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BUSINESS DAY 3 July 1992

Trivial differences hide deep-seated problems at Toyota

DIRK HARTFORD

again leading to job losses.

In addition, industry talk is that Toyota's planned year-end launch of the new luxury Camry range will have to be postponed while the thousands of CKDs in stock are assembled. And its export planning has been seriously set back.

While — from a commercial point of view — the initial strike might have been manageable because of depressed sales, the length of the current strike has badly affected Toyota's market share — 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. "No work, no pay" 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 refused, 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 during 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 6 000 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 July 1992

Constituent assembly rejected

FW calls for three-year interim rule

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday proposed a minimum three-year term for an interim constitution and issued a strong warning to the ANC not to attempt the forcible overthrow of government.

He called for a trilateral meeting on violence involving government, the ANC and Inkatha and said the meeting could consider an active fulltime monitoring mechanism and a joint monitoring body which could include the international community in an observer role.

Replying 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 transitional arrangements, he said.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday it would examine the memorandum and give its response within seven days.

In a television address 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 Klerk proposed the resumption of negotiations through a bilateral meeting with the ANC.

"The ANC's reasons for withdrawing from negotiations are completely unconvincing," De Klerk said.

He strongly criticised the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign, saying it would lead to violence, delay the search for democratic solutions, damage the economy and seriously disrupt social services.

PATRICK BULGER

Turning to the ANC's demands, De Klerk said they were tailored "to support its programme of mass mobilisation and to justify the abortion of the negotiation process". He said the hostels issue was complex and was an issue government would like to discuss with the ANC. He said measures had been taken in regard to dangerous weapons.

He said government's information was that factions within Cosatu and the SACP were unhappy at what was being negotiated at Codesa and had initiated a strategy to abort the process.

He dismissed ANC allegations that government 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 constitution-making process. "It should not be a constitution enacted by a majority in a constituent assembly elected on party political issues."

De Klerk said he wanted to make it clear that negotiations presented the only viable option for the solution of SA's 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 ANC's mass mobilisation campaign to overthrow the government by coercion would not be countenanced.

"We will not succumb to insurrectionist and undemocratic pressure," De Klerk said.

At a news conference in Pretoria last night, senior government Ministers out-

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Interim rule

lined government's perspective on the transitional period. In memorandums attached to De Klerk's letter to Mandela, government said it would insist on a transitional constitution which made provision for a parliament with a national assembly and a senate together with an executive council directly elected by all voters.

The constitution would include provisions to safeguard against political manipulation of the SADF, the SAP, the Auditor-General, an ombudsman and an independent commission for administration.

"For the amendment or substitution of the transitional constitution a majority of 70% will be required and 75% for the Charter of Fundamental Rights. If the transitional constitution has not been replaced within three years, a general election will be held in terms of the transitional constitution.

"The transitional constitution will be amended or replaced only within the framework of general constitutional principles as agreed upon at Codesa and the Constitutional Chamber of the Appellate Division must certify this to be the case," the memorandum said.

Laws would have to be passed by both houses and the senate will consist of an equal number of representatives from each electoral region using the development regions as points of departure. Government said the transitional constitution must facilitate the restructuring of the second and third tiers and must underpin order and stability.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said violence was the biggest obstacle to progress in negotiations. He denied ANC allegations of government complicity in planning and directing violence.

● Picture: Page 3

De Klerk Yields a Point on Constitution Drafting

■ **South Africa:** But he also accuses the ANC of using the Boipatong massacre to create an 'artificial crisis.'

By SCOTT KRAFT
TIMES STAFF WRITER

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—President Frederik W. de Klerk made a key concession to the African National Congress on Thursday, agreeing to allow a new constitution 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" 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.

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 all constitutional proposals.

The government had balked, though, insisting on a 75% majority. The government position reflected its own opinion polls, which 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 national election.

Meanwhile, an independent judicial commission investigating the Boipatong massacre heard evidence Thursday that suggested an explanation for the large number of witnesses who said they saw white security force personnel and vehicles in the township during the attack.

Maj. Pieter Van Wyk, of the 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 nearby migrant workers' hostel. He said he thought the men were ANC supporters because of their white headbands; Inkatha Freedom Party warriors most often wear red headbands.

Van Wyk said that he and his officers stopped traffic to allow the group to cross the street and enter the hostel. Witnesses have said they saw armored vehicles in the township during the massacre and watched as police "escorted" the band of men back to the hostel. 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 ad-

dress to the nation on state-run television and in his letter to Mandela, accused the ANC of attempting 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 criticized 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 apartheid reform program.

De Klerk called for an urgent meeting with the ANC, and a separate meeting among De Klerk, Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the violence. He said the three leaders should discuss setting up a joint monitoring body to defuse potential violence.

The Star 11/7/92

ANC might pay for mass action campaign, argues Political Reporter Kaizer Nyatsumba

White hostility can resurface

JUST when many years of general white antipathy towards it appeared to be giving way to a grudging acceptance of its credentials as a legitimate political organisation which was a serious contender for power, the African National Congress (ANC) stands to alienate its new sympathisers in the white community and once again turn them into enemies.

For while the ANC has taken major strides since its unbanning on February 2 1990 and has successfully reversed the then widespread perception in the white community that it was a blood-thirsty organisation intent on seizing power for power's sake, it still has a long way to go towards converting those in the white community whose opinion of it remains, at best, low.

The organisation's standing in the eyes of both conservative and liberal whites has not been helped much by its rock-solid alliance with the South African Communist

Party (SACP). It is this alliance with the SACP, rather than its oft-criticised economic policy or lack of it, that hangs like an albatross around the ANC's neck.

It is this alliance which last year triggered ANC Western Cape regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak's attack on the ANC, which has driven many "coloureds" and Indians to the bosom of the National Party, as the outcome of last week's Diamant by-election has shown, and which has continued to serve as ready ammunition against the ANC for the Government and its allies, not least the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

The alliance notwithstanding, the ANC has nevertheless attained some respectability in politically informed quarters in the white community. Even those whites who shudder at the prospect of living under an ANC-dominated government — and there are many — have for some time now appeared to have accepted an ANC government as a *fait accompli*.

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 gaining South Africa's readmission into international sport.

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

This move, which gave the appearance 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 participation 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' attitude

towards the ANC.

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

The ANC has a very strong case for mass action: it is its only remaining leverage in the negotiating process.

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

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

Threats that the sports moratorium might be reintroduced in the aftermath of the Boipatong massacre on June 17 again sent shock waves through the sports-crazy white community last week.

For them — and for many black South Africans who eagerly look forward to the South African Football Association's readmission into the soccer world body FIFA this week — the reimposition 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? If the 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 need them when it matters most — when it wants their votes in the not-too-distant future.

While the ANC may be the single biggest political organisation in the country — political analyst Eugene Nyati believes it could

easily take 55 percent of the popular 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 the NP in an election that it has so far made it difficult for the former whites-only party to canvass in the townships.

One calls to mind here the protests masterminded by the ANC when President de Klerk recently visited the Western Cape.

If the ANC is to get the two-thirds majority it needs to consolidate its position in any elected constituent assembly, it will have to do so with the support of whites, "coloureds" and Indians in addition to that which it already enjoys in the black community.

Any actions it embarks on now, which might further alienate these communities which it has so far had difficulties penetrating, might later backfire badly and the organisation might pay heavily for them. □

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Patrick Laurence analyses the changing township perceptions of President de Klerk

'Great reformer' now a demon

IN A speech made shortly after the Boipatong massacre, Ernest Sotsu, the ANC's representative in the township, referred scathingly to President "P W" de Klerk.

Whether Mr Sotsu had deliberately used the wrong initials or whether it was a slip of the tongue was unclear; either way it reflected a perception that there is not much difference between Mr Klerk and his predecessor, President P W Botha.

Mr Sotsu is not a maverick on the issue. There is a growing conviction in ANC ranks that there is little to choose between the two men. Mr de Klerk, the bold reformer, has been forgotten and replaced by Mr de Klerk, the cunning schemer.

The past six months have witnessed repeated characterisation of Mr de Klerk as a disingenuous politician, with ANC president Nelson Mandela leading the way. It is pertinent to recall Mr Mandela's sharp words during the opening session of Convention for a Democratic South Africa last

December.

