

AP/1992-4-3-24

The Star 24/3/92

PAC wants end to 'big four' media monopolies

Independent media trusts, subsidies for the alternative press and the creation of an independent broadcasting authority are among the proposals to be presented to the third national congress of the Pan Africanist Congress in Transkei next month.

Drafted by PAC secretary for publicity and information Barney Desai, the proposals mark the organisation's entry to the media policy debate and, if adopted, would form the PAC's media policy.

The PAC believes that freedom of the press and electronic

media should be enshrined in a Bill of Rights.

Mr Desai, a former journalist and advocate, said the dominance of the print media by four major press groups "is the very antithesis of freedom of expression".

Press monopolies should be broken up and the ownership of newspapers by one company limited. In their place, independent trusts should be created to "ensure the influence of the people in the co-ownership of these enterprises".

A press council would maintain standards.

To ensure the survival of alternative newspapers, Mr Desai proposed State subsidies based on circulation.

The PAC further advocated an independent public service broadcaster financed primarily from licence revenue.

The monopoly of M-Net by the "big four" press groups was "undesirable". Ownership of commercial TV by newspapers should be restricted to a minority shareholding. Public shareholding should be permitted.

About 12 million blacks listened to vernacular radio, and the PAC would "encourage the use of the electronic media to educate and mobilise our people to play an active role in the creation of a just society free of racism and oppression".

To make the electronic media accessible to all, the electrification of townships and rural areas was a priority. — Sapar

The Star 24/3/92

Row over transition plan

Political Staff

The Government has angrily rejected claims that its latest proposals for transitional rule renege on an earlier Codesa agreement.

Government negotiator and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis told *The Star* today the ANC/SACP alliance was interpreting the proposals incorrectly.

ANC spokesmen yesterday alleged the Government was reverting to hard-line negotiating positions in the wake of last week's referendum result.

But Mr du Plessis said:

Codesa pact not broken, Govt insists

"We believe our proposals are in line with the agreement and not in violation of it."

At Codesa's last meeting this month before it went into recess for the reform referendum, the working group dealing with transitional arrangements agreed in principle on transitional arrangements.

It was decided that a "transitional executive structure" was to be agreed on and appointed by Codesa.

Now the ANC and SACP

say the Government is reinterpreting that agreement to mean that extra-parliamentary groups should have advisory — not supervisory — powers during the transition.

The ANC said: "We are alarmed that the NP/Government proposals ignore altogether the agreement reached in the working group a fortnight ago — that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements is the creation of a transitional executive structure which will be ap-

pointed according to procedures agreed by Codesa."

The SACP said the NP's proposed transitional councils were "lame ducks", and an attempt to reinstate "classical apartheid toy telephones".

But the Government insists the duties of these councils are still to be negotiated and will be contained in a draft Bill to be drawn up before the end of April.

The Government's new proposals, unveiled yester-

day at Codesa, envisage transitional councils which would make recommendations on key areas of government during the run-up to an elected, power-sharing transitional government.

The councils formed part of a tough package of transitional arrangements.

The proposals deny immediate power-sharing for the ANC and also demand the effective disbanding of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), before an inter-

im government.

And the Government has also proposed that members of the present tricameral Parliament and homeland legislatures could form a senate with effective veto powers in a transitional government.

The transitional councils would be appointed by the State President and approved by Codesa and would help prepare the way for a transitional government.

They would advise the present Government on how to conduct free and fair elections for the transitional government, on the boundaries of new states in a fed-

• To Page 3 •

The Star 24/3/92 Row over transition plan

● From Page 1

eral system, on new boundaries for local government, on government financing in a new dispensation, and possibly on the police, defence force and other areas.

Together, the transitional councils would form a joint transitional council which could adopt resolutions which would have "persuasive power".

The proposed transitional councils resemble ANC proposals for some form of interim government executive — except that they would be advisory.

The ANC proposed an all-party interim government executive appointed by Codesa, with supreme power, especially in key areas such as the supervision of elections and the security forces.

At a briefing yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the proposed councils would be "advisory to the present Government".

Yesterday's proposals stressed that the Government would not agree on a transitional government until political

violence had been resolved and the ANC had curbed MK.

The proposals also included the broad outlines of the Government's plans for transitional government.

The proposed transitional constitution would contain the following elements:

- Two Houses of Parliament, a national assembly and senate.
- The national assembly to be elected by proportional representation.
- If enough progress had been made in negotiations on a system of regional government, the senate would consist of regional representatives.
- If not, the senate could initially consist of members of existing legislative bodies — including the tricameral Parliament and homeland legislatures.
- Both Houses would have to approve legislation.
- The head of state would be a presidency formed by the leaders of the three to five strongest parties.
- The presidency would take decisions by consensus and its chairmanship would rotate every six months.

The Star 24/3/92

ANC, SACP turn down Govt proposals

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government's proposals for transitional arrangements have been rejected by the ANC and the SACP.

"We are alarmed that the NP/Government proposals ignore altogether the agreement reached in the working group a fortnight ago that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements is 'the creation of a transitional executive structure' which will be appointed according to procedures agreed upon by Codesa," the ANC said.

Welcoming the Government's acceptance of the principle of an elected constitution-making body, the ANC said the proposals were "objectionable in many fundamental aspects".

The SACP said the proposals were met with a "resounding rejection by virtually all delegations".

"Progress in this crucial working group has been delayed until now by the unwillingness of the SA Government and NP

delegations to table any substantive proposals on transitional arrangements."

"Unfortunately... the message that Codesa is sending to the SA Government and NP is that they must go back to the drawing board once more," said the SACP.

The ANC said the proposed Transitional Councils were unacceptable because their functions had nothing or very little to do with the basic objectives of the first phase of transition — levelling the political playing field to ensure free and fair elections.

The Government would be able to veto recommendations by the councils, control and run all aspects of the executive function, including security and State-run media, and formulate and implement legislation on all matters, the ANC said.

"It is particularly outrageous that in making their proposals, the NP/Government has elected to retreat to the old and discredited approach of consultative and advisory 'toy telephone'."

The Star 24/3/92

Role of private armies 'on way to resolution'

By Esther Wangh
Political Reporter

A transitional government could be implemented only once the existence of private armies had been resolved, says Defence Minister Roelf Meyer.

This did not imply Codesa 2 would be delayed because of the Government's insistence that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, be disbanded before the Government entered into any agreements on transitional arrangements.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told The Star there was no reason why this issue should delay Codesa 2, scheduled to take place before the end of next month.

At a press conference, Mr Ramaphosa said bilateral negotiations between the ANC and Government on the matter were proceeding well.

He rejected suggestions that Umkhonto we Sizwe be disbanded before agreements could be entered into at Codesa, saying the two issues were not linked.

ANC and Government sources were optimistic that the issue could be resolved.

The SADF would maintain stability during the interim phase and the implementation of a new constitution.

The Star 24/3/92

Black rivals engaging in a classical arms race – survey

Political Staff

A classical arms race has developed between rival political organisations seeking to ensure their members are well armed in the ongoing violence in South Africa, says the 1991/92 Race Relations Survey released yesterday.

Quoting the SAP, the SA Institute of Race Relations report said more than 1 230 AK-47 assault rifles were seized last year. It added, however, that the figure had been described as

a "drop in the ocean" by a private security firm.

