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The Star 12/2/92

De Klerk 'incompetent or a liar' - Tutu

ATLANTA — President F W de Klerk was either incompetent or a liar if he denied knowing that white South African security forces were tied to recent killings of black opposition leaders, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in Atlanta yesterday.

The archbishop, winding up a three-month sabbatical, told Reuters he was distressed by new violence between rival black groups.

He said Anglican church lead-

ers had told him black "hit squads" trained by white security forces were targeting local African National Congress leaders for assassination.

He said Mr de Klerk would come under greater stress from black political violence, citing recent media reports that black "gangs" were trained at camps linked to security forces and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

"If he (De Klerk) claims also

not to have known of the recent (links), he's either lying or irresponsibly incompetent."

While criticising Mr de Klerk, Archbishop Tutu said he was encouraged that negotiations have begun between the ruling National Party, the ANC, Inkatha and other major political groups on a post-apartheid government.

The archbishop leaves tomorrow for South Africa. — Sapa-
Renter.

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The Star 12/2/92 Buthelezi: no early election

SAN FRANCISCO — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he opposed an early free election by both white and black South Africans because it would further split the country.

"We say that there can be no elections this year or indeed next year," he said.

"Political parties are just not free to campaign in all communities or among all race groups for support."

Chief Buthelezi, who is on a US speaking tour, told the

World Affairs Council of Northern California that jumping into all-or-nothing political battles now would "set South African against South African".

He said he opposed ANC efforts to press for an early vote and an interim government during the transition from white supremacist government to black majority rule.

So many areas are dominated by one black political party or another that they are off-limits to free election campaigns, he said — Sapa-Reuters.

Govt, ANC closer on interim rule

By Esther Wagh
and Peter Fabricius

The Government and ANC have moved closer together in their approaches to the crucial question of interim government, raising hopes of a successful outcome to the negotiations in Codesa.

This emerged when four of the five Codesa working groups at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park got down to what one delegate called the "nitty-gritty" of negotiations.

The ANC submitted interim government proposals to Working Group 3 which showed new flexibility on the role of a constituent assembly in the transition. The ANC said it was prepared to consider an elected constituent assembly also serving the function of a legislature.

This represents a shift in the ANC's previous insistence on an interim government which ruled by decree. It brings the ANC a significant step closer to the Government's interim policy which strongly stresses the importance of parliamentary control over the interim government.

Stride

The Government itself moved a giant stride closer to the ANC's position last December when President de Klerk announced that it was ready to accept an interim government based on an elected legislature which could also draw up a new constitution.

Important areas of difference still remain between the Government and the ANC.

One is that the ANC believes Codesa should appoint an Interim Government Council (in effect an interim Cabinet) to take over government or aspects of it.

The Government's position is that an interim government should be formed as a result of new elections.

Another possible stumbling block is the Government's insistence on a racially based referendum in which the white vote will be counted separately. The ANC has shown signs that it might turn a blind eye to such a referendum.

Ken Andrew, Democratic Party delegate on Codesa's

Working Group 3 which is discussing transitional arrangements, said today he believed the ANC's new interim government proposals submitted to the group yesterday showed an important area of convergence with the Government's position on the role of an elected constituent assembly.

Mr Andrew, who chairs the working group, said that the ANC was now looking at the idea of a pre-election period when it believed an Interim Government Council should be appointed by Codesa to supervise elections for a constituent assembly and possibly other areas of government.

This was necessary to ensure the elections were free and fair, the ANC believed.

After the elections, the ANC seemed to be open-minded about how the transition proceeded, and this was where the area of greatest convergence with the Government lay.

"There is possibly a way in which our proposals, and those of some of the parties who have already stated their positions can be brought together so as to meet the purposes that we have identified as the essential purposes of an interim government," the ANC said in its proposal.

"We are willing to explore such possibilities."

"The interim government should have legal form which means that the structures and powers of the interim government must be defined in legislation and that where necessary amendments should be made to the existing constitution," the ANC proposal said.