Having accused Mr de Klerk of being the leader of "an illegitimate and discredited minority regime", Mr Mandela said: "The National Party and the Government have a double agenda. They are talking peace to us. They are at the same time conducting a war (against us)."

Later, in May, in an address to an OAU Committee on Southern Africa, Mr Mandela compared South Africa under Mr de Klerk to Hitler's Germany: "(In) Nazi Germany many people were killed because they were Jews. In today's South Africa our people are massacred simply because they are black."

He repeated the comparison, with one modification, in a speech at Evaton three days after the Boipatong massacre. He included Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party in the forces which allegedly kill black people because of their skin colour.

Earlier that day Mr Mandela described the marauders responsible for the slaughter as "animals".

While not repeating the Nazi analogy, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa minced no words in accusing Mr de Klerk of "complicity" in the Boipatong massacre and had no hesitation in defending the use of posters labelling Mr de Klerk a man wanted for murder.

The Human Rights Commission — most of whose commissioners are ANC-aligned — implicitly endorses Mr Mandela's Nazi analogy in its analysis of massacres since July 1990.

After identifying the IFP and the security forces as the primary culprits in nearly 50 attacks in which 10 or more people were killed, the HRC concludes: "There can be little doubt that there is a design and purpose behind most that places them alongside the gas chambers of Nazi Germany in sheer cold-blooded cynicism and brutality."

Against that, President de Klerk has accused the ANC of deliberately exploiting human tragedy for political gain at the risk of exacerbating an already dangerous

crisis.

There is undoubtedly an element of political calculation in the ANC's decision to hold President de Klerk personally responsible for the continuing violence, especially in view of the Goldstone Commission's finding that there is no evidence of a third force and that causes of the violence are manifold and complex.

One of the purposes behind the ANC's mass action campaign is to force Mr de Klerk to agree to the election of a constituent assembly by the end of this year and to mobilise "the masses" for the election.

By demonising Mr de Klerk in the eyes of township people, by turning townships into "oo-go" areas for him, the ANC is ensuring that he will find it difficult, if not impossible, to supplement the high level of support that he enjoys in the white, coloured and Indian communities with a respectable share of the black vote.

Mr de Klerk's image as an intrepid innovator seeking to lead South Africa to a new non-racial

and democratic order has been severely damaged in the townships by the ANC's barrage of fierce criticism.

Another sign of retrogression to the P W Botha era is the re-emergence of the dreaded necklace killings, the execution of "informers" and "enemies of the people" by hanging tyres filled with petrol around their necks and setting them alight.

The first necklace killing occurred in 1985 when, after the funeral of the victims of the Uitenhage massacre, an angry mob attacked the home of T B Kinikini, the only councillor in Uitenhage's black township of KwaNobuhle who had not bowed to pressure to resign.

In the words of veteran journalist Mona Badela: "Mr Kinikini was stabbed, then tyres were put on him after he was dead and he was burned like that. The crowd also killed three of his sons. It was a terrible thing."

Ominously, on the day of the funeral for the victims of the Boipatong massacre, a young man sus-

spected of being an IFP sympathiser was hauled from a township house, hacked, shot and beheaded.

Before that, on the weekend before the Boipatong massacre, a young woman was beheaded for consorting with an IFP man living at KwaMadala Hostel.

Another necklace victim in the Vaal Triangle was the former mayor of Lekoa, Esau Mabilela. He was murdered on May 24.

In a statement condemning the re-emergence of necklacing, the ANC implicitly but unmistakably laid the blame on the De Klerk administration: "The resurgence of necklacing is a manifestation of the deep frustrations and anger in the community with the violence and with Government's refusal to accept a democratic dispensation in South Africa."

The ANC's qualifying rider introduced a note of equivocation into its condemnation of necklacing and was reminiscent of the total propaganda war fought between the "regime" and the "liberation movement" during the Botha era. □

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Striking out dangerously

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions should think again before it attempts to launch a general strike of "unprecedented proportions" in support of political demands. The political temperature is already dangerously high. What is needed is calm discussion, not threats of a general strike.

To coerce the De Klerk administration into acceding to its demands, Cosatu will have to ensure that the strike is massive and prolonged, not a mere extension of the weekend. A strike of these dimensions will inevitably run into resistance, with the concomitant danger of conflagration.

A general strike is likely to impact badly on the already depressed economy. South Africa is in the midst of its most prolonged recession in 50 years. The Reserve Bank predicts a decline in gross domestic product for the third year running. Unemployment is perilously high and rising. Fixed investment is down to near record levels.

The financial rand — which serves as an indicator of foreign confidence in South Africa — has dropped steadily in response to the launch of the ANC's mass action plan on June 16, the Boipatong massacre and the ANC's consequent decision to sever all ties with the Government.

A general strike can only aggravate South Africa's already ailing economy. If an ANC administration — or one in which the ANC is a major actor — is installed within the next few months, the ANC will have to bear the burden of Cosatu's action. So, too, will the people whose interests Cosatu purports to represent: the workers.

Cosatu's statement on the strike, issued after a meeting of its central executive committee, is imperiously arrogant. It stipulates that President de Klerk must agree to Cosatu's demands before sitting down at the negotiating table.

If Cosatu is gambling that Mr de Klerk can be cowed into submission by vociferous ultimatums, it has miscalculated. He has to be persuaded at the negotiating table. Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo should deploy his considerable talents to that end.

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No date for hostel closure

By Brian Sokutu

Iscor management has pledged to close the KwaMadala Hostel and accommodate inmates at a nearby Vanderbijlpark block of flats.

In spite of Iscor's undertaking made at a meeting with National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) officials yesterday, the union said residents would go ahead with today's march from Boipatong Stadium to KwaMadala.

Residents claim hostel inmates were involved in the Boipatong massacre.

Iscor management yesterday met almost all union demands, but there was no agreement on a timetable for the move.

It offered to transfer the inmates in a month; Numsa demanded it be done within seven days.

The Star

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10 IFP members died in massacre, says chief

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

At least 10 Inkatha Freedom Party members were killed in the recent Boipatong violence and six of them were buried as ANC members on Monday, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night.

Speaking in Johannesburg, Chief Buthelezi said although the South African press was the freest in Africa, it was still subject to numerous restrictive laws and the intimidation of journalists by some organisations.

It was this intimidation, he said, which had resulted in "a desperate need for informed reporting".

He said that although many knew about the June 17 attacks in Boipatong, few people knew that.

● At least 10 IFP members were killed in the violence.

● At least six IFP members were buried as ANC members in Monday's mass funeral.

● Lawyers acting for arrested KwaMadala hostel residents obtained Supreme Court interdicts "to ensure that no persons arrested for the Boipatong massacre were tortured".

Chief Buthelezi was speaking on "The role of an independent media in a changing South and southern Africa" at a two-day Nieman Foundation/African-American Institute conference.

Commenting on Chief Buthelezi's speech, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the people who were buried in Boipatong on Monday had been buried "as members of a community that had been slaughtered", and not as members of certain organisations.

Miss Marcus said that was why it was even more tragic that township residents were often attacked at random, regardless of whether or not they were members of political organisations.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke will address the conference today.

ANC, IFP peace staff 'targets of attacks'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

Members of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party serving in various National Peace Accord structures have been targets of attacks and assassination attempts, the two organisations revealed yesterday.

The revelations follow the ANC's suspicion that the death in a car accident near Pietersburg on Wednesday of Floyd Mashele — head of its peace desk and its representative in the regional dispute resolution committee — may have been related to his peace activities.

Mr Mashele, who last week survived an assassination attempt when shots were fired at him in Soweto, died in a car crash after a tyre burst.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday told The Star the organisation was concerned that it appeared there was "a concerted effort" to attack ANC members involved in Peace Accord structures and "undermine the efforts we make to get the peace accord to work".

He said there had been other instances involving bursting car tyres which last year led to ANC PWV regional secretary Barbara Hogan instructing ANC employees "to check car tyre pressures" in order to detect over-inflation.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said IFP members — "too many to enumerate" — had been attacked on their return from peace meetings. These included Winnington Sabelo, who was killed recently near Durban, and Bongani Phungula and Velaphi Ndlovu, who survived attempts on their lives.

The Star

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Massacre allegations false, commission told

By Zingisa Mkhuma
and Own Correspondent

A senior policeman yesterday told the preliminary hearing of the Goldstone Commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre that police could find no evidence linking security forces to the June 17 attack which killed more than 40 people and injured 30.