In its study of 1 236 violent incidents countrywide between January 1 1991 and August 31 1991, the institute concluded that the aggressor could not be identified in 85 percent of cases.

This contrasts sharply with findings by the Community Agency for Social Research that the Inkatha Freedom Party was responsible for 51 percent of the violence over a 12-month period from mid-1990 to mid-1991.

It also contradicts a police report on Reef violence saying the ANC was responsible for the

majority of incidents.

The institute said its findings indicated that firearms were used in 30 percent of incidents, explosives and incendiary devices in 25 percent, instruments capable of inflicting hack and stab wounds in 18 percent, and stones in 15 percent.

The survey found that common assault and burnings of people accounted for eight percent of cases. It was not clear what types of weapons had been used in the other six percent of violent incidents.

The report quoted the SAP saying black policemen were 30 times more likely to commit

suicide than black civilians because they were subjected to extraordinary stress by organisations that fanned flames of hatred against the police.

Six members of the SADF had died in attacks in the townships during the period. In Soweto alone, seven traffic officers had been shot dead in political violence.

The survey quotes the Government as saying a third of the police force and more than 60 000 defence force personnel had been deployed to stop violence between rival groups of black people.

The Star 24/3/92

We're evaluating Codesa - PAC

Political Staff

As pressure mounts on the Pan Africanist Congress to become involved in Codesa, the organisation's vice-president Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday it would consider joining the negotiations forum "when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people".

Sapa reports that Mr Moseneke, speaking in Johannesburg after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga, said: "We are very, very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and Frontline states and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country."

African countries have been reported as exerting pressure on the PAC to join Codesa.

The PAC's stance on negotiations is expected to top the agenda at the organisation's annual congress at the University of Transkei in Umtata early next month.

● The PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo)

yesterday dismissed as incorrect a weekend report from Zimbabwe's national news agency Ziara that the PAC planned to form a Patriotic Front (PF) with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Ziara reported that the PAC's foreign affairs representative in Harare, Raymond Fihla, said the new alliance would replace the Patriotic Front formed between a range of organisations — including the PAC and the ANC — last year.

PAC publicity spokesman Barney Desai said the PF with the ANC and other organisations still existed.

Both the PAC and Azapo refused to respond to ANC leader Nelson Mandela's weekend invitation to them to join the ANC in a "united front" at Codesa. Mr Mandela was speaking at a public meeting in Paarl.

Mr Desai said the PAC would wait for "formal contact" from the ANC leader in this regard.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she doubted whether such a letter would be forthcoming.

"Mr Mandela was only making a political statement showing the way forward and that we need all resources to get there," she said.

The Star 24/3/92

Refer retrenchment of teachers to Codesa - unions

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The fate of about 4 000 teachers facing retrenchment will be determined by next week when schools will have decided whether to adopt the Model C system or retain the status quo.

But two teachers' unions have called on the Minister of Education and Culture in the House

of Assembly, Piet Marais, to repeal his announcement last month that 4 000 white teachers would lose their posts on August 1 as part of Government cuts in education, and said he should refer the matter to Codesa.

"One does not make ad hoc changes to a system when the system itself is bound to change," Hugo Ackermann, ex-

ecutive director of the Transvaal Teachers Association (TTA), said yesterday.

The SA Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu) said the announcement represented a major form of restructuring of education at a time when constitutional negotiations were in progress.

"The Codesa parties have

agreed to halt all forms of restructuring until a new constitution is in place ... We want a moratorium on decisions like this," Hemant Waghmarae of Sadtu said.

He invited all teachers to attend a meeting on Thursday at the Spaceframe Theatre, Johannesburg College of Education.

The Star 24/3/92

Sowetans flee after fierce attack

By Montshiwa Moroke

At least one woman was shot dead and another left paralysed after residents of Mzimhlophe, Soweto, were allegedly attacked by heavily armed inmates from the nearby men's hostel on Sunday night.

One family was left homeless after their home was petrol-bombed in the attack and several families in Ndabezitha Street, near the hostel, packed up and moved out yesterday.

The dead woman was Buyiswa Nqanqase (24), a mother of two young children.

A neighbour said Ms Nqanqase was shot while sitting in her shack with her four-year-old son and 15-month-old daughter at about 8 pm on Sunday. A bullet pierced the zinc wall and hit her chest.

Mdungayi Chauke (46) was shot in the foot in the same yard.

Friends were yesterday trying to trace Ms Nqanqase's relatives.

The paralysed woman is Tshidi Mirriam Mosia (29) of Mabasothe Street. She was shot at about 8 am while returning home after she had sought safety elsewhere for the night. She is in Baragwanath Hospital.

The area was tense yesterday as police patrolled the streets. Many residents had not gone to work and pupils said they had not gone to school for a week.

Residents said hostilities had begun a week ago and had increased until the attack on Sunday night.

The Star 24/3/92

Rifle find led to arrests'

The discovery of an AK-47 rifle at an Alexandra hostel was a breakthrough in the police investigation into the fatal shooting of 13 people at a vigil in the township on March 27 last year, the Rand Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Constable Peter Bothma was testifying before Mr Justice H Daniels in a trial-within-a-trial to determine the admissibility of a statement made by one of the accused, Christopher Mdatha.

Constable Bothma said the arrests followed the weapon find.

Mr Mdatha's defence counsel told the court he had no knowledge of the AK-47 rifle and would argue that the firearm may have been brought into the hostel by police or another inmate.

The five accused are members and supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party. They face 13 charges of murder and 17 charges of attempted murder as well as one count of housebreaking.

The State has alleged that at the funeral vigil of Jane Ramokgole on March 27 last year, the five men sprayed the mourners with a volley of bullets from an automatic rifle, leaving 13 dead and scores injured.

The accused are Gibson Mbatho (28), Derick Majozi (21), Mr Mdatha (30), Petrus Buthelezi (31) and John Zakwe (56), all of Alexandra.

The hearing continues.
— Sapa.

Kobie on hangings

FROM PAGE 1

The Minister said the government was actively urging that the issue be on the agenda of Bill of Rights discussions.

"We are prepared within weeks to discuss this."

Asked if those facing the noose might not already be dead within weeks, the Minister said: "They haven't been served with notice (of their execution) yet, have they."

The announcement that 17 condemned criminals would be executed was arrogant and threatened the negotiation process, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

This announcement and the government's transitional arrangement proposals submitted to Codesa yesterday had evoked shock and dismay among many parties to the negotiations, Mr Ramaphosa said at a Press conference at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg.

"After the referendum, which many South Africans believed put new spirit into the negotiation process, we believe it is arrogant of the government. Both threaten the negotiation process."

When White voters went to the polls on March 17, they had voted for peace.

"If the Government goes ahead with these executions, it is saying the vote had no meaning and that they are simply falling back into the same pattern as the past."

after the issue was discussed in the working group.

"There was overwhelming support, but no consensus."

He said even parties who supported capital punishment were in favour of suspending executions until there was a new dispensation.

The government — which is represented on the working group by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee — the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party refused to endorse the appeal.

Another delegate said the government had wanted to delay discussing the issue until next week.

The South African Legal Defence Fund yesterday condemned the proposed resumption of executions.

Saldef said it was regrettable that a resumption of executions should be announced in the week following the referendum as people of all races assumed that State President De Klerk's government now has a mandate for real change.

"Executions are a grisly form of vengeance by society," Saldef said.

Research had shown that executions had little or no effect in deterring violence and Saldef believed a State which used the death penalty actively helped a climate of violence to flourish in the country.

