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" fnedia policy debate. Andâ\200\224ar-  
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| publictty and information BEEEy .

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~ Bill of Rights. -

VOS I F P,

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. MrDesai, a former JoumÃ©â\200\231hSt "  
" and advocate, said the domic  
mance of the print media by THR

" four rhajor press groups â\200\234is;theÂ®  
: very antithesis of &eedomeofâ\200\234'\_ s

" broken up and the gwnershi ip of

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-these enterpnsesâ\200\235 R T  
â\200\230A press council would main~. i  
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- To ensure the surmval of,alâ\200\234'%  
ternahve newspapers, MrDesgi\_ i  
- propased: State. submdxes baSe& e  
- on circulation, 5L et o  
<'The PAC furtber advocated e

\_ an independent publicâ\200\231 sergfepy.  
Â© . .broadcaster financed: pnmari!y et

- :from Ticence revenme.â\200\235.-  
Â¥ fDL'm the\_PKC'SAl D  
medlapo AC: beheves that free-â\200\235 -

' holding should be pÃ©rmitted. \*35| -

- tened to vernacular radio, â\200\230and o  
~the PAC would - encourage'ti~\201â\200\230Ã© 4  
. use of the electronic medid'teÂ¥]  
- â\200\230educate- and mobilise ourâ\200\231 peo  
\_to. play an active role in.(ha" i  
. creation of a just soâ\200\230::etyâ\200\230 freei~\202F" G

: commemal TV â\200\230by. nÃ©wspa;

â\200\230The monopoly. of M-Net,by A

i the â\200\234big fourâ\200\235 pre.-;s groups was

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- . grily rejected'claims that -

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pro;msals incorrectly.. . -  
#ANC 8 ï¬\202okesmen yesterday

e Government was. -

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of last week's rmâ\200\230e}ren

â\200\234Wo bejicve our pwposals  
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- group-degling â\200\230with transi-";  
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.phones"

â\200\234 But the. Govel'lmant ln- :

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:+clls are siill to be- ncgotlnted  
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" drafl Bl to-be dfavm up,â\200\230.

- before the end of April, .

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' - tlons on-key/areas of govern-

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-elected, pewer-sharisg tre

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-ANC-2nd also demand the ef. -  
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+itary wing, Umkhonio we

Sizwe (MK),.before â\200\230an inter=

.envisage,-  
./ transitional, counells- which:  
% The" â\200\230SACP'aid the NPâ\200\231s ' \_would . mÃ©ke .PÃ©commenda:

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\_ ' And the! Governxnont has! -  
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: â\200\230of the present tricameral; -  
~Parliament and. homelanidy -  
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:senate . with:effectlve: vetal . -  
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\*State; ProgideÃ©ntiiani â\200\231

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: ' violence had been resolved and;;  
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- . â\200\230gral system, o0 eW boundaries thel ANC had ciiphed MK+ 52 2"  
.. ifor local 'gov'ernrheuf;;ox;', gov- - . .The proposals aBO';mdudeg At A  
" ernment financing in a new dis- . the broad oatlines of the Gowad. -  
- . " pensation; -and. possibly on. the - -ernmentâ\200\231s plans for transitionali: g  
police, defence force and other, - .government. - o o S Ak  
fy ey HEEBERIE R T e â\200\234The. proposed - transitiongly - .  
ol . Gonstitution: would contain: thet. > - -  
T ona. ! following elementsz. . < D  
T oumeil which coul .. @ Two Houses of Parliament-aj  
"+ adopt resolutions â\200\230Which would. nitional assembly and senate i  
" â\200\230have â\200\234persuasive powerâ\200\231. - - .@The national assembly 0;bes -

he proposed. trapsitional:

ele"&i by proportional â\200\230repre-y .-  
councils resemble ANC pr L segtatlonsâ\200\235 . s  
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2 governmentexmi-\201ve\_eâ\200\230cept mademneg.ohanons()nasys\_.  
Â£ thiat they would be advisory. .. - tî-\202f;;ï-\202 :ga {ï-\202%ï-\202ï-\201Ã© ..ggvm?fg  
- nig AN proposed an all- glogal repeesen e 7 ]  
gty ek govermmed e 8 v B Senate codd ini ],  
â\200\230. utive appointed by Codesa, with \_tially consiet 6 DELLCE SofeEi il .  
. suptÃ©me, power, especially in: - isting legislative bodies = th L Â¢ -  
ch. 4 the â\200\230supervi- ' â\200\230cluding the: tricam ral Parlig-}| . -

.. sion of elÃ©ctions and the secrri- ment. and homeldnd  
Aot foTeRs, e e â\200\234fuwes. <0 T s T  
"4t a briefing yesterday, Con- - @ Both HousÃ©s would have:

zi-\201mggnall-,;D.evelbbmex\_at â\200\230Minis- - ~approve legislati oty e  
ter,

onal Dev t Mimis- - -approve legislation. . .58 B}  
(Y gey Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the . @ The head â\200\230of state would beij  
ol ~:'prOp99e,djÃ©.dî-\201n'cî-\202\$ world be â\200\234ad- .~ a.presidencyâ\200\231 formed  
by they ..~  
\* . \_yisory: to, the present Govern- . Teaders of the three to.fiyel . .  
5 Yesterday's ; 'ero's'alst ... The. 'ptesideu . Woldtaï-\201e; s  
â\200\230gtrÃ©ssed â\200\234that me--&vm; prpent: - decisl idns by consensus -and-itsÂ¥. -  
: it qul;l-~p6t':igree\_o;i'a.~t;aï-\201siï-\201bï-\201l chairmanship would rotdfe: .  
+ 2l govÃ©rnment wntil: politieal ~every six months. - PR

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A ' .Â»,NP/Gov'emn;â\200\230ex\_it'ptoposal,s,ig-.' the SACP, i R T s e  
~Doreâ\200\230a] â\202¬L the agreeieqt w The ANCSC%Id the Proposedy f .-

bythEAN \_ that they mnstâ\200\231goibadc'tb-ti¬\201e'; e

structureâ\200\231 which ma) = Tevelling fhe political playing! [  
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Al-arrangements j5 - to- ; Objectives: |  
o --:gÂ».Ã©,-,siï¬\201o,,al;r,, of the first phase Of transition; |  
o D Government would got | .

Ay - Welcoming the Government's able. to veto iâ\200\230momp;end&i¬\201bï¬\201s:' . ik  
NS A acceptance of â\200\231the;pï¬\201n\_ciplÃ©'qft - by the councils, ooutroliax;dtun::.~<  
-â\200\234; :  
â\200\230o an eleted constitution-making - -,all,:aszâ\200\231lectxof.the;executive,i¬\201:  
: P8

+ . body; the ANC said the Propes- " cluding Sectrity and. Statacryn: f - -  
: -â\200\234t-.'--a'S.â\200\234â\200\231Tfe!â\200\231%râ\200\230f.â\200\230?bieff'lim.?ablg  
inms'". â\200\230medid, and: formalate anq 74  
T fmdamen\_talâ\200\230a' gl T IR . .  
\* The SACP. said the proposals tarâ\200\234:s[, the ANCsaid. - - - . LR

S in RIS erncial e retreat to the old and gis; | il  
- has been delayeq credited approach of cbnsujziq:" Sy  
; i - tive apd advisory â\200\230toy- tefg-;



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T E R N R S : V A k P

i \_'Role,O' fÂ»"pr;iy,a'te\_ . &  
\_ armies â\200\230onway  
- to resolutionâ\200\231  
By Esther Wangh. - -  
- Political Reporter :  
/. A transitional government -  
- could be implemented only once .  
" the existence o{,privgtÃ© armies ...

e e MR â\200\235â\200\230hadbeeâ\200\231nâ\200\230rmolvÃ©d;saysteienÃ©Ã©' T e  
S l R S e Minister Roelf Meyer. . . sl fat Tt  
R F e . .- This. did pot imply Codesa 2  
~ would be delayed because of the  
| Governmentâ\200\231s insistence that -  
- the ANCâ\200\231s military wing, Umk-  
. honto we Sizwe, be â\200\230disbanded  
\* . before the Government entered . -  
" into any agreements on transi-- -  
. tional arrangements. 4  
U ANC, secretary-general Cyril  
â\200\234 Raâ\200\230map\_hosa\_toldg'lhe Star there.  
. . was no reason why this issue  
- â\200\230should delay Codesa 2, sche-- ..  
" duled to take plice before the  
â\200\230- endofnnextmonth. . . . .  
g2 press conference, Mr -~  
L â\200\230Ramaphosa said bilateral nego-  
. tiations â\200\230between the ANC and .  
" Government on the matter . -  
| were proceeding well... .. - .  
| He rejected suggestions thatâ\200\235  
| Umkhonto we Sizwe be disband-- \* \*  
\*ed before agreernents could be  
7+ | â\200\230edtered into\_ at Codesa, saying  
| the two issues were not linked.  
| . ANC and Government sour-: ..  
ces were optimistic that the  
| issue could be resolved. . s  
" The SADF would maintain  
.| stability during. the interim  
" - 'phase and the â\200\230implementation  
of a new constitution.

-



\*Political Stalf -

c

\_ A classical arms race hag

- developed between rival political organisations seeking

- to ensure their members are -

well armed in the ongoing

\* violence in South Africa, -

gays the 1991/92 Race Rela-

tions Survey released yes-

e (k i s e

v Quoting the SAP, the SA In-

- \_gtltute of Race Relations report

â\200\234"gal"more than

Â@ â\200\230sault rifles were seized laal ..

.- .oyear, It added, however, that

-the figure had been described as

1230 AK-47 as-

al arms race

vale security firm.. - -

In its study of 1 23Â¢ violent in-

cidents countrywide between

anuary 1 1991 and- August. 31

.1891, the Institute concluded -

that the aggressor"could'not;,be :

- Identified in 85 percent of cases..

This contrasts sharply. with

- findings by '

Agency for Social Research that

the Inkatha Freedom Party was -

responsible-for 51 pereent ofthe

â\200\234violence over a 12-month period

from mid-1980 to mid-1801,- =~

majority Alan e

\*-Tho.Institute sald its findings

oindicated that flrearms were:

=N 30 percent â\200\230of incidents, .