Speaking on behalf of the police and the Minister of Law and Order, Major Christo Davidson, a member of the 200-strong police team charged with apprehending the killers, said investigations had shown ANC allegations that "white persons", security force or former Koevoet members had been involved in the attack were false.

"The allegations that the security forces were involved in the attack and that they transported residents of the KwaMadala Hostel to and from the township are totally unfounded."

He said investigations had indicated that between 200 and 300 men had left the KwaMadala Hostel on foot at about 9.15 pm on June 17. They had gathered in open veld before separating into groups which attacked residents in Boipatong and Slovo Park.

Police who arrived after the attack had prevented youths from attacking the hostel.

The chairman of the ANC PWV region, Tokyo Sexwale, said Boipatong residents had frequently repeated, at the time, that security forces had

been seen in Boipatong and seemed to have been involved in the attack.

"This perception persists among many residents of Boipatong."

Mr Sexwale added that concrete evidence obtained from witnesses would be submitted to the commission at a later stage.

He denied earlier police submissions that the ANC had hampered police investigations into the massacre by instructing witnesses not to give evidence.

Mr Sexwale said the people themselves refused because they perceived the police to be involved.

"There is a deep, dangerous and explosive anger among the residents of Boipatong and in the Vaal Triangle."

The Star

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ANC 'breaking off talks to cause crisis'

Political Staff

The ANC had chosen to sabotage negotiation — there was every reason to believe the ANC was breaking off talks to cause a crisis. President de Klerk said in an address to the nation on radio and TV last night.

It seemed the ANC had decided to follow its own agenda towards the seizure of power.

This would not be tolerated, Mr de Klerk warned.

The Government would not hesitate to take steps to prevent the country from sliding into anarchy.

Codesa 2 had been close to an agreement, and an elect-

Africans would have been installed within months.

There were strong indications that some elements had planned to sabotage the talks even before Codesa 2.

He denied ANC allegations

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ed parliament and government representing all South of Government involvement in the Boipatong massacre.

"This is a lie that will remain a lie, no matter how often it is repeated," he said.

The Government was determined to find the perpe-

trators and proposed that international experts help in the investigation.

The Government could not stop the present type of violence on its own, and needed the support of all leaders.

● A meeting of the Government and its Codesa allies in Pretoria yesterday discussed the ANC's breaking off of talks with the Government and its "unwarranted" campaign of mass action.

"The meeting agreed that a campaign of this nature with an unconstitutional and coercive objective ... would inevitably lead to an escalation of violence," Mr de Klerk said.

ANC promises response to FW's initiative within a week

Govt plan may ease impasse

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

It won't bring the ANC back to the negotiating table in the short term, but it could lay the basis for a resumption of the process in the medium term.

This is the initial reaction of diplomats and observers to the Government's major statement on the negotiations process last night.

While the ANC is adopting a strict "no comment" approach to President de Klerk's letter to Nelson Mandela — the organisation's executive has promised to respond formally within a week — political sources say the Government intervention contains "cold" and "warm" elements.

The "cold" parts, including strong denunciations of the ANC, will ensure that Codesa does not get under way again quickly.

But buried in the Govern-

ment letter and its lengthy annexures are "warm" initiatives, which could ease the deadlock on issues which scuttled Codesa 2.

Last night the Government denounced the ANC as an "unreliable negotiating partner" and threatened further security measures, while also calling for urgent meetings to get negotiations restarted.

In a six-page letter to ANC leader Nelson Mandela, released at a media confer-

ence in Pretoria, President de Klerk rejected allegations contained in the ANC's recent memorandum setting out the ANC's reasons for pulling out of Codesa.

Mr de Klerk reiterated his suggestion of an urgent Government-ANC summit on negotiations and added a call for a meeting between himself, Mr Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the violence.

This meeting, he said,

could lead to the establishment of a full-time violence-monitoring mechanism, a joint monitoring body and an observer role for the international community.

Mr de Klerk said "an exchange of memoranda is no substitute for face-to-face talks... every day lost will make the resumption of the process more difficult and may lead to loss of further lives".

Mr de Klerk's letter noted a "number of fundamental

issues which need to be addressed urgently at a meeting between us".

They included:

- Violence, the Government's denial of involvement in sponsoring it, and the need for a trilateral summit.

- The ANC's mass mobilisation campaign, which the Government said was instigated by the SA Communist Party and Cosatu.

- The ANC's aborting of the negotiating process, its commitment to negotiations, and

a Government denial that it was clinging to power.

- The ANC's demands, including the questions of hostages and dangerous weapons.

Mr de Klerk ended his letter: "I reiterate the Government's commitment to peaceful negotiations as the only way to bring us to a new democratic constitution as soon as possible. I repeat my proposals that we should meet urgently."

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Plan could ease impasse

● From Page 1

In an apparent back-down on constitutional issues the Government offered revised formulations on three issues, which could be acceptable to the ANC.

- A Senate in which parties would be represented proportionally. Its earlier proposal had been that all parties receiving a certain minimum number of the votes should get equal representation.

- A general election if a transitional constitution had not been replaced in three years.

- Acceptance of a 70 percent "special majority" to approve all aspects of a new constitution, except the Bill of Rights.

Said Constitutional Development Minister Rolf Meyer: "We believe we have presented a basis to resolve the impasse."

COMMENT

Nobbled police

FORMER chief justice of India P N Bhagwati began monitoring the Goldstone commission hearing into the Boipatong massacre yesterday. It would be interesting 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 residents not to co-operate with the police, because of "anger" with the police for allegedly not heeding warnings of the impending attack, and complicity in the massacre itself. Instead of speaking to the police, at least 10 residents are reported to have made sworn statements to the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, and lawyers will present these to the commission.

Meanwhile the police have continued their investigation, and yesterday told the commission "the evidence unambiguously proves" that residents of the KwaMadala hostel attacked the Boipatong people. Since the accusers have not come forward, they have no evidence to support claims of police involvement. Surprisingly, nor has the ANC. It backtracked at the Goldstone hearing yesterday, saying 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

force" 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 prophecy is fulfilled.

The concerted campaign against the police, including attacks on black policemen's 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 — about 90 on each side — 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.

End game

A PROMINENT business leader was heard to say this week that the ANC displayed 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 with 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 ANC's

hopes of again using sport as a political weapon came with the warning from Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe — hardly a friend of the South African government — 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.

EDITORIAL

THE TULSA TRIBUNE, TULSA, OKLAHOMA

South African chaos?

Without orderly change, slaughter could be awful



Charging that President F.W. de Klerk's South African government aided and abetted the attack by Zulu warriors in the Boipatong township near Johannesburg in which 42 blacks were killed, the African National Congress has broken off talks on the proposed new constitution. What had been sought was an orderly expansion of the rights and political power of blacks who make up three-quarters of the population.

In reply, de Klerk charges that the ANC is trying to seize control of the country.

If one holds to the principle of majority rule, and if the majority of South African blacks support the ANC, why shouldn't it control the country? An answer to that may be found in the history of most African governments since the colonial overlords departed.

Speaking to a meeting of the 51-member Organization of African Unity in Dakar this week, Frederick Chiluba, president of the group, decried the persistence of chaos in the new so-called democracies.

"While our organization has championed the cause of freedom from foreign and racist domination," he said, "African nations choose to be blinded to the many inequal-

ties and injustices existing within our borders. . . . The map of Africa is almost a complete tale of coups d'etat and other forms of military insurrection. Peaceful change is a concept we are only beginning to grasp."