It proposed that no contentious legislation should be enacted and no contentious executive action should be taken during the period of transition.

Some delegates told The Star they detected convergence on the controversial question of federalism in yesterday's meeting of Working Group 2 on constitutional principles.

They said SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo had appeared to soften opposition to the idea of considerable powers being devolved from the central government to regional governments. Substantive devolution of power is a key demand of groups such as the IFP and the DP.

The Star 12/2/92

Police and army asked to stay on in Meadowlands

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

Leaders of the ANC and Inkatha, who met in Meadowlands, Soweto, yesterday in a bid to restore peace to the battle-torn township, have appealed to the police and the SA Defence Force to remain deployed in the area to prevent further bloodshed.

The situation remains tense after clashes between hostel dwellers and township residents left nine people dead, scores injured and several houses destroyed at the weekend.

The meeting, held under the auspices of the Greater Soweto Dispute Resolution Committee, failed to establish a local dispute resolution committee for Meadowlands because local ANC structures failed to attend.

The GSDRC was set up in terms of the National Peace Accord. Another meeting will be held within three days.

Reading a joint statement from the two delegations, ANC leader Kgaps Mosunkutu urged the warring factions to co-operate with the police and the army to ensure peace.

ANC regional executive member Floyd Mashele said the local ANC branch, the civic as-

sociation and the SA Democratic Teachers' Union were meeting elsewhere to discuss solutions to the violence.

Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza said that, in the absence of the ANC affiliates, the meeting could not determine what had sparked off the weekend violence.

He was accompanied by an Inkatha delegation from the Meadowlands hostel as well as IFP West Rand leader Humphrey Ndlovu.

In a statement released before the meeting, the ANC's Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging region blamed the violence on the IFP.

Inkatha spokesman Suzzanne Vos denied the allegation and challenged the ANC to produce proof.

"It is the large quantities of arms in the possession of the ANC which does not bode well for the peace process.

"There has been proof that the ANC has large quantities of weapons in Soweto," she added, quoting news reports about two ANC Youth League members being arrested in connection with an alleged plan to attack Merafe Hostel in November.

● First fathers, now the children — Page 14

Senior assistant editor Joe Latakomo sees grim history repeating itself in Meadowlands

First fathers, now the children

WHAT children? There are no children here, declared a woman as I asked her what the response of the children in the area has been to the attacks by hostel inmates — a situation which usually precludes violence.

She did not mean that there were literally no children.

What she meant, she explained, is that those who should have been just children have been exposed to so much violence, virtually from the crib, right through their school lives up to the present.

Heaven knows, the woman added, these children have been through more than most of us had gone through in our lifetimes.

Like many of the residents of this part of Meadowlands, memories of the first attacks on them by hostel residents in post-1970 were still vivid. Then, men who had frequented some of the shebeens in the vicinity, indeed, who had fairly firm relationships with the folk from the township, seemed to just turn against anyone who was not a hostel resident.

At issue had been what hostel residents described as their right to refuse to participate in a work stay-away.

Reports claimed that the weekend before the planned stay-away, the then chief of the police in Soweto had gone to address the hostel residents and asked them whether they had come all the

way from Zululand to stay away from work.

Police protection was promised to those who would go to work, and because of the contract nature of the employment of most of the hostel residents, many decided not to heed the call for a work stay-away.

Those who did go to work, also did so well-armed.

On their way to work, they were simply taunted by youths. But it was on their return that they were attacked as they alighted from trains at Mzimhlophe station.

The hostel residents had to run the gauntlet of residents, and finally by the time they reached the hostel, the three sons of a resident on the main road had been killed.

It was this killing that sparked off furious clashes.

That Tuesday night, residents further away from the hostel, fearing a spread of attacks from the hostel dwellers, banded together to help protect those closer to the hostel.

They wore white headbands to identify themselves, while those who remained at home boreheaded themselves.