â\200\234explosives and: incendiary de-

2 \*drop In {he oceanâ\200\235 by a pri=

the . Community

of Incidents.

used in

vices in 26 percsnt, Instruments

capable of:

â\200\234gtah wounds in 18 percent, and.

et

% %

- stones In 15 pereent. â\200\235 - -

- mon assaulf and burnings of -

" people accounted for eight per- -

" cent. of cases. It wasg not clear -

Â@ what types of weapons had been :

\_used in the other six porcentof - P

; dorttatins Â@ 7 - yiolent Incidents.. - - Aol

lt also â\200\230contradicts -a- police .. )

report on Reef-violence saylng -

'the ANC yras responsible for iha -

-â\200\234The report quoted â\200\234the \_"SAP

saying: black'pol\_idc;meâ\200\231:i,\\_vexâ\200\231c 30

'tl;;mes.'mbrg â\200\234Hikely to eommit.

- sations that fanned f

inflicting lia P : :

rilicting tidck 800 Â@ 1.4 dqiad In attacks in'the lown-

: : â\200\230;h\_\_lpst- duiring"the Â»pcrl?d. In -

: : .- - Sowectod one, sÃ@ven (raffle offl-

- The sirvey. found that com: - cers had heen shot dead in-polit-

" ical violence, ~ - - :

\_ survey|

" sulelde 'tAi¬\201iÃ@h>lBlaÃ@l-c:â\200\231ci'ï¬\202)iâ\200\230uns be-

aguse. they were sybjected to

extraordinary stress-bf organi-â\200\231

\_ ames' of

hatred against the police.

~ Six members of the SADF

\_The survey quotes .the Goy-

ernmenit as saying a third of the

oljte force and more than

#0000 defence force persennel

had \_beonâ\200\230zdeplbyed .to stop vio-

lence between rival groups of

blgck\_â\200\231peop}e.' ks o



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j\"zâ\200\234, 5 +c\r Lq[ | ]

e As pressure motmis on the Pan

sationâ\200\231s. vice-president legang

e -MoseÃ@neke â\200\230said yesterday it

- would consider joining the ne-

â\200\230 .-gotiations formm â\200\234when we

.- think Codesa can deliver gen~  
o+ pinas -democracy. to the op- -

: .:~; presaed African Deople SOk  
Sapa reports that Mr Mo-;en- e

eke, spwalnng in' .Johannesburg

. after meÃ@eting Zambian Foreign -  
.- - Minister. Vernon ' Mwaanga,  
.. said â\200\234We are very; â\200\230very care-- .  
. fully â\200\230evaluating the situation  
.+ and.listening to our neighbours:  
-7 and friends within the QA(J and: .  
.- Frontline states.and we shall be - -  
- making decisions. in accordauceÃ»\_'-  
. with â\200\230what we think is in the in- -  
SO terests of all. the people in. onr- i  
i country Qi ;  
Ll Afrxcatz countnes have been 5  
reported as exertxng pressure -

- on.the PAC to join Codesa. "

. next month.  
' .@The PAC and the Azaman

PeOpIes Orgamsacmn (Ampo)

\ e re evaluatmg

., Africanist - â\200\230Congress to become = -

. .The-PACâ\200\231s stance on negotia.. . .

â\200\234Hons: s exnected to top the.

: ;â\200\230,'agenda al theâ\200\231 organisationâ\200\231s an-~ . -

. nual â\200\230eongress at the Universi-

Lty Of Tran:,kex in Umtata early ;.. ing a pohtxcal Staterent - ShGW-" ' H o

" .ing the way forward and that -

we need ail tesox;rces to. ggtg

. yesterday dmmssed as mcor-.' it

â\200\230.. -rect a:weekend: report from:

. Zimbabwe's national news :. :

agency Ziana that â\200\230the PAC ::

e . Involved in. Codesa, the organi- planned 10 form.2 Patrioticâ\200\231

Front (PF) with the Black Cons. \*

smousnas Movement.of Azania. . -

' Ziana reported that thÃ© PACs. .-

. forÃ©ign affairs representative in

Harare, Raymond Fihla, said.

-the new. alliance â\200\230would: replace . . .

.. the Patriotic Front formed:be- . ": -

Ã© tween a range of o:gamsahons: e

.= Including the PAC and the

ANC â\200\224 last year.â\200\231

" - PAC:publicity sgokesman

\* Barney Desai said the: PF mth'-f;.';- -

~the 'ANC â\200\230and. other. orgamsa"

: uons still existed...: @0 . ;

- Both 'the PAC and Azapo re-: SHEE

fused to respond to ANC leader. 1

.- Nelson Mandela's weÃ©kend invi-- L

" tation to them to join the ANC - -

â\200\230in a â\200\234united frontâ\200\235 atCodesa.â\200\235 -

' Mr Mandela was spealung at Rt

' public meeting in â\200\230Paarlâ\200\231 - S i

- Mr Desai said the PAC Wouldj--"â\200\230 B

S waxt for â\200\234formal contactâ\200\235: from-'j e

\* the ANC leader in this regard. -~ -

.ANC spokesman Gill Marcns b

said she doubted whether such a =  
- letter would bÃ© forth\*ommg\_ r  
~â\200\234Mr Mandela' was only. mak-.  
t;here, she saxd

- The fate of about 4 50 Â¢

VOU (Gachers |

- facing retrenchment will be deo

- terminated by next week when

~Schools will have decided -

whether to adopt the Model C

â\200\234 System or retain the status quo,

--But two teachersâ\200\231 unlong have

-called on the Minister of Educa. -

tion- and Culture du theâ\200\231 Housa

- of Assembly, Plet Marais, {o ro<

peal his announcement- lagt

monch that 4000 while teachers

- would lose their posts on August.

1 as part of Government cuts in

-education; and said he should "

â\200\234reler the matter to Codesa. :

- "Ong does not make ad hoc-

changes to a system: when the

system itself is bound to:

change,â\200\235 Hugo Ackermann, ex-

o Cod

vagl Maanghare Assapint:

Â¢ ARSUTIGLION -

{TTA), said yesterday, - N

- The SA Democratic Teachers .

â\200\230Unlon (Sadtu) :said--the-an-

ecutive director of the. Trans:.

aes

nouncement represented g -

pr\_f:grcss, oy

. â\200\234The Codesa parties. have

~mafor form of restructuring of %

â\200\230education at a time when con-

+ stitutional negotiations were-In

â\200\230agreed to halt all foris of. re.

~tution is in place ,,. We want a

~moratorium on decisions â\200\230like -

this,â\200\235 Hemant Waghmarae of  
Sadtusaid, . - " .-

tend a meoting on Thursday at  
- the Spacefraine Theatre; Jolan-  
. nesburg College of Educatlon,  
Â£0/62

Struegueing â\200\230untll a new. constf. -  
- He invited all'tegchers to at.

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Mz St Rty ] 3;' [ ql  
|Sewetans e  
RN i-\202ee after  
. attack

By.Mnntslnwa Moroke. '7 i

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: Â¥ Â¢ At:least one woman was | :  
e e B . . |shot dead and another . -,  
R : . | left,paralysed after resi~ { :  
Faeihn Pt ; -~ {denfs of Mzimhiophe, }. = -  
Soweto, were allegedly  
o attgpked by heawily | .  
i ,armedmmatufromme Silge e  
nearby menâ\200\231s hostel on  
Suudaymght. e  
-One family was leff  
hOmeless after their  
{ : ; homewaspetrolbOmbed, s AT  
Sy Saates B e in thÃ© attack and several {\* Â© . - 2  
AR TRt 8 G g milies: in Ndabexitha Â\$ . oL 00T  
; SRR e e : Street, near the hostel, |  
| 'packed up and moved =  
\* | out yesterday. - 3

BuymwaNqanqase(Z&), et  
i 'mother of two. yonng' y P  
; Anexghbonr said Ms', i Wi R 08  
' Nqanqase was shot while |-\ " LC  
sitting in ber shack with |  
â\200\230| her four-year-old sonand | - -  
. | 15-month-old daughter at\_  
aboutspmonSunday.  
.| bullet pierced the zine | : -  
wallandhztherchst. & et e  
: Mdnngan Chauke (46)" FeLE  
~ | 'was Shot in the Ioot n  
â\200\230 u:esameyard. ;  
' + | Friends were yesterâ\200\224 X  
' ' | day trying to trace Ms; fif  
Nqanqase s relatives. " | it  
\* ! j& Tshidi m:namMosxa;s' B  
(o B e e : % : '<:liÃ©~was shot at about | ..  
.8.am, â\200\230while returning | " .  
~ 'home after she had [ -  
R RS | \$ORElt safety elsewherev i St  
R el AL A MR e ST for the. mght. She}s m.'

. - ;The area was tense | .  
d 'yesterday as police pa- | .~  
- 'troflgd the streets. Many: |

: residents had not gone to |  
and pupils said |  
- ~i: they, I had not gone to | .  
'school for a week. - |  
. ... Residents said hostility- [  
- ~. 'ties had begun a week [  
-.â\200\230ago and had .increased | -  
- ~until the attack onâ\200\231 Sun~ i  
â\200\230:daymght. R

Â»

LT RS PR Vi Al 1Y \Ubâ\200\234 36 P \_ i .(â\200\234' M

o R ey o O B

- arrestsâ\200\235 .  
.| /The discovery of an AK-' | ; -  
-~ | 4T rifle at an Alexandra  
| thropgh in the police in- | -  
:vÃ©Ã©t"â\200\231?gga\hĩ-\201o\_ĩ-\201 into the o e s  
~ .~ | 'shagting of 13 people ata' | e J.' .  
< .| Vigik' in the township on: | Â©  
" March 27 Jast year, the: [ :  
. Rand â\200\234Supreme : Comrt |  
- wasdold yesterday,: -  
-+ .. Kopstable Peter Both- | . -  
- ma was testifying before [ \*. -  
M Justice H Daniels in | -  
. a\_lral-within-aâ\200\230trial to | - =  
. determipe - the admissi- | -  
PGB of Uk smstaent' i  
. made by one of the ac: D e  
- cused," " Christopher | ...  
~ . Constable Bothma said | . -  
L the: grrests:foll ed the |  
o weagengind L T  
â\200\230i . Me. Mdathaâ\200\231s defetice | . 2  
| counsel told the comrt he | "  
- | bad no'knowledge of the | . -  
AL AK{i"riIie.ihand]wquld,  
[-argue .that the firearm | :: @ -  
;| maychave: beed .brought | - =  
\_+|-into \$he hostel by police [ . -  
â\200\230| or another Inmate.. ., .|

SR S filve accused are {

- | members and supporters  
| Of tie Inkatha Fresdom |. . Â¢ o0  
[ Party. They face .13 | FEI RN  
i| charges of murder and [ - -  
-.| 17 ctiarges of atfempted | .  
.| lourder asâ\200\231 well â\200\230as o ERT S T  
| countof housebreaking. - L R B  
e T State Bas: alleged [ 0, o  
.0 | thatat the. funeral vigi |  
| of Jine Ramokgole' on | " S  
| Mareh'27 last year, the |  
- | fivÃ© smen sprayed - the: [  
| Dlouthers with a volley |  
â\200\230| of huilets from an amto- |.Â© - .  
.| matid rifle,. Ieaving 13 | -  
| deadand scores injured, - | - -  
. f'sonâ\200\231 Blhatho (28), Derick | -  
- | Majozi' (21). Mr Mdatha |  
- [ (30), Betrus Buthelezi (31)  
- .| 'and Joha Zakwe (56), all  
-~ of Alaxandra. -+ " " |  
. - The hearing continnes,



>

N â\200\230Â»-â\200\234mwc:kstodxscusthxs o  
7 Asked - if â\200\230those fncma  
. the .noose" n:nght

" already. be: deadâ\200\231 within

â\200\230weeks, the Minister said:  
bc:n :

Y 24703

â\200\23092 14:07

- B44 3198

; : 'â\200\234They -haven't -  
- â\200\230served:. -with \* notice {of -  
\_ their execuon) yer, ha\c

they.â\204ç :

. amd the

Thc

"â\200\234This .