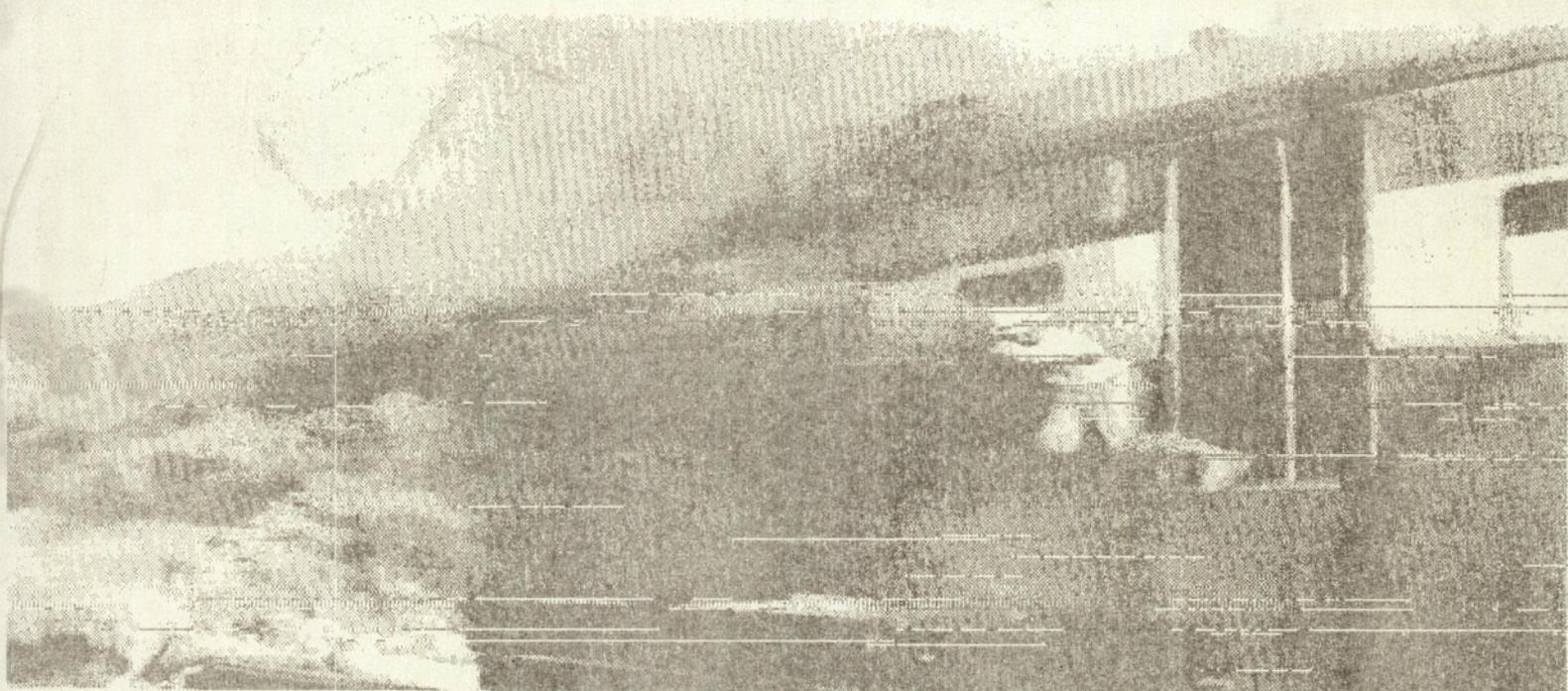
The failure of the native governments of the ex-colonies to put down tribal fighting and official corruption or to maintain even that degree of civil rights and due process that the former colonial masters allowed has added to the determination of many white South Africans to resist one man, one vote as long as possible. These are worries shared by tribal leaders outside the ANC. The powerful Zulus, who have been at war with most tribes in the ANC since they moved south in the 18th century, have established their own Inkatha Freedom Party.

Although Nelson Mandela, acknowledged leader of the ANC, has been lionized for his long imprisonment as a martyr to the forces of apartheid, his own credentials as an apostle of non-violence are widely suspected by South African whites and their allies among the Asians and mixed-blooded "coloreds."

Unless a new constitution representing gradual and orderly change can be agreed upon, the slaughter could be awful.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

The Globe and Mail, Tuesday, July 3, 1990



Passenger on a Cape Town commuter train jumps to safety after a barricade erected by strikers supporting the ANC, was set on fire.

(AP Wirephoto)

Black answer ANC's call for strike

Peaceful walkout paralyzes sections of South African industrial areas

BY PHILLIP WAT NICKOL
Specialist to The Globe and Mail

CAPETOWN Hundreds of workers walked away from work yesterday, responding to the ANC's call for a one-day nationwide strike in the first major act of the movement's popular front since it was legalized in January.

The ANC called the strike to demand for government intervention to stop the violence in the province. The strike call was despite opposition from other black groups in the country.

The strike, which was largely peaceful, paralyzed large industrial areas and showed high levels of

support for the ANC in most parts of the country.

The ANC is demanding that the government lift the state of emergency in the province, where "warlike" leaders of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party, backed by the Inkatha-run KwaZulu police and militia, have been accused of killing and ensuring that the South African police force acts impartially.

More than 4,000 people have died in conflict between the ANC and Inkatha in Natal province since 1987. The ANC has accused the government of siding with the Zulu grouping and not prosecuting Inkatha leaders implicated in murders.

In a statement yesterday, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was appalled that anyone could begin to think he would instruct

people to kill for political purposes. It would be hideous and foreign to him, he said.

Hitting out at ANC deputy president Buthelezi, Mr. Buthelezi said there was a "hideous split" in the ANC, partly because Mr. Mandela still called for armed struggle against white minority rule.

In March, police once regarded as safe Inkatha territory more than half of the work force stayed away from their jobs. Police escorts were required for those with commitments and in some instances rode shotgun for people commuting from the township into the cities.

The strike was particularly strong in the city of Pietermaritzburg, where the civil war has taken its heaviest toll.

In the country's industrial heartland of Johannesburg, more than 80 per cent of workers stayed away from their jobs. The heavily unionized transport and service sectors were brought to a complete standstill. The ANC's main area of support experienced an almost 100 per cent absentee rate. The smallest support was in Cape Town, where less than 20 per cent struck.

The ANC strike call was supported by its allies, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the United Democratic Front and the South African Youth Congress. It was also backed by other black groups,

including Inkatha and the more radical Azanian People's Organization, known as Azapo, and the Pan Africanist Congress, opposed it.

A better policy than Mandela's

IT IS a pity that Nelson Mandela yesterday fell into the trap of supposing that a fruitful analogy can be drawn between Northern Ireland and Southern Africa. Only one of these places, the former, has universal suffrage. Some of its people, disappointed by the outcome of successive elections, are carrying on a campaign of murder. Mr Mandela's suggestion that the British Government should open talks with these terrorists, without first insisting that they renounce violence, amounts to a cry to legitimise murder as an instrument of democratic politics. Any democrat who proposes unconditional talks with the IRA has either been badly advised, or has difficult colleagues to please. Mr Mandela may suffer from a mixture of these problems.

The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Peter Brooke, has recently managed to surprise almost everyone who takes an interest in Ulster, but has done so in a less offensive way than Mr Mandela. Few observers expected Mr Brooke to be able to bring the various parties in the province, and the British and Irish governments, to the brink of talks. It was predictable that a new Secretary of State for Northern Ireland would aspire to set up some form of power-sharing, devolved government: all his predecessors except Roy Mason have had the same ambition. But even people who thought this was the best policy doubted whether Mr Brooke would make much headway in implementing it.

These low expectations may have encouraged some over-estimation of how much progress has been made. It would, however, be unfair to deny that the tone of political debate in Ulster has changed. Most people now think that talks will take place in the autumn:

Mr Brooke may be able to announce as much this Thursday, and deserves credit for having seen that a sunnier mood might emerge.

Most of the participants still doubt, however, whether a durable agreement will result from the talks. Such a leap forward will only occur if the will now exists to create a political 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 various parties. In the end, however, there is going to have to be a blueprint. If Mr Brooke has sufficient grounds to think, after many hours of secret talks, that the different groups are going to be able to agree a common plan, he is justified in proceeding. If, however, he has found that irreconcilable differences 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.

The Independent

03/7/90

London

ANC message strikes home in campaign to end Zulu fighting

HUNDREDS of thousands, perhaps millions, of black workers stayed at home throughout South Africa yesterday in response to a call by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) for a one-day work stoppage. It was designed to force the government to take firmer action to stop continuing violence between Zulu factions in Natal province.

The stay-away, which will be complemented by a week of protests nationwide, was also intended as a show of strength by the African National Congress which, counting Cosatu among its staunchest allies, has backed the actions. Amid much bluster in recent weeks from rival anti-apartheid organisations — notably the hardliners of the Pan-Africanist Congress and Azapo — the ANC was eager to demonstrate its proclaimed supremacy in the black struggle.