The fighting went on through the night, and remains one of the bloodiest clashes between residents and hostel dwellers. Daily, the death toll mounted.

At one point, a figure of 38 was suggested, most of them township residents.



Police and armed hostel-dwellers... the seeds of suspicion were sown years ago.

For the first time, then, the role of the police was being questioned, and their impartiality doubted.

By the Thursday, calls had gone out to Chief Buthelet to intervene. He did so at a meeting on the Sunday, and for the first time that week, calm returned to the area.

Since then, residents have tried to mend the broken relationships, and the shanty truces held.

While the hostel dwellers and township residents did not quite hold each other's hands in love,

their relationship was one of tolerance of each other, of respect for each other's rights as individuals and residents entitled to the same facilities and amenities in the township.

Today's youths were but babies when the violence first flared in their area. They grew up in an atmosphere of distrust of the hostel residents.

Some talk of fathers, mothers or brothers they will never know.

And the question is: what would have happened had the police not

gone to address the hostel residents and encourage them to defy the stay-away call?

The answer will never be known. The problem is that the first seeds of distrust of police in dealing with residents-hostel dwellers matters were sown.

The peace held — until the death two years ago of Meadowlands mayor Joseph Khumalo, who was also an official of Inkatha. He was gunned down during the campaign to force councillors from office.

Following his funeral, there was a brief clash between hostel dwellers and residents.

The focus of resident-hostel dwellers clashes has, over the years shifted from Meadowlands and Dube Hostels to Nancefield Hostel, from whence several attacks have come.

Residents of nearby Kilsparril have borne the brunt of those attacks, and there have also been suggestions that attacks on trains, most of which have occurred between Nancefield Station and Orlando, were carried out by hostel dwellers from Nancefield.

But this week, after a lull in resident-hostel dweller attacks, violence has once more broken out between the Meadowlands Hostel dwellers and township residents.

"We don't know why they attacked us," said one resident, "they just descended on us, and

before we knew what was happening, they were hacking, beating and stabbing us. And then they set our houses on fire," he said.

Nobody seems to know why the violence started. Some suggest that the attacks followed a funeral of a hostel resident who was killed in the township.

Both the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress believe that "professional hitmen" are responsible for setting off the attacks.

They believe it is an attempt to derail Codesa, and in line with other previous attempts every time a peace initiative was under way.

Other residents believe that the attacks were sparked off by the killing, in Natal, of Inkatha leader, Winnie Mandela, who was gunned down in his Umlazi shop. Mr. Mandela was involved in local peace initiatives.

ANC leader in the area, Skhumbuzo Ngwenya was killed in an apparent revenge attack.

Once more, the element of a "Third Force" has been mentioned. There is also an element of disillusionment with the National Peace Accord, which, in the view of many ordinary township residents, has failed to deliver peace.

Meanwhile, residents around Meadowlands are waiting (and, perhaps, planning).

The tragedy continues to play itself out. □

The Star 12/2/92

The Star 12/2/92

No kudos for ; Buthelezi

Your front-page headline "FW-Mandela Unity" (The Star, February 3) refers.

South Africa applauds Dr Mandela's (and hopefully the ANC's) undertaking not to nationalise foreign investment and not to renege on "apartheid" loans to South Africa.

South Africa is delighted too at the unity between FW and Dr Mandela.

No kudos for Dr Buthelezi, who has consistently opposed sanctions, has never threatened to renege on apartheid loans, has never threatened to nationalise any investments in South Africa, and has always acted in South Africa's best interest.

South Africa really does not deserve a leader of Dr Buthelezi's calibre.

Dr E Benard
Chairman
Sandton Branch
IFP

The Star 12/12/92

Wanted: Boerestaat boundaries that don't trample on rights of others

CP testing waters of Codesa

SOME elements of the Conservative Party are said to be thinking more seriously about participating in Codesa.