:.,.'ZSideJohannimsburï¬\202 i

â\200\234Afterithe referendum

Âç ,.whxch wany South: Afri-.  
e "cansbelxcvcdputuewspzâ\200\224  
4t intoâ\200\231 th tiation  
o o \_nego it is - form of vengeance by so--  
-clety,â\200\235 Saldefsaid,.  
. Research. had shown  
' that execursions had litde  
-â\200\234mm9m5

Â© imgâ\200\231 back into: the mme:-"vâ\200\230

,\_:pan:masthepast. R

llUt 3

almouncement.

- ;'tha.r. 17 condemned crimi- . -

... 'nals â\200\230would. be execured  
.+ was arrogairt-and-threat- .  
J -.,ened the uu:gouauon proâ\200\224  
. cess) ANC secretary-genâ\200\224  
- -erd Mr Cyrit Rzmaphm o  
'saxdyesrerday  
\_azmauncementj-  
] . governmentâ\200\231s -  
- : transitional - .arrangÃ©ment  
: ;,','â\200\230pmp()sals subriited . to,  
. Codcsa . yesterday had.  
i evoked: shodc and dismay  
.,'among many; partxcs to  
- the': :nÃ©gotiations,â\200\231, Mr -  
'I'R.am:rphosa said , arogih  
,Pras confetence ar. Lht:  
" the Â© government - .  
10 d'clay dis~ .  
cussing â\200\230the issue unul- ;  
; nexc week  
" wa.nLd

aiter tbe issue was dis:  
msedv . :he worluug'  
groap. |

o i â\200\234There | over-  
i â\200\230whelmmg supporr\_, bur\_ 1o

','\*consensus :  
" He said even. pa.mes i  
\* wito: ; suppo:ted cszl:al =  
Â£ pnm:shment '  
â\200\234favour of suspending ex- -

. ecijtions until there was a  
â\200\230new dispensation.â\200\231

The -government ..

which is represented on

â\200\230the working group by JTus-

- tice' Minister. Kobie Coet- -

See the National PaIEV \$  
and . Inkatha

" Party refused to: endom

Fteedom

the appeal. :  
; Another delc:gatc: said .

bad

- -Sonth Aï-\201imn

: chal Defence Fund yas-  
â\200\230terday - condemned rhe  
proposed resnmpuon of

exccutions.:  
Saldef said it was reâ\200\224

grettable that a resump-

â\200\234tion of executons should

" be a:moxmoed in the week

followmg the referendum

. as people of alt races as-

" â\200\230sumed. that State Presi-

\* dent, De Klerk's govern-

ment gow has a mandate:  
Â° o-time when the whole { -

for :eal change.  
â\200\230question of legal reform is | Â°

. â\200\234Executions are a gn\_ly

S vmlence â\200\230andâ\200\231 Saldef Be-  
. cHeved:a State â\200\230which oged.  
. the death penalty acdvely -  
ihelped 2 climate: of vioi- .  
ence. to floarish n the.- w

WCâ\200\230I'& lï-\202 4

- nals for whom alf appeals\_

10 Preï-\202dent

- heid | cha[ Resources

<\_, \\ :gzw\ 1\â\200\224v'  
â\200\230hangings -

e

- The â\200\230governments dacic|

Mr Kobxe Cocxsee in-

dicating a posi!:lc rever-

. sal of the decision: to ex- -

c::ute 17 mmxnals. said=

. â\200\234This 'matter s under , "â\200\230 :  
: cî\201scu.â\200\234.szon.AIIIIcansayls

thar the government witl

announce farther re-4

Â© prieves very soonâ\200\235

But Mr Coetsee would  
not mdicate whether the

| reprieves would apply 10 LT  
. the X7 or ro others amang | -  
. the 510 people on Dmth  
Row. .~ it  
- Mr Coetsess spokî\201- '

man said on Sunday thar'a  
decision ' to mwsume ex-,  
ecutions had been taken  
and 17 people would be  
banged â\200\230onceâ\200\231 they had  
been officialfy notifted.  
He did not name them  
but said they were crimi-

including clemency pleas  
Klerk, had fafled\_ .

â\200\230Mr Arthur Chaskalson,  
divector of the anti-zpart-  
Centre. said: â\200\234It Â\$ i a ter  
sible step backwards at a

uader debateâ\204ç,  
â\200\230Mr: Kader - Ismail, 20

| ANC constitutional nego--|  
' tator, saxd\_â\200\234â\200\231!'hcplanncd;. s  
will ramse: the |  
temiperature (of the tatks).  
became most â\200\230of - the ' } -  
people. who will ba |  
' :hanaedachIacLâ\200\235 0 LM  
MrJanvancLof:hc;â\200\230 ks  
Democratic Party said- |-  
3 â\200\234Any execation, would set

. sion has. outraged. boman |0  
\_ Hghts gmups â\200\230who war-|  
â\200\230med execurrns would be  
â\200\234aâ\200\231 â\200\230terrible - s!t!p back-  
wardsâ\200\235. )

Fw de  
g \_cinna.te mndnm'c to ne-  
' back the reform process |  
'-â\200\234.bvatlmstmveazs :

', executions  
\_.the â\200\230ANC would have to  
4 reass&rtspomon 3 Co-,;.   
â\200\230a  
\* terday appealed to. the".â\200\230.  
.+ gavernment toâ\200\231 ~suspend |  
. all execntions in ;he 2  
smonal period.  
dealing with free poi¬\201ticÃ©i

CM

" ANC. exÃ©cative . M|  
- â\200\230Thabo Mbeki said rf.the  
were â\200\234â\200\230mot): v  
- â\200\230halted they would eslizr|.   
- the support of all at CodÃ©â\200\224f' g  
.. 'sd to ensure that they'c  
: ..'.::notgo ahead.  
If thit did ot Â\$ buccc

Codi-201a deh:gua Å

"The appeal came200\231 200\234from  
16 of 19 delegates o  
desa200\231s workmc sroup:

200\234In ardcr to euha.nce !

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BURG \_\_ The Situa 3".:oumd= a sqpamarkct\_edy&e:day .

on\_in P'deni¬\202i¬\202â\200\230\*tz-',-f-;andanumdcni¬\202i¬\201 IFP Â@ Violence ! contmue  
dto:â\200\231:  
| burgs tmball â\200\234â\200\231wâ\200\230"â\200\231\*"p"f:-suvwî¬\202\*â\200\230f"â\200  
\234i¬\202nded- " piague the Empangeniâ\200\230| ..  
[ was, vemse: yeserly Mr Enock Mpcwabe ~TEEOR with . Durbanâ\200\231.| -

" afteranlnkathn youth . (â\200\234' ,â\200\230\*w:xs"shot' dead on police . ' reporting -  
oneâ\200\231 & e

. \eader and, thres otfer . Sunday and Mt Ernest death Â¢n Sunday at â\200\230the |

. 6P members were shot . Mhize died fn hospital - Sigish ,Res\_ervc after 3|

e - dead T Seâ\200\230{i¬\201\_â\200\230f,a-â\200\234:,. 'inâ\200\230?'i¬\202,' :aitetbcmg,ShO  
:.w. :

SRR dentsztthewe:kend-".-'j.;.A p'.aop!ewÃ@rearâ\200\224' :  
/â\200\230- " Residents s2d they - rested - m ' coun e  
\_ / tâ\200\230wred an i¬\201calauon of :wnh Soidayâ\200\231s. kmmg  
Sanad ke lv;.yxplenee,.. certam . to â\200\230On -Monday. 2  
P . thyeaten a-ishiky"tmc:;"fywr-old.gi¬\201...liamisile e  
- â\200\231begwcn'rthEPanddie . Dlamint and Dumisani ' clatrm  
S 'i¬\201jmei¬\201:--ti¬\201e'wnsluv " Shangase; were\_: shot â\200\235 )  
7 mball - TFE Youth i and wouuded at aTus. :  
i =Bi¬\201ggdejchanmax1b!hla i stop ' in Smkwan e,  
;â\200\23033@â\200\23073 -.\_-.Ngcobo' Uwas pÃ@at abou: 6 am\_  
. m >

) o \$hÂ°t (7-  
o Oy mpm on Fnday mght. | i¬\201" agamledtoaoc:xsauons- s  
SxplnweMbongwam. from ]\_nkatha and the Del  
woundcdmthcsme at- ANC. â\200\230 3

â\200\234tacks / At least seven people

v Ak about Â© pm on' were Killed inâ\200\231 pofitical \* ' :they' were ~hot. pOhCL :

another. woyneded 2 et 1.

â\200\234\IÂ«mnd.xy Bomba Lu- vmlence mNaml at the said. Sap:.