Yesterday's protest was successful beyond the expectations of most non-partisan observers. According to police estimates 60 per cent of workers in Soweto, the country's biggest black township, did not turn up for work.

The police figure for Natal was also 60 per cent, with 30 per cent in the Kimberly area and 10 per cent in the politically less active Orange Free State. In Cape Town, where anti-apartheid activity is marked more by its intensity than by numerical strength, few businesses were reported to have been affected.

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

Cosatu's own figures were predictably higher. They issued a statement last night claiming that, in "an overwhelming response", 80 per cent of the working population had abstained from work. "This massive response demonstrates conclusively that the war in Natal is a matter of extreme concern to our people," the statement said.

It is the contention of Cosatu and the ANC that, if the police were prepared to take serious action against the well-armed "warlords" of Inkatha, the level of violence in Natal, where more than 3,000 have lost their lives in the fighting since 1985, would decrease spectacularly. Yesterday Inkatha's leader, Mangosuthu Buthe, was tuning, describing as "pitiful" the notion that he might be a willing party to the "oppressive machinery" of apartheid. Besides, he said in a statement, the stay-away call was an implicit incitement to violence in an already combustible situation.

No unusually grim violence had been reported by nightfall yesterday, but Chief Buthe's finding an unlikely ally yesterday in the president of the United Democratic Front, Archie Gumede, who agreed that the protest was "a first class recipe for the continued killing of our people".

Mandela tries to defuse row over IRA

By Richard Dowden, Alan Murdoch and Colin Brown

ON THE EVE of his crucial meeting with the Prime Minister, Nelson Mandela is trying to defuse the storm which followed his suggestion yesterday that the Government should talk to the IRA without the movement first abandoning violence.

His remarks, made in Dublin before he flew to London last night, embarrassed his friends and created an awkwardness that Downing Street and the African National Congress had hoped to avoid before tomorrow's sensitive meeting with Margaret Thatcher.

MPs condemned Mr Mandela's suggestion of talks with the IRA, but there seems to be an acceptance that it was made because of had advice rather than any desire to stir up controversy. The only person to interpret his words favourably was Gerry Adams, of Sinn Féin. He welcomed the ANC leader's remarks and said he was "prepared to co-operate and to engage in talks".

Speaking in a joint news conference in Dublin with the Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey, Mr Mandela, the ANC deputy president, was careful not to endorse the IRA and denied that there had been any meetings between the ANC and the IRA. But asked persistently for his views on Northern Ireland, he said: "I would like to see the British government and the IRA adopt precisely the line we have taken. There's nothing better than opposites sitting down to resolve problems by peaceful means."

Pointing to the Rhodesian experience, he said: "The British government, without insisting that anyone should lay down their arms, got involved and was able to press people to conclude a peace agreement. That is a precedent which should not just apply to Af-

rican political organisations which are fighting a white government. It is a principle that should be applied in all similar situations."

Asked if he was aware that the IRA commanded only a small minority of support, Mr Mandela replied: "That'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." Asked later whether he might be taken for a supporter of IRA "armed struggle", he said: "I am stating what I believe in."

But last night, attempting to defuse the controversy, Mr Mandela said: "It saddens me that as we leave Ireland we find ourselves 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 positions of the African National Congress

of an end to man-made death anywhere and everywhere. We reiterated the view... that the violence should stop, as should the mutual slaughter, and that all concerned could, as with other situations of conflict, find a way to establish peace. We do not prescribe to anyone as to how this should be achieved."

Neil Kinnock, a firm supporter of Mr Mandela and his politics, had said earlier that the ANC leader might have been extremely badly advised about the IRA. The Labour leader said: "As a friend, I owe it to him to say that the Provisional IRA are a bunch of murderous gangsters."

By contrast, Downing Street sought to play down the remarks, suggesting that Mr Mandela might have been speaking to his own constituency, and seeking to justify the refusal of the ANC to renounce violence. Mrs Thatcher does not appear to believe allegations by Andrew Hunter, Tory MP

for Basingstoke, that the ANC had a regular and long-standing relationship with the IRA.

Nevertheless, it is understood Mrs Thatcher will feel constrained to explain the Government's attitude to the IRA — adding a other sensitive subject to an agenda that includes sanctions against South Africa and the continuance of the ANC's "armed struggle".

Mr Mandela's denial of a relationship between the ANC and the IRA stands in contrast to attitude to the PLO, Libya, Cuba, for which he was strongly criticised in the United States. There he admitted and defended ANC contact with Yasser Arafat, Colonel Gaddafi and Fidel Castro, saying it was wrong to suggest "our enemies are your enemies. We are a liberation movement and they support our struggle the hilt," he said.

The Independent
03/7/90
London.

The Daily Telegraph

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Mandela's challenge

IT IS regrettable, to put it mildly, that Mr 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 comrades at home. That is to say, Mr Mandela's position in the ANC requires regular injections of revolutionary 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 yesterday 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 constructive 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 fairness, 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 signals the beginning of the end of the first phase of politics since his release. It has served useful purposes, 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 demonstrated. It is an illusion to suppose that the condition of blacks in South Africa will be improved simply 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 snub Mandela call for talks with IRA

Michael White and
Joe Joyce

THE Government will today make a determined attempt not to let Nelson Mandela's pronouncements on the Provisional IRA spoil its first direct opportunity to bury the hatchet with the African National Congress over differing 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 ourselves dragged into a controversy that is not of our making and which we never intended."

He said his earlier remarks, which were interpreted in London 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 anywhere and everywhere".

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

He had urged the British government to follow the example of the South African government with the ANC, and talk to the IRA to put an end to "mutual slaughter".

Replying to persistent questions about the IRA, Mr Mandela told a press conference: "We would like to see the British government and the IRA adopt the precise line taken by us. There is nothing better than opponents sitting down to resolve their problems in a peaceful manner".

In London, Downing Street

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

There was talk last night that Mrs Thatcher would give Mr Mandela a history lesson if necessary, 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 months of elaborate 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 leadership in criticising Mr Mandela's remarks. He said in so far as Mr Mandela's constituted an equivalence between the IRA and the freedom campaign in South Africa, he had been "extremely ill-advised".

The shadow cabinet will meet Mr Mandela tomorrow.

The focus of the official talks will be the best means of bringing together the Pretoria government and the ANC to establish a post-apartheid non-racial democracy. Neither side is expected to shift its position on sanctions.

But Whitehall expected a constructive discussion. "Even though we do not agree 100 per cent there is very strong agreement on the need to bring about an end to apartheid," said an official.

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

He denied the ANC had met the IRA. He said he was not expressing any opinion about methods of political action but

was 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 "without insisting that any side should lay down arms", 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 "ready to drown the masses of our people in a 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.

"We ask that you stay the course with us," he said, 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 said afterwards he had asked the Irish government for 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 Féin, welcomed Mr Mandela's call and said his party had consistently stressed the need for dialogue aimed at establishing peace and justice in Ireland.

The Guardian

03/9/90

London

ANC's plan to topple government

A 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 Codesa, the document — which *The Weekly Mail* understands has been canvassed at the highest levels of the ANC's leadership — urges "prolonged, intermittent disruption of normal business".

Targeting the national communications 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 institutions

- Sit-ins, stayaways and protest action at all major police stations, prisons and post offices

- Deliberate delays and the systematic interruption of the general transport 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 government services.

In line with an ANC policy conference 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, beginning on August 3, if the government does not meet its demands for significant concessions. (See Page 19)

The confidential document argues that a political strike could lead to the breaking of the negotiations deadlock, and even the removal of the government 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 alliance's strong commitment to a programme of escalating mass action have created fertile conditions among anti-government forces for the adoption of these tactics.

However, many observers are sceptical about the ability of the organisations 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 Jordan

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 reduce the possibility of the regime acting without creating serious problems among its supporters. An extended strike would give the regime an excuse to pull out of a process destined to transfer power to the majority". Those holding this view believe mass action as a means of extracting concessions from the government should be "limited or even suspended".

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

tions won from its members, *The Weekly Mail* has learnt that there was some resistance within the movement's national executive committee (NEC) to withdrawing from Codesa.

During last week's 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 argued that the ANC should end all bilateral contact with the government but use the renewed international and local pressure to achieve significant 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 remained tight-lipped about the debate and instead emphasised that the decision to break off both bilateral and Codesa negotiations was taken by the NEC as a whole.