The case for their doing so has been strengthened in recent days. Not only has President de Klerk put the issue of "self-determination" on the Codesa agenda, but the CP has now established a rapport of sorts with the Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei delegations.

In the past it has argued that participation would mean getting involved in a forum in which all other participants were committed to rejecting its case. That no longer holds. The CP has now established that these three delegations share at least some common ground with it on the issue of "regionalism". Enough for its official organ, Die Patriot, to talk of a new alliance.

Indeed if in the light of these changed circumstances the CP still refuses to participate, it will leave only one conclusion to be drawn — that it is committed to the alternative of revolutionary violence.

Until now the CP has tried to avoid that impression. It has distanced itself from the violent groups on the outer fringes of the right wing and presented itself as a party committed — at least for the moment — to constitutionalism.

But it won't be able to sustain that claim if it continues to refuse to take advantage of a constitutional forum that stands open to it and where it can expect support for some of its arguments.

This raises the next question — how will the other parties, particularly the National Party and the ANC, respond if the CP does de-



Allister Sparks

cide to participate? They have urged it to come along, but how will they deal with it if it does?

In essence CP policy is to return to apartheid, and that is simply not tolerable in the new South Africa. How, then, does one engage it in negotiations?

The answer, I suggest, is to invite the CP to present its own requirements. It insists it is not intent on preserving racial domination, but on securing self-determination for the Afrikaner "nation". Very well, let it state how it wants to do this.

Does it want a Boerestaat? The CP has not committed itself on this issue? At least a dozen other organisations have produced maps of proposed Boerestate, but the CP has not identified with any of them. If that is what it means by self-determination, it should say so, and clarify where it wants the borders of this Afrikaner state to be.

Since there is no part of South Africa with a white — never mind an Afrikaner — majority, it will also have to spell out what it proposes should be done with the large black majority living in the demarcated territory.

Does it propose a massive forced removal, far larger than anything attempted during the apartheid years? Or does it propose massive black disenfranchisement? And will it be able to win the support of its black "allies" in Codesa for either of these?

I had a long discussion the other day with Professor Carel Boshoff, of the Afrikaner Volkswag. "No plan which involves a massive disruption of the population or of the economy stands any chance of being accepted," he told me. His Oranje Volkstaat, located in the sparsely populated north-western Cape and centred on the Orange River Basin, reflects that realisation and is the most reasonable of all the Boerestaat proposals.

But still, by his own reckoning, the territory has a population of 125 000 whites, 400 000 "coloureds" and 100 000 blacks — little better than the one-to-five ratio of whites to non-whites as the rest of South Africa.

What would he do with the people of colour? "They must be moved," he said. "It is a small price to pay to avoid a civil war."

A small price for whom? Can one really, in this day and age, at the end of the 20th century and in post-apartheid South Africa, contemplate the forced removal of half a million people because of their skin colour?

And even if one were to do so, would it really avoid the civil war? How many Afrikaners would pack up and go to live in the desert around Upington and Pofadder? Would it really change anything? The threat of violence in any event does not stem from Prof Boshoff's rather cerebral group, but from the AWE and associated Rambo types who have far less reasonable demands.

The fact is, however much some Afrikaners may want their own separate national existence there simply is no Afrikaner Quebec, or Scotland, or Wales, or Basque Provinces, or Suisse-Romande, or Ticino — or, for that matter, Kwa-

Zulu or Bophimhatswana.

They can have it only by committing an outrage against a majority of other South Africans, and that is unacceptable. It is also impossible. Apartheid was a massive attempt to do that and it failed. If it could not be achieved during Hendrik Verwoerd's time of maximum Government power, it certainly cannot be achieved now.

But that does not mean the desire for national identity is either reprehensible or that it can be ignored. Bino-nationalism is as much a fact of life to be faced as the absence of an Afrikaner "homeland", and we must take care not to trample on it.

We do not want to create what Isaiah Berlin would call a wounded Afrikaner Volksgesest, for if we do that we may turn the new South Africa into a suppurating Ulster.

