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Trivial differences
 â\200\234hide deep-seated
 problems at Toyota

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DIRK HARTFORD

again leading to job losses.

In addition, industry talk is that
 Toyotaâ\200\231s planned year-end launch of
 the new luxury Camry range will
 have to be postponed while the thou-
 sands of CKDs in stock are assem-
 bled. And its export planning has
 been seriously set back.

While â\200\224 from a commercial point
 of view â\200\224 the initial strike might
 have been manageable because of
 depressed sales, the length of the
 current strike has badly affected
 Toyotaâ\200\231s market share â\200\224 likely to be
 down 10 percentage points already.

It is a crisis situation. But why?

On the surface, the current strike

is easier to fathom than the first..

Some shop stewards accepted their
 pay for the duration of the strike.
 â\200\234No work, no payâ\200\235 applied to the
 majority of the shop stewards and to
 other workers. When unionists heard
 some shop stewards had been paid,
 they demanded the same. Toyota re-
 fused, and within two days the entire
 plant was on strike again.

The company argues it paid the
 shop stewards in good faith for the
 negotiation work they had done dur-
 ing the strike. It says it was not the
 first time and is a common practice
 in the industry. Toyota says the union
 is either unable or unwilling to solve

the problems or get the issue tested

in court. It claims Numsa has failed
 its members, is not concerned with

their job security and is carrying out an unprocedural and illegal strike. Toyota also believes Numsa broke its side of the bargain because of a go-slow at the stamping division. Numsa counters that the payment of shop stewards was unilateral, piecemeal, without any consultation with the union, and was a management ploy to create divisions among shop stewards, and between workers

and shop stewards. It says there is no-

precedent for paying shop stewards in those circumstances. ; According to the union, the fact that the company withdrew the previous agreement after one day, withdrew a promised R200 for each worker to be paid back later, rejected Numsa's proposal to settle the strike which would have cut the cost of settlement by half, closed the door on negotiations, issued an ultimatum to return to work or be fired and now threatens to withdraw from the national motor assembly bargaining forum if the strike is not settled, all point to a worker-bashing attitude.

Independent labour observers who wish to remain anonymous and sources in the industry are virtually unanimous in saying that paying shop stewards for the duration of the

strike is 'bizarre', 'the exception rather than the rule', or a 'very unusual and exceptional practice'.

Motor manufacturers agree shop stewards are sometimes paid for the actual period they spend negotiating during a strike 'but never for, the entire duration of the strike.

Beneath these arguments, it seems, is a deeper problem. Since when is one superintendent's job worth R29m to 6000 workers or R675m to Toyota?

Toyota is reluctant to comment on these aspects of the strike 'because the situation is extremely delicate and it would be unwise to risk the danger of becoming embroiled in a media debate at this stage'.

However, Toyota feels it made significant concessions in the first strike and that Numsa is exploiting the payment issue to have another go at the company. It believes tensions between shop stewards, and between shop floor campaigners and shop stewards, are fuelling the dispute.

Toyota feels further concessions without mediation will allow shop floor campaigners to hold the company to ransom while the majority of workers would like to work.

Numsa claims that, contrary to talk about the union wanting to soften up the motor employers as a whole for this year's bargaining

Business Day 3 Ty 199,

Constituent assembly rejected

a strong w
attempt the
government.

He called

and Inkatha and said

munity in an observer role.
Replying

tional arrangements, he said.

give its response within seven days.
In a television address

Klerk proposed

ANC.
The ANC's reasons

ek gt 5 ill not succumb to insurrectionist
vincing, De Klerk said. We will not succt surre
| He strongly criticised the ANC's ma?: 3; undemocratic pressure, De Kler
k
mobilisation campaign, saying it wou 4 4
lead to violence, delay the search for At a news conference in Pretoria last
Eemocratic solutions,

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday
roposed a minimum three-year term
or an interim constitution and issued
arning to the ANC not to
forcible overthrow of

for a trilateral meeting on
| violence involving government, the ANC
the meeting could
consider an active fulltime monitoring
mechanism and a joint monitoring body
which could include the international com-

to ANC demands made last
week when it withdrew from negotiations,
De Klerk invited the organisation for talks
but flatly rejected a constituent assembly.
However, government had already agreed
at Codesa on the broad structure of transi-

The ANC said in a statement yesterday
it would examine the memorandum: and

last night, De
Klerk accused the ANC and its allies of

sabotaging negotiations and said government was not alone capable of ending the violence. And in an earlier letter delivered to ANC president Nelson Mandela, De the resumption of negotiations through a bilateral meeting with the

for withdrawing
- from negotiation: are completely uncon-

damage the economy and seriously disrupt social services.

200\234lines government 200\231s 3
transitional period. 10 memorandums at- .

FW calls for
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interim rule

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PATRICK BULGER |

said they were tailored
programme

plex and

ous weapons.

Turning to the ANC's demands, De Klerk
200\234to support its
of mass mobilisation and to
justify the abortion of the negotiation process 200\235. He said the hostels issue was com-
was an issue government would
like to discuss with the ANC. He said mea-
sures had been taken in regard to danger-

He said government's information was
that factions within Cosatu and the SACP

were unhappy at what was being negotiat-

abort the process.

ed at Codesa and had initiated a strategy to

He dismissed ANC allegations that gov-
ernment wanted a minority veto, arguing
that whites would form only 17% of the
electorate. Government wanted as many

parties as possible to be part of the consti-
tution-making process.

â\200\234It should not be a
constitution enacted by a majority in a
constituent assembly elected on party poli-

tical issues.â\200\235
that negotiations

coercion would

R O O To Page 2
Intorim iille

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spective on the

tached to De Klerkâ\200\231s Jetier to Mandela,
government said it wonâ\200\231 llist on a transi-
tional constitution whc. made,provision
for a parliament with a national assembly
and a senate together with an exccutive
council directly clected by all voters.

The constitution would include provi-
sions to safeguard against political manip-
ulation of the SADF, the SAP, the Auditor-
General, an ombudsman â\200\230and an
independent commission for administra-
tion. %

Â«For the amendment or substitution of

the iransitional constitution a majority of '

70% will be required and 75% for:the | Roelf Meyer said violence was the biggest
. obstacle to progress in negotiations. He

Charter of Fundamental Rights. If theÃ©
transitional constitution has not been re-
placed within thre > _ears, a general elec-
tion will be held in terms of the transition-
al constitution. \

night, senior government Ministers out-

De Klerk said he wanted to make it clear
presented the only viable
option for the solution of SAâ\200\231s problems,
that government would not hesitate to take
steps to prevent a slide into anarchy, that a
change of government had to come about
in a negotiated and constitutional manner
and that the ANCâ\200\231s mass mobilisation cam-
paign to overthrow the government by
not be countenanced.

O From Page 1

â\200\234'â\200\234The transitional constitutionâ\200\231 will be
amended or replaced only within the
framework of generzâ\200\231 ~onstitutional prin-
ciples:as agreed upc: at Codesa and the

â\200\230:@gcm;,sï¬\201tutional â\200\230Chamber-of -the - Appellate Â«

Division must certify this to be the case,â\200\235
the memorandum said. * e
Laws would have to bÃ© passed by both

- houses and the senate will consist of an

equal number of representatives from

. each electoral region using the develop-
. ment regions as points of departure. Gov-
Â¥ ernment said the transitional constitution

â\200\230must facilitate the restructuring of the
second and third tiers and must underpin
order and stability. .

Constitutional Development Minister

denied ANC allegations of government
complicity in planningâ\200\231 and directing

violence.

. Â© Picture: Pz2aa 3

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A8â\200\231 FRIDAY, JULY 3, 1992

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LOS ANGELES TIMES â\200\231

De Klerk Yields a Point on Constitution Drafting

1 South Africa: But he also accuses the ANC of using the Boipatong massacre to create an â\200\230artificial crisis.â\200\235

By SCOTT KRAFT
TIMES STAFF WRITER

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa-

caâ\200\224President Frederik W. de Klerk made a key concession to the African National Congress on Thursday, agreeing to allow 2 new constitutions to be written with a 70% majority vote in a one-person.

one-vote National Assembly.

. The concession was contained in

an otherwise bitter, angry letter to ANC President Nelson Mandela, in which De Klerk chastised the ANC for breaking off constitutional talks and accused it of using the massacre of blacks in Boipatong to create 'an "artificial crisis"â\200\235 in the country. ... Buried deep in the lengthy letter, De Klerk outlined proposals that appeared to meet the ANC more than halfway on the crucial question of what percentage vote would be required to approve a new, permanent constitution for the country.

Talks at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, the main negotiating forum, had stalled in mid-May when the government and the ANC disagreed over that percentage. :

Negotiators for both sides had agreed that a transitional National Assembly, elected by proportional representation in a countrywide election, would write the new con-

stitution. g

The ANC originally wanted a

two-thirds majority to approve that new 'constitution but, in a last-minute compromise, it raised the percentage to 70%. Anything larger, the ANC contended, would -

give De Klerk an effective veto ,, over a\202constituhonal proposals. 3! The government had balketf, s

â\200\230though, mmsungonaâ\200\231m%abn

ty. The government position re-.-

= flected its own opinion polls.whxch_f_

have indicated that, although blacks outnumber whites 5-to-1 in South Africa, De Klerk and his allied parties would receive 25% to 30% of the vote in a nanonal election,

eanwhile, an independenz -

dicial commission investigat- ing the Boipatong massacre heard evidence Thursday that suggested an explanation for the large num- ber of witnesses wino said they saw white security force personuel and vehicles in the township during the attack.

Maj. Pieter Van Wyk. of t.he South African Defense Force, said he and a squad of soldiers were in the township during the nighttime attack and heard gunshots but did not know what was happening. Because they were outnumbered, he said, they parked their armored vehicle and hid behind boulders to escape the fusillade.

Later, Van Wyk saw a group of ~ 80 to 300 men, wearing white headbands and armed with spears

and sticks, crossing:a road to a Â¢ nearby migrant woskers' hostel.â\200\231

He said he thought the men were ANC because of their white headbands; Inkatha Free- dom Party warriors most often

â\200\230wear red headbands.

â\200\230Â¥an Wyk said that he and his ati- \201cemsznpnedtrwcmannwlhe group lo cross the street and enter the - hostel, WitneÃ©sses have said

Â¢ they saw armored vehicles in the .

township during the massacre and watched as police â\200\234escortedâ\200\235 the band of men back to the hostei

The government has denied any security force involvement. - Police said Thursday that they have made 81 arrests in the Boipatong killings. All those arrested were from the hostel, a base of support for the ANC rival Inkatha

- Freedom Party

The ANC, in a statement, said it will withhold comment until its working committee has studied De Klerk's letter, suggesting a desire to calm the growing tensions between the ANC and the government. The ANC said it would issue a response within seven days.