. By Brian Stuart  
: and Sapa

- "MINISTER of Constitutional Development. 3

" Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said

that the constitution would be pres

- entered into force by the  
" . . . of . . . next month . . ."  
However, the ANC re-

jected the govern-

ment's plan that detailed  
a [government proposal] for  
an interim consti-

tutional councils pres-  
ented at Codrus;u yes

terday, ~. - "A

Dr Viljoen warned that

\* transitional constitution:  
would not be introduced |

- unless Unkhonto we Sizwe,

Indeen disbanded; {he -

ANC arms caches. were

disclosed, .and there was -  
an end to political viol-

ence,

The ANC and the  
South African Council,

would the proposals ignored

an agreement reached |  
earlier this month it o |  
Transitional executive  
structure. would: initially

be appointed by Codesa.-

the government had |  
" proposed transitional  
councils. line would be as :  
advisory bodies - the | -  
present government but  
would have no power, -

\_ "This ds the worst case

ment's plan for Irin-

st Parly sold the govern- -

v AT

14408

a444 3198

- death penaltv but said  
| was. acuvelv urging

dISCu.SS!On on -.he issue. -

- JusticÃ©\* Miaister Kobie '

Coetsee. â\200\230confirmed - thar \_ .this bankgcm.ud. .  
7. â\200\234Nobody is going: to be .  
execited for his poliical

- 17 condemned p-:soners,

\* â\200\234carmarked ' for execution  
by Justice Deparunen[ of-  
ficials over the weskend,  
.had not yet been served  
wrtb nouee of - then' eâ\200\230câ\200\224  
eeptioh.

Gl he gpvv:mmcnt ;aced-

| the iskue from othcrorgaâ\200\224  
::usanons  
- terday, . But Mr Ooctsze  
said South Aftica had'â\200\231

F.high.â\200\235 Jeveld of v eerious < 4 ;gced why th  
>N ;0--â\200\224-'0â\200\224 w. T

cï-\202me\_â\200\230 A A p A e L ..-umen:ooulc

r.a.-,c"?

at Codesa, yes-

Thc : dc.a:h  
â\200\234shouldâ\204¢be. 5eC0 - aeamst

bcï-\201efs," hÃ© emphasised. .  
â\200\234The - Mmister

~ should be: rexmpose(l \_  
A â\200\234As far as Ixaow therec  
. was no; mmemu- Thxs is  
~ thÃ© offic cial position.â\200\235

e ï-\201(;VIâ\200\231  
L' remrpose

scnt: DCE :

clented -  
there had been any con-  
seneus in Working â\200\230.xrou.p-  
One (free potitical partica-  
r pauOn) thar 2 moratorinm  
e vehem:nt â\200\234opposition \_On~~on â\200\234the dÃ©ath seq[ence'  
.. ecudons, he said, Â¢

VOS I F P

the momtonum, Mr Co-  
. etsee said the present law -

..~affecring the death pepal-  
ly wou.lthavc o be-.\_\_'\_

chanaed for thxs to bap-  
AR

- fecting iexecution had  
been amcdcd R three

ways, substanuany rcducâ\200\224 Lz \_ Faali  
ing " the "humber \*of â\200\234ex- -7 should et bc\_,,hghdy diss 0

â\200\230\*Pnsou:rs facmg The \*  
death scntcnce  
grafrÃ@d. au:omuc Iea

Jo.. awÃ@z!=,~

X â\200\231\*ete-

spccxaiï¬\202y appomted mmâ\200\224-  
mitice;; and - they wers | "  
-granted - automatic leave | |

BJp\_c:men tthme Preszt Fiie

dent.. lo

â\200\234We have rcduced tbeâ\200\234" A el  
Sinee- ,r.he moratorium \_munber of i our execudons  
expired, â\200\234the statute. afsâ\200\231 e

subscennaï¬\201y

" â\200\234The USi for exmo[e,"' :

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7t â\200\231Marchls-,\_\_\_ = \_ons\_ \_duded\_ :

T} | Easem 7 African â\200\230National Con- Mr Mibermbe said the = b

â\200\230g called for @ stayaÂ@ay - gressspo ki-\201maan'Jadc- ANC was convineed v - Pohoe  
hzwc offered )

morrow 10 â\200\230coincide. with, : arcwmdofRNOOO for ST  
1 - son. Mthembu. said the the bomb artack. on Mr . SR  
the &m:ralof And:ies Sit- \_-mformation. which could o  
gl o { \_â\200\235.worL stayaway - was the . Booyeus' house wus the -  
ol â\200\230hole, who W35 was kiledina = frr ; .leadtc:thcarrastandcon- e  
18l protest acuion agamst . work of \* Rxahht wmg, ter-. . X

; bomb atrack on the house - viction of people respon- -  
4 violence- terroTism | an and forsts - . :  
i of . Hogrskoal Melspruit . pciem - the Eastern : - sible: for the bomb attacks .

% | headmaster . Â¢ Con .Tmlâ\200\230wm . e B ANCM theEzst on Mr Booyenâ\200\231s house,

i B Booyen:\_ : (i e \_',cmTransvaaI calls on the .-and that of tector of the!. !

e | â\200\230\_;Â»-;â\200\230\_â\200\231-Mgâ\200\230sâ\200\230fxtho:â\200\230[c";\_ : X 'Th ANC  
smmalyÂ» 4 -nghtâ\200\224mng to s:op their : Lowveld Agnmltural 5  
b BE -Tï-\201xs&, -workÃ@d Spars '-candk mns the: emcr.'\_a.nt teronst actions sud jorn " Co  
llege, Mr Fourie Krit-

: '- ' ST . i-\201Of MS "5 ) ] !{i-\201\_oâ\200\230i-\202Ã@gogi-\202gios \_â\200\2303 \_.'!:v-  
.: -i-\201;nng: S Epa: SRR oI

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5&- \*Pf&"f'a?}'"i"â\200\231\*1-â\200\231}-' }}â\200\231i&&â\200\230 fï¬\201-'bvï¬\201-â\200  
\230-â\200\230 â\200\234â\200\224ff'!r-gâ\200\230:,&-.'.TQ"}'! AR AL

SOWETAN Friday March

Peace fails in  
~ killing fields o

NATAL boast; of be-  
ing the first province  
to have established a  
Regional Dispute  
Resolution Commit-  
tees as set down by the  
National Peace Accord

and political, church

and community lead-  
ers continue pursuing  
peace. :

However, Natal silently  
dashes hopes of an end to  
the political violence that  
has claimed more than  
10 000 lives in this country  
since 1988.

Since the beginning of  
the year, more than 200  
people have died, countless  
homes razed, and even  
more people made home-  
less.

Natal newspapers docu-

~ Sowetan  
Correspondent

lation of the letter and the  
spirit of the National Peace  
Accordâ\200\231â\200\231. Pretorius  
warned that it could spark  
renewed fighting.

- This proved true for in  
the weekend following  
Sabeloâ\200\231s death - several  
people, including high-  
ranking Natal Midlands  
negotiator, Mr Skumbuzo

Ngwenya, were killed..

Ngwenyaâ\200\231s death came  
barely 24 hours after  
Sabelo was gunned down.

The killings dashed .

hopes of peace, making a

mockery of Natal's claims  
to be the first province to  
implement the National  
" Peace Accord by setting up  
the counu-y 's first Regional

ment the tragedy of what is |

beginning to look like a  
hopeless situation with -  
Four

headlines reading  
die in violent Midlands in-  
cidents;  
tered, Six family mem-  
bers slain,

Jfebu

Statistics show that. ' i  
compared with the rest of :.

the Republic, Natal suffers  
the highest number of casu-  
alties as a result of polmcal  
violence. - b

In one of the bloodiest .

weeks in the province, 20  
people were killed the first  
week of February, bringing

Natal once more on. the -  
edge of a fullscale

bloodbath.

The week of fighting :

culminated in the slaying of  
Inkatha leader - Mr

Winnington Sabelo in

Umlazi.

The co-chairman of Na-

tal/KwaZulu Dispute Reso-

lution Committee, Mr MC -

Pretorius, has said Sabelo's  
killing was a blatant vio-

Truce shat- .

Surge of il  
weekend fighting kill 22"  
and "Violence is a way of .

led by Roman' Catholic  
Archbishop Denis Hurley  
and businessman MC  
Pretorius, focused on sev-  
eral conflict areas in an at-  
tempt to initiate and imple-

ment local peace measures:  
In Umlazi the LDRC  
was officially launched on  
January 7 with an inde-  
pendent facilitator, How-  
ever, Umlazi became the  
most violent of the town-  
ships surrounding Durban  
with regularâ\200\231 battles be-  
tween residents of the  
Umlazi Unit 17 hostels -  
thought to be an Inkatha  
stronghold - and residents of  
the shack settlements of  
Zamani and Ekuthuleni.  
In February, more, than

600 destitute refugees fled .  
- tinue with the peace proc-

from renewed fighting in  
the township and armed-

dents by lnkall)%suppon-  
ing hostel dwellers in De-  
cember. W G

This prompted the estab-  
lishment of a 16-member  
interim peace committee  
which included Natal'  
Deputy Attorney-General}:  
Mr Leslie Roberts. JuslwÃ©\

â\200\234However Empangen: s

pgnding townships  
; n racked by vio-  
lehâ\200\230c the beginning  
of the year. In February the  
ANC-claimed that IFP  
members'being bused o a  
-meeting jrl the Esikhaweni  
tovmslug taned attacking-

Goldstone said the carryifig s ANC-suâ\200\230pportmg hostel

of weapons by the Inkathag \d

supporhng hostel dwellcrs

was proving to be a deter-~ i

rent to peace.  
In Richmond, the scene

of several battles between  
IFP and ANC members last  
year, there has. been  
progress but the IFP has  
repeatedly cancelled or-  
walked out of meetings.  
~ The IFP claimed that it

was not prepared to confront ; \*

ess while its members were

ys leastelghtpeo-

le were' killed and 20 seri-

. ously ,m]nxÃ©l in gun battles  
between thÃ© two sides.

â\200\234 {The- IFP fbfuted this,

claiming that the IFP mem-

bers ;etallatcd when they

were: attacked by the hostel -

dwellers Since then there  
has been v:snble tension in  
the township. Several resi-

Â«dents have moved out and  
- there has beÃ©n in incrÃ©ased  
â\200\230secunty force presence. .3

In Stanger:d local dis- \*

pule â\200\230resolution committee.

(

o

Statistics show that, .

compared with the rest of the | .  
Republic, Natal suffers the

â\200\230highest number of casualttles

vwlence.

3

Â« Dispute Resolutxon Com-',  
- mittee.

~The repeated killings in  
,the province prompted a  
â\200\230war of â\200\230words between  
:Inkatha and the ANC.

The ANC in particular

â\200\230said it was losing patience  
-with Inkatha after the IFP

representation to a recent  
.RDRC committee walked  
out.