A people do not have to have their own territory in order to maintain their identity as a folk. The Jews have demonstrated that over two millennia, dispersed thinly around the globe and in the face of terrible adversity.

What identifies a people anyway? Surely it is language, culture, religion, history, and the perpetuation of these through education. All those things can be preserved within a common society, which must respect and protect cultural variety.

The ANC and, I think, every other Codesa party proposes the protection of these cultural determinants in an entrenched Bill of Rights. If that is not enough, then it is up to the CP to say what more it wants. Everything can be considered, provided it does not impinge upon the rights of others. □

The Star 12/2/92

SAP already 'people's police'

I refer to a letter written by Elias Mathumbu entitled: "Make Way for People's Police" (Letters, February 3).

It is clear that the writer is anti-white and anti-establishment. He makes wild statements which need to be placed in their proper perspective.

It would be interesting to know what his version of a "people's police force" would look like. The SA Police is a "people's police force". Members are drawn from the community to serve the community.

Mr Mathumbu refers to "winties form vigilante-type neighbourhood watches whose primary aim is to curb the rate of crime. They are lauded by the police". The SA Police has repeated-

ly stated that while it welcomes any assistance in combating crime and it supports the neighbourhood watch scheme, it also does not approve or condone "vigilante-type actions". The police welcome and assist neighbourhood watch schemes in any areas — white or black.

The allegation that "these neighbourhood watches later turn to violence against blacks and the police are not prepared to prosecute them unless families insist and it is exposed by the press", is preposterous and unsubstantiated.

The contention that the writer is anti-white is strengthened by his remarks that "trigger-happy whites roam the streets shooting innocent blacks: the police are

the first to come to their defence and say the killings were not racially or politically motivated". This too is a generalised statement which is simply not correct.

He conveniently neglects to mention the incidents in which whites have been killed by blacks. In one notorious case which occurred in the OFS, it was the accused himself (and not the police) who claimed that he wanted to kill many whites. Crime is crime, irrespective of the race of either the perpetrator or the victim. The police have arrested criminals of all races and it is ludicrous to suggest that we only act against a specific group.

The media often ask the police what the motive appeared to be in a particular case (eg the Ladysmith

shooting incident). If it appears that the move was not racially or politically motivated, the police will confirm this in order to defuse what is usually a tense situation.

What the writer terms "neighbourhood watches in the townships" are in fact the so-called self-defence units. There is a vast difference between these two concepts.

Whether Mr Mathumbu likes it or not, the South African Police Force will still be the police force in any future dispensation. You cannot wish a well-trained and established police force away.

(Lt Col) R A Crewe
SAP Public Relations
Pretoria

The Star 12/2/92

ANC opposed to pensions Bill, wants it scrapped X

By Carina le Grange

The African National Congress yesterday called for the immediate withdrawal of the controversial Social Assistance Bill recently introduced by Minister of National Health and Population Development Dr Rina Venter.

The ANC social welfare department head, Winnie Mandela, said at a press conference the Bill would remove the legally enforceable right to social assistance.

This right would be replaced with a system that was based entirely on the discretion of Dr Venter's department.

A second "injustice" was that the Bill introduced the requirement of South African citizen-

ship before any person could qualify for social assistance, Mrs Mandela said.

"This would automatically exclude 'citizens' of the so-called TBVC countries; even though they may have lived in South Africa all their lives and may never have set foot in these territories..."

"TBVC legislation requires residence in those territories for people to qualify for pensions," she said. Therefore, these people would not qualify for pensions in South Africa or the TBVC states.

"Although the present system of social pensions is far from perfect, it has hitherto been accepted that there is a legally enforceable right to such

pensions.

"It is both surprising and unacceptable for the present regime to seek to take away one of the few rights enjoyed by the disadvantaged of our society.

"This must be rejected."

The ANC had requested an urgent meeting with Dr Venter on the Bill, which could also be attended by other interested parties.