The ANC broke off talks last week over the massacre of more than 40 blacks in Boipatong and what it charged was government complicity in that and other instances of violence. It laid down 14 conditions for a return to the table.

President De Klerk, in an address

to the nation on state-run

television and in his letter to Mandeia, accused the ANC of at-

tempting to sabotage negotiations and precipitate a crisis. He charged that the ANC's militant

- allies in the South African Communist

Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions had engineered the breakdown in talks, using the Boipatong massacre as an excuse.

And De Klerk sharply criticised the ANC's plan to embark on a nationwide campaign of mass action - demonstrations, marches and worker strikes designed to pressure the government to accede to ANC demands. De Klerk said

- mass action is a dangerous strategy designed to overthrow the government. ...

As he has in the past, De Klerk

strongly rejected allegations of

government complicity in the violence and laid much of the blame for the township carnage on the ANC. Tit-for-tat attacks by supporters of the ANC and members of

the Inkatha Freedom Party have
claimed nearly 8,000 black lives
since De Klerk launched his apart-
heid reform program.

De Klerk called for an urgent
meeting with the ANC, and a
separate meeting among De Klerk,
Mandela and Inkatha leader Man-
gosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi to dis-
cuss the violence, He said the three

leaders should discuss setting up a
joint monitoring body to defuse
potential violence.

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South African Comm

ay for mass action campaign, arg

ues Political Reporter Kaizer Nyatsuinb:

e hostility can resurface

Party (SACP) It is tho allianee
with {he SACP, rather than its oft-
riticised economie policy of lack
f 3L, lhat hangs like an albatross
around the AINC's neck

It 15 this aVliance which last
year triggered ANC Western Cape
egional chairman Dr Adan Boe
sak's attack on the ANC, which
yas driven many â\200\234coloureds and
lodians lo the Dosem of the Na
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last weekâ\200\231s Diamant by-election -

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against the ANC for lbe Gowern

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Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)

The alliance notwithstanding,
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More than any ANC leader, it is
Steve Tshwete who has done much
to change white attitudes towards
the organisation. Perhaps the
most popular ANC leader in the
white community, Mr Tshwete
was largely instrumental in gain-
ing South Africa's readmission
to international sport

The ANC, which was losing the
fight against the lifting of the cul-
tural boycott and "people-led
sanctions, wisely decided to
manage this process and preside
over South Africa's re-entry into
international sport.

This move, which gave the ap-
pearance that South African sport
was at the ANC's mercy for its
readmission, won the organisation
plaudits and widespread acclaim
in the white community, albeit
grudgingly. Now all the goodwill
engendered by South Africa's par-
ticipation in international sport
appears to be at risk

The organisation's mass action
campaign, which kicked off with
the June 16 national stayaway
will again harden whites' attitudes

towards the ANC

As the British Labour Party dis-
covered in the April 9 election in
that country, political parties often
win or lose elections on the basis
of perceptions of how they would
manage the economy. Show disre-
gard for the economy, and threaten
people with high taxes, and
you have a sure-fire recipe for loss
in an election

The ANC has a very strong case
for mass action: it is only re-

maming leverage v Lhe negotiat-
jng process

It has suspended the armed
struggle and cannot easily go back
to it without bringing upon itself
the wrath and censure of the Afri-
can community, unless
Pretoria does something stupid
such as once again banning politi-
cal organisations and imprisoning
their leaders.

Whites and the business community
and, indeed, many
blacks worry about the possi-
bility of further harm being done
to the country's already shaky
economy.

Threats that the sports morato-
rium might be reintroduced in the
aftermath of the Bapaioog mas-
sacre on June 17 again sent shock
waves through the sports-crazy
white community last week.

For them - and 167 many black
South Africans who eagerly look
forward to the South African
Football Association's readmis-
sion into the soccer world body
FIFA this week - the reimposi-
tion of the sports moratorium
would amount to unforgivable
betrayal.

The question might be asked
Why should the ANC worry about
whites when they form a small
minority in the country's
organisation's hopes of being the
next government of the country
are to be realised, it should worry
about whites and their feelings. It
will be too late when it matters
most - when it wants their votes
in the not-too-distant future.

While the ANC may be the most
influential political organisation

in the country, political analyst
A. Ntshiri believes it could

easily take 55 percent of the popu-
lar vote if an election were to
be held now - it is by no means
guaranteed universal black
support.

It is because the organisation
is aware of the threat posed by
NP in an election that it has
made it difficult for the former
whites-only party to canvass
in the townships.

One calls to mind the

tests amasterminded by the
when President de Klerk recently
visited the Western Cape

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thirds majority it needs 0 <)
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constituent assembly, it wil
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BUSINESS DAY, Friday, July 3 1992

COMMENT
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Nobbled police

P N Bhagwati began monitor-
ing the Goldstone commission

hearing into the Boipatong
massacre yesterday. It would be in-
teresting to know what he made of
the commission's strange situation,
in which it is expected in some
quarters to double up as a police
force.

The ANC has told Boipatong resi-
dents not to co-operate with the po-
lice, because of anger with the
police for allegedly not heeding
warnings of the impending attack,
and complicity in the massacre it-
self. Instead of speaking to the po-
lice, at least 10 residents are report-
ed to have made sworn statements
to the Independent Board of Inquiry
into Informal Repression, and
lawyers will present these to the
commission. i

Meanwhile the police have con-
tinued their investigation, and yes-
terday told the commission the
evidence unambiguously proves
that residents of the KwaMadala
hostel attacked the Boipatong peo-
ple. Since the accusers have not
come forward, they have no evi-
dence to support claims of police
involvement. Surprisingly, nor has
the ANC. It backtracked at the
Goldstone hearing yesterday, say-
ing it was having difficulty getting
witnesses to talk.

But while the case against the
SAP weakens, it remains saddled
with the deep-seated distrust in the
black community, not only because
of the persistent rumours of a third

"End

FORMER chief justice of India

PROMINENT business
leader was heard to say this
week that the ANC displayed

"W rather mixed up priorities in
bringing good cheer to South Africa
by approving the holding of a few
international sport events, only to
go on and destroy the country's

economy Wwith its mass action campaign.

That was said, of course, with a measure of bitter irony. But the international sports saga which ended on Wednesday with the ANC announcement also brought home some bitter truths to that organisation. For what it showed was that the ANC no longer has a hegemonic stranglehold over local sports administrators previously closely identified with the organisation. And the final blow to the ANCâ\200\231s

game

forceâ\200\235 stirring up township violence, but also because of its history as enforcer of apartheid laws. In the case of Boipatong, there is also the natural objection to the police investigating allegations against itself. Whatever the truth of the story, there is an overwhelming perception among residents that the police were somehow involved.

The presence of Judge Bhagwati will add stature to the Goldstone commission, and the other international monitors may contribute to the peace effort, but the task of maintaining law and order will still fall to the police. The ANC and its partners say there is no chance that the SAP will ever have credibility in the black community, and township radicals are going all out to ensure that the prophesy is fulfilled.

The concerted campaign against the police, including attacks on black policemenâ\200\231s homes and the ambushing of patrol vehicles, is a far cry from the initial peace plan when the police and ANC were supposed to set up a liaison system to combat township violence. The idea was that both organisations would nominate representatives â\200\224 about 90 on each side â\200\224 to keep in touch so that there would be an early warning system of impending trouble. The SAP nominated its members, but the plan did not get off the ground. Had it been implemented, not only the Boipatong victims but many others among the 6 000 killed in the past two years might have

been saved.

hopes of again using sport as a political weapon came with the warning from Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe â\200\224 hardly a friend of the South African government â\200\224

that neither he nor the OAU were likely to support the ANC lobby in this case.

And that is how it should be. Most sporting organisations in South Africa have gone to great lengths in unifying and establishing development programmes to compensate for past inequities. In terms of the ANC's own strategy, people to people sanctions were lifted last year as the political process advanced. Everyone else recognises that sport is no longer a legitimate political weapon. So should the ANC it still has the whole economy to play with.

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The Globe and Mail,
Tuesday, July 3, 1990

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Peaceful walkout paralyzes sections of Sonrh African industrial areac

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A better policy than Mandelaâ\200\231s

U1 IS a pity that Nelson Mandela yesterday fell into the trap of supposing that o fruitful analogy can be drawn between Northern Ireland and Southcarn Africa. Only one of these places, the former, has universal suffrage. Some of its people, disappointed by the outcome ol successive clections, ate currying on acampaign of murder. Mr Mandela's supges-tion that the British Government should open talks with these terrorists, without first insisting that they renounce violence, amounts to a cry (o legitimise murder as an instrument of democritic politics. Any democrat who proposes unconditional talks with the IRA has cither been badly advised, or has difficult collcagues o please. Mr Mandela may suffer from a mixture of these problems,

â\200\230The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Peter Brooke, has recently managed to surprise almost everyone who takes an inter-est in Ulster, but has done so in a less often-sive way than Mr Mandela, Few observers ex-peeled Mr Biooke to be able to bring the various parties in the province, and the 13rit-ish and Irish governments, to the brink of talks. It was predictable that Â¢ new Secretary of State for Northern Ircland would aspire to set up some form of power-sharing, devolved government: all his predecessors except Roy Mason have had the same ambition, Buteven people who thought this was the best policy doubted whether Mr Brooke would make much headway in implementing it

These low expectations may have encour-aged some over-estimation of how much progress has been made. Tt would, however, be unfair lo deny that the tone of political de-bate in Ulster has chianged. Most prople now think that talks will take place in the autumn:

Mt Brooke may be able to announce as much this Thursday, und descrves credit for having scen that 1 sunnier mood might emerge.

Most ol the participants still doubt, how-ever, whether a durable sgreement will result from the talks. Such a lcap forward will only occur if the will now exists to creale a politi-cal consensus in Ulster, something which in the past has proved utterly unrealistic. Part of Mr Brooke's success stems from his refusal to impose some blueprint of his own on the vari-ous parties, In the end, however, there is go-ing to have to be o blueprint. If Mr Brooke has sufficient grounds to think, afler many hours of secret talks, (hat the different groups are going to be able to agree a com-maon plan, he is justified in procedding. If, however, he has found that irreconcilable dif-ferences remain, he would be well advised not to proceed.