The IFP countered by  
claiming that the ANC was  
attempting to manipulate  
While the squabbling  
between the two organisa-  
tions continued, the RDRC,

gangs staged- hghtmng

bemg lulled. ,In : F;prumy

raidson Ekhuthuleni: More +aihfee were k:llul in a failed .

killed and 120 shacks de-".  
stroyed inattac  
ter-altacks in the first week

leastnine peopleaneknownÂ»'

to have dxd in the town- .

ship.  
In Bruntville there has .

been an agreement by all " ;.  
vandmostsuocessfulpeace

parties in the peace process.

In January the Goldstone. -

Commission of Inquiry  
into Public â\200\230Violence and  
Intimidation investigated'  
an alleged attack on  
Bruntville township resi-

ksandcoun-:..

" township was to bring local

.senior Inkatha oli¬\201cnl; Mr:.,

g'Abdl11 Awetha, :in; Jdmbali -  
â\200\234and fighting i¬\202amd â\200\230up.in  
" of February. This month at .

Upper.\* Edendale and  
Phalcm near Richmond. .

: At Empangeni moves \_  
were under way to build on -

.the Lower Umfolozi Peace

Accord - one of the earliest -

initiatives. One of the main "

-mmsofapeacecommxttee

in this' Natal North Coast  
chlefs fmly into the proc-

was launch after three suc-

& \_cessful meetings â\200\231s'mcq the  
: begmmng of the year:

.In 'the Ozwathlml

o â\200\230Maphumulo area initial  
5 meetings have taken plac

- other scene of hlnhgs and

\* -~ revenge attacks last year - al  
- facilitator, from--the busi-{

: 'nm cmâ\200\230nmumty has becm

â\200\230than. eight people . were- \assassuuhm attempt on.a., 500N, s

stmctnre is trying to set upâ\200\230  
meetings between the ANC;  
and the local mdunas and  
chnefs : :

At Wembezx near

. Estcourt .and - atâ\200\231  
Umbumbulu tentative ap-,  
proaches to local activists'  
have been made, Howevet, i  
' both: areas:have seen re-.  
peated attacks on support-.

mofboththeANCandthe

IFP :  
In February sxx ANC  
nlcmbaswemsbotdeadby

24Â¢b%

fi'iz

s i

Â» ahostel. . \

WK AL

ilanty who were travel-

â\200\234 ling in two white kombis at

" Folweni near Umbumbulu,

- Attheend of February, five

â\200\234ANC supporters ,were

- killed and three injured in

. violence that broke out af-

. ter the launch of an ANC

- branch in the township.

-2 One of the most suc-

- cessful peace initiatives in

Natal, offering a ray of  
hope to the rest of the prov-

â\200\234ince, has been in

Mpumulanga- not long ago  
dubbed as one of the killing  
fields of Natal. In February

\

A policeman conflscates a spear during a rald on

: members and supportersof :

both the IFP and the ANC  
sat side by side at a joint .

[peace rally and heard their

leaders urge an end to the  
conflict; ]

Despite the successful

end to the conflict in  
Mpumala: )ga, several  
deaths have been recorded  
in the area since the begin-

ning of the year,

Despite the' six-month

200\230old National Peace Accord,

there appears to be no end  
in sight to the killing in

Natal. 204ç~

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. Mr Meyer said the wsue  
ofUmkhonto we Sizweâ\200\231s |

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(\\\f\g,v-\ e gsï¬\201 75 Câ\200\231\L

- free

Meyer is. confldent of

pation,vbnt the M;( fssue .

Roelf Meyer was yme.-: 5  
~day confident the 3  
Cent dt:a\_dlock overthe d:s- -

mrywmgmuldbcrsolâ\200\224  
vedi, -

Speaking atCodcsa

cmtimocd existence ' was

: bcmgdismsed bilaterally -

between the government  
and the ANC.

Gcncml dismssnon om

pmfat: arimies was on the  
agendz of . Working  
Groap One dealing with  
poi¬\201:xcal

Fï¬\202mï¬\202f .

' would continue on a bilat-

\_eral basis before it came\_

to Codesa.

Theâ\200\231 Dcfence Muns[er  
wld Sapa he had never re-\*.

- ferred to Codesz Two be~

ing â\200\230:uspending if MK was

not - dishandled, but had -  
emphasised the. govern-  
ment's principle in the  
matter.

The minister has to be  
solved bilaterally and

these talks . are confirmed  
ing.. i

o | think the issue can  
: be solved."

-Dilemma interim.

2 not happen.

Through mutual agreement  
Referendum, Cabinet Mi-  
nisters said they would  
not enter any agreement  
with the government  
until MK was disbanded  
'and Mr Meyer was  
quoted at the weekend as

saying that Codrington would  
-Do go ahead with the  
.. ' -

ANC Secretary-General I  
Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said  
Things are going 'so well

that we are confident that  
agreement . . will - be

: reached soon.

He was speaking at a

Press conference at the

. World Trade Centre yes-  
» terday -ve

'He was adamant, how-  
ever, that the ANC had  
rejected the government

.demand that MK would

have to be disbanded be-

fore an interim govern-

ment was instituted.

.The two issues are nat

tingled, he said. Sapa.



U

T igh h

il 3198

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The  
time had come for mili~

tary service to become  
. and - the

Wihite â\200\234liberal ele-.  
mentâ\200\235 that voted Yes  
- i last week's referen--

voluntary

dum should volunteer

-tÂ¢- make up shortages

ir. military personnel

â\200\234gtrength, the Conser-  
vative Party - spokesâ\200\224

man on defence, Dr

â\200\234- Piet Gouws, said in 2

statement yesterday.

" Talk of extending the

" period of military service

followed last week's 12~  
ferendum result:

It is now compulsory  
for Whitcs to seive lomger

OIS O E

AU I Rl D) 2 o R Gl ||

\_,\\* \ e

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< pa:

periods of mĩ~\202nary service -

\_to keep warring Blacks

apart while the rest of the

- population ' gets off scot

et L

Â© Conservative -.â\200\230W\_h'ites

were- no longer prepared-  
to do compulsory military -

-service for a future Black  
" government and it was

now tie for military ser-  
vice to become voluntary,  
Dr Gouwssaid. . .

' @ Using unemployed.  
Black and White people  
for voluntary ' defence  
duty had not beenâ\200\231 suffi-  
ciently investigated, the  
Democratic Partyâ\200\231s chief  
spokesman OD defence,  
General Bob Rogers, saidâ\200\235  
yesterday-

â\200\230He was reacting to a le-

i T

" port quoting the I\i-\201xi-\201ster  
- of Defence, Mr Roelf  
. Meyer, fn which he â\200\230said

citizen force call-up. for

example might be extend-  
ed to 60 days, - .  
. Gen Rogers said while

folly realising the urgent  
necessity to stop the viol-

ence in South Africa, the

DP felt Mr Meyerâ\200\231s an-

ouncement was a-â\200\234retro-â\200\231  
grade stepâ\204ç . L

" â\200\234Tn the present unsatis-

factory economic climate,

many smaller businesses.

which have reduced per-  
sonnel to 2 minimum, will

find it very difficult to -

lease personnel who are

called up for 60. days.

Once the expected upturn

starts, it wil .be. even

râ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

more diffeunlr.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa- -

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\_ Ceatre In-Johanncsburg. -

-4 'E :  
ermment.â\200\231 â\200\230Ilm uiliuil ale-

T â\200\230mont ds that we eanâ\200\231t con-  
- tinue witli the old goveru- - -

went, acting ns an Interim  
government," ANC cx-  
ecutive, Mr Thalio Mbe-  
ki, said ot u Press confer-  
chnee at the Workd Trade-.

" â\200\234Transitlonint. sfructures

\_should act ns governnient:  
â\200\234mnd should not. be ml\~l~ ;

sory bodies. i  
"We hope the govern-

ment will go back to the

denwing board and re- -

draft these proposuls as

they have been over-  
whclumigly rejected by  
most partlcs at Codesn,â\200\235  
Mr Mbekl said ot a Press  
canfercnce at the World  
Trade Centre.

â\200\234The proposals are on.  
the tuble for negotinton

â\200\234and wa expect that out of

nepolintions will emerge a  
maorg nccuptzlblle govern  
ment,â\200\235

The Lubour Party suld-

the propusnls offered no -

improvement --.on - the

stits que.

â\200\234â\200\234Thehr. .- fr'mslllmmml

councils are intended to  
be advisory with no real  
power and this is unac-

ceptable to us.  
We hope -

merely the government -  
opening a bit and: that  
it is not serious, the LI

1) r Villucnx will  
- the number of condi-  
tions; for moving - into .  
transitional -

One of these is that 11%  
of the population - public - Vi  
th

" the Pretoria finite  
- and the . - D. F. M. A. :  
accorded the . wlvdccls  
vely : o  
Dr. Daw (c tlc Illlcrs, '

chief National Ry ne-  
gotiator, added it be-  
fore a new constitution  
could be implemented,

there had to be  
- stability so that and -  
- fair transition he  
held. . ; %

This means it is to be  
safe for any political party

that hold - I meet; any-

where by the South African -

and for its convicts to

knock on any door -  
Both government and

Negotiators on yes-

terdny they were ready to-

amend the Constitution

\*without delay -

vide for transitional bod-  
ies broadly representative  
of all South Africans, pro-

vided there was sufficient

peace in the country,  
With - the : referendum-

that must be, = gov-  
ernment can now proceed  
with vigour on the road of -  
reform; to a new nego-

tinted democratic consti-  
- tution, security equalâ\200\231  
representntion { every.  
South African citizen,  
- and â\200\230eliminating ymina-  
tion,â\200\235 said Dr Vien. -

â\200\234Theâ\200\231 government. pro--  
â\200\234poses- that â\200\234negotiations .  
~should begin as) 9n s  
- possible; . with few to  
formulating 3 t transitional

constitution among the

1983 Constitution" :  
With regard to 88 the

necessary: preparations (o

supplement - d limitxal  
original constitution, ~ 1t3{pra-

process tati

27.â\200\2302]10 Clâ\200\2301-nli.daj g

by Statute (s Act of Parliament: . el

liament) withiowul delay

Sâ\200\234This will ensure that -  
all Interested: parties. con -  
be assured of an opportu-

nity of participation, in the  
preparation, planning and

\_implementation of a tran-  
-sitional constitution. . . -  
â\200\234With a view to mean-

inghul - discuss to it; . consid-

â\200\234eration and m.go!lntk:u n -  
CodÃ©sa, the government -  
will invoke its proposals forâ\200\235 -  
" transitional constitution .  
available in the form of

draft legislation towards  
the end of April.â\200\235  
The government was

looking to â\200\234early agree- -  
mentâ\200\235 at the next step in  
& transition to fully demo-

cratic government,

To â\200\234bridge the gapâ\200\231 " be-  
tween the present system -  
-and a transitional system, -

it proposed that more

: representmtwe â\200\234transitio-

nal Councilsâ\200\235 should be  
set up to prepot the way -  
for non-racial intcrim-'.-

pgovertarcnt,

The government docu-'  
ment present to Codesa  
-yesterday proposed fout -  
Transitional .  
cuach comprislig seven =2  
metbers, to ficllitate the  
. plwnlng and- inipleme<  
tation of thic Interlm:dls- -  
- Members -

pensation. -

-would be psud IJy ttle~â\200\230\_  
\_Stale. i

The Transitio lml Coute :  
cils pmpuscd by thc gnv-  
Ã© ernment arÃ©: - :

Ã© A Councill forâ\200\231 Ek.c-

tions, charged: with pre- -  
puting fixl planning frec -  
ond. Baic electlons for v-  
pus;. (l {lhat ,almt.q-s wuh e ll'lnbill!)mlt wnslllntmn.