Saldef called on the government to rescind its decision.

The government's decision has outraged human rights groups, who warned executions would be "a terrible step backwards".

Mr Kobie Coetsee, indicating a possible reversal of the decision to execute 17 criminals, said:

"This matter is under discussion. All I can say is that the government will announce further reprieves very soon."

But Mr Coetsee would not indicate whether the reprieves would apply to the 17 or to others among the 310 people on Death Row.

Mr Coetsee's spokesman said on Sunday that a decision to resume executions had been taken and 17 people would be hanged once they had been officially notified.

He did not name them but said they were criminals for whom all appeals, including clemency pleas to President FW de Klerk, had failed.

Mr Arthur Chaskalson, director of the anti-apartheid Legal Resources Centre, said: "It is a terrible step backwards at a time when the whole question of legal reform is under debate."

Mr Kader Ismail, an ANC constitutional negotiator, said: "The planned hangings will raise the temperature (of the talks) because most of the people who will be hanged are Black".

Mr Jan van Eck of the Democratic Party said: "Any execution would set back the reform process by at least two years."

ANC executive Mr Thabo Mbeki said if the executions were not halted they would enlist the support of all at Codesa to ensure that they did not go ahead.

If this did not succeed the ANC would have to reassess its position at Codesa.

Codesa delegates yesterday appealed to the government to suspend all executions in the transitional period.

The appeal came from 16 of 19 delegates to Codesa's working group on dealing with free political activity.

"In order to enhance a climate conducive to negotiations, delegates appealed to the government to suspend all executions in the transitional period," a delegate said.

The Citizen

24/3/92

Imbali tense after political slayings

PIETERMARITZBURG. — The situation in Pietermaritzburg's Imbali township was tense yesterday after an Inkatha youth leader and three other IFP members were shot dead in separate incidents at the weekend.

Residents said they feared an escalation of violence, certain to threaten a shaky truce between the IFP and the ANC in the township.

Imbali IFP Youth Brigade chairman Nhlayenza Ngcobo was shot dead at about 10 pm on Friday night. Siphwe Mbongwa was wounded in the same attack.

At about 6 pm on Saturday, Bomba Lu-

thuli was gunned down outside a supermarket and an unidentified IFP supporter wounded.

Mr Enock Mncwabe (36), was shot dead on Sunday and Mr Ernest Mkhize died in hospital after being shot.

Three people were arrested in connection with Sunday's killing.

On Monday, a 12-year-old girl, Ncamisile Dlamini and Dumnisani Shangase, were shot and wounded at a bus stop in Sinkwazi Road at about 6 am.

The slayings have again led to accusations from Inkatha and the ANC.

At least seven people were killed in political violence in Natal at the

weekend, police reported yesterday.

Violence continued to plague the Empangeni region with Durban police reporting one death on Sunday at the Sigisi Reserve after a man was attacked by gunmen. Three people were injured in the attack.

The SA Police's unrest report yesterday claimed the three injured men were killed but this was incorrect, said Durban police spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo.

At Plessislaer, also near Pietermaritzburg, one man was killed and another wounded after they were shot, police said. Sapa.

①

The Citizen 24-3-92

ANC NO TO GOVT TRANSITION PLAN

By Brian Stuart
and Sapa
MINISTER of Constitutional Development,
Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said
yesterday that detailed
government proposals
for an interim constitution would be presented to Codesa by the end of next month. However, the ANC rejected the government's plan for transitional

councils presented at Codesa yesterday.

Dr Viljoen warned that a transitional constitution would not be introduced until Umkhonto we Sizwe had been disbanded, the ANC arms caches were disclosed, and there was an end to political violence.

The ANC and the South African Communist Party said the govern-

ment's proposals ignored an agreement reached earlier this month that a transitional executive structure would initially be appointed by Codesa.

The government had proposed transitional councils that would act as advisory bodies to the present government but would have no power.

"This is the worst case

TO PAGE 2

*

①
The Citizen 24-3-92

Govt backs executions, but ...

Kobie urges talks on hanging

THE government last night firmly reiterated its support for the death penalty but said it was actively urging discussion on the issue.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee confirmed that 17 condemned prisoners, earmarked for execution by Justice Department officials over the weekend, had not yet been served with notice of their execution.

The government faced vehement opposition on the issue from other organisations at Codesa yesterday, but Mr Coetsee said South Africa had a high level of serious crime.

The death sentence should be seen against this background.

"Nobody is going to be executed for his political beliefs," he emphasised.

The Minister denied there had been any consensus in Working Group One (free political participation) that a moratorium on the death sentence should be reimposed.

"As far as I know there was no consensus. This is the official position."

Asked why the government could not reimpose

the moratorium, Mr Coetsee said the present law affecting the death penalty would have to be changed for this to happen.

Since the moratorium expired, the statute affecting execution had been amended in three ways, substantially reducing the number of executions, he said.

Prisoners facing the death sentence were granted automatic leave to appeal their cases were reviewed by a

specially appointed committee; and they were granted automatic leave to petition the State President.

"We have reduced the number of our executions substantially."

The US, for example, has increased theirs.

"The death penalty should not be lightly discarded."

"This issue is to do with the penalty for heinous crimes."

TO PAGE 2

The Citizen 24-3-92

ANC, Cosatu call stayaway

NELSPRUIT. — The ANC and Cosatu in the Eastern Transvaal have called for a stayaway tomorrow to coincide with the funeral of Andries Sithole, who was killed in a bomb attack on the house of Hoërskool Nelspruit headmaster Mr Con Booyens.

Mr Sithole, of Pienaar Trust, worked as a gardener for Mr Booyens.

He died in the attack on March 16.

African National Congress spokesman Mr Jackson Mthembu said the work stayaway was the first protest action against violence, terrorism and racism in the Eastern Transvaal.

"The ANC strongly condemns the emergent bomb attacks on citizens

homes and public institutions."

Mr Mthembu said the ANC was convinced that the bomb attack on Mr Booyens' house was the work of "Right-wing terrorists".

"The ANC in the Eastern Transvaal calls on the Right-wing to stop their terrorist actions and join negotiations for a peace-

ful South Africa," he concluded.

• Police have offered a reward of R20 000 for information which could lead to the arrest and conviction of people responsible for the bomb attacks on Mr Booyen's house, and that of rector of the Lowveld Agricultural College, Mr Fourie Krizinger. — Sapa.

Peace fails in the killing fields of Natal

NATAL boasts of being the first province to have established a Regional Dispute Resolution Committees as set down by the National Peace Accord and political, church and community leaders 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 homeless.

Natal newspapers document the tragedy of what is beginning to look like a hopeless situation with headlines reading "Four die in violent Midlands incidents", "Truce shattered", "Six family members slain", "Surge of weekend fighting kill 22" and "Violence is a way of life".

Statistics show that, compared with the rest of the Republic, Natal suffers the highest number of casualties as a result of political violence.

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 Natal/KwaZulu Dispute Resolution Committee, Mr MC Pretorius, has said Sabelo's killing was a "blatant vio-

Sowetan Correspondent

lation of the letter and the spirit of the National Peace Accord". Pretorius warned that it could spark renewed fighting.

