Coast, when a bakkie tak- conducive to peace,â\200\235 he said. shot nine times. The
vehicle
ing commuters to work was Police spokesman Captain was then set alight.
ambushed by three gunmen said Bala Naidoo said a top-level in- The names of the victims ha
d
to be wearing army uniforms, vestigation of the Umgababa has been released last night.
One of the victims tried to killings was under way and the "The attacks follow another at
flee but was shot. Regional Commissioner of the Port Shepstone on the Natal
~_Seven of the victims who SAP in Natal, Lieutenant-Gen. . South Coast)t on Friday, when 1
2
were seated in the back of the eral Colin Steyn, had visited the Inkatha supporters â\200
\234;ere shot
Scene. dead while waiting for a bus,

bakkie died after the bakkie
was set alight, .
: General Steyn authorised a
And on Sunday Night, another R50 000 x'ewa\rdy for information
leading to the arrest of the at-

. three people were killed and
yesterday Night, three people

four wounded near Ntuzuma
when their minibys was at-
tacked by ks eame shortly be were killed and four wounded
when unknown people travel-
ling in a red minibus random}
fired shots at block 12 of Dal-

Own Correspondent

Uniforms

Captain Naidoo said the bak-
kie was taking commuters from

tha Arna. 4 vembu e W oWYLK
at about 6.30 am and was trav-
elling on the Mfume/Makabeni
Road when three men, report-
edly dressed in army uniforms,

fore a six-person United Na-
tions team arrives in Durban

tomorrow to set up office to
- Strengthen the structures of the
National Peace Accord,
Deputy UN mission chief
Ismat Stenier, from Tanzania,
has already met National Peace

opened fire,

He said there were 13 passengers seated in the back of the bakkie and three in the front.

" When the shooting started,

meny Farm, near Ntuzuma,

The dead were identified as Mduduzi Nzimande (18), Mabalengwe Mbutho (26) and a man known only as Mr Mngadi.

B3:55 VOS-IFP 444 3198 F.7

THE STAR, 15 SEPTEMBER 1892

ANC-led
â\200\230homeland

marches
on hold

By Kajzer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

The ANC-led tripartite alli-
anceâ\200\231s plans to march on Bo-
phuthatswana and KwaZuly
have been put on hold after
Mr Justice Richard Gold- .
stoneâ\200\231s intervention,

The marches â\200\224 which
form a part of the fourth
phase of the allianceâ\200\231s â\200\234roll-
ing mass actionâ\200\235, targeting
homelands such as Ciskei,
Bophuthatswana and Kwa-
Zulu â\200\224 were halted after Mr
Justice Goldstone contacted
ANC secretary-general Cyril
Ramaphosa.

Mr Justice Goldstone is
understood to have appealed
to the ANC not to go ahead
with its march in Bophutha-
tswana this Saturday pend-
ing an urgent inquiry by his
commission into last Mog-
dayâ\200\231s shootings in Bisho.

Campaign

â\200\234I have now been informed
by Mr Ramaphosa that the
appeal has been acceded to
and the march will not take
place,â\200\235 the judge said.

Government sources said
that' the proposed Ulundi
march would also be stayed
for the same reason,

Cosatu yesterday said its
members would continue
rolling mass action and stop
paying pay-as-you-earn
(PAYE) tax within weeks,

At a press conference in
Johannesburg, Cosatu an-

nounced its campaigns conference at the weekend had also adopted a programme of action which included the boycott of Eskort Bacon, Langeberg Kooperasie, Sasol, Goldfields, KwaZulu Transport and the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

These companies and institutions, Cosatu said, had been targeted because they were implicated in attacks on our members

Companies working with the Ciskei government would be also be boycotted. -

@ DP march today
Page 9

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Mandelaâ\200\231s olive brasich

By Richard Steyn
and Shaun Johnson

To **save the country
from disasterâ\200\235 the ANC is
eager to restart negotia-
tions â\200\224 and wants to
make it as easy as possi-
ble for the Government
to do so, ANC president
Nelson Mandela has told
The Star.

The Government need not
make any new concessions
to the ANC to get talks under
way again, he said; it had
only to make good its previ-
ous undertakings to the ANC
and United Nations envoy
Cyrus Yancey on the issues of
hostels, political prisoners

and dangerous weapons;
Mr Mandela made it clear

that if President de Klerk

delivered on earlier prom-
ises, the ANC was ready to
suspend before his 0

g before departure
for Zambia, Mr Mande-
la said he was prepared to
accept undertakings in good
faith from Mr de Klerk on
the three outstanding issues,
in order to get South Africa
â\200\234out of the quagmireâ\200\235.

Mr Mandela said that over
and above the political crisis
prompted by the Biko mas-
sacre, he was deeply con-
cerned about the state of the
economy, following a report
from Finance Minister
Derek Keys which he had
found â\200\234frighteningâ\204.

He said the country had
come â\200\234very near to a disas-
terâ\200\235 after the Biko mas-
sacre, and that the negotia-
tions deadlock had to be bro-
ken. If the summit went

. ahead, the moves made by

Mr de Klerk and himself
could save the country from
that disaster.

The proposed summit
could breathe new life into
the stalled negotiations pro-
cess, and the ANC remained
committed to the National
Peace Accord and Mr Jus-
tice Goldstone's guidelines
for demonstrations.

Mr Mandela said in 2

a wide-ranging interview with

The Star: If Mr de Klerk
can just say to me: You have
expressed your three con-

cerns. I give you my under-
standing that I will address
them' ... I will be able to go
back to my people and say:
Look, he has met us. Let us
meet him.

© Exclusive interview
Page 13

During an extraordinarily
frank discussion, in which he
stressed that the credibility
of negotiations had to be re-
established by all politicians,
Mr Mandela addressed sev-
eral other issues. He said:

Progress towards democ-
racy had to be made before
it was too late to repair the
economy

He believed Mr de Klerk's

lated to break the political
deadlock.

Mass action could fall
away if there was agree-
ment on interim govern-
ment, and sanctions and iso-
lation would then no longer
be necessary.

All sides in the country
had to admit their errors and
work together to ensure that
tragedies like the Biko mas-

sacre were never repealed.
Â® The installation of democracy in South Africa was the ANC's priority, and for this, compromises become absolutely essential.

@ Codesa was not dead, and did not need to be resurrected in order to fulfil its functions.

(call for 2 summit was calculated

@ The business community should take strong positions during the transition, telling all politicians when they thought they were acting unreasonably. The ANC, on its part, would work to inspire the confidence of the business community.

Â® Free political activity had to be ensured throughout the country, especially in the homeland

Â® The ANC was discussing what went wrong at Bisho, and would take appropriate action. Regional leaders had to ensure that their actions did not impact negatively on national politics.

Mr Mandela emphasised that South Africa still faced great difficulties and the most

pressing being the continuing violence and daily loss of life. But he made it clear the ANC wanted to follow the path of negotiation rather than confrontation.

Peaceful mass action was being used only because no

other alternatives were available to the ANC, given

the deadlock in negotiations.

Mr Mandela said he was

coming under increasing

pressure from ANC members.

Members who believed negotiations had not produced results, and said it was urgent for the sake of the country that the benefits of talks be

-obvious to all. This meant
that a speedy transition to-

democracy was urgently
needed,

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