Councils, -

; 'Afrlcn ito m.w â\200\234pro:. -  
vines. or feder eomnpo-

nent statesâ\200\235, which atc

politically ancl ceonomi-

cally justifiable.  
& A Council for Local  
Govornment, to. muke

â\200\230\_\_-'prolmsnls -on-. new: Jocal

goveriunent arÃ©as. -  
o A Council-for. Gorâ\200\224

â\200\230cenment Finaice; to plan

the- handting of State fi-

pances - inâ\200\231 a transitional

constitntioval dlspensa-  
tion, and make impuls re-  
garding budgeting.

The povernment has

also proposed a Tran-

sitional Council to advise  
on Law and Â° Order  
(lâ\200\231ullct.) mauess, and an-  
ather on Defence, but  
snid these would haye to

and over 200\235 until the  
ANC had fulfilled its obli-

gations in regard to dis-

mantling - Umklonto 200\230we .

Size. -

. The other four, however,  
er, could be created and  
put into operation in the

interim. While the ex-

.council, municipal, industrial

and - industrial re-

I terms of 200\230 he | government 200\224

ment proposals, the se-

Transitionary  
Councils would be ap-  
pointed by the State  
President.

Codesa would design-  
ate six of the seven

-members, while the se-  
-venth would be appointed

by the State President on  
the basis of special ex-  
pense -in the subject,  
after consultation with  
the Management Com-  
mittee.

A person might be ap-  
pointed. a member of  
more than 231 than any Tran-  
sitional Council. Howev-  
er, there would not be  
more than a total of 30  
members of all the coun-  
cils. Meeting together,

They would constitute 8

Joint Transitional Coun-  
cil.

In all the councils,  
agreement should be  
reached through consen-  
sus.

All members would be

executive authority would |

renin by the hands of the |  
Cabinet, the Transitional |

Councils would assist by

â\200\234making recummu nd at:ons'

o government.

In- refation to ddlnntu- :

â\200\234tiot, the goverument pro-  
â\200\234posed â\200\234thatâ\200\235 the - councils-  
should -consider: cxisting-  
provineiat - and - tocal |-  
- boundunties #s well 45 geo- |  
grapllilc, |loputntluu1. tmdâ\200\224\_

ceonomic intevests.: "0

â\200\230Codesa .could- dlsz.ussâ\200\231

the. - possibillty - of othue

cuuuctls, v denl with edua' :

pnid l:y lht. Stnlc ;t a e o) .'

â\200\234determingd by the -State  
- President -after c:msultu- ;  
" tion with Codesa.â\200\235 -~ ;  
- Minisiers, Deputyâ\200\235 Mi-  
mslcrs and Provinclal Ad-  
ministrators might also be  
considered for mow-  
bership of Tramsitional  
Counvils.

Dr Viljoen said be be-  
lieved these proposuls  
â\200\230were â\200\234fair, construÃ©tive.  
and viableâ\200\235 pnd would  
help to achicve carly  
agreement on -the " next  
step to a fully representiv-  
tive-and democratic <on-  
nilnmm.

OME land redistribu-  
tion schemes recentl  
suggested for Sout  
Africa by non-experts  
could cause chaos just as the  
did in other countries, says Dl;  
Borllamentary candidate Mr  
nald Urquhart.  
People from mainly legal and  
social science backgrounds have

:| spoken in the past about land redis-

4  
K

~ and a third the prospect vf plunder,  
euphematlcauy described ds

tribution but, he says, it is now ur-  
:gent for agricultural economists,  
and crop, pasture and animal -sci-  
entists to plan and articulate ways  
ahead. .

. About 13 percent of South Africa  
is in black hands, effectively na-

tionalised with title in the name of -

the Development Trust or homeâ\200\224

. land governments,. . . . .  
â\200\234' The principles of justicÃ© and Â¢  
equality underlying a legitimate

land law were clearly violated in  
the past and:Â¢all for some form of

redress, but the problem is how far .

back to go and who should the ben-

Exproprratlons

German- experience may be  
helpful, he suggested. After Ger-

East German'expropriations be-  
tween 1945 and-1949 were left in-  
tact awith compensation decided  
upon bx the German governments.

vely arhtt;ary cut-off dates were  
establish

4~ South |Africa could do likewise,  
â\200\234Ffor exa ple targeting victims of

forced removals, yet only going

" back as far as financial resources  
\* will allow.

The usual reason for the nationalisation of land is to achieve self-determination, to gain sovereignty

\* over, the people's assets which

philosophically is the PAC and CP

stance, albeit from different perspectives

Mr Urquhart said.: -  
The second reason is ideological

| wealth redistribution.  
It is difficult to make a call for

nationalisation seriously after

] events in Eastern Europe : where

governments are trying to privatise economic life and land relations to save their economies.

In the Soviet Union all was a

- | mess and in 1989 the right of lease-

hold was reformed. In 1990 a new land act was enacted providing for an individual to obtain a right to the use and possession of lands-

| effective ownership. :

Agricultural units were also freed to employ labourers; a practice previously disallowed. The conclusion is that people want to

= own their land

[ Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania are following and

in Yugoslavia 86 percent of all agricultural land is exploited by

beneficiaries be, Mr Urquhart said. -

man unification it was decided that ..

| owners expropriated after -  
1949 could elect to receive financial

compensation or have the ex-

propriation reversed. Thus relati- -

Newcastle farmer, agricultural  
economist, former Rhodes  
scholar and Democratic Party  
Parliamentary candidate Don-  
ald Urquhart, speaking at the  
University of Natal, Pieter-  
maritzburg, recently, present-  
ed his suggestions on ways to

provide living space for South .

Africa's burgeoning popula-  
tion â\200\224 without jeopardising

food and fibre production. \*

BOB FREAN reports.  
[Shasasnies o Shaarize s S  
Land reforms such as â\200\234Return

the Land to the Tillerâ\200\235, in which  
the State acts as facilitator or ref-

.. eree, malintains private ownership  
- with an exchange of owners taking  
. place.

This approach is often favoured

as a means of r:Kldly addressingâ\200\231

the inequities of the past, increas-  
Ing employment, decreasing pover-  
ty and redistributing income,

Such examples have been in Tai-  
wan, Japan, Kenya and Chile and  
seem imminent in Zimbabwe.

- Some have been judged to be

â\200\230successful in that output has not

fallen and poverty among rural  
people has been reduced,

..But the golden rule in these suc-  
cess stories is that the land is high  
potential land suited to intensive  
agriculture in which small areas  
.can sustain a family, such as paddy  
fields in Taiwan and Japan, irriga-

\_tion plots in Iran and Chile and fer-  
\* tile lands in the Kenya highlands.

In contrast, in South Africa it is  
mostly barren highveld, Karoo and

" bushveld in which water is often  
- more important than land that is

being considered for redistribution.  
Small holdings in these areas could  
not sustain a family.

â\200\230Canegrowers

The Development Bank recently

estimated that about 4,5-million â\200\231 hectares would become available . for smallholders if endemically indebted white agriculture were sequestrated, Mr Urquhart said.

The underlying assumption is that smallholders, with fewer material demands than the current:

owners, will successfully operate that land.

Mr Urquhart however believes that smallholders would be unlikely to succeed without sustained and ongoing support relatively greater than the support the existing operations have had. Quite simply, there is not enough money, apart from selected specific programmes such as that of the small canegrowers.

Otherwise, extension of such efforts to large parts of South African agriculture would result in chaos.

One of the sadnesses of South African agriculture has been the lack of investment in human capital. Entrepreneurial skills and organisational ability, contrary to

Making sense of land redistribution

popular opinion, are essential for agricultural enterprise, Most South Africans are land hungry, but not to the extent that they want to earn their living from the soil or veld.

It is more a desire for security

. which transcends the divisions of the past and that sense is positive.

Security is the cornerstone round which a stable land system could be constructed. -

Security, or lack of it, is the key weakness in customary land tenure. The powers of dispossession vested in chiefs, lack of security

for mortgage financing, lack of land survey and registration, all

militate against the concept of security as implied in common law land tenure. Yet paradoxically to scrap customary law tenure would be to remove from the poorest people on the land their sense of security,

for they would be unable to

compete against capitalised interests intent on acquiring their land.

Recent property law innovations |,

have been concentrated on the upper end of the market in the form of sectional title and time-sharing. Perhaps with some creative legal thinking the security needs may be provided cost effectively

in the area where customary i

" law prevails, without foregoing the benefits of it.

Unemployable

Such a development would be useful in existing squatter settlements. \_

Mr Urquhart proposed a three-pronged approach to land problems, bearing in mind the lack of skills, racially-skewed land distribution and the nation's food and ..

fibres needs: -

Â® That enough land is acquired .

for urban settlement around the major metropolitan areas to make an impact on the urbanisation process and concomitant squatting

})roblem A fair price must be paid for expropriated land.

Â° At the same time there should

.be a similar rural one of small-holder settlement in selected areas . or around selected markets, where possible using existing State land - or community-owned land.Â° A method of retaining the skills of present farmers who are financially embattled. I believe there are elements within the 60 000 white farmers and their 1,3-million employees who could turn problems into opportunities.

About 10 percent of the farmers are endemically in debt and together with their employees face an uncertain future. They are unemployable outside agriculture, given the usual skills and age profile.

The sequestration of these farmers adds to the weakening of the general infrastructure and community life of the platteland.