"Once the decision has been taken, it is binding on the whole NEC and private views are neither here nor there," said NEC member Pallo Jordan.

Commenting on the significance of the debate, Mohamed Valli Moosa, another NEC member, said: "It would not be on the mark to make anything of the differences of opinion about what we should be doing. The decision was taken in a matter of hours and that should indicate that there was not a wide range of divergent opinions."

WEEKLY MAIL 3 JULY 1992

NATAL WITNESS 3 July 1992

Policeman hacked to death after shooting

Witness Reporter

A 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 — whose name was not disclosed — 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 "satisfactory".

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 Sinating, 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.

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

lian international."

The team will be supported by a 23 metre ocean cruiser skippered and owned by American John Scrivener. "He's just the man we need," says Allison, "the waters can be very dangerous, not only because of high seas, but because of pirates."

"John has lived in the region for more than 20 years and understands the seas and the people."

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 Kong's yachts in the annual 50 kilometre round-Hong Kong island race, the bet being that they would beat half of the fleet.

"We 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," 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."

"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.

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 condemn 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 meeting's chairman, Tory MP Ivor Stanbrook, issued a face-to-face challenge to correct the impression Mr Mandela gave with his words yesterday in Dublin when he called for talks with the IRA without any pre-conditions.

Anger as MP puts ANC chief on the spot

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

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

ence. We never negotiate with terrorists."

Mr Mandela's speech made no reference 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 conflicts, 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 another, 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 IRA and the Government.

"I 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."

But it was not enough for Mr Stanbrook, who said: "Some of us wished you had condemned the violence of

Forced to be friends: P7

the IRA"—a remark which brought more jeers and a shout from Labour's Dennis Skinner of: "Shut your mouth!"

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 gruelling tour of the US.

EVENING
Standard.
03/7/90
London

Daily Mail COMMENT

Nelson Mandela, warts and all

NELSON MANDELA makes public his view that the British Government should talk to the IRA, even 'before 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.

But 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 Congress, an organisation which itself refuses to abandon 'the armed struggle', why then, the day after, should she not sit down with the political frontmen for the murderers of the IRA?

Where, 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 recognise its claims to speak for millions — even a majority — of South Africans who are denied the vote and subject to oppressive laws because of the colour their skin.

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 a minority of the minority.

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

Daily Mail
03/7/90
London

Mandela criticised over call for IRA talks

By EDWARD GORMAN AND RICHARD FORD

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-

ly, 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 leaders and MPs. They emphasised 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 solution 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 Féin reacted quickly to this unexpected political windfall, calling on Mrs Thatcher and Mr Haughey to respond positively. Gerry Adams, 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 Minister, 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. He defended the ANC's use of violence but did not endorse the "armed struggle" of the IRA.

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

The Times
03/7/90
London

WORLD NEWS

Black demonstrators wounded as officers open fire on Cape Town rally

S African police blame Inkatha for killings

By KATHLEEN BARNES in Johannesburg and Reuters

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.

Fury over the massacre, in which 49 residents of Boipatong township were killed, boiled over in Cape Town yesterday as police fired shotguns and plastic bullets at demonstrators, wounding more than 40.

The evidence unambiguously proves that the residents of KwaMadala hostel attacked the residents of Boipatong and Slovo Park (an adjoining squatter camp) on this tragic night," chief police investigator Major Christo Davidson told the Goldstone commission into township violence 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.

"It bothers me. It troubles me, because clearly the police are already passing judgment," said Mr Themba Khoza, a leader of Inkatha in Transvaal province.

"Nobody has been convicted on this issue, yet they are already pointing fingers."

Detectives from Scotland Yard are due to arrive in South Africa soon to help the commission's inquiries into Boipatong and other township 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.

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



Police fire plastic bullets and tear-gas at protesters in Cape Town yesterday, wounding more than 40 — AP picture

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.

"Shoot me, shoot me," one youth shouted as he danced with his T-shirt raised to his chin. Another thrust his chin into a policeman's face and screamed obscenities.

A white 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 African Communist Party, Mr Chris Hani, said the protest by 4000 people was

part of a campaign of "rolling mass action" for democracy.

"We are determined to get our freedom and for that freedom we are prepared to pay any price," he said.

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

Earlier, the ANC announced it would not oppose the participation of South African athletes at the Barcelona Olympics later this month, but cast doubt on other inter-

national sporting contacts.

"All current pre-arranged fixtures will go ahead but no new tours or sporting contacts should be negotiated," 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

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.

Police blame Zulus for town slayings

Herald Sun 3.7.92

PRETORIA — Police yesterday blamed the township massacre that triggered the collapse of South African democracy talks on inmates of a workers' hostel dominated by the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party.

The evidence unambiguously proves that the residents of KwaMadala hostel attacked the residents of Boipatong and Slovo Park (an adjoining

squatter camp) on this tragic night," chief police investigator Major Christo Davidson said.

In a statement to the Goldstone commission, an ongoing judicial inquiry into township violence, Major Davidson said political rivalry between Inkatha and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress was the primary cause of the June 17 massacre of at least 41 blacks

in Boipatong. No evidence had as yet been found to support ANC charges that police took part in the attack, despite testimony from two black policemen.

He said the policemen, attached to a station in Evaton township, had declared the hostel dwellers had been ferried 1km from the hostel to Boipatong in police vehicles.

Major Davidson said these allegations had been shown to be false.

The ANC has broken off democracy talks with the government in protest at alleged collusion between security forces and Inkatha, plunging the country's reform process into its worst crisis.

Inkatha rejected the police statement.

Detectives from Britain's Scotland Yard are due to arrive in South Africa soon to help the commission's inquiries.

THE TIMES TUESDAY JULY 3 1990 *London*

As the ANC leader arrives in London, Peter Stothard, US editor, assesses his impact on America

Overwhelmed by Mandelamania

Nelson Mandela arrives in London today to a Foreign Office welcome befitting the potential prime minister of a friendly country. That will be something of a comedown for a man who left America on Sunday as hero, respected world statesman and semi-mythical sage.

The British trip is more businesslike. To official relief in London — and probably to the relief of Mr Mandela himself — the razzmatazz with his more enthusiastic supporters was provided at the Wembley Stadium rock concert during his visit in April.

Both levels of greeting, however, have attracted criticism. Why, it is asked, should a man of violence and inspiration to the arts of political murder be treated thus? That criticism was loud at the beginning of Mr Mandela's American tour. It is heard in Britain too, reinforced by his remarks yesterday suggesting that Britain negotiate with the IRA.

A week ago American journalists and politicians were not so naive as to ignore the African National Congress's espousal of the armed struggle, its attachment to censorship, its propensity to

apply a match to petrol-filled tyres around the necks of those blacks who disobey its commands. In the event, they were too weak to stand before an extraordinary tide of hysteria and goodwill.

As he left Washington for Miami and California, commentators were left exhausted. As Meg Greenfield of the *Washington Post* remarked, Mr Mandela "blew away the conventional and somewhat nasty debate we were set to have about him and compelled political Washington to receive and comprehend him on his own terms." That, she said, was unheard 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 embarrassment 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 joyful surrender to irrationality, was still posing the same tricky questions. Why, during his visit, did Mr Mandela share a platform with Puerto Rican nationalists still 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 Cubans 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 onslaught of something that was, temporarily at least, beyond its usual sway.

Ms Greenfield was not wholly correct when she said that this exercise of authority by Mr Mandela was "unheard of". Washington'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 visit. Gorbymania, although fading now, 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 slim.

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.

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 in the American hall of icons — including Jesse Jackson, who is too much the worldly politician. The success of a disciplined survivor is a spur to a race which is so often told in America that it has no discipline, no survival spirit and no success.

No wonder, then, that black America should welcome him uncritically to its heart. It, too, has a struggle. To voice that fact is occasionally more important than to reason about it.

Little wonder that white liberals should temper their powers of reason for a few days. They have so long wrung their hands about the absence of positive role-models who can reach into the black consciousness.

To understand the yearning for Mr Mandela, to describe the willing suspension of moral rules, is not to forgive the American lapses of this last week. Its media lay down before the force of a hurricane.