This proved true for in the weekend following Sabelo's death - several people, including high-ranking Natal Midlands negotiator, Mr Skumbuzo Ngwenya, were killed. Ngwenya's 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 country's first Regional

led by Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley and businessman MC Pretorius, focused on several conflict areas in an attempt to initiate and implement local peace measures:

In Umlazi the LDRC was officially launched on January 7 with an independent facilitator. However, Umlazi became the most violent of the townships surrounding Durban with regular battles between residents of the Umlazi Unit 17 hostels - thought to be an Inkatha stronghold - and resident of the shack settlements of Zamani and Ekuthuleni.

In February, more than 600 destitute refugees fled from renewed fighting in the township and armed

dents by Inkatha supporting hostel dwellers in December.

This prompted the establishment of a 16-member interim peace committee which included Natal's Deputy Attorney-General Mr Leslie Roberts. Justice Goldstone said the carrying of weapons by the Inkatha supporting hostel dwellers was proving to be a deterrent 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 continue with the peace process while its members were

However Empangeni's surrounding townships have been racked by violence since the beginning of the year. In February the ANC claimed that IFP members being bused to a meeting in the Esikhaweni township started attacking ANC supporting hostel dwellers. At least eight people were killed and 20 seriously injured in gun battles between the two sides.

The IFP refuted this, claiming that the IFP members retaliated when they were attacked by the hostel dwellers. Since then there has been visible tension in the township. Several residents have moved out and there has been an increased security force presence.

In Stanger a local dispute resolution committee was launched after three successful meetings since the beginning of the year.

In the Ozwathini/Maphumulo area initial meetings have taken place but no structure has been launched.

In Port Shepstone - another scene of killings and revenge attacks last year - a facilitator from the business community has been found to chair the process and there are hopes that an LDRC will be launched soon.

At Bulwer the regional structure is trying to set up meetings between the ANC and the local indunas and chiefs.

At Wembezi near Estcourt and at Umbumbulu tentative approaches to local activists have been made. However, both areas have seen repeated attacks on supporters of both the ANC and the IFP.

In February six ANC members were shot dead by

Statistics show that, compared with the rest of the Republic, Natal suffers the highest number of casualties as a result of political violence.

Dispute Resolution Committee.

The repeated killings in the province prompted a war of words between Inkatha and the ANC.

The ANC in particular said 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 the process.

While the squabbling between the two organisations continued, the RDRC,

gangs staged lightning raids on Ekuthuleni. More than eight people were killed and 120 shacks destroyed in attacks and counter-attacks in the first week of February. This month at least nine people are known to have died in the township.

In Bruntville there has been an agreement by all parties in the peace process. In January the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation investigated an alleged attack on Bruntville township resi-

being killed. In February three were killed in a failed assassination attempt on a senior Inkatha official, Mr Abdul Awetha, in Imbali and fighting flared up in Upper Edendale and Phateni near Richmond.

At Empangeni moves were under way to build on the Lower Umfolozi Peace Accord - one of the earliest and most successful peace initiatives. One of the main aims of a peace committee in this Natal North Coast township was to bring local chiefs firmly into the process.



A policeman confiscates a spear during a raid on a hostel.

assailants who were travelling in two white kombis at Polweni near Umbumbulu. At the end of February, five ANC supporters were killed and three injured in violence that broke out after the launch of an ANC branch in the township.

One of the most successful peace initiatives in Natal, offering a ray of hope to the rest of the province, has been in Mpumalanga - not long ago dubbed as one of the killing fields of Natal. In February

members and supporters of 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 Mpumalanga, several deaths have been recorded in the area since the beginning of the year.

Despite the six-month old National Peace Accord, there appears to be no end in sight to the killing in Natal.

The Citizen 24-3-92

Meyer is confident of breaking MK deadlock

DEFENCE Minister Roelf Meyer was yesterday confident the apparent deadlock over the disbanding of the African National Congress' military wing could be resolved.

Speaking at Codesa, Mr Meyer said the issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe's continued existence was being discussed bilaterally between the government and the ANC.

General discussion on private armies was on the agenda of Working Group One dealing with free political partici-

pation, but the MK issue would continue on a bilateral basis before it came to Codesa.

The Defence Minister told Sapa he had never referred to Codesa Two being suspended if MK was not disbanded, but had emphasised the government's principles in the matter.

"The matter has to be solved bilaterally — and these talks are continuing."

"I think the issue can be resolved."

Throughout the recent referendum, Cabinet Ministers said they would not enter any agreement on interim government until MK was disbanded — and Mr Meyer was quoted at the weekend as saying Codesa Two would not go ahead if this did not happen.

ANC secretary-general 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 yesterday.

He was adamant, however, that the ANC had rejected the government demand that MK would have to be disbanded before an interim government was instituted.

"The two issues are not linked," he said. — Sapa.

The Citizen 24-3-67

CP call for a volunteer military

CAPE TOWN. — The time had come for military service to become voluntary and the White "liberal element" that voted Yes in last week's referendum should volunteer to make up shortages in military personnel strength, the Conservative Party spokesman on defence, Dr Piet Gouws, said in a statement yesterday.

Talk of extending the period of military service followed last week's referendum result.

"It is now compulsory for Whites to serve longer

periods of military service to keep warring Blacks apart while the rest of the population gets off scot free."

Conservative Whites were no longer prepared to do compulsory military service for a future Black government and it was now time for military service to become voluntary, Dr Gouws said.

• Using unemployed Black and White people for voluntary defence duty had not been sufficiently investigated, the Democratic Party's chief spokesman on defence, General Bob Rogers, said yesterday.

He was reacting to a re-

port quoting the Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, in which he said citizen force call-up for example might be extended to 60 days.

Gen Rogers said while fully realising the urgent necessity to stop the violence in South Africa, the DP felt Mr Meyer's announcement was a "retrograde step".

"In the present unsatisfactory economic climate, many smaller businesses, which have reduced personnel to a minimum, will find it very difficult to release personnel who are called up for 60 days. Once the expected upturn starts, it will be even more difficult." — Sapa.

ANC no to govt transition plan

FROM PAGE 1

scenario for interim government. The critical element is that we can't continue with the old government, acting as an interim government," ANC executive, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said at a Press conference at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg.

Transitional structures should act as government and should not be advisory bodies.

"We hope the government will go back to the drawing board and redraft these proposals as they have been overwhelmingly rejected by most parties at Codesa," Mr Mbeki said at a Press conference at the World Trade Centre.

"The proposals are on the table for negotiation and we expect that out of negotiations will emerge a more acceptable government."

The Labour Party said the proposals offered no improvement on the status quo.

"Their transitional councils are intended to be advisory with no real power and this is unacceptable to us."

"We hope this is merely the government's opening gambit and that it is not serious," the LP said.

Dr Viljoen said there are a number of conditions for moving into a transitional constitution. One of these is that the question of political violence in general, and the

bilateral understandings in the Pretoria Minute and the D.F.Malan Accord are solved decisively.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, chief National Party negotiator, added it before a new constitution could be implemented, there had to be political stability so that a and fair elections could be held.

This meant it is to be safe for any political party to hold a meeting anywhere in South Africa, and for its members to knock on any door.

Both government and NP negotiators yesterday they were ready to amend the Constitution "without delay" to provide for transitional bodies broadly representative of all South Africa, provided there was efficient peace in the country.

"With the referendum mandate, a government can now proceed with vigour on the road to reform, to a negotiated democratic constitution, securing equal representation for every South African citizen, and eliminating domination," said Dr Viljoen.