In the sequestration process, invariably the creditors take a knock, Mr Urquhart said.

As private farmers, he said.

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howcvcr that the PACâ\200\231

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"i'\f\n.,

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C/\\â\200\231ZG-A@ LH % O\L

\_PAC has no plans to  
~ join Codesa. Vlce-Pres

: ' [' I-IEPanAi~\201JcamstConâ\200\224.

\_gress have no plans as of  
now to join the Codesa  
mlks on a new constitut-  
ion, ! ;the organisationâ\200\231s :  
v:cz:-pn:sxdcut Mr . Dik-  
gang Moscnckc Â«:axd yes-'

- terday.â\200\231.â\200\235 .

prondmg 10 reports :

that the PAC world con-

siderâ\200\231 participation when |

appropriate, he said the  
; oraamsauon WAS continu-  
ally evaluating lts poh~  
cies, not only on negotia-  
' tions but on 2 much wnder  
range..

.-the

â\200\230Moseoeke said .

pmmna various  
steps m relation to the  
Patriotic Froat, involving  
African . National  
' Congress and'others, and  
that an aouncement on  
this coald be. cxcpcctcd  
~oo:L :  
â\200\234He reiterated. howev-

er, that the PAC had at 3

no stage stated: it had  
plans to jom Codesa.  
The PAC had always

said it was not opposed to-

â\200\230negotiations. and this in-

ended - negotiations with  
the present government.

Zambian Foreign Minis-

Earlier, after meeting.

ter Vernon Mwaanga, Mr  
Moseneke said in reply to  
a question on possible  
Codesa participation that  
the PAC would consider  
this when it was appropri-  
ate :  
About Codesa and  
those .. decisions we - will  
make as and when appro-  
priate. We think Codesa  
can deliver genuine  
democracy to the - op-  
portunity for people

It takes more than the

excitement and fanfare  
that might go along with  
post-referendum

- Sapa. -

Staf.f Repozjter

and Sapa

vae pecÂ»ple were kiï¬\202ed and  
- four seriously injured in-

'\_ continning Reef violence -

. yesterday, according to the - murder 4

i Capmn Op; perman saxd nn-, : :  
dercover police officers had ae- -

, comparied a witness who Ã©rt-; o IR

(1 el

" latest. police nurest report.

Lk A Alexzindraâ\200\231 township near.  
S&ndton, police found the hody; /;

a man vÂ«'ith severe leru  
wounds.

At:the New Canada Statmn i

Soweto two men. were killed  
.. and another seriouslyâ\200\231 injured

| when a group threw them from

" a'moving train, and at Longdale

- Station in Joliannesburg, a man -  
- was killed when 2z group. at-"-

" tacked him a.ndthrewbxmfrum

o atram.

AL Meadowlands in Soweto,. :  
police found the body of a'blackâ\200\231  
.t woman with stab wonmnds, . -  
i Inanotherattackinthesame i

..+ area a black man sustained se-  
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woman were injored and sonxe  
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Eâ\200\230rgy their weapons, PÂ°ï¬\202ce conâ\200\224;  
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WITIHL THE referendum victory

goverhment lald out proposals for  
an interim administration thet fly  
in the face of an egreement  
reached with the African National  
Congtess (ANC) two weeks ago (0  
bring blacks swiltly into govero-  
ment during the first stages of 8  
(ransition to & new constitution.

Colsgissdeys, submission 10 b

South Africa (Codesa) is based on  
glansâ\200\230 outlined by the National  
arty lust ycar for a two-phase  
transition. The first phasc ine

l cludes new ideas for multi-racial  
inted by Codesa (9,

.oouncils appo  
oversce regional and local govern.  
ment, finance and - multi-racisl

| elections, The governmont suid it

would consider similar councils  
for the police and military, but  
that they would only have suthor-  
ity to recommend policy. Final de-  
cisions would atill rest with the  
present government until elec  
tions were held that would herald  
the gecond phase. This would in-

wer in the hands  
il it â\200\230draws up @

l considerable

Yntends the transitional adminis-  
tration to remain in place for ms  
â\200\230long'ss & decade.

The ANC said that while it wel-  
comed the proposal for an elected  
constitution-making body, it re-  
jected other uspects as objection-  
able, saying they left the govern-  
ment as referee and player during  
the ficast part of the transition und  
raised scrious questions about its  
intentions at the next full round of  
Codesa talks next month. The

under its belt, the South African

â\200\230clude @ maolti-person presidency

end 2 parliem&thut would put  
â\200\234some could beâ\200\231reprieved,  
mew constitution, The government -â\200\231

â\200\234ANC rejects de Klerkâ\200\231s  
recycled transition plans

for'running South Africa during  
the transition. : ;

From Chris McGreal  
in Johannesburg

ANC said it hoped the govern:  
ment would go back to the draw-  
ing board and that talks would  
produce a mote acceptlable in-  
terim administration.

Even though the councils go  
some way toward meeting U e :  
P X4 ] sambnal

el @y wlaaann o Ã© .

important ministries, the govern-;  
ment intends them to be consulta-  
tive, not supervisory. Under an  
agreement reached at Codesa two  
weeks ago, blacks were to be  
brought into & new â\200\234super Â¢abi-

. netâ\200\235 that would take responsibility

" Review of  
executions

JOHANNESBURG (Reuter) -~  
The South African government  
came under fire yesterday for an-  
nouncing plans (o hang 17 people

on death row, Within hours of the -  
protests the government hinted,  
.â\200\234lg\_"11)

resumptuous to say they are

tice Minlster, Koble Coetsee, â\200\234At  
this point the emphasis sholild"  
rather be on reprieve.â\200\235 -

liuntan rights lawyers vowed t0  
do everyihing possible to prevent  
the fiest executions after 8 two-  
year moratorium,

â\200\230In other devetopments, fighting  
eaged yesterday at impals mine,  
one of the world's richest plati-  
num mincs, and the death toll

from weekend violence rose to 13,

.. The proposals aimed the  
at the 202 election for W. u. at the 200-230m-  
at the 200-234 (ing to be executed, at the 200-235 said the Jus-'.

The government's latest pro-  
is reject that agreement be-  
cause of a dispute over how mem-  
bers of the 200-234 cabinet should  
be appointed. Instead, it is trying  
to rope the ANC and other parties  
into accepting responsibility for  
the conduct of government, with-  
out giving them direct control,

... 202h: 201?: 201i- 202i- 201A@ws' kn 200-230%nw&

amendments to the present con-

stitution in its pro| s such  
amendments would be required if  
the government intended to de-

volve some of its powers in the  
short term. e  
President F.W. de Klerk's pro-  
posals reiterated longer-term  
plans for a transitional govern-  
ment with two houses of parlia-  
ment: a national assembly elected  
by proportional representation  
and a senate of regional  
representatives with built-in 200-235 rep-  
resentation for minorities. The  
government intends the senate to  
have sufficient powers to block a  
veto legislation if at the 200-230 the national  
assembly, thereby  
powers of a Ruld

ettt  
e at the 200-224 at the 200-224 at the 200-224

presidency 10:364 the leaders  
of the three top five 200-230 strongest  
political parties. Decisions would be  
reached by consensus, with the  
chairmanship at the 200-230 of the presidency  
rotating every six months. -

It is clear 202 a non-starter, with  
the ANC fully expecting the gov-  
ernment to give way in return for  
concessions that would give  
greater powers to regional au-  
thorities. R i

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THE TIMES TUESDAY. MARCH 24 |Â«

Blacks accuse

de Klerk of  
reneging on  
cabinet vow

By GAVIN BELLIN JOHANNESBURG  
AND OUR FOREIGN STAFF

BLACK leaders in South Africa were furious last night after President de Klerk's government failed to offer them an immediate say in the government of the country, -

A first round of post-referendum negotiations ended in -

stalemate, with black leaders

rejecting an offer of a limited

advisory role in the first phase of an interim government, a 200\231

- The African National Congress and its allies described the plan as a system of a 200\234toy" a 200\230telephones a 200\235 ich left- :i- \201 : power in the hands of the ruling National party. Cyn

- Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, accused Pretoria of reneging on an agreement two weeks ago to form a multiracial cabinet pending a new constitution,

The National party proposed that a number of transitional councils be established by the negotiating parties, which would make recommendations on new legislation. The present cabinet and parliament, from which blacks are excluded, would remain in office until the election of a transitional government. A

- The ANC said the proposals were a 200\234objectionable in many fundamental respects a 200\235; It and its allies said the councils would have no powers to carry out decisions reached at the multiparty negotiating fo-

rum, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), and the present government could veto their recommendations, Government sources said yesterday the ANC had promised its full participation in the executive by insisting on joint control without joint responsibility. They said the . National party's latest pro-

posals represented a compromise, which would give all parties and race groups a say:

In the country elections for the legislature,

See L,

The ANC's bivouac for. |  
re-sharing envisaged an

interim government council drawn from all the parties participating in Codesa, to supervise the present cabinet and tricameral parliament. It would not assume full responsibility for government because of ANC fears it would be blamed for administering the remnants of apartheid while not having sufficient power to eradicate them. Another contentious issue is the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Throughout the recent white

referendum campaign, cabinet

net ministers insisted they would not enter into any agreement on interim government until the ANC finally renounced its armed struggle. Nelson Mandela,

. the ANC president, has reiterated.

crated that the wing would

not be disbanded until the |

South African Defence Force had been phased out,

{ damned persons, who were

-ienuating circumstances, and

i ' | \*Africa â\200\230voted for the peaceâ\204ç  
r & transitional

INAHINN

Serious controversy has  
arisen aver the justice minis-  
ly's announcement that 17  
death row prisoners are 10 be  
hanged, ending a two-year  
moratorium on executions.  
The ministry said the con-

not idÃ©ntified! had exhausted  
appeal procedures Instituted  
under judicial reforms in  
1990. Tâ\200\230\e reforms abolished  
the mandatory death sen-  
tence for murder without ex- |

gave condemned persons an  
automatic right of appeal.  
The ministry said the sen-  
tences of 19 prisoners had  
been commuted,

Peter Soal, a Democratic  
purty member of parliament,  
said he would urge Mr de  
Klerk to delay the executions  
until the issue had been re-  
solved at Codesa, during ne-  
gotiations on a bill of rights.  
â\200\234The government is jumping  
the gun after acting so admi-  
rably on the issue,â\200\235 he said.  
â\200\234It is up for discussion at |.  
Codesa. These people have  
been on death row for years,  
so what does a few more  
months matter?â\200\235 The ANC  
said the decision was unac-  
ceptable, in view of contin-  
uing Codesa negotiations on  
capital punishment. â\200\234To an-  
nounce, 5o soon after the ref-' |  
erendum where white South

process, that executions could  
take place is to fly in the face-  
of the spirit bf reconeiliation.â\200\235  
Ã© Leader quits: Piet Ru-

dolph, & leader of South Africa's neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement, announced his resignation because of the "undemocratic" leadership of Eugene Terre-Blanche. His decision follows the right wing's referendum

defeat. (AFP)

Buthelez

Miuze to- pmtect VIPs and government

" installations, â\200\230KwaZula . Chlef â\200\230Minister  
: -MangosuthuButiï\201elwaiï\202egedyesterday

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Johannesburg Journal

oy CHRISTOPHER S. WREN  
Special to The New York Times

"JOHANNESBURG, April 3 â\200\224 On a wall of Cyril Ramaphosaâ\200\231s corner office in the high-rise headquarters of the African National Congress hangs a political cartoon satirizing his more-radical economic pronouncements.