Mandela attacked for IRA talks call

By George Jones
Political Editor

NELSON MANDELA called yesterday for the Government to talk to the IRA without waiting for the terror campaign to end. But his speech drew all-party condemnation at Westminster last night.

Mr Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, said that lives had been lost in Ulster because there had been no direct talks between the British Government and the IRA. Both sides should sit down and talk to end the "slaughter".

He made his remarks after meeting Mr Haughey, the Irish Prime Minister, in Dublin before flying to London to meet Mrs Thatcher and leading politicians.

Later he attempted to defuse the controversy, saying that he had replied to a question that had not been invited and had given the ANC's already stated policy that the violence should stop. At Heathrow last night he refused to be drawn further.

Although Mrs Thatcher is determined that Mr Mandela's comments should not sour the atmosphere at their first meeting at Downing Street tomorrow, she will tell him Britain will not talk to terrorist groups such as the IRA or their "front" organisations.

Mr Kinnock, the Labour leader, and Mr Ashdown, the Liberal Democrat leader, also plan to explain to Mr Mandela when they see him that there is no comparison between Northern Ireland and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

Mr Kinnock said: "As a friend, I owe it to Nelson Mandela to tell him that the Provisional IRA are a bunch of murderous gangsters. They deserve no concession from any quarter."

While there was irritation in Downing Street over the publicity given to the IRA by Mr Mandela, Government officials sought to play down the affair, arguing that the black African Nationalist leader — like many others from overseas — did not understand the situation in Northern Ireland.

Several MPs said they felt that Mr Mandela had been badly briefed and might be tired after an exhausting world tour.

Only Mr Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin president, welcomed Mr Mandela's remarks, saying he was "prepared to co-operate with and to engage in talks".

Mrs Thatcher also plans to urge Mr Mandela to renounce formally the armed struggle in South Africa.

Mandela urges unconditional peace talks with IRA

By Chris Ryder, Irish Correspondent

MR NELSON MANDELA urged the British Government yesterday to hold talks with the IRA to end the slaughter in Ulster.

Speaking at a press conference in Dublin, flanked by Mr Charles Haughey, the Irish Prime Minister, and Mr Gerry Collins, the Foreign Minister, Mr Mandela said: "There is nothing better than opposites sitting down to resolve their problems in a peaceful way. That is what we would like to see."

His comments are certain to stir up a hornets' nest in Conservative ranks and they will not endear him to Mrs Thatcher, who is to meet him tomorrow on the second day of his visit to Britain.

Mr Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, went on to draw an analogy with Rhodesia. "The British Government, without insisting that any side should lay down arms, got involved and was able to induce the parties to conclude peace."

"That is the precedent which should

now be applied. It seems to me that it is wrong for anybody to suggest that force will bring about a solution in conditions of this kind. The only way of solving this conflict and of stopping this mutual slaughter and the tensions that arise between various population groups is to sit down and talk," Mr Mandela said.

During his press conference at Dublin Castle, held after a one-hour meeting with the two senior members of the Irish Government, the ANC leader denied links with the IRA and said the two organisations had never met.

Although he emphasised several times the benefit of opposites resolving their problems in a peaceful manner, he did not openly condemn the use of violence for political ends.

"I am not expressing any opinion as to the methods of political action, which must be adopted by any particu-

lar group in any country. What I am concentrating on is that peaceful methods are the best way of resolving problems."

Mr Mandela, who received the Freedom of Dublin, later travelled to the Irish Parliament, the Dail, where he became only the fourth outsider to address the House.

In a 35-minute speech preceded and followed by standing ovations, he emulated United States Presidents John Kennedy and Ronald Reagan and the French president, M Francois Mitterrand.

With his wife Winnie watching from the gallery, Mr Mandela said that the apartheid system in South Africa had not changed and the struggle against it must go on.

There had been no profound or irreversible changes that would lead to the final abolition of apartheid, and he asked for continued support from the

Irish government and people to "stay the course with us".

"We should not mistake the promise of change in South Africa for change itself. The present reality is that apartheid continues, and white minority rule, with all its fundamental features, remains unchanged."

After a state reception last night, Mr Mandela flew to London on the final stages of his world tour.

● Mr Gerry Adams, the Sinn Féin president, picked up Mr Mandela's call for talks with a view to embarrassing the British Government in advance of the meeting with Mrs Thatcher.

Mr Adams said he was prepared to engage in talks aimed at initiating a peace process. "I call upon Mrs Thatcher to respond positively to Mr Mandela's call and for Mr Haughey to endorse it, to support a peace process and to play an active role in it."

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Thousands join strike led by ANC

By Peter Taylor
in Johannesburg

TENS OF thousands of black South Africans in urban and industrial areas joined a national one-day strike yesterday organised by the African National Congress and its allies.

The "day of action", which was ostensibly in protest at continuing violence in Natal, was a muscle-flexing exercise by the ANC and its allies. They want to isolate the Zulu-based Inkatha movement, led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order said there had been widespread intimidation, which accompanies all "compulsory strikes". This was despite a strong police presence at railway and bus stations.

Limpet mines exploded at two township railway stations, and homes were stoned in Soweto, he said.

Occupancy of black commuter trains was reported to be less than 20 per cent of normal in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and East London. In Durban, it was reported to be 40 per cent. In Cape Town and the Western Cape, where the ANC is less influential, most people turned up for work.

Meanwhile, the Inkatha Institute, a research unit investigating violence in Natal, said two Inkatha supporters were killed yesterday on their way home from a rally near Durban.

Daily Telegraph
03/7/90
London



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

NO SOONER had Nelson Mandela touched down in London than he was having to defend himself against allegations of ignorance or simple mindedness, following his foolish remarks about the IRA. In France, America, Ireland and elsewhere he has been feted in a spirit of almost uncritical acclaim. In deed, the aura surrounding him has been such that local politicians—especially black politicians in America—have scrambled for photo opportunities with him. He will find London, and specifically Mrs Thatcher, a different kettle of fish.

Mandela's tour has several objectives. The ANC is anxious to bolster its hold on international opinion and specifically to shore up support for sanctions. It also wants to maintain the mobilisation of anti-apartheid groups abroad, to raise funds for the return and resettlement in South Africa of some 20,000 exiles, and to raise money for the ANC itself.

Despite the hero's welcome Mr Mandela is universally accorded, none of these objectives is unproblematic. Until now Pretoria's image abroad has been so dreadful that the ANC has found itself on an easy wicket, but the success of de Klerk's nine-nation European tour last month showed that henceforth this will be contested turf.

For as negotiations progress in South Africa one must expect both sides to play repeatedly to the international gallery. Before setting out Mandela boasted that he would make de Klerk sorry that he had ever ventured forth but this was, of course, mere township grandstanding. In fact straight after President Bush had seen Mandela he phoned de Klerk to brief him on his discussions and to renew his invitation for de Klerk to come to Washington—an invitation de Klerk will doubtless take up before long.

Forced to be friends



by RW JOHNSON

Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford

GIVEN that he continues to push boldly forward with his reform programme at home, it is difficult to see that his acceptability abroad will do anything but increase. Moreover, Western leaders, foremost among them Mrs Thatcher, are acutely aware of the need to bolster de Klerk at home against the rising threat of Dr Treurnicht's extreme white Right. De Klerk desperately needs tangible gains to point to as the fruit of his policies; for the ANC or the West to slam doors in de Klerk's face is merely to hand extra votes to Treurnicht.

On the sanctions issue Mandela and Thatcher will simply have to agree to disagree. The ANC would like the West to maintain sanctions to give it a further bargaining card against Pretoria. Downing Street never liked sanctions anyway and is well aware that a competitive race for post-sanctions South Africa trade has already begun among the EC states, with British South African trade growing particularly strongly.

Beyond that there is a

question of the ANC's "moral imperialism". Mrs Thatcher dislikes the whole idea that sanctions should be maintained merely to strengthen the bargaining position of the ANC as a political party. There is, indeed, a naive self-righteousness to many of the ANC's positions, as well as a sheer lack of nous about what it can reasonably ask for.

The ANC is, after all, a movement whose militants have to ask party permission to marry or divorce. President Bush was shocked by Mandela's request that all future US initiatives on South Africa should be submitted to prior ANC vetting, while Mandela's championing of ANC links to Arafat, Castro and Gadaffi was a risky attempt to defy the laws of American political gravity. His ill advised venture into the minefield of Irish Republican politics derives from the same over-confident moralism.