Some unionists are in theory willing to

share power with nationalists, but others, including Ian Paisley, still hanker after majority rule in the province, and James Molyneux remains a supporter of closer integration with the United Kingdom. Most unionists want to see an end to the Anglo-Irish Agreement: the SDLP (whose commitment to devolution is questionable) does not. Dublin will not wish its role in the North to be diminished, and has little enthusiasm for ending its constitutional claim to the whole island of Ireland. Mr Brooke's strongest card has been that nobody wishes to take responsibility for ending the process he initiated. He will need far more than that sentiment to carry him past the obstacles ahead, and thereby to prove, despite appearances to the contrary, that his policy is a pragmatic one.

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ON TEE EVE of his cruci!
Â¢ meeting with the Prime Mimister,

Nelsen Mander o tvang o de-

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By Richard Dowden, Alan
Murdoch and Colir Brown

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exben vesterdaey thet the Gen-

ez should culk s c TR
withoui the mevemens firs: aban-
doning violence.

His cemarks, mizde in ublin
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aigat embarrassed is friends and
created an awkwandeess ihat
- Downing Street an:d the Africen
Natorul Congress had heped to
avoid Fefore tomerrowâ\200\231s sensitive
meeing wich Margare: Thatcher.

MPs condemeed Mre Mandeta's
sugeestion of tzlks with the [RA.
hut there seems to be an aceep-
tance that it was made hecause of
had advice rather than way desire
lo stic up contraneny. The only
persen lo interprel his wards
favourshly was Gerry Adams, of
Sinn Fein. He welcormed the
ANC teader's remarks and said he
was â\200\234prepared 0 co-operate and
10 engage in tatks'.

Spriking it it pews enn?
ence i Duain with the Irish
Prime Minisier Charles Tlatzeer.
Mr Mande'a, the ANC deruty
aresident. was czizfel ot Lo en-
dorse the IRA and denied that

there had been any meetings between the ANC and the [RA. But indeed penisiently for his views on Northerz [reland. he said: =(wia! Take to see the British pov-crament and the [RA adopt precisely the line we have taken. There's nothing better than appointing sitting down to resolve problems by peaceful means.â\200\235

Poinzing Â¢ the Rhodesian ex-perience. e said: â\200\234The British government, without assisting that anyone should lay down their arms. got involved and win able to press people to conclude a peace agreement, That is a precedent

which should not just apply to Af~

andela tries to geruse

sican pulitica! organisations which

are fighting a white government.

(Uis u principle that should be ap-

shicdd in 2 similar situationsâ\200\235

Asked if Be was aware that le

IRA comesard only a small minority of support. Mr Mandela replied: â\200\234That's not the issue. The issue is that people are slaughtering one another when they could sit down and discuss the problems in a peaceful manner.â\200\235 Asked later whether he might be taken for a supporter of IRA â\200\234armed struggleâ\204¢, he said: I am stating what I believe "

But last night. attempting to de-tuse the controversy, Mr Mandela said: It saddens me that as we leave Ireland we find ourselves dragged into a controversy that is of our making and which we never intended.

" ~This morning a question which we did not invite was asked of us about the IRA. In response we reiterated the well-known positions of the African National Congress

~| 3unySyy npnz puo o)

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of all and to man-made death anywhere and everywhere, We created the view .. that the violence should stop. 2y should the

muzeal staughter, znd that all concerned could. as with other situations of conflict. find a way to establish peace. We do not prescribe 10 anvene as te hovw this skould be achieved.â\200\235

Neil Kineock., Â© fimm supporter

. Of M- Mandela and his poliiics kad said ezrlir that the ANC leader might have heen extremely badly adviseÂ© about the IRA. The Labeur leader said: â\200\234Aa friend. [owe it ;0 bim lo say that the Provisional IRA are a bunch of murderous gangsters.â\200\235

By contrast, Downing Street sought lo play down the remarks. suggesting thz: Mr Mandeia micht have heen spzaking to his cwn constituency. and scekng 10 justify the refusal of the ANC to rencunce viglence. Mrs Thaicher does not appear lo believe allegations by Andrew Hunter, Tory MP

w uver IRA

for Basingstoke, that the ANCH

ac @ recuiar and long-stand ieship with e IRA

Newvertheless, o7 s undÃ©nts \rs Thatcher will feel constzeor to explein the Governmeat's & tude to the lRA â\200\224 adding : other sensiive subiect 10 an age da that includes sanctons agas South Africa and the coatinuati of the ANC's â\200\234zrmed struggleâ\200\231 Mr Mandelas demai of a re tionship between the ANC a *he IRA stands in contrast 0 atutude to the PLO. Libva 3 Cuba. for which he was stron critictsed in the United Stat There he admitied and defend ANC contact with Yassir Amal Colenel GadÃ©afi and Fidel C ro. saving # was wrong to sugg â\200\234our encmies are Your cNemics We are a liberation moveme and they support our strugele the kilt,â\200\235 ke said.

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16 THE DAILY TELEGRAPH TUESDAY. JULY 3, 1980 ;A [LO(o N

The Daily Telegraph

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Mandela's challenge

It is yeprettable, to put it mildly, that Mr
I Nelson Mandela has cast a shadow over his

London visit by uttering foolish words,

which equate the Provisional IRA with
other 'freedom movements' around the world. He
ignores the simple truth, that in his own country and
some others, democratic choice has never existed for
millions of people. In Ireland, it does exist. Sinn Féin
has always been overwhelmingly rejected. The Irish
terrorists have no conceivable mandate for murder.
But Mr Mandela's remarks are of a piece with other
ill-judged expressions of support he has offered on
his world tour, most conspicuously for Fidel Castro
and Col Gaddafi. With these affairs, one must always
make some allowances for the need of a popular
leader travelling abroad to keep faith with his com-
rades at home. That is to say, Mr Mandela's position
in the ANC requires regular injections of revolu-
tionary rhetoric. Some leeway must also be accorded
to a man who displays such public dignity, who has
suffered so much for so long, and whose closest
counsellor is the appalling Mrs Winnie Mandela.

It is as difficult to justify his performance yester-
day in Dublin, just as it becomes increasingly hard to
support his refusal to make concessions at home to
President de Klerk, [it would be a great misfortune if
he returns home with the belief that his ovation from
the world constitutes a mandate to refuse construc-
tive talks with the South African government, or to
resist a modification of sanctions. In London today,
Mrs Thatcher is unlikely to leave him in any doubt,
either about the cost to his standing in Britain of
publicly supporting violence, or of failing to seek
sensible accommodations with Mr de Klerk.

The South African President, at considerable risk
to his own government, has proffered an olive
branch. The ANC has been slow to respond. In fair-
ness, many of its leaders have long been in exile, and
all lack political experience, for reasons which must
be laid squarely at the door of successive white
minority governments. But Mr Mandela's tour sig-
nals the beginning of the end of the first phase of
politics since his release. It has served useful pur-
poses, in demonstrating the strength of goodwill
towards himself and his people around the world;
and in raising badly needed cash for the ANC. But
now the party is over and there is urgent business to
be done around the negotiating table. Mr de Klerk,

thus far. has perilously little to show his own people,
in return for the great political courage he has dem-
onstrated. It is an illusion to suppose that the condi-
tion of blacks in South Africa will be improved sim-
ply by compelling it to forswear apartheid. Vast sums
need to be spent on housing. education and training
for blacks. The West has to decide: will it encourage
that - or continuation of the armed struggle?

Tories to shub Mande_la
call for talks with IRA

Michael Whito and
Joe Joyce

HES Government will

today make a determined

attempt not to el Nelson
Mandela's pronouncements on
the Provisional IRA spoil its
first direct opportunity to bury
the hatchet with the African
National Congress over differ-
ing strategies for ending
apartheid.

Last night before flying to
London Mr Mandela showed
that he too wanted to defuse the
row,

At Dublin Castle he told the
Irish prime minister, Charles
Haughey: "It saddens me that
as we leave Ireland we find our-
selves dragged into a contro-
versy that is not of our making
and which we never intended."

He said his earlier remarks,
which were interpreted in Lon-
don as urging Mrs Thatcher to
hold unconditional talks with
the Provisional IRA, were
merely a reiteration of the
well known positions of the
African National Congress of
an end to man-made death any-
where and everywhere",

Mr Mandela's earlier
remarks undoubtedly irritated
the Prime Minister, but con-
certed effort was evident in
Whitehall last night to make
light of the incident.

He had urged the British govern-
ment to follow the example
of the South African govern-
ment with the ANC, and talk to
the IRA to put an end to mu-
tual slaughter,

Replying to persistent ques-
tions about the IRA, Mr Man-
dela told a press conference:
"We would like to see the Brit-
ish government and the IRA
adopt the precise line taken by
us. There is nothing better than
opponents silencing down to

resolve (heir problems in o
peaceful mannerâ\200\235'.

In London, Downing Street

and Forcign Office officials said
they were determined to keep
the spotlight at talks over the
next three davs firmly focused
on South Africa. They would
muke their position on Ireland
cledgr to Mr Mandela only as
necessary.

There was talk last night that
Mrs Thatcher would give Mr
Mandela a history lesson i nec-
essary, but her admiration for
her guest's dignity since his
release from 27 years detention
was also emphasised.

It will be the first meeting of
the two leaders after six
manths of Âlaborate diplomacy.
"They spoke on the telephone for
45 minutes last month.

Neil Kinnock, who has
strongly identified Labour with
ANC aspirations, last night
joined the Conservative leader-
ship in criticizing Mr Mandclaâ\200\231s
remarks. He said in so far as Mr
Mundela's constituted an equiv-
glence between the IRA and the
freedom campaign in South Af:
vica, he had been â\200\234extremely
ill-advised".

â\200\230The shadow eabinet will meet
Mr Masndela tomorrow.

The focus of the official talks
will be the best means of bring:
ing together the Pretoria gov-
ernment and the ANC to estab-
lish Â post-apartheafd non-racial
democracy. Neither side js ox-
pected to shift its position on
sanetions,

B31 Whitehall expected a con-
structive discusstion, â\200\230Even
{though we do not agree 100 per
cent there is very strong agree-
ment on the need o bring about
an end to apartheid,â\200\235 said an
official,

In Dublin, Mr Mandela said
the ANC had taken the initia.
tive on talks in South Africa,
scaled down its vielence and
would sweep the boards in a
democratic election.

He denied the ANC had niet the IRA. He said he was pot expressing any opinion about

methods of political action but

wus merely asserting that peaceful methods were the best way of solving problems.