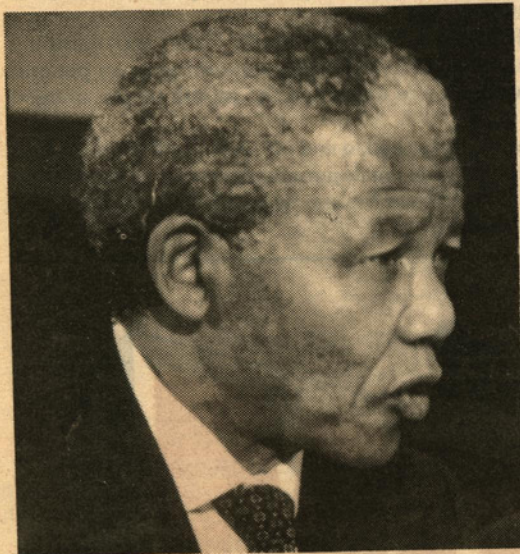
The meeting would also deal with the possibility of setting up a Codesa-style forum on welfare, Mrs Mandela said.

● The Black Sash, the Methodist Church, the South African Legion and the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Duncan Buchanan, have already appealed to Dr Venter to scrap the Bill.

16/1/11

ANC would win election - survey

SOWETAN 12-02-92



NELSON MANDELA

THE ANC would win a general election in South Africa if it were held now, according to the results of a nationwide survey completed late last year.

The ruling National Party, under present leader President FW de Klerk, would come in a close second, and the Inkatha Freedom Party could count on three percent of the total vote in South Africa.

The results of the survey were released in Cape Town by the Human Sciences Research Council yesterday, but the figures are tentative and incomplete by any standards.

Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana, and Ciskei were excluded, as was rural South Africa where there are at least 10 million people.

Commenting on the findings Dr Laurie Schlemmer, an adviser at the HSRC yesterday said that were the survey extended to the rural areas - and the council intends to do so later this year - the results could be adjusted.

The ANC would, however, hold on to the overall lead, with De Klerk still in second place.

But, he contends, the support in rural areas for

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

the IFP would settle at no more than 15 percent.

The general manager of the HSRC, Mr Johann Mouton, said the survey "did not find significant support for the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha".

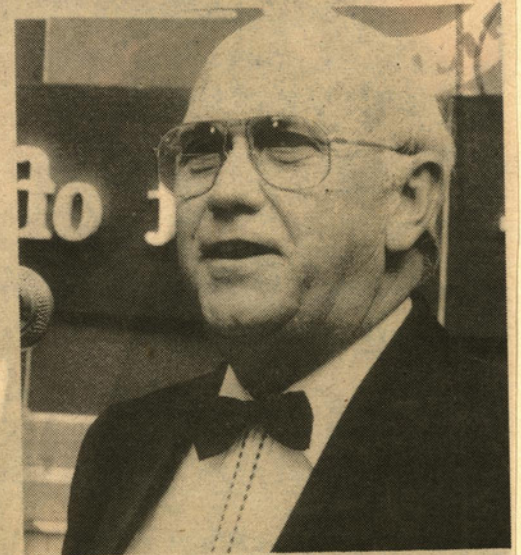
Most of the PAC and Azapo's following was concentrated in the Northern Transvaal, Schlemmer said. After a survey here, the picture would become "more complex" he said.

The findings are based on 2 000 personal interviews held during October and November last year - a two percent margin of error is expected.

Forty-two percent of all South Africans supported ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, and 27 percent De Klerk.

Black people's support for Mandela is 65 percent, with De Klerk totalling nine and Buthelezi three percent.

Among whites, De Klerk is still a favourite.



FW de KLERK

The Citizen 12/2/92

Venda calls for interim govt within 6 months

AN interim government must be constituted within six months and must have a life-span of not more than 18 months, says the Venda Government.