"The government proposes that negotiations should begin as soon as possible, with a view to formulating a transitional constitution amending the 1983 Constitution."

In order to take the necessary preparations to implement a transitional constitution, it is proposed that structures with

broadly representative membership be created by Statute (an Act of Parliament) without delay.

"This will ensure that all interested parties can be assured of an opportunity of participating in the preparation, planning and implementation of a transitional constitution."

"With a view to meaningful discussion, consideration and negotiation in Codesa, the government will make its proposals for a transitional constitution available in the form of draft legislation towards the end of April."

The government was looking to "early agreement" on the next step in a transition to fully democratic government.

To "bridge the gap" between the present system and a transitional system, it proposed that more representative "Transitional Councils" should be set up to prepare the way for non-racial interim government.

The government document presented to Codesa yesterday proposed four Transitional Councils, each comprising seven members, to facilitate the planning and implementation of the interim dispensation. Members would be paid by the State.

The Transitional Councils proposed by the government are:

- A Council for Elections, charged with preparing and planning free and fair elections for a transitional constitution.

- A Council for Regional Government, to make proposals on the delimitation of South Africa into new "provinces or federal component states", which are politically and economically justifiable.

- A Council for Local Government, to make proposals on new local government areas.

- A Council for Government Finance, to plan the handling of State finances in a transitional constitutional dispensation, and make inputs regarding budgeting.

The government has also proposed a Transitional Council to advise on Law and Order (Police) matters, and another on Defence, but said these would have to "stand over" until the ANC had fulfilled its obligations in regard to dismantling Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The other four, however, could be created and put into operation in the interim. While the executive authority would remain in the hands of the Cabinet, the Transitional Councils would assist by making recommendations to government.

In relation to delimitation, the government proposed that the councils should consider existing provincial and local boundaries as well as geographic, population and economic interests.

Codesa could discuss the possibility of other councils, to deal with edu-

cation, housing, health and international relations.

In terms of the government proposals, the seven-member Transitional Councils would be appointed by the State President.

Codesa would designate six of the seven members, while the seventh would be appointed by the State President on the grounds of special expertise in the subject, after consultation with the Management Committee.

A person might be appointed a member of more than one Transitional Council. However, there would not be more than a total of 30 members of all the councils. Meeting together, they would constitute a Joint Transitional Council.

In all the councils, agreement should be reached through consensus.

All members would be

paid by the State at a rate determined by the State President after consultation with Codesa.

Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Provincial Administrators might also be considered for membership of Transitional Councils.

Dr Viljoen said he believed these proposals were "fair, constructive and viable" and would help to achieve early agreement on the next step to a fully representative and democratic constitution.

The Citizen 24-3-92

Making sense of land redistribution

SOME land redistribution schemes recently suggested for South Africa by non-experts could cause chaos just as they did in other countries, says DP parliamentary candidate Mr Donald Urquhart.

People from mainly legal and social science backgrounds have spoken in the past about land redistribution but, he says, it is now urgent for agricultural economists, and crop, pasture and animal scientists to plan and articulate ways ahead.

About 13 percent of South Africa is in black hands, effectively nationalised with title in the name of the Development Trust or homeland governments.

The principles of justice and equality underlying a legitimate land law were clearly violated in the past and call for some form of redress, but the problem is how far back to go and who should the beneficiaries be, Mr Urquhart said.

Expropriations

German experience may be helpful, he suggested. After German unification it was decided that East German expropriations between 1945 and 1949 were left intact with compensation decided upon by the German governments.

Land owners expropriated after 1949 could elect to receive financial compensation or have the expropriation reversed. Thus relatively arbitrary cut-off dates were established.

South Africa could do likewise, for example 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 and a third the prospect of plunder, euphemistically described as wealth redistribution.

It is difficult to take 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 leasehold 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 88 percent of all agricultural land is exploited by private farmers, he said.

Newcastle farmer, agricultural economist, former Rhodes scholar and Democratic Party Parliamentary candidate Donald Urquhart, speaking at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, recently, presented his suggestions on ways to provide living space for South Africa's burgeoning population — without jeopardising food and fibre production. **BOB FREAN reports.**

Land reforms such as "Return the Land to the Tiller", in which the State acts as facilitator or referee, maintains private ownership with an exchange of owners taking place.

This approach is often favoured as a means of rapidly addressing the inequities of the past, increasing employment, decreasing poverty and redistributing income.

Such examples have been in Taiwan, Japan, Kenya and Chile and seem imminent in Zimbabwe.

Some have been judged to be successful in that output has not fallen and poverty among rural people has been reduced.

But the golden rule in these success 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, irrigation plots in Iran and Chile and fertile 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.

Canegrowers

The Development Bank recently estimated that about 4.5-million hectares would become available for smallholders if endemically indebted white agriculture were sequestered, 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

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 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 fibre needs:

■ That enough land is acquired for urban settlement around the major metropolitan areas to make an impact on the urbanisation process and concomitant squatting problem. A fair price must be paid for expropriated land.

■ At the same time there should be a similar rural one of smallholder settlement in selected areas or around selected markets, where possible using existing State land or community-owned land.

■ 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.

Argus
WEEKEND FOCUS 1



The Citizen 24-3-92

PAC has no plans to join Codesa: Vice-Pres

THE Pan Africanist Congress have no plans as of now to join the Codesa talks on a new constitution, the organisation's vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday.

Responding to reports that the PAC would consider participation when appropriate, he said the organisation was continually evaluating its policies, not only on negotiations but on a much wider range.

Mr Moseneke said however that the PAC

was pursuing various steps in relation to the Patriotic Front, involving the African National Congress and others, and that an announcement on this could be expected soon.

He reiterated, however, that the PAC had at no stage stated it had plans to join Codesa.

The PAC had always said it was not opposed to negotiations and this included negotiations with the present government.

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 appropriate.

'About Codesa ... those decisions we will make as and when appropriate, when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people.'

'It takes more than the excitement and fanfare that might go along in the post-referendum era.'

— Sapa.

Five more die in continuing Reef violence

Staff Reporter
and Sapa

Five people were killed and four seriously injured in continuing Reef violence yesterday, according to the latest police unrest report.

At Alexandra township near Sandton, police found the body of a man with severe burn wounds.

At the New Canada Station in Soweto, two men were killed and another seriously injured when a group threw them from a moving train, and at Longdale Station in Johannesburg, a man was killed when a group attacked him and threw him from a train.

At Meadowlands in Soweto, police found the body of a black woman with stab wounds.

In another attack in the same area a black man sustained serious injuries when he was attacked by a group of panga wielding assailants.

At Braamfontein Station, a man sustained serious injuries when he jumped from a train after two men attacked him with pangas, and at Katlehong near Germiston, a man was wounded when a gunman randomly opened fire on him.

● In a breakthrough against rampant train violence, police yesterday arrested two Zulu-speaking hostel dwellers allegedly linked to attacks on Johannesburg trains last week in which 10 people were injured.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said the SAP had not ruled out the possibility that the men

could be linked to other attacks. More arrests could follow, he said.

The suspects, aged 24 and 26, are due to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today on charges of attempted murder.

Captain Opperman said undercover police officers had accompanied a witness who pointed out the men at Jeppe station yesterday morning.

The two residents of Merate hostel in Soweto are suspected of involvement in two attacks on Johannesburg trains on Thursday. Nine men and a woman were injured and some victims are still in hospital.