The British government had entered into talks with political parties involved In armed conflict in Africa â\200\234without {nsist. ing that any side should lay down armsâ\200\235, he said.

Later, in a special address to the Dail, Mr Mandela raised the spectre of counter-violence in South Africa, claiming that many whites were â\200\234ready to drown the masses of our people in & blood bath."

No one could guarantee that the present negotiations would succeed although a good start had been made and he accepted the integrity of President de Klerk.

â\200\234We ask that you stay the course with us,â\200\235 he sald, outlining the case for continuing sanctions against South Africa.

No political settlement, however democratic and just. could survive if nothing was done to improve the quality of life of all people, especially the blacks.

Mr Mandela had an hour-long meeting with the Prime Minister, Charles Haughey. He sald afterwards he had asked the Irish resources to help the ANC.

Ian Gow, chairman of the Conservative backbench Northern Ireland committee, accused Mr Mandela of giving encouragement to the IRA by his remarks.

He said on BBC Radio 4's The World at One: I think Mr Mandela would not have wanted to give any encouragement to the IRA yet that is what his words will have done.

Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, welcomed Mr Mandela's call und suid his party

had consistently stressed the
need for dialogue aimed at es-
tablishing peace and justice in
Ireland.

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- ANC's plan to topple government

CONFIDENTIAL African
National Congress document

" gives the first clear indication
of exactly how the movement

intends to bring the government down

if it does not relinquish power.

Calling for an extended political
strike to break the deadlock at
* (odesa, the document which The
Weekly Mail understands has been
canvassed at the highest levels of the
ANC's leadership urges a pro-
longed, intermittent disruption of nor-
mal business.

Targeting the national communica-
tions system, the transport system, the
public service and the economy, the
document outlines how government
and business activities could be
brought to a halt for a lengthy period.
Included among its proposals are:

• The systematic and deliberate
interruption of the telephone services
of certain business and state institu-
tions

• Sit-ins, sit-downs and protest
action at all major police stations,
prisons and post offices

• Deliberate delays and the system-
atic interruption of the general trans-
port system, including the railways,
harbours and airways. The document
proposes paralysing the road transport
system by mobilising taxi drivers to
cause traffic snarl-ups.

• The deliberate displacement of
important documents, office and
machine keys; and other essential
* items for the normal running of gov-
ernment services.

In line with an ANC policy confer-
ence decision, the Congress of South -

African Trade Unions (Cosatu) on

A prolonged political strike

will spearhead an ANC plan

to force the government -

to relinquish power.

By Weekly Mail_Reporter -"

Wednesday announced a general

strike of unstated duration, beginningâ\200\231

on August 3, if the government does not meet its demands for significant concessions. (See Page 19)

The confidential document argues

â\200\230that a political strike could lead to the -

breaking of the negotiations deadlock,

tions won from its members, The

- Weekly Mail has learnt that there was

SO resistance ywithin the move- |

mentâ\200\231s national executive committee (NBC) to withdrawing from Codesa.

During last weekâ\200\231s NEC meeting

where it was decided to break off all

contact with the government, the sentiment was expressed that the strong

! allegations of police complicity in the

" Boipatong massacre had given the ANC the political high ground. It was

and even the removal of the govern- &

ment from power and the imposition of an interim government. It suggests a two to three-week strike, although

" Cosatu is understood to be advocating ;

week-long action.

The upsurge in militancy in the-

townships in the wake of the Boipatong massacre. and the ANC/Cosatu/South African Communist Party allianceâ\200\231s strong commitment to a programme of escalating

mass action have created fertile con-

ditions among anti-government forces for the adoption of these tactics.

tics.

However, many observers are sceptical about the ability of the organisation

tions to maintain a general strike for the proposed two to three weeks. The most successful stayaway the ANC

and Cosatu have previously called

was on November 4 and 5 last year, when about three million people protested against the implementation of Value-Added Tax. .

The document also reveals that dif-

Pallo Jorian

ferences of opinion exist within the ANC about the effectiveness of the

Leipzig option - action aimed at - toppling the government.

It notes warnings that threats to reduce the possibility of the regime acting without creating serious prob-

lems among its supporters. An extended strike would give the regime -

an excuse to pull out of a process des-

tined to transfer power to the 'non-

ty. Those holding this view believe mass action as a means of extracting concessions from the government should be limited or even suspend-

Despite the overwhelming support for the ANC's withdrawal from negotia-

Weary Nwe 3wy 1992

L -

NECasa-

- argued that the ANC should end all ' bilateral contact with the government

but use the renewed international and local pressure to achieve some concessions at Codesa: '

But at the end of the day the decision was taken to end all contact with the government until it meets. 14 demands aimed at ending the violence and breaking the deadlock at Codesa. This week, NEC members re-

. maintained tight-lipped about the debate . and instead emphasised that the deci-

sion to break off both bilateral and Codesa negotiations was taken by the House. + 2 - Once the decision has been taken,

it is bmdmg on the whole NEC and
prlvale views arÃ© neither here nor
there,â\200\235 said NEC member Pa!lo
Jordan.

Commenting on 1 the srgmf icance of |

the debate, Mohamed Valli Moosa,
another NEC mermber, said: â\200\234It would

not be 1 the mark to make anythmgof

the dli¬\201erenoes of opunon â\200\234about what
we shouldâ\200\231oe doing. The decision was
taken in a matter of hours and that

should mdlcate that there was not aj

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Policeman hacked to death after shooting

'Witness Reporter

KWAZULU policeman was hacked to death in Inanda just north of Durban late yesterday morning after he fatally shot a boy of about 17, apparently in self-defence.

SAP spokesman Lieutenant Bala Naidoo said the constable â\200\224 whose name was not disclosed â\200\224 fled from a store at Inanda about 11.30 am, pursued by a group of unknown men. As he ran,

another group came at him from the opposite direction.

The policeman was cornered and he fired at a youth aged about 17 and killed him. The officer was then overpowered and hacked to death.

A patrol from the SAP reaction unit drove by and opened fire on the 'group' hitting one man in the thigh. He was arrested and taken to hospital. His condition is â\200\234satisfactoryâ\200\235.

About 30 minutes later a police vehicle on patrol in Chesterville was attacked. Lieutenant Naidoo said police fired shots at the group and a man was wounded and arrested.

In Pietermaritzburg a member of 32 Battalion and a police constable were killed, while three other policemen were attacked in separate incidents at the weekend. -

Rifleman Gabriel Kassanga Ndala (32) of 32 Battalion died after being stabbed in the back

on the corner of Pine and Church Streets on Saturday at about 9 pm. He was off-duty at the time.

On Sunday night, an off-duty constable stationed at Plessislaer was shot and killed outside a house in Unit 3 in Imbali.

Constable B.P. Ngubane (28), who lived in Si-nating, was confronted by three armed men at about 7.30 pm. His body was later found by an SADF foot patrol who also arrested one man.

In another shooting in Imbali, Constable J.C. Shamu (22), also stationed at Plessislaer, was shot and injured when gunmen pulled up outside his home.

Maritzburg man in 1000 km surf ski attempt)

Witness Reporter

FORMER Natal Witness sub-editor Anthony Allison has teamed up with five champion Australian surf ski paddlers in an attempt to set a world record for a cross-ocean marathon.

The team leaves from Hong Kong this month for the 1 000 kilometre journey across the South China Sea to San Fernando in the Philippines.

Allison, the assistant editor on the South China Morning Post in Hong Kong, said the challenge was primarily being undertaken to raise money for underprivileged children and the possibility of earning a place in the Guinness Book of Records was a bonus.

â\200\234We have assembled a top team, including Murray Braund, the former world surf ski champion and Richard Brierty, a current Austra-

lian international.â\200\235

The team will be supported by a 23 metre ocean cruiser skippered and owned by American John Scrivener. â\200\234Heâ\200\231s just the man we need,â\200\235 says Allison, â\200\234the waters can be very dangerous, not only because of high seas, but because of pirates.

â\200\234John has lived in the region for more than 20 years and understands the seas and the people.â\200\235

Allison, who was born and educated in Pietermaritzburg, completed the Duzi and Vaal marathons several times, but had not

surf-skied before arriving in Hong .

Kong five years ago. -

Four years ago Allison and a'

colleague challenged the best of Hong Kongâ\200\231s yachts in the annual

50 kilometre round-Hong Kong island race, the bet being that theyr

would beat half of the fleet. . .

â\200\234We just made it and raised a lot for charity, but only because a tropical storm blew up and the bulk of entrants had to pull out,â\200\235 says Allison.

Two years later they set their sights a bit further, to Macau, the Portuguese enclave on the Chinese mainland, 100 kilometres away.

The event went without mishap until Allison arrived in Macau and discovered his support boat had turned back with his passport. After much arguing with disbelieving immigration officials I was allowed in, says Allison.

“I just hope I don’t have the same problem in the Philippines as South Africans are not normally allowed into the country. – Vv
“It will be a hell of a distance to

paddle back if they refuse me –
~ entry..

Former Natal Witness staffer –Anthony Allison, one of a team of six top surf ski paddlers who are to attempt to set a world record for a

‘ cross-ocean marathon.

..

LRIV 2CAMTL IVULADVAR AVAae oo s

by David Shaw

NELSON MANDELA's remarks
about the IRA sparked angry scenes
when he addressed MPs and peers
in the Commons today,

Despite an attempt to take the heat
out of the situation, he failed to con-
demn explicitly the IRA's bullet-
and-bomb murder campaign.

And it led to bad tempers and jeering
in the historic Grand Committee Room
where the ANC's deputy leader had
been invited to address the all-party
Southern Africa committee, = .

The mee 8 chairman, Tory MP
Jvor Stanbrook, issued a face-to-face
challenge to correct the impression Mr
Mandela gave with his words yester-

Anger as MP
puts ANC chief
on the spot

day in Dublin when he called for talks
with the IRA without any pre-
conditions, g

Mr Stanbrook, who shouts from Left-
wingers of "Rubbish!" told Mr Mande-
la: "There is all the difference in the
world between a struggling liberation
movement and violence carried out for
political ends in a Parliamentary do-
mocracy. Please recognise the differ-

Veagegsts UL T, VAL aanu .

ence. We never negotiate with terror.
{sts."}

Mr Mandela's speech made no refer-
ence to the IRA but, when applause
subsided, he said he wanted to "put the
record straight".

He said he had refused to be drawn
into discussing the IRA and the British
Government.

"What I did was to point out that our
approach, as the ANC, is that all con-
flicts, wherever in the world they are
found, should be settled peacefully.