The ANC's request for aid for the resettlement of exiles meets with sympathy in principle but to certain snags in practice. No one has forgotten that SWAPO, the ANC's brother movement in Namibia, for years received

UN aid for scores of thousands more exiles than, on a closer census, actually turned out to exist.

The ANC's own census of its exiles offers the movement's help for removal expenses and underneath includes a loyalty oath for signature. Beyond that is the simpler fact that around 15,000 of the 20,000 exiles are guerrillas living in conditions of great privation in camps in East Africa, still being educated in the thoughts of Mao. They certainly need help but so long as the ANC maintains its commitment to the "armed struggle", Western countries balk at the notion of paying for the repatriation of this great posse of well armed fighters.

ODDLY enough, the ANC's request for funds for its own organisational activities is likely to receive the warmest response everyone agrees that to develop a proper counterweight to de Klerk the ANC needs to set up offices, enclaves and all the rest of it. Downing Street has, indeed, already signalled its willingness to

contribute provided funds go to other black political movements as well. In practice there are other worries so 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 EC money contributed to ANC-supported educational and charitable funds.

This long list of difficulties may not matter too much right now. Mandela's moral stature is such that—at least 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".

NO fewer than 49 massacres have occurred in the Reef and southern Transvaal in the past two years, costing the lives of 1 250 people — an average of 25 per atrocity.

These startling statistics are contained in a special report by the Human Rights Commission (HRC) giving 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 allegedly played a role in others.

Some of the killing sprees bear a remarkable similarity 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 settlement of Swanieville, on the west Rand.

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:

- Inkatha's drive to establish political territory, influence and membership is a predominant theme.

- Extreme terror tactics were used mainly to immobilise, disorganise and paralyse township communities.

- Hostels were the main bases from which to plan massacres.

- Persistent reports of police and security force complicity in these massacres — especially of the involvement of unidentified whites.

- Retaliation was a frequent motive.

- Of the 49 mass killings, which have occurred at a rate of two a month, funerals and night vigils were targets on three occasions, beerhalls or 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 occurred two days after President FW de Klerk visited IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi. These have been De Klerk's only visits to the IFP headquarters.

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 Johan van der Merwe announced that evidence implicating inmates of kwaMadala Hostel in the Boipatong slaughter had been uncovered. At the time of writing, 81 hostel residents had been arrested.

Among the HRC's catalogue of less well-publicised atrocities in the PWV 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 alleged IFP supporters. Witnesses claimed the attackers 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-

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.

- On September 4 1990, armed, balaclava-clad raiders — allegedly led by IFP leader Themba Khoza and accompanied by whites — 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 gunmen barged in to a beer hall and indiscriminately fired on patrons.

- 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.

- 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 "impis" went on the rampage.

- 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 and two others also injured.

- 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-speaking camp by armed men wearing red headbands.

- 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.

Where a massacre is a way of life

Boipatong was just the latest in a series of massacres on the Reef which average two a month and claim on average 25 lives, reports
BEATHUR BAKER

De Klerk won't have 'anarchy'

S. African leader puts ANC on notice

By TOM COHEN

Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — President F.W. de Klerk on Thursday accused the ANC of trying to seize power and warned of a crackdown to prevent the nation from "sliding into anarchy."

De Klerk's harsh attack on the African National Congress dimmed prospects for a quick resumption of black-white negotiations on abolishing apartheid and ending white-minority rule.



de Klerk

The ANC ended talks last week to protest the June 17 massacre of at least 39 blacks in the Boipatong township south of Johannesburg. It has launched a campaign of demonstrations and strikes, vowing to bring down the government.

"They want to force their views on the rest of our society through confrontation and mass mobilization," de Klerk said in a televised speech. "The government will not hesitate to take all steps necessary to prevent the country from sliding into anarchy."

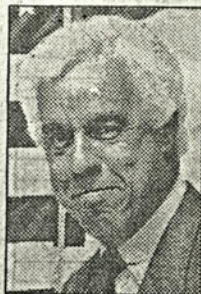
However, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said the government was not considering a state of emergency "at this stage."

The massacre and collapse of negotiations have brought ANC-government relations to their lowest 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.

De Klerk reassures Virginia governor

PRETORIA, South Africa — Virginia Gov. Douglas Wilder emerged from a half-hour meeting



Wilder

with President F. W. de Klerk Thursday and said he was reassured that the South African leader is still the sincere reformer of "good intentions" he met in Washington two years ago.

Wilder, here on an eight-day trade and cultural mission, said he still had "the feeling of confidence in his good intentions" and felt that de Klerk was committed to resolving the current political crisis as soon as possible.

Wilder indicated earlier this week that after hearing the repeated vilification of de Klerk by supporters and officials of the African National Congress his faith in the president had been a bit shaken.

I hope you had the opportunity to meet Gov. Wilder - I think he has a great deal of influence in this country.

The Star 3/7/92

FW addresses the nation

I AM speaking to you tonight with regard to the serious situation which has been artificially created in our country.

As you know, when I became State President, I promised to put South Africa on a new road. I promised that I would end apartheid and that I would free political prisoners, including Mr Mandela. I said that I would start negotiations with all of the main political leaders of our country so that, together, we could draw up a new constitution which would bring full political rights to all South Africans. I undertook to restore South Africa's relations with Africa and with the international community.

I have done all of these things. During the past two and a half years we have made very encouraging progress. 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 Government which, for the first time in history, would have represented all South Africans. The transitional constitution 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 — 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 Codesa 2.

They are now also trying to

This is the full 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 — 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 "no" to those who try to incite hatred and anger. Say "no" 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 crossroads 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-a-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. □

Daily Telegraph ... FRIDAY, JULY 3, 1992 11

De Klerk promises to prevent the 'slide into anarchy'

ANC is accused of 'fabricating crisis'

By Christopher Munnlon in Johannesburg

PRESIDENT de Klerk yesterday accused the African National Congress of fabricating a crisis to prepare to seize power, and pledged to act to prevent a "slide into anarchy".

In a hard-hitting national broadcast coinciding with the government's response to the ANC's demands for rejoining the Codesa negotiations, Mr de Klerk said political leaders had been very close to an agreement which would have led to a new parliament, a new government and free elections.

"The ANC and its allies chose to sabotage these and precipitate a crisis," he said.

Mr de Klerk did not even mention the demands the ANC made when it pulled out of negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

"The ANC's reason for withdrawing from negotiations are completely unconvincing," he said. "They know we are prepared to discuss any reasonable concerns with them."

The ANC pulled out of the talks and presented its list of demands after 42 people were massacred in Boipathong township on June 17.

"They 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," Mr de Klerk said in reference to the campaign of mass action the ANC launched on June 16.

"This will not be tolerated," he said.

Mr de Klerk said there were "strong 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 the year; the election of a constituent assembly on a majority rule 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 implicate the government and himself in the Boipathong massacre were slanderous.

"This is a lie and will remain a lie no matter 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

the same time, Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Affairs, released details of the letter the government has drafted in response to the ANC's demands for a return to talks.

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

Mr Meyer said the government suggested a permanent "monitoring mechanism" to react to incidents of violence. The role of the international community in assisting such monitoring could be considered, 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 a United Nations role in the negotiations on the political future of South Africa, a spokesman for Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali, the UN Secretary-General, said in New York yesterday.

De Klerk Accuses ANC of Making 'Artificial Crisis'

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Service

JOHANNESBURG — President Frederik 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 an 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. 3.

Law and Order Minister Hennie Kriel said in Pretoria later that Mr. de Klerk's statement that the government would take "all steps necessary" to prevent anarchy did not mean it was considering the imposition of a new state of emergency.

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

ple 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 Mr. de Klerk and his ministers seemed to indicate that each side, the government and the ANC, has decided to dig in 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.

Mr. de Klerk and his ministers did not provide specific replies to the ANC's 14 demands for resuming talks. But they handed out documents explaining in detail the government's position on each point as well as a summary of its various constitutional proposals.

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

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said the government was calling "as urgently as possible" 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, he said, had to be seen acting together to end the killings before the international community was called upon to intervene. The ANC wants the United Nations to send monitors and a peacekeeping force.

Mr. Meyer also suggested that the three parties establish their own "active full-time monitoring mechanism" to deal with the violence.

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