Captain Opperman urged commuters to use toll-free numbers to report acts of violence. The toll-free number for Reef commuters is 0801-110141.

● Licensed firearm owners who commute by train may apply for permits authorising them to carry their weapons, police confirmed yesterday.

SA Gun Owners Association chairman Ian Lear, who met Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe yesterday, said he had been assured that firearm owners could apply for exemptions "on a reasonable basis".

Permits may be issued to licensed firearm owners at the discretion of police station commanders which enable them to carry their firearms while travelling on trains.

Lieutenant-Colonel Reg Crewe, of SAP headquarters in Pretoria, said station commanders would assess each application on its merits.

AWB denies it will take part in Codesa

Sapa and Citizen Reporter

VENIERSDORP

The general staff of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday denied that anyone in the organisation, with exception of Mr Piet Rudolph, was prepared to participate in Codesa.

A statement issued by the general staff after an emergency meeting yesterday, reaffirmed that the AWB would not take part in the Codesa negotiations.

The statement was in reaction to an alleged SABC interview in which Mr Rudolph, former AWB secretary-general, had said that he would persuade AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche to join the talks at Codesa.

A motion of confidence in Mr Terre'Blanche had been passed at the meeting, the statement said.

• The Boerestaar Party (BSP) yesterday announced that it would not be joining Codesa, and would rather look at closer ties with more militant Right-wing organisations such as the Boere Kommandos and the Boere Weerstandsbeweging.

The leader of the BSP, Mr Robert van Tonder, said his organisation had provided Codesa with a comprehensive information document on Boer

history, because it was clear that the negotiation forum was not informed on such matters.

Codesa was also informed that it was meeting in what was regarded as the centre of the Boerestaar, and that it was discussing the future of Boer land.

ANC rejects de Klerk's recycled transition plans

WITH THE referendum victory under its belt, the South African government laid out proposals for an interim administration that fly in the face of an agreement reached with the African National Congress (ANC) two weeks ago to bring blacks swiftly into government during the first stages of a transition to a new constitution.

Yesterday's submission to the Convention for a new South Africa (Codesa) is based on plans outlined by the National Party last year for a two-phase transition. The first phase includes new ideas for multi-racial councils appointed by Codesa to oversee regional and local government, finance and multi-racial elections. The government said it would consider similar councils for the police and military, but that they would only have authority to recommend policy. Final decisions would still rest with the present government until elections were held that would herald the second phase. This would include a multi-person presidency and a parliament that would put considerable power in the hands of minorities while it draws up a new constitution. The government intends the transitional administration to remain in place for as long as a decade.

The ANC said that while it welcomed the proposal for an elected constitution-making body, it rejected other aspects as objectionable, saying they left the government as referee and player during the first part of the transition and raised serious questions about its intentions at the next full round of Codesa talks next month. The

From Chris McGreal
in Johannesburg

ANC said it hoped the government would go back to the drawing board and that talks would produce a more acceptable interim administration.

Even though the councils go some way toward meeting the important ministries, the government intends them to be consultative, not supervisory. Under an agreement reached at Codesa two weeks ago, blacks were to be brought into a new "super cabinet" that would take responsibility

for running South Africa during the transition.

The government's latest proposals reject that agreement because of a dispute over how members of the "super cabinet" should be appointed. Instead, it is trying to rope the ANC and other parties into accepting responsibility for the conduct of government, without giving them direct control. This was made clear by the government's failure to mention any amendments to the present constitution in its proposals; such amendments would be required if the government intended to devolve some of its powers in the short term.

President FW de Klerk's proposals reiterated longer-term plans for a transitional government with two houses of parliament: a national assembly elected by proportional representation and a senate composed of regional representatives with built-in representation for minorities. The government intends the senate to have sufficient powers to block or veto legislation from the national assembly, thereby curtailing the powers of a future administration.

The proposals restated the government's desire for a rotating presidency formed by the leaders of the three to five strongest political parties. Decisions would be reached by consensus, with the chairmanship of the presidency rotating every six months.

It appears a non-starter, with the ANC fully expecting the government to give way in return for concessions that would give greater powers to regional authorities.

Review of executions

JOHANNESBURG (Reuter) — The South African government came under fire yesterday for announcing plans to hang 17 people on death row. Within hours of the protests the government hinted some could be reprieved. "It is presumptuous to say they are going to be executed," said the Justice Minister, Kobie Coetsee. "At this point the emphasis should rather be on reprieve."

Human rights lawyers vowed to do everything possible to prevent the first executions after a two-year moratorium.

In other developments, fighting raged yesterday at Impala mine, one of the world's richest platinum mines, and the death toll from weekend violence rose to 13.

INDEPENDENT — 24-5-92
London

Blacks accuse de Klerk of reneging on cabinet vow

BY GAVIN BELL IN 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. The African National Congress and its allies described the plan as a system of "toy telephones" which left all power in the hands of the ruling National party. Cyril 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.

The ANC said the proposals were "objectionable in many fundamental respects". 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 compromised its full participation in the executive by insisting on joint control without joint responsibility. They said the National party's latest proposals represented a compromise, which would give all parties and race groups a say in running the country until elections for a transitional legislature.

The ANC's blueprint for power-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 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 that the wing would not be disbanded until the South African Defence Force had been phased out.

Serious controversy has arisen over the justice ministry's announcement that 17 death row prisoners are to be hanged, ending a two-year moratorium on executions. The ministry said the condemned persons, who were not identified, had exhausted appeal procedures instituted under judicial reforms in 1990. The reforms abolished the mandatory death sentence for murder without extenuating circumstances, and gave condemned persons an automatic right of appeal. The ministry said the sentences of 19 prisoners had been commuted.

Peter Soal, a Democratic party member of parliament, said he would urge Mr de Klerk to delay the executions until the issue had been resolved at Codesa, during negotiations on a bill of rights. "The government is jumping the gun after acting so admirably on the issue," he said. "It is up for discussion at Codesa. These people have been on death row for years, so what does a few more months matter?" The ANC said the decision was unacceptable, in view of continuing Codesa negotiations on capital punishment. "To announce, so soon after the referendum where white South Africa voted for the peace process, that executions could take place is to fly in the face of the spirit of reconciliation."

● **Leader quits:** Piet Rudolph, a 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)

B. Day 25/3/92

Buthelezi: ANC running a hit squad

ULUNDI—The ANC had decided to hunt down and kill the 200 Inkatha Freedom Party members who were trained at Mkuze to protect VIPs and government installations, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi alleged yesterday.

And Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose claimed the ANC was amassing weapons on the Reef to attack hostels and Zulu-speakers over the Easter weekend, WILSON ZWANE reports.

The ANC has denied both allegations. Buthelezi said a "hit squad" had been organised to operate from Eshowe to kill Inkatha leaders. He said an Umkhonto we Sizwe platoon was in the area to do the killing that had taken place.

After former Umlazi assembly member Winnington Sabelo was murdered he had received additional information

Own Correspondent

about the names of other Inkatha leaders on the "hit list"

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma last night rejected the Inkatha claim "with contempt". He said Inkatha was afraid of the current democratic process and challenged it to submit evidence of this to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation.

The ANC also dismissed Mdlalose's allegation as a "baseless lie", saying in a statement the allegation was meant to:

- Swell Inkatha membership through instilling fear of the ANC;

- Throw the public off the scent of the real perpetrators of violence; and

- Persuade the ANC to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Star 24/3/92

ANC Youth League leader held

Staff Reporters

The national secretary of the ANC Youth League, Rapi Molekane, was taken into custody early this morning, his wife told The Star.