"I asked the question: what is the use
in the parties involved killing one an-
other, killing innocent civilians when
they can sit down and address their
problems by peaceful means?"

He said he was expressing no opinion

on the conflict between the

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IRA and the Government.

â\200\234I would like you to understand that I was expressing no opinion whatsoever on the actual conflict between the IRA and the British Government. I expressed a general principle.â\200\235

But it was not enough for Mr * Stanbrook, who said:
â\200\234Some of us wished you had condemned the violence of

Forced to be firriends: P7

[â\200\230

the IRA"â\200\224a remark which brought more Jjeers and a shout from Labour's Dennis Skinner of: â\200\234Shut your mouth!â\200\235

Earlier there had been concern about Mr Mandela's health, He was taken to his hotel for a check-up and a rest after complaining of feeling unwell.

The 72-year-old flew In from Ireland following a grueling tour of the US,

Daily WMail
COMMENT

Nelson Mandela,
warts and all

NELSON MANDELA makes public his
view that the British Government
should talk to the IRA, even â\200\230before
they have laid down their arms',

The Daily Mail rejects that unwanted
advice, As, doubtless, will the Prime
Minister herself. Mr Mandela's words,
however peaceably offered, can only
give comfort to the killers of the IRA.
Irish Ministers knew that journalists
would press him on this point. They
should have briefed Mr Mandela to
give a more sophisticated reply.

â\200\230But the ANC leader's provocative
" remarks do raise one question which
should not be ducked:

Given that tomorrow Margaret Thatcher
is to meet Nelson Mandela, the deputy
president of the African National Con-
gress, an organisation which {self
refuses to abandon â\200\230the armed struggleâ\200\231,
why then, the day after, should she not
sit down with the political frontmen for
the murderers of the IRA?

â\200\230Where, some will ask, is the moral or
political divide?

The answer is that, though Mrs
Thatcher continues to condemn the
terrorism practised by the ANC, she
does â\200\230recognise its claims to speak for
millions â\200\224 even a majority â\200\224 of South
Africans who are denied the vote and
subject to oppressive laws because of
the colour of their skin, :

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No comparable situation exists in
Ireland, north or south of the border,
where any politician can campaign on
the platform of a united Ireland: can

seek support through the ballot box. Nobody through religious conviction or nationalist allegiance is denied the vote. There is open debate between all who disavow violence.

That is the difference.

Yes, we have had to talk to superannuated terrorists from Africa and the Middle East, But that was because these leaders came to represent mass movements for self-government which could not be denied and had not been accommodated by any previous constitutional means.

The IRA is not like that. Its terror tactics have long since alienated the majority of law-abiding Irishmen. Even among the Catholic community of

- Northern Ireland, its sympathisers are
& minority of the minority.

Nelson Mandela uAll not, or cannot, grasp such distinctions.

After his long years In captivity, his view of the world outside Southern Africa seems to be caught in some kind of time warp. Castro, the ageing Communist dictator of Cuba, is still a hero to him. Mr Mandela still seems to see all the world's terrorists and their backers through the same sentimental haze.

This newspaper rejoiced at his release. We acknowledge the constituency he speaks for in South Africa and the role he may yet play there. But, unlike those in America and Ireland who fawn on his every word, the Daily Mail refuses to regard him as a plaster saint.

Warts and all, he is welcome here. And it is right that the Prime Minister should meet him. Who knows, after so many double helpings of adulation, he could even find the more astringent

- approach of his Downing Street host-

ess refreshing! Of one thing you can be sure, the exchange of views between
. them will be frank.

NELSON Mandela, vice-president of the African National Congress, last night tried to play down remarks about the IRA for which he had been strongly criticised at Westminster.

During a joint press conference at Dublin Castle yesterday with Charles Haughey, the Irish Prime Minister, Mr Mandela had repeatedly and forcefully urged the British government to enter into direct negotiations with the Provisional IRA and said the experience of South Africa demonstrated that there was no point in both sides to an argument continuing along a path of violence,

Sources at 10 Downing Street were joined by Labour and Liberal Democrat leaders in dismissing Mr Mandela's remarks and saying he had been badly advised on the situation in Northern Ireland, particularly in his comparisons with South Africa and the situation in pre-independent Zimbabwe,

Neil Kinnock said he would remind Mr Mandela that the IRA are a bunch of murderous gangsters,

Before leaving Dublin for London last night, Mr Mandela said: "It saddens me that, as we leave Ireland, we have been dragged into a controversy that is not of our making and which we never intended,

This morning a question which we did not invite was asked of us about the IRA. In response, we reiterated the well-known position of the ANC in favour of an end to man-made death anywhere and everywhere.

Mr Mandela said he had reiterated the view, which he held strongly and unashamed-

criticised
over call for
IRA talks

By Eibwawn GORMAN AND Riciarn Forp

It, that violence should stop
and all concerned should find
a way to establish peace.
Downing Street sources
went out of their way to play
down the remarks made only
hours before Mr Mandela's
arrival in London for talks
with Mrs Thatcher, party lead-

ers and MPs. They emphas-

sisted that he had his own
constituency to play to, and
that Mrs Thatcher believed he
had handled himself with
great dignity since his release
from prison,

In Dublin Mr Mandela had
said there was no other sol-
ution but for both sides to
recognise that they must sit
down and talk to each other.
It seems to me that it is
wrong, for anyone to suggest
that force will bring about a

solution in conditions of this

kind," he said,

Sinn Fein reacted quickly to
this unexpected political
windfall, calling on Mrs
Thatcher and Mr Haughey to
respond positively, Gerry Ad-
ams, president of Sinn Féin,
said his party recognised and
constantly emphasised the
need for dialogue aimed at
establishing peace,

Mr Mandela, who held talks
with Mr Haughey and Gerard
Collins, the Irish Foreign Min-
ister, where he asked Ireland
for financial help, denied that
members of his organisation
had met the IRA. Allegations
about such meetings were
reported at the weekend, and
defended the ANC's use of

violence but did not endorse -

the armed struggle of the
IRA.

Last night he was greeted by
Witham Waldegrave, Foreign
Office minister, as he arrived
at Heathrow airport.

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7 - THE AUSTRALIAN Friday July 3 1992 7

V/ORLD MEWS â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

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-~SOUTH African police
last night conceded that the
Boipatong massacre was
carried out by inmates of a
Zulu Inkatha-dominated
workers' hostel but denied
police had helped them.

â\200\234Fury over the massacre. in
which 49 residents of Boipa-
tong township were Killed.
boiled over in Cape Town yes-
terday as police fired shot-
guns and plastic bullets at
demonstrators, wounding
more than 40.

Â@â\200\234The evidence unambi-
guously proves that the resi-
dents of KwaMadala hostel
kttacked the residents of Boi-
Patong and Slovo Park (an ad-
Joining squatter camp) on this
â\200\230tâ\200\231ragic night,â\200\235 chief police in-
vestigator Major Christo
â\200\230Pavidson told the Goldstone
Zfommission into township vio-
â\200\234Tence yesterday.

He denied African National
Congress allegations that
Police had ferried the Inkatha
members to Boipatong and
Instigated the massacre.
' "Inkatha reacted angrily to
The police statement.

-â\200\234â\200\234It bothers me. It troubles
me. because clearly the police
@Are already passing judg-
ment,â\200\235 sald Mr Themba
Khoza. a leader of Inkatha in
Transvaal province.

= â\200\234Nobody has been convicted
@â\204¢ this issue. yet they are al-
â\200\230ready pointing fingers.â\200\235

Black demonstrators wounded as officers open fire on Cape Town rally

By KATHLEEN BARNES in Johannesburg and Reuters

Detectives from Scotland Yard are due to arrive in South Africa soon to help the commission's inquiries into Boipatong and other town-ship violence amid rising condemnation of possible government involvement in the massacre.

Reports were carried by two Johannesburg newspapers yesterday that the Government had replied to the conditions laid down by the ANC to resume constitutional negotiations.

The president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, handed the Government a memorandum last week in the aftermath of the Boipatong killings. N

Top officials refused last night to reveal the contents of the reply, which would have addressed the ANC demand that the Government take immediate action to stop black-on-black killing and move more quickly to establish a multi-racial government.

In continuing violence yesterday in Cape Town, one man was left lying in a pool of blood from a head wound and a woman was carried off weeping by her friends. Police said no one had been killed.

The shooting erupted after demonstrators retaliated with rocks and bottles to a charge by police with leashed dogs, which were allowed to bite

people on the fringes of the crowd.

Protesters sat down in a busy intersection between the city's historic Castle Barracks.

which was ringed by black soldiers, and the white-dominated Parliament about 1km away.

â\200\234Shoot me. shoot me.â\200\235 one youth shouted as he danced with his T-shirt raised to his chin. Another thrust his chin into a policeman's face and

amed obscenities

A â\200\234white motorist crashed through the crowd in appar-

ent panic after black youths kicked and hammered at his car. His windows ' were smashed as he drove along pavements with a crowd in pursuit.

Traders boarded their windows and motorists retreated against the flow of one-way streets as the crowd jogged through the city to the office of the President, Mr De Klerk. which was closed.

The general secretary of the South Africatâ\200\224@ommunist Party. Mr Chris Hani. said the protest by 4000 people was

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part of a campaign of â\200\234rolling mass actionâ\200\235 for democracy.

â\200\234We are determined to get our freedom and for that freedom we are prepared to pay any price,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234We are leading the people into the streets to demand democracy now and we are gearing up for a major general strike from August 3.â\200\235

Earlier. the ANC announced

it would not oppose the par- .

ticipation of South African athletes at the Barcelona Olympics later this month but cast doubt on other inter-

Police fire plastic bullets and tear-gas at protesters in Cape Town yesterday, wou national sporting contacts.

. â\200\234All current pre-arranged fixtures will go ahead but no new tours or sporting contacts should be negotiated,â\200\235

the ANC said.

The ANC had one condition for the athletes at the Olympic Games In Barcelona: they have to wear black armbands while competing. in memory of those killed in Boipatong

The program of strikes and mass disobedience formulated by the ANC and its Communist Party and union allies was given the full backing of

ending more than 40

AP

the Organisation of African Unity. which finished its meeting In Senegal early yesterday. .