The cartoon, published in a Johan-nesburg newspaper, shows Mr. Ra-

maphosa shouting â\200\234Giddyap!â\200\235 at a'

draft horse, labeled South Africaâ\200\231s economy, that he has just shot dead.

Mr. Ramaphosa hung the cartoon

â\200\230| on his wall, he explained, because it

might teach him something. The puckish gesture is characteristic of Mr. Ramaphosa, who at 39 years old is secretary general of the African National Congress, the anti-apartheid organization that looks most likely to win the first elections open to all races in South Africa. â\200\230

The Point Man in Talks -  
While Nelson Mandela, 73, is presi-

dent of the African National Con- Â° gress, it is Mr. Ramaphosa who runs : the organization on a daily basis. In

that capacity he has become its point

man in the multiparty negotiations

under way on South Africaâ\200\231s future â\200\230and could assume another prominent role in an interim government that looks possible this year.

Mr. Ramaphosa, who is widely re-garded as Mr. Mandelaâ\200\231s heir appar-ent, made his reputation building the National Union of Mineworkers into

the countryâ\200\231s most powerful labor .

union. But his tough negotiating skills are softened by courteousness and his hard-line political views by pragma-tism.

â\200\234Do I take pride in being a pragma-tist?â\200\235â\200\231 Mr. Ramaphosa said after

brewing a cup of tea for a visitor.  
â\200\234That is just the way it is.

â\200\234I think it derives from an experi-

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ence of addressing problems and  
looking at the best workable option.  
Rather than take the long and diffi-  
cult route, take the shortest route to  
where you want to get and make the  
best of it.â\200\235

Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa (pro-  
nounced rah-mah-PO-sah) is a native  
son of Soweto, South Africaâ\200\231s largest  
black township. He studied at the  
University of the North, a black insti-  
tution in the northern Transvaal, and  
earned a law degree at the University  
of South Africa. As a student, Mr.  
Ramaphosa embraced the philosophy  
of black consciousness, and his politi-  
cal activities landed him twice in  
detention for a total of 17 months.

#### A Negotiator Is Forged

When the National Union of  
Mineworkers was founded in 1982,  
Mr. Ramaphosa became its first gen-  
eral secretary. He traveled the coun-  
try recruiting black miners into the  
union, which now claims more than  
273,000 members.

I went through the furnace of ne-  
gotiations with mine employers and  
that can teach you a thing or two,â\200\235  
Mr. Ramaphosa said.

In August 1987, Mr. Ramaphosa  
called the largest strike to hit the  
South African mining industry. The

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strike foundered after three weeks  
and the union emerged bloodied, but  
unbroken. Mr. Ramaphosa has car-  
ried the lessons that he learned into  
the congressâ\200\231s current negotiations  
with the Government.

â\200\234There comes a point when your  
negotiating partners knqw.lhat whilst  
you are prepared and willing to com-  
promise on some issues, there comes  
a time when you reach your bottom

line and you cannot move any further,â\200\235 Mr. Ramaphosa said. â\200\230â\200\230And once they recognize that, they know that either they have to move or there is no settlement.â\200\235 )

The dehumanization of black South Africans under apartheid left him critical of what he called â\200\234its foundations of monopoly capitalism.â\200\235 But the depth of the commitment to Marxism that he has sometimes professed is unclear.

When he became secretary general of the congress last July, Mr. Ramaphosa ordered its officials not to disclose whether they belonged to the South African Communist Party, contending that he wanted to stop a witch hunt by reporters. He later said he was not a Communist Party member.

Mr. Ramaphosa unsettled potential

foreign investors more recently when

â\200\230Tim Zielenbach for Th

Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary gen-

- eral of the African National Con-

gress, is widely regarded as Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s heir apparent.

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NOANE

Polite and Soft-Spoken,  
He Forges a Revolution

TaNCs

â\200\234Every day we do everything to transform the A.N.C. into an efficiently run machine,â\200\235 the secretary general said. â\200\230â\200\234After years of banning, it has been difficult to acclimatize but it is getting there.â\200\235 i

But Mr. Ramaphosa argued that the African National Congress could govern better than the National Party, which has looked after white inter-

Mandelaâ\200\231s heir apparent is no stranger to struggle.

ests for nearly 44 years in power.

â\200\234They have been driven by racial and ideological considerations in virtually everything they have done in terms of running this country,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234They were inherently undemocratic, and you cannot have progress, you cannot have full prosperity in an undemocratic dispensation.â\200\235

The African National Congress has experienced difficulty recruiting beyond its traditional black base. Mr.â\200\231 Ramaphosa said the congress had plans to attract more whites. i

One of the biggest challenges, he: said, was â\200\230addressing the fears ofâ\200\231 those who have benefited so long under apartheidâ\200\235 and assuring whites that â\200\234â\200\234we donâ\200\231t need to expropriate their houses and their property.â\200\235 )

In contrast to Mr. Mandela, Walter - Sisulu and other patriarchs of resistance who were isolated for years in prison or exile, Mr. Ramaphosa represents a younger generation of militants who emerged from the anti- - apartheid movement inside South Africa. He said they worked well together, despite the difference in ages and backgrounds.

â\200\234â\200\234The mix between us and the older generation has been a wonderful blend of the mature, the experienced , and the seasoned, and the younger - generation, which is still maturing,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234â\200\230We are virtually learning at the feet of masters and just absorbing the enormous wisdom.

â\200\234I hope we will be as good as they are, although one has to recognize that they are legends. Following their act is' not an easy one.â\200\235

he suggested that a black majority government might not feel morally bound to honor the terms of international loans to the current white minority Government. He has also defended the African National Congressâ\200\231s call, first made in 1955, to nationalize mines and banks, though he says this is but one recourse.

As secretary general, Mr. Ramaphosa has imposed discipline on the African National Congress, which became notorious for procrastination

and disorder after President F. W. de Klerk legalized it 26 months ago. Under his leadership, news conferences tend to start on time and phone calls are returned.

ST â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224



Toronto Sun, March 24th. 1992

BUCKLEY

Little comfort in that

NEW YORK

that such action could cripple

the

is

South Africa is enjoying what may

prove to be the equivalent of the  
American

the economy. That is one hell of a sentence. It says

Africa is about 18%, this would estimate  
that the only protection the

the

g he was president for life.

have would be to seek out a

the

Hussein.

His near-70% triumph over the diehards  
was on the order of a landslide victory.  
But sometimes it pays to focus not on the  
popularity of the winner but on the deter-  
mination of the dissidents.

The whole world favored a vote for de  
Klerk, and much that matters in South  
Africa hung in the balance.

The business

Mugabe has authorized the confiscation of

farmlands owned by Zimbabwean

white farmers for generations, a measure

which they will have no appeal. De Klerk points out

that there are significant differences between Zimbabwe and South Africa. De Klerk has said he is absolutely determined to protect minority rights in the new constitution. He has designed a system

which was galvanized as seldom before, advertising the dangers of a system: regional political authorities renewed international boycott. The news against which the national government papers became electoral handbills in

could not, theoretically, prevail. In favor of the government. So that another

National Congress, whose spokesman,

described congeries of enclaves whence they could send their representatives to ensure their interests. But

in

is not easy to do in South Africa. In most places where there is a large white population, it is not possible because the residential segregation imposed by apartheid was never distant from the white centres of population, because whites depend

As for minority rights, we see what these are reduced: overmen will appropriate white land at little or no

cost, with no appeal.

compensation,

De Klerk did promise the voters in South Africa that if parliamentary arrangements insufficient to guarantee white minority rights did not evolve from constitutional negotiations, he would seek

another referendum. It is unlikely any  
heavily on blacks for everything from . such referendum could reverse the  
house servants to manufacturing jobs.  
But even if electoral districts could be

momentum now established.  
The hope of the white farmer whose

drawn that would guarantee white repre- \_principal interest has been to hold on to  
sentatives, of what use would 18% of the

vote be in a black-ruled assembly?  
What matters, the theorist i- say, is

land aquired by eat-ggat-grandgar-  
ents an to by successive genera-

tions is the tribal parity, or near-parity,

There is, on the other hand, the African s, th â\200\230  
way of looking at what happened is: In the extent of minority guarantees. In Rho- â\200\234  
between the supporters in South Africa of

. desia, when power went to blacks, a s; Mandela and those of Chief Buthelezi.  
cific number o'f seats were gui- to \_Here is the opening for whites to engage in  
white representatives for a number of balance-of-powership.

years. An)a all three of the insurgent black he great plebiscite of March 1992 is a  
groups spoke loquaciously about their \_moral milestone. But that which is

commitment to democratic rule and morally satisfying is not always politically  
guaranteed minor ; of that blessed. -~ :  
il Mugabe fired his prin-- = Atlan Fothering

spite of it all, de Klerk got only 70%. â\200\234Nelson Mandela, insists he will settle for

One day after the historic vote, a relati- mag'si- riglifts, period. The concessions  
vely unobtrusive news item from Zim- about are guaranteed representa-  
tion by the whites in the unicameral legis-

\_babwe illuminates the picture. â\200\234Parlia-  
\_ment approved a bill today,â\200\235 AP, lature, which representation will however  
be subject to â\200\234â\200\230sunset lawsâ\200\235: i.e., reduced

â\200\234to empower the government to seize  
by a fixed amount every year.  
Given that the â\200\230white population in South

â\200\230white-owned farmland with li -  
\_fation and no right of .appeal,- despite -

is on .