Patience Molekane said more than a dozen plainclothes police had arrived at their home in Pimville, Soweto, at

about 2 am.

After searching the house — and leaving it in "a real mess" — they had taken Mr Molekane into custody, telling his wife that they had discovered weapons. She said she had not seen the items they alleged they had found.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Hal-

gryn denied police had ransacked the house.

"It was merely searched," he said, confirming Mr Molekane's arrest. He said a firearm and a handgrenade had been found on the property.

Mr Molekane's attorney said he was to be charged with possession of arms.

Govt tables proposals for interim rule

ANC REJECTS ADVISORY COUNCILS

ALAN FINE

GOVERNMENT and the NP yesterday tabled at Codesa proposals for the appointment of a series of "transitional councils" for areas of government "requiring special attention" during the preparatory phase of a transitional government.

These proposals were immediately rejected by the ANC on the grounds that the councils would have only advisory rather than executive powers.

The government/NP proposals also laid down the framework for the secondary phase — government based on a transitional constitution encompassing a rotating three- to five-man presidency, a cabinet appointed by consensus of the presidency and a bicameral system consisting of a national assembly and a senate. A charter of fundamental rights is a further feature of the NP's transitional plan.

The proposals for the second phase are essentially in line with the NP's constitutional proposals published last year.

During the preparatory phase the transitional councils would cover areas such as elections, regional government, local government, government finance, law and order, defence and possibly also education, housing, health and international relations.

Their appointment would be facilitated through legislation passed in Parliament, starting possibly as early as April.

Thabo Mbeki, ANC head of working group 3, said the proposals "raised serious questions about the government's conduct in negotiations" in that they went against the in principle agreement of two weeks ago that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements was "the creation of a transitional executive structure" appointed according to procedures agreed upon by Codesa.

According to the proposals, each council would consist of six members designated by the Codesa management committee and appointed by the President. There would be a maximum of 30 council members, probably requiring that some individuals serve on more than one council.

All councils meeting together would constitute a Joint Transitional Council which would have undefined duties but which would be able to reach agreement on resolutions. The entire council structure would operate on the basis of consensus.

The transitional council for elections would be "charged with the preparations and planning for the holding of elections under the transitional constitution and to ensure that they will be free and fair".

The task of the councils for regional and local government would be primarily to

□ To Page 2

Interim rule

delineate the boundaries of provinces or federal states and local government areas.

The finance council "shall do planning and preparations relating to the handling of government finances in a next constitutional dispensation", initiate and co-ordinate negotiations especially regarding intergovernmental financing, and "may be given the opportunity of making inputs regarding budgeting".

The establishment of councils for law and order and defence would depend on the progress of working group 1 dealing with a climate for free political expression.

Councils to deal with socio-economic issues and international relations were also possible, the proposals say.

Mbeki said the functions of the proposed councils had nothing or very little to do with the basic objectives of phase one of the transition, which was to level the political playing field and ensure fair elections.

The ANC's main objection to the proposed phase two framework was with regard to the proposals for the senate. Government has suggested the senate be regionally based. If sufficient progress on a system of regional government had not been made at the time of an election, "the senate can initially be composed of members of existing legislative bodies".

The ANC said that while it had no objec-

tions to a regionally based senate, the proposal would place in the senate existing discredited tricameral and homeland structures. It was unacceptable that such structures should coexist with, and have veto powers over, an elected constitution-making and governing assembly.

The status of the TBVC states in this process was unclear, and the ANC also objected that no council was proposed to oversee the state-run media.

Despite their differences, both Mbeki and government spokesmen expressed confidence that agreement could be reached, possibly before the end of April.

Commenting on the ANC's objections, a senior government source said government was flexible on the powers of the councils. The document was an initial proposal for negotiation rather than a unilaterally imposed solution. "There may be an imbalance on the part of both ourselves and the ANC. We are perhaps too strong on control, but they are looking for power without taking responsibility."

He added that the councils — particularly those devoted to socio-economic issues — could serve an important function way beyond the transitional period in a similar way that the National Manpower Commission had for labour.

□ From Page 1

● See Page 4

B. Day
24/3/92

SAP lays blame at ANC's door

THEO RAWANA

POLICE blamed the ANC for 86% of violent attacks in the 18 months since February 1990, while one research agency blamed Inkatha for 51% of acts of Reef violence between mid-1990 and mid-1991, the latest Race Relations Review said.

The 1991/92 review, published yesterday by the SA Institute of Race Relations, said there were widely differing perceptions among major political players as to who was responsible for last year's violence.

While one research agency blamed Inkatha for 51% of violence on the Reef in a 12-month period, a police report covering 18 months since February 2 1990 blamed the ANC for 86% of attacks when only aggressors — and not victims — could be identified, the survey said.

The agency, blaming Inkatha for 51% of violent acts, said police were responsible for 23%, the ANC for 4% and other groups for the balance.

The police report said Inkatha was responsible for 12% of attacks. "Where both aggressors and victims could be identified, the police blamed the ANC for 56% of attacks and Inkatha for 40%," the survey said.

In its own research, the institute analysed 1 236 violent incidents countrywide between January 1 and August 31 1991. It concluded that aggressors could not be identified in 85% of cases.

Police said a "classical arms race" had developed between rival political organisations.

B. Day
24/3/92

B. Day 24/3/92

Police hold two men in wake of train violence

POLICE claimed a major breakthrough in their investigations into the recent commuter train passenger slayings when they arrested two Zulu-speaking men early yesterday.

The men, aged 24 and 26, were alleged to be responsible for the attack on commuters on March 19 between Braamfontein and Doornfontein stations in which nine men and a woman were injured.

The possibility existed that the two men, of the Merapi Hostel in Soweto, were also responsible for several other train killings.

More arrests could follow soon, police said.

The arrests were a result of information received from witnesses to the attack on March 19.

Some of the victims were still in hospital.

Early yesterday morning, detectives and witnesses boarded a train on its way from Soweto to the East Rand, and two suspects were pointed out, police said.

The two were arrested and would appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today on charges of attempted murder.

Several people have been killed and injured on train attacks on the Reef this year and yesterday's arrests were the first made by police in spite of extensive investigations.

One man was killed and one seriously injured in Johannesburg yesterday in spite of a ban on the carrying

STEPHANE BOTHMA

of weapons on railway property. An injured man was found at Braamfontein Station, while another man was killed when he was thrown from a train near Longdale Station.

Police confirmed yesterday that licensed gun owners who commuted by train could apply for permits authorising them to carry their weapons, Sapa reports.

A police spokesman said station commanders would assess each application on its merits. The ban was aimed at combating violence on trains and was not intended to inconvenience law-abiding gun owners.

Police also reported yesterday that at least seven people were killed in political violence in Natal at the weekend.

In addition, about 200 University of Natal Durban students, protesting against the exclusion of a student from the law faculty, rampaged through the campus yesterday, breaking several windows and doors and disrupting some lectures.

The students were demanding the reinstatement of SRC member Knowledge Mdlalose who was excluded from the university this year because he "failed to achieve the required academic level", university spokesman Mark Crozier said.

Deputy vice-chancellor Christopher Cresswell was locked in discussions with student leaders yesterday.