Two of the resolutions at the final session condemned the white-minority Government, saying it fuelled township violence. and called for an emergency United Nations Security Council meeting \

The mounting township violence ensured South Africa's racial strife took centre stage

Mr Mandela attended as an observer and lobbied hard for support for UN intervention.

picture

Police OQLarr;e7 Zulu
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;â\200\230 lfor town slaying

PRETORIA â\200\224 Police * squatter camp) on this tra- in Boipatong. No evidence |
yesterday blamed the gic night,â\200\235 chief pplice in- ~had as yet been found to_|,
township .massacre that vestigatorâ\204ç Major Christo â\200\230suĩ~\201port ANC charges th
atâ\200\230

triggered the collapse of _ Davidson said. " - police took part in the
South African democracy " â\200\234In a statement to the attack, despite testimony
talks on inmates of a work- _Goldstone commission, an from two black policemen.
ersâ\200\231 hostel dominated by -ongoing Judicial inquiry He said the policemen,
the 2Zulu-based Inkatha - into township violence, attached \$@=a station in
Freedom Party. - - â\200\230Major Davidson said Evaton township, had de-
e evidence unambi- political rivalry between clared the hostel dwellers
gudusly proves that the Inkatha and Nelson Man- had been ferried 1km from,._
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de of Boipatong and -cause of the June 17 mas- | Major Davidson saldgl
Slovo Park (an adjoining sacre of at least 41 blacks these allegations had been 2
: e L I g shown to be false. .- .o

- B â\200\224 . The ANC has broken off
democracy talks with the 3
government in protest at
alleged collusion between
security forces and In-
katha, plunging the coun-
tryâ\200\231s reform process into
its worst crisis.

Inkatha rejected th
lice statement. S 2
Detectives from Brf-
in's Scotland Yard are
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a soon to help the com-
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issionâ\200\231s inquiries.

THE TIMES TUESDAY JULY 31 1990/ & i cheops

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As the ANC leader arrives in

London

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+eter Stothard, US editor, assesses his impact on America

Overwhelmed b

elson Mandela arrives in
NLondon today to a Foreign

Office welcome befitting
the potential prime minister of a
friendly countrv. That will be
somcthing of a comedown for a
man wha left America an Sunday
asbero, respected world statesinan
and serii-mxthical sage.

The British lp IS more
businesslike. To official relief in
Lordon â\200\224 andg proszbly g the
retizfof Mr Mandela kimselâ\200\224 the
razzmatzzz with kis mare enthy-
siaslic supporiers was provided at
the Wembley Stadium rock con-
cert during bis visit in April.

Both levels of greeting. however,
have autcacted criucism, Why itis
asked, should a man of vidlence
and inspiration to the ars of
political murder be treated thus?
That criictsm was loud at the
beginning of Mr Mandela's Ameri-
can lous. ftis heard in Britain 100,
reinforced by his remarks ves-
lerday suggesting that Britain
negoliate withn the IRA.

A week ago Amertcan journal-
ists and politicians were not so
naive as to ignore the African
National Congressâ\200\231s espousal of
the armed struggle, its attachment
o censorship, lits propensity to

apptly a match to petrol-filled s
around the necks of those blacks
who disobey its commands. in the
event, they were 100 weak to stand
before an extraordinary tide of
hystedia and goodwill.

As he left Washington for
Miami and California. com-
mentators were left exhausted. As
Meg Greenfield of the bashinzi
Post remarked, Mr Mandela â\200\234blew
away the conventional and some-
what nasty debate we were ser 10
have about him and compelled
political Washington to receive
and comprehend him on his own
terms.â\200\235 That, she said, was un-
heard of.

Mr Mandela. it was variously
argued. had somehow risen above
the rules that apply to ordinary
politicians. At the very least he
was a massive figure, whatever his
faults. with whom Washington
had no option but to deal. At the
most, he was a commanding,
disciplined presence who by his
very courage, self-control and
leadership had drowned reason in
the well of his spirit.

There was obvious embarrass-
ment here. Ms Greenfield and
many others, now that the god-
head has passed on, clearly felt

the need for a cold shower.

The Wall Street Journal. which
had kept the coolest head through-
out the week of million-dollar
fund-raising events. computer-
tape parades. and jovial surrender
to irrationality, was still posing the
same tricky questions. Why. dur-
ing his visit, did Mr Mandela share
a platform with Puerto Rican
nationalists so proud of their
feat, 30 years ago, of shooting five
members of Congress? Why has he
met Yassir Arafat more often than
any other foreign leader? Why,
while happily meeting fellow
espousers of violence. did he
eschew Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. a
sincere proponent of peaceful
change in South Africa?

From Mr Mandela's standpoint
the answer is simple enough. He
was thanking the people who
helped him most when he was
imprisoned. But the reason that

the American people appeared to be so uncritical with the notable exception of the anti-Castro Cubanans of Miami is more complex.

The US political class has not lost touch with moral reality. It is not engaged in some discreditable cover-up. There has, instead, been a humbling of media power before

the

the onslaught of something that was, temporarily at least, beyond its usual sway.

Ms Greenfield was not wholly correct when she said that his exercise of authority by Mandela was unheard of. Wask-Ingon's initial reaction to Mr Gorbachev was also to forget the sins of the past and present with an eye to the great peaceful future.

The anti-Gorbachev forces put up a tougher fight than those opposed to the Mandela version, Gorbomania. although fading now. It lasted longer and achieved more for the Soviet Union than Mr Mandela has for the ANC. The concrete benefits of the ANC's American circus are still

But the outlines of the two cases are similar: a yoking of American optimism, a feeling for individuals over ideas, a pragmatic appreciation of power and the yearning for heroes in a United States which sorely lacks them. It is hard to be a hero in a rich, successful and peaceful nation which has fulfilled its manifest destinies and has few frontiers left to cross. President Bush does not want to be a hero. He would find the very notion in the worst of taste.

by Mandelamania

For black America. there are many claimants for the hero's mantle. But the legacy of Martin Luther King is still unclaimed. Mr Mandela is a more potent symbol of the black struggle than any available off-the-peg to the American hall of icons including Jesse Jackson. who is too much of a worldly politician. The successful disciplined survivor - a survivor of the 1950s and 1960s in which he so often shined in America that he has discipline, no survival skills and no success,

No wonder. then. that black

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lapses of this last week, frs media
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Mandela urges unconditional peace talks with IRA

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After a state reception Jast night, Mr

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Mr Mandela, who recetved the Free-
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[rish Parliament, the Dail, where he

became only the fourth outsider to

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By Chris Ryder, Irish Correspondent

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Â® Mr Gerry Adams, the Sina Fein
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followed by
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the IRA and French

said the two organisations had never

During his press conference at
met.

Dublin Castle, held after a one-hour
meeting with the two senicr members
of the Irish Government, the ANC

leader denied links. with

111 not endear him to Mrs

His comments are cercain Lo suir up a
hornetsâ\200\231 nest in Conservative ranks and

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the meeting with Mrs Thatcher.

president,

Mitterrand.

: Thatcher, who is to meet him tomorrow

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Mrs

pond positively to Mr

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Mr Adams said he was prepared to

peace process.
Thatcher 4o res

Mandelaâ\200\235

hing from ; prep
id that the engage in talks aimed at initiatin

With his wife Winnie watc

the gallery, Mr Mandela sa
apartheid system in South Africa had

a0t changed and the struggle against it

must go on.

Y10~

Although he emphasised several

times the benefit of opposites resolving
their problems in a peaceful manner, he

did not vpenly condemn the use of

lence for politicat ends.

Britain.
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1S Visit to

Mr Mandela, deputy president of the

" African National Congress, went on to
draw an analogy with Rbodesia. â\200\234The

British Government. without insistin

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There had been no profound or
versible changes that would lead to the

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Lo TUESDAY, 8 JULY, 1990 =

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S taane v \$4p At S o bk P 0

In the interests of resolving South African issues, will Mrs Thatcher overlook My Mandela's IRA comments?

() SOONER had Nelson Mandela touched

: down in London than he was having to
Â¥ defend himself against allegations of i
norance or simple mindedness, following his â\200\230 ,
joolish remarks about the IRA. In France,
America, Treland and clsewhere he has been
feted in a spirit of almost uneritical acelajm. In

decad, the aury sul_'roundiug him has been such
that Jocal politicians--especially black politi
Âçians in America--have serambled for photo op

portunities with him. He will find London, and
specifically Mrs Thateher, 4 different kettle of
fish.

Mandela's tour has several objectives. The ANC is
ausious (o bolster its hold on international opinion
and specifically to shore up support for sanetions. 3
wlsowants to maintain the mobilisation of anti .
apartheid groups abroacd, to raise tunds for the e
furn and resettlement in South Africa of some 20000

exiles, and to raise money for the ANC itsell.

Despite the heroâ\200\231s welcome Mr Mandela is univer-
sally accorded, none of these objectives is anprob
lematic. Until now Preforiaâ\200\231s image abroad his been
<0 drendiul that the ANC has found itself on an easy
wicket, but the success of do Klerk's nine-nation e

ropean (our last month showed that heneetorth this ;
will be contested twrf,

Jor us nepotiations progress in South Africs one
st expect both sides Lo play repeatedly to the in-
ternationa) gallery. Before setting ot Mandala
hoasted that he would make de Klerk sovry that he
had over ventored forth bul this was, of course,

mere township grandstand
ing. In fact straight after
President Bush had seen
Mandela he phoned de Klerk
to brief him on his diseus
sions and o renew his invi-
tation for de Klerk to come to
Washingfon- an invitation

de Klerk will doubtless take

up before long. P
â\204ç, | oF X

by RW JOHNSON

Fellow of Magdalen College. â\2027 ford

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 guostion of the AN
G'Â«

IVEEN that he contin-
ues Lo push holdly
Â£ forward with his re-
_lorm programme at home, it
Â¥ s ditTicult to see that his ac
~ coplability abroad will do
~ anything but inerease. More:
over, Western Jeaders
foremost among them Mrs
~Phatcher <re acutely aware
ofthe need to bolster de
Klerk at home against the
fising threat of Dr
aapeeurnicht's extreme white
~:Right, De Klerk despurately

â\200\234'peeds tangible gains to poinl 5
Clgfgthe fruit of his policies, -

Softhe ANC or the West to
swdam doors in de Klerk's facce
- Zg'mercly o hand extia votes
; '7?15') Treurnicht.
â\200\234#3.0n the sanctions jgsue
â\200\234Mmdela and Thatcher will
_&imply have to agree 10 dis
â\200\234agree. The ANC would like
Ahe West lo maintaln sanc
- tions to give it a further bar-
gaining card against I'reto-
ria, Downing Streel never
liked sanctions anyway and
is well aware that a competi-
tive race for post-sanctions
South Africa trade has al-
ready bepun among (he B
stutes, with British Svuth Af
- rican trade growing particu-
Jarly strongly.
Beyond that there â\200\230is a

Smoral inperialismâ\204¢. Mus
Thateher dislikes the whole
iden that sanctions should be
maintained merely to
strengthen the bargaining,
position of the ANC as o po
litical party, There s, in
deed, w naive self-
ripghteousness Lo naty of the
ANC's positions, as well as a
cheer Jack of nong about
what it can veasonably ask
for.

The ANCG s, after all, 2
movement whose militants
have to ask parly permission
to marry or divoree. Presi-

Sdent Bush wis shocked by

Mandeld's request that all i
fure US initiatives on South
Africa should be submifted
o prior ANC vetting, while
Mandela's championship of
ANC links to Aratat, Castro
and Gadaffy was o risky al
fempt (o defy the laws of
American political pravity.
His il advised ventore into
the minefield of frish Repuob
lican politics derives from
the same over-confident
woralism, .

The ANC's request for aid
for the resettlement of exiles
meets with sympathy in
.

priitciple hut o certain
snags in practice, No one his
forgotlen (hat SWAPO. the
ANC's brofhie movement in
Namibla, for years received

UN aid for scorgs of {hou
Ginds more exiles than, on a
closer consuns, actually
tuened out o egist.

The ANC' owne census of
its exiles offers the
moverment's help for vemaoval
expenscs and underpenth
inctudes o loyadty oath for
sigature, Jeyond that is the
simpler fact that around
15,000 Of the 20,000 exiles are
puervillas Tiving in condi-
Hons ol greal privation in
camps in Jlast Africa, still be-
ing educated in the (houghls
of Mao. They certainly need
help bt so long as the ANC
maintaing ils comunitinient to
Me â\200\234memoed strugeleâ\200\231, West-
@ countrics baulk at the
notion of paying for the tepit

(rintion of this great posse of
woell armed fighters.

DOLY cenough, the

ANC's reqquest for

funds for its own or-
ganisational activities is
likoly to receive the warmest
FespOIEC CVEPYOIe Aprees
{hut lo develop @ proper
comnterweight o de Klerk
the ANC needs to set up oftic
e, o ol members and all the
pest of it Downing Street
has, indeed, already sipe
nalled ils willingness to

contribute -provided funds

go to other black political movements as well, In practice there are other worries <0 far all but one of the regional Organisers appointed within South Africa by the ANC are members of the Communist Party and scandals have arisen over the alleged misuse of FC money contributed to ANC-supported educational and charitable funds.

This long list of difficulties may not matter so much right now. Mandela's moral stature is such that it is just on this initial visit he can probably get away with any number of faux pas and false notes. Downing Street is so keen to re-set itself back into the role of key arbiter of the South African drama that Mrs Thatcher will probably even overlook Mr Mandela's remarks about the IRA.

For the moment, indeed, Thatcher and Mandela are condemned to get on with one another, Whether he likes it or not she is the current and possible future head of South Africa's most important foreign partner. And he, whether she likes it or not, has earned exemption from the normal political rules by a quarter century's heroic captivity. So, live together they must, though it is hardly a marriage made in heaven.

Perhaps who knows? Mrs Thatcher will even discover, as she did with Mr Gorbachev, that Mr Mandela is a man she can do business with,

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\WeEKLY Mar

O fewer than 49 massacres have occurred in

the Reef and southern Transvaal in the past two

years, costing the lives of 1250 people â\200\224 an
, average of 25 per atrocity.

These startling statistics are contained in a special
report by the Human Rights Commission (HRC) giv-
ing details of recent massacres. The HRC defines a
massacre as resulting in at least 10 deaths.

In 34 cases, the HRC reports, Inkatha Freedom
Party (IFP) members were the assailants. Township
residents supporting the African National Congress
(ANC) were implicated in six massacres. Security
forces are alleged to have been directly implicated in
four mass killings, while unidentified whites alleged-
ly played a role in others.

Some of the killing sprees bear a remarkable simi-
larity to the carnage in Boipatong. Just over a year
| ago, on May 12, 27 people were :
slaughtered by balaclava-clad |
men in a pre-dawn attack on the
squatter seftlement of Swanie
ville, on the west Rand. A

The report lists a number of |
very similar characteristics on
the nature and objectives of the
massacres, which show that in
the majority of the killings:

@Inkathaâ\200\231s drive to establish
political territory, influence and
membership is a predominant
theme. - Â£

@Extreme terror tactics were
used mainly to immobilise, dis-
organise and paralyse township
communities.

@Â®Hostels were the main
bases from which to plan mas-
sacres.

@Persistent reports of police
and security force complicity in
these massacres â\200\224 especially
of the involvement of unidenti-
fied whites.

@Retaliation was a frequent
motive. : :

@Of the 49 mass killings, which have occurred ata
rate of two a month, funerals and night vigils were tar-
- gets on three occasions, beerhallsior taverns were
attacked twice and on three occasions bus and train
commuters were killed in major attacks.
~ The HRC also points to a remarkable coincidence.

As in the case of Boipatong, the Swanieville massacre

ed IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi.

These have been De Klerk's only visits to the IFP headquarters. b :

~ But in crucial respects the Boipatong massacre is unique. Never before have 200 detectives been assigned to an investigation, or a special inquiry ordered into allegations of police involvement.

~ Days after the inquiry began, police commissioner : sJohauvumi-202erMeme-Mmmwd'ma evidence implicating inmates of kwaMadala Hostel in the Boipatong massacre had been uncovered. At the time of writing, 81 hostel residents had been arrested!

~ cised atrocities in the PWYV alone are;

~ On May 12 last year in Swanieville (also known as Mshenguville) squatter camp, 27 people were killed and 30 injured as 112 shacks were razed during a two-hour dawn attack by a group of about 1 000

ers were backed by white balaclava-clad men who did not use the firearms they carried. |

'On December 2 1990, alleged IFP supporters killed 30 people in Tokoza during a pre-dawn house-to-house raid aimed at Xhosa-speakers, which result-

occurred two days after President FW de Klerk visit- |

Among the HRC's catalogue of less well-publicised alleged IFP supporters. Witnesses claimed the attack-

ed in hundreds of people fleeing to the Phola Park squatter camp.

@On November 26 1990, 11 people were killed and 16 injured when close to 150 armed men, among them whites, launched a sudden attack on residents of Mandela View squatter camp in Katlehong.

Â@On September 4 1990, armed, balaclava-clad raiders â\200\224 allegedly led by IFP leader Themba Khoza and accompanied by whitesâ\200\224 stormed the Sebokeng Hostel in the early morning and killed 19 people during the fighting which ensued.

@At the night vigil for a victim of faction fighting in Alexandra on March 27 1991, 15 people were shot dead and 18 injured in a cold blood assault by AK47-wielding gunmen. : : . .

~ @On January 12 last year in Sebokeng, 45 people were killed and 50 injured in a hail of AK47 bullets at the night vigil of Christoffel Nangalembe, a prominent ANC activist in the area.

@On March 27 last year in Alexandra, 15 people were killed and 16 injured when uniformed gunmen invaded a night vigil at about 4am and opened fire with AK47s and automatic firearms. Police from the nearby police station, within earshot of the shootings, arrived an hour after the attack despite having agreed to providing protection for the mourners.

@On October 7 last year in Tokoza, 20 people were killed and 24 injured at the funeral of community activist Sam Ntuli when gunmen attacked mourners. Police were accused of failing to check the attack and of themselves firing on mourners.

- @On May 12 last year in Sebokeng, 13 people were killed and 11 injured when two masked men barged in to a beer hall and indiscriminately fired on patrons.

Â@On October 13 in Mapetla, Soweto, 10 people were killed in another attack on tavern patrons. Stony-faced gunmen opened fire on the occupants of Twelepele Bar Lounge as well as people on the street outside for 45 minutes before moving off in two waiting mini-buses. - s R

@On July 22 1990, 19 people were killed and more than 45 seriously injured in the running battle between members of the IFP and the civic association in Sebokeng. Police are alleged to have stood by while â\200\234impisâ\200\235 went on the rampage. A @On March 24 1991, 12 people were killed and 38 injured in Daveyton when police opened fire on a

| group of about 250 ANC supporters before the 10-

minute dispersal period given to them was up. Police alleged that they opened fire on the crowd who

ignored a warning to disperse and instead attacked

them. In the incident one policeman was killed

two others also injured. . s %

@On August 15 1991 in the Crossroads. squatter
camp, 24 people were Killed and several injured in a
pre-dawn attack on the predominantly Xhosa-speak- |
ing camp by armed men wearing red headbands. -

- â\200\230@On April 3 this year, 23 people were killed and 17|

others injured when 30 shacks were flattened during
an attack on the Crossroads squatter camp in Tokoza.
Residents told how about 30 Xhosa-speaking men
armed with guns, pangas and petrol bombs came.
toward the camp in the direction of the Holomisa
squatter camp at about 11pm.

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De Klerk
won't have *
anarchy -

S. African leader
puts ANC on notice

By TOM COHEN

Associated Press :: -x w,

. JOHANNESBURG, South Africa
President F.W. de Klerk on
Thursday - accused the - ANC:
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A1 7" TR Â£

: % ended talks last -

de Klerk ~ week to protest

Â£ the June / 17/
massacre of at least 39 blacks in
the Boipatang township south of
Johannesburg. It has launched a
campaign of demonstrations and
strikes, vowing to bring down the

negotiations have brought ANC-
government relations to their low-
est point since de Klerk legalized
the powerful black group and
started negotiations in 1990. ; -

On Monday, black leaders told
thousands at a funeral for the
massacre victims that only protest
would end white rule :

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/De Klerk reassures ã©
V|r inia overnor - =1

_ with â\200\230President |
F. W. de Klerk
Thursday and

g
mission, said he still â\200\230had â\200\230â\200\230the
feeling of confidence in his good
intentionsâ\200\235 and felt that de Klerk
was committed â\200\230to resolvmg the
current htical cnsxs as soon as

July 3,1992 eees

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FW addresses the nation, f\i

' IAM speaking to you

tonight with

regard to the serious

situation which has

been artificially created in
our country.

As you know, when I be-
came State President, I pro-
mised to put South Africa on
a new road. I promised that I
would end apartheid and that
I would free political prison-
ers, including Mr Mandela. I
said that I would start nego-
tiations with all of the main
political leaders of our coun-
try so that, together, we could
draw up a new constitution
which would bring full politi-
cal rights to all South Afri-
cans. I undertook to restore
South Africa's relations with
Africa and with the interna-
tional community.