B. Day 24/3/92

Miners stay away after 13 killed in clashes

IMPALA Platinum's Bafokeng North mine in Bophuthatswana came to a halt yesterday when its 8 000 employees failed to report for work after 13 miners died in intergroup fighting.

Seven were reported dead after fighting broke out at the mine hostel, but the toll increased to 13 yesterday when more bodies were found near the hostel after renewed clashes.

Genmin said yesterday the workforce had failed to report for work and 700 Sotho employees had asked to leave. Impala's three other Bophuthatswana mines were not affected. Workers' representatives said the workforce would report for duty today.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

The Sotho workers will return later.

Genmin said the violence broke out at the hostel on Saturday afternoon between NUM supporters and non-supporters. Bophuthatswana security forces were called in to help mine security personnel separate the two fighting groups. Several employees were treated for injuries.

Genmin said management was talking to employee representatives to establish the cause of the fighting and the stayaway.

Meanwhile, DIRK HARTFORD reports that more than 2 000 members of the Ba-

thaping tribe yesterday heard deposed chief Mankwene condemn Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope for ordering the arrest of several people who allegedly disrupted a meeting of Mangope's among the Bathaping people two weeks ago.

Mankwene said at the meeting Mangope was presented with a memorandum from Bathaping royal family members demanding the return of the Bathaping chief and Tladi's reincorporation into SA. He said this led to the break-up of the meeting and eight people were detained.

Mankwene is a delegate of Codesa's working group 4.

Polite and Soft-Spoken, He Forges a Revolution

by CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, April 3 — On a wall of Cyril Ramaphosa's 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 Johannesburg newspaper, shows Mr. Ramaphosa shouting "Giddyap!" at a draft horse, labeled South Africa's economy, that he has just shot dead.

Mr. Ramaphosa hung the cartoon 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.

The Point Man in Talks

While Nelson Mandela, 73, is president of the African National Congress, 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 Africa's future and could assume another prominent role in an interim government that looks possible this year.

Mr. Ramaphosa, who is widely regarded as Mr. Mandela's heir apparent, made his reputation building the National Union of Mineworkers into the country's most powerful labor union. But his tough negotiating skills are softened by courteousness and his hard-line political views by pragmatism.

"Do I take pride in being a pragmatist?" Mr. Ramaphosa said after brewing a cup of tea for a visitor. "That is just the way it is."

"I think it derives from an experience of addressing problems and looking at the best workable option. Rather than take the long and difficult route, take the shortest route to where you want to get and make the best of it."

Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa (pronounced rah-mah-PO-sah) is a native son of Soweto, South Africa's largest black township. He studied at the University of the North, a black institution 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 political 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 general secretary. He traveled the country recruiting black miners into the union, which now claims more than 273,000 members.

"I went through the furnace of negotiations with mine employers and that can teach you a thing or two," Mr. Ramaphosa said.

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

strike foundered after three weeks and the union emerged bloodied, but unbroken. Mr. Ramaphosa has carried the lessons that he learned into the congress's current negotiations with the Government.

"There comes a point when your negotiating partners know that whilst you are prepared and willing to compromise on some issues, there comes a time when you reach your bottom line and you cannot move any further," Mr. Ramaphosa said. "And once they recognize that, they know that either they have to move or there is no settlement."

The dehumanization of black South Africans under apartheid left him critical of what he called "its foundations of monopoly capitalism." 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

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

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

Mandela's heir apparent is no stranger to struggle.

ests for nearly 44 years in power.

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

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

One of the biggest challenges, he said, was "addressing the fears of those who have benefited so long under apartheid" and assuring whites that "we don't need to expropriate their houses and their property."

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.

"The 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," he said. "We are virtually learning at the feet of masters and just absorbing the enormous wisdom."

"I 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."



Tim Zienbach for The New York Times

Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary general of the African National Congress, is widely regarded as Nelson Mandela's heir apparent.

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 Congress's 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.

Development Bank's Brand dies

THE Development Bank of Southern Africa's former CE, Simon Brand, 53, died of cancer at home in Pretoria last night.

THEO RAWANA

bank was established in 1983.

A member of the Economic Advisory Council, the National Manpower Commission and the SBDC, Brand was also chairman of the SA Housing Trust, SA's alternate Governor of the World Bank Group and advised the Wits Centre for Policy Studies.

Van Rensburg said Brand's family had requested donations should be made to Trees for Africa, (011) 804-4837.

Brand leaves his wife Carolina, two daughters and three sons.

Acting bank CE Andre la Grange, said: "His leadership, integrity and humanity led us and those associated with our activities to the milestones achieved."

"His legacy to us is rich in example and vision and is the foundation on which the bank will continue to strive to achieve his ideals of improving the quality of life of people in the region."

Brand, who relinquished his bank positions on January 6, had been CE since the

B. Dary 24/1/92



Little comfort in that 'landslide'

NEW YORK — F.W. de Klerk of South Africa is enjoying what may prove to be the equivalent of the American people's love affair with George Bush after the humiliation of Saddam 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 determination 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 community was galvanized as seldom before, advertising the dangers of a renewed international boycott. The newspapers became electoral handbills in favor of the government. So that another way of looking at what happened is: In spite of it all, de Klerk got only 70%.

One day after the historic vote, a relatively unobtrusive news item from Zimbabwe illuminates the picture. "Parliament approved a bill today," reports AP, "to empower the government to seize white-owned farmland with little compensation and no right of appeal, despite

warnings that such action could cripple the economy."

That is one hell of a sentence. It says "parliament," which means President Robert Mugabe has authorized the confiscation of farmlands owned by Zimbabwean whites for generations, a measure against which they will have no appeal.

Enthusiasts of de Klerk will point 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 roughly akin to our own federated system: regional political authorities against which the national government could not, theoretically, prevail.

There is, on the other hand, the African National Congress, whose spokesman, Nelson Mandela, insists he will settle for majority rights, period. The concessions he talks about are guaranteed representation by the whites in the unicameral legislature, which representation will however be subject to "sunset laws": i.e., reduced by a fixed amount every year.

Given that the white population in South

Africa is about 18%, this would suggest that the only protection the whites could have would be to seek out a gerrymandered congeries of enclaves whence they could send white representatives to the capital to ensure their interests. But this 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 heavily on blacks for everything from house servants to manufacturing jobs.

But even if electoral districts could be drawn that would guarantee white representatives, of what use would 18% of the vote be in a black-ruled assembly?

What matters, the theorist will say, is the extent of minority guarantees. In Rhodesia, when power went to blacks, a specific number of seats were guaranteed to white representatives for a number of years. And all three of the insurgent black groups spoke loquaciously about their commitment to democratic rule and guaranteed minority rights. All of that lasted only up until Mugabe fired his prin-

cipal rival, Joshua Nkomo, in effect proclaiming he was president for life.

As for minority rights, we see what these are reduced to: The government will appropriate white land at little or no compensation, with no appeal.

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 such referendum could reverse the momentum now established.

The hope of the white farmer whose principal interest has been to hold on to land acquired by great-great-grandparents and tended to by successive generations is the tribal parity, or near-parity, between the supporters in South Africa of Mandela and those of Chief Buthelezi. Here is the opening for whites to engage in balance-of-power ship.

The great plebiscite of March 1992 is a moral milestone. But that which is morally satisfying is not always politically blessed.

Allan Fotheringham is on assignment