I have done all of these

things. During the past (wo.

and a half years we have
made very encouraging pro-
gress. At Codesa 2, we were
very close to reaching an
agreement which would have
led to the first election in
which all South Africans
would have voted. Within
months we could have had an
elected Parliament and Gov-
ernment which, for the first
time in history, would have
represented all South Afri-
cans. The transitional consti-
tution would have ensured
the rights of all individuals
and would have prevented
domination and the abuse of
power

There were differences between the parties at Codesa: on some constitutional principles and aspects of the constitution-making process. These were important issues, but they could have been solved through negotiations â\200\224 just as many other problems and differences had already been solved. However, the ANC and its allies chose instead to sabotage negotiations and to precipitate a crisis. There are strong indications that some elements of the alliance had planned this course of action even before the start of Codesa2

They are now also trying to

B i

This is the,â\200\231fp11 text}of State President FW de Klerk's speech to the nation broadcast last night.

justify their decision because of the violence in the country. The most recent and terrible example of this violence was the massacre of 39 people in Boipatong on 17th June.

I can assure you that I and the Government are as horrified as anyone else by the violence. On Saturday 20th June I tried to visit Boipatong myself so that I could speak to the families of the victims and share their sorrow. But I was prevented from doing this â\200\224 not spontaneously by the people of Boipatong, but by politically organised protests

Since then the ANC and its allies have repeatedly attacked and slandered the Government. They have claimed that the Government and I were involved in the Boipatong massacre. This is a lie and will remain a lie, no matter how often it is repeated. There is not a shred of proof to support these accusations We are determined to find out who was responsible for the killings and we will leave no stone unturned until we have prosecuted and punished the guilty. We have also

asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate the Boipatong massacre and we have suggested that international experts help with the investigation

We have taken numerous concrete steps to stop the violence. We have given the police more money and more men. We have supported the National Peace Committee and we have set up the Goldstone Commission. However, regardless of the number of police we appoint and the number of investigations we start, we cannot stop the present type of violence alone. We need the support of all political leaders and of all South Africans to do this.

The ANC's reasons for

withdrawing from negotiations are completely unconvincing. They know that we are prepared to discuss any reasonable concerns with them and all other parties. Any differences which may exist make negotiations more necessary and not less necessary. That is why we have urged them to return to the negotiating table.

There is, however, every reason to believe that the ANC is simply fabricating excuses to break off the negotiations and to cause an artificial crisis. This is because it, and particularly its allies in Cosatu and the SACP, have decided to follow their own agenda toward the seizure of power. Instead of bringing about the new South Africa through talks and agreement, they want to force their views on the rest of our society through confrontation and mass mobilisation.

This will not be tolerated. I want to make a few points very clear in this regard:

@ The Government does not seek confrontation, and has repeatedly stated its belief that negotiations present the only viable option for the solution of our problems.

@ The Government will not

hesitate to take all steps necessary to prevent the country from sliding into anarchy

Any change of government must come about in a negotiated, constitutional manner

The ultimate goal of the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign, to overthrow the Government by coercion, will not be countenanced.

I appeal to all South Africans, wherever you may be whatever community or party you may belong to, be calm and responsible. I wish to assure all South Africans that we will not allow our country to become ungovern-

able. We will not succumb to insurrectionist and undemocratic pressure.

Now is the time for cool heads and wise counsel. Say to those who try to incite hatred and anger. Say to any act or deed which will endanger your job or your security. Do not allow yourselves to be led along the path of confrontation and conflict. Support all reasonable acts the Government may take to ensure stability and security.

If conflict breaks out in our country there will be no winners.

Conflict will lead to the loss of many more of our loved ones.

It will seriously damage our economy and will cause more poverty,

It will seriously disrupt education, medical and social services and the daily lives of millions of South Africans

It will make future negotiations much more difficult and will delay the search for negotiated solutions

Conflict is completely unnecessary because we can achieve all our reasonable objectives through peaceful negotiations. For all of these reasons you should urge all leaders to return to the path of genuine negotiations.

Our country is at a cross-

roads in its history. One road leads via negotiations to peace, elections and a new parliament and government which will represent all South Africans, It leads, to a new South Africa where all South Africans will live together in peace, prosperity and mutual respect. The other road leads through mass mobilisation to confrontation, poverty and conflict

The Government decided two-and-half years ago which road it would follow. It remains irrevocably committed to a peaceful and negotiated solution and will do anything which may be necessary to ensure such an outcome. I invite you to join us on this road. O

A/)((1 /k/ /(Q ep r\})/z - *** FRIDAY, JULY 3, 1992 11
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De chrk promises to prevent the blld m_to_ dnarchv

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ANC is accused of
â\200\230fabricating crisisâ\200\231

By Christopher Munnlon In Johannesburg

PRESIDENT de Klerk yes-

terday accused the African
| National Congress of fabricat:

1R @ CTISIS 1o prepare Lo seize

power, and pledyod to act to

prevent a â\200\230slide inlo
D anarchyâ\200\235

In a hard-hitting national
hroadcast COinCiding with the
government's response to the
ANC's demands tor rejoining
the Codesa negotiations, Mr
de Klerk said political leaders
had been very close to an
agreement which would have
led to a new parhiament, a
new government and lree
clections.

â\200\234The ANC aud its allies
chose to sabotage these and
precipitate a criss,â\200\235 e said,

Mr de Klerl did not even
mention the demands the
ANC made when it pulled out
of negotistions at the Conven-
tion for & Demuocratic South
Atrica (Codesa)

â\200\234The ANC's reason fm
withdrawing from negotia-
tions are completely uncon-
vincing,' he said. â\200\234*They
know we are prepared to dis-
cuss any reasoable concerns
withthem ''

The ANC pulled gut of the

D tadlkes and prescuted its hist of
demands afier 42 people were
massacred in Boipathong
township on June 17

â\200\234They have decided to follow their own agenda towards the seizure of power. They want to force their views on the rest of our country

through confrontation and mass mobilisation,â\200\235 Mr de Klerk said in reference to the campaign of mass action the ANC launched on June 16

â\200\234This will not be tolerated," he said.

M: de Klerk said here we

â\200\234strong indications' that elements within the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) had planned mass protest action even before the breakdown in talks.

The ANC wants an interim government in place by the end of this year, the election of a constituent assembly on a majority vote basis: multi-party control of the security forces; acceptance of international monitors, and the dismantling of the migrant workers hostel system which, it claims, is the root cause of township violence.

Mr de Klerk said attempts to unplicate the government and himself in the Beipathong massacre were slanderous.,

â\200\234This is a lie and will remain so. It is a matter of how often it is repeated. There is not a shred of truth in it, Mr de Klerk said,

The government had taken many concrete steps to stop the violence "but we cannot stop it alone. We need the full support of all political leaders and all South Africans ' At

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Ilusdae Line, Mr Koelf Mey.
Minister of Constitution

that H.nrs released details of the letter the government has

drafted in response to the
ANC's demands for a leium
totalks. %

It suggested urgent bilateral
negotiations with the
ANC to discuss the key issues
and has called for a
immediate talks between
Mandela, Mr Nelson Mandela.
delia, ANC president
Chief Mangosuthu Buthe
Inkatha Freedom Party
leader, to work out a plan
to end the violence

Mr Meyer said the government
suggested a permanent
monitoring mechanism to
react to incidents of violence
The role of the international
community is assisting such
monitoring could be considered
ered, he said

In the letter addressed to
Mr Mandela, the government
expressed its concern that the
revolutionary elements in
the ANC leadership appeared
to be flourishing and called on
the organisation to become a
political party instead of a
liberation movement.
Our New York Staff write;
There is a growing consensus
for the United Nations to lead
the negotiations on the political
future of South Africa, a
spokesman for the
Boutros Ghali, the UN Secretary-
General said in New
York yesterday

De Klerk Accuses ANC of Making Artificial Crisis

By Dawid B. Ottaway
Waskingson Post Service

JOHANNESBURG President Fredrick W. de Klerk accused the African National Congress and its allies Thursday night of creating an artificial crisis in the country as part of a plan to overthrow his government by force.

Replying to the ANC's conditions for a resumption of constitutional talks with the government, the president said he would not hesitate to take all steps necessary to prevent the country from sliding into anarchy.

There is every reason to believe the ANC is simply fabricating excuses to break off the negotiations

and to cause an artificial crisis, Mr. de Klerk said in a message broadcast over the state-run radio.

He charged that the ANC, together with its main allies the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, known as COSATU, had decided on a two-stage agenda aimed at seizure of power.

They want to force their views on the rest of our society through confrontation and mass mobilization, he said. "This will not be tolerated."

The ANC's ultimate goal is to overthrow the government by coercion, Mr. de Klerk said, adding: "Any change of government must

come about in a negotiated constitutional manner."

The ANC has embarked upon a campaign of mass action, strikes, street demonstrations and other protests and COSATU, the biggest black labor confederation, has called for a nationwide general strike starting Aug. 1.

Law and Order Minister Hendrik Kriel said in Pretoria late last night that Mr. de Klerk's statement that the government would take all steps necessary to prevent anarchy did not mean it was considering the impos-

sition of a new state of emergency.

He said that there were only a few hot spots around the country and that the government had ample

provisions to deal with them under present security legislation.

No, we're not considering a national state of emergency at this stage. Mr. Kriel said.

The hard line taken by Ms. de Klerk and his ministers seemed to indicate that each side, the government and the ANC, has decided to dig its heels and accept the risks of further confrontation rather than appear weak in the eyes of the other.

The only offer the government made to ease the crisis was a renewal of an earlier call for a two-day summit meeting with the ANC to discuss its various demands regarding measures to curb the violence.

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Mr. de Klerk and his minister did not provide specific details of the ANC's 14 demands for ending talks. But they handed out a summary of the government's position on the proposed as well as a summary of various constitutional proposals.

They also made it clear that they felt the government had already taken numerous steps to curb violence. While ANC leaders had done much to aggravate the situation with inflammatory rhetoric.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roell Meyer said the government was calling for two urgent assemblies for a meeting between Mr. de Klerk and the two most important black leaders, Nelson Mandela of the ANC and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, to discuss ways of easing the violence.

The country's main leaders,
sad, had to be seen aching to
to end the killings before the inter-
national community was called
upon to intervene. The ANC want-
ed the United Nations to send mo-
tors and a peacekeeping force

Mr Meyer also suggested that
the three parties establish the
safer full-line monitoring M

ans to deal with the violent