Venda was submitting its proposals yesterday to Codesa's Working Group 3, on transitional government.

To be effective, the interim government should rule by decree.

It also recommended that the TBVC states and self-governing states be dissolved.

The Ciskei Govern-

ment said any interim arrangements must not predetermine the nature of the ultimate outcome of Codesa.

It emphasised that the Ciskei was a constitutionally independent and sovereign State. "Re-incorporation and transfer of authority can only take place along a constitutional pathway."

All interim and final arrangements for transfer of authority should be arrived at constitutionally.

National People's Party Leader, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, recommended

Parliament be converted into one chamber.

A constituent assembly should be established and be given legal powers to draw a new constitution.

— Sapa.

The Citizen 12/2/92

Ambush of bus: 1 dead, 8 hurt

DURBAN. — One person was killed and eight people were injured in an ambush of a bus near Table Mountain outside Pietermaritzburg, early yesterday.

Pietermaritzburg police spokesman Capt Henry Budhram said the bus was travelling on the Hlanzeni Road near Table Mountain when gunmen opened fire as the bus approached a corner, killing Mrs Ntombi Mbeje (43), and wounding eight others.

The wounded were taken to Northdale Hospital where three were in a serious condition.

TO PAGE 2

Bus ambushed

FROM PAGE 1

one was stable and four were treated and discharged, said Capt Budhram.

The driver, Mr Philip Dube, drove about 2,5 km after the 5,15 am attack before a punctured tyre forced him to stop. Capt Budhram said Mr Dube's "cool head" might have prevented more casualties.

The bus was carrying 65 passengers to work from Table Mountain to Pietermaritzburg, via the Lion Park.

Police found 13 empty AK-47 cartridges and two shotgun shells. Three unused petrol bombs were also found at the scene.

The motive for the attack was unknown and police were investigating, said Capt Budhram.

The African National Congress' Natal Midlands branch has dismissed as "absolute nonsense" Inkatha Institute allegations that ANC "combatants" had carried out the attack.

Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe, said: "Inkatha knows that the ANC does not have a policy of ambushing innocent commuters in buses. There is no evidence the

ANC is involved and we challenge Inkatha to supply evidence."

Earlier Inkatha Institute spokesman Mr Kim Hodgson, said "people on the ground" were blaming ANC supporters for the attack.

He said most of the commuters were IFP supporters as they were from the Inkatha stronghold of Enkanyezini.

Mr Hodgson said: "Over the past 10 days there have been at least 11 attacks on IFP leaders in which one has been killed and at least three others shot and wounded. In the other attacks, no fewer than 11 other lives, including

those of young children, have been lost."

Mr Hodgson said the attackers in most cases had clearly undergone military training, and the weapons used were frequently associated with Eastern Bloc countries.

IFP Central Committee member, Themba Khosa, called on all IFP office bearers to be alert. The IFP had received reliable information on "hit lists" containing the names of prominent IFP leaders.

"We are aware that IFP office-bearers involved in peace negotiations and Codesa are targeted for assassination," he said. —Sapa.

The Citizen 12/12/92

ANC CALLS FOR A MULTI-PARTY STATE

Plan is
put to
Codesa

THE ANC's constitutional principles were released yesterday, proposing a united, multi-party state in which the diversity of peoples, languages, cultures and religions "shall be acknowledged".

An ANC delegation to

Codesa, headed by its secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, presented the document to a meeting of the group. The ANC's constitutional drafters at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg.

There will be a multiparty democracy with the right to form and join po-

litical parties and with regular elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage on a common voters' roll," the ANC document said.

"Each vote shall be of equal value and in general the basic electoral system shall be that of propor-

tionality.

ANC sets out its plan

FROM PAGE 1

tional representation.

"There shall be a separation of power with appropriate checks and balances."

The ANC said the constitution should also allow for the application of affirmative action "in order to help redress the racial and gender imbalances created by past discrimination".

"Within the context of an undivided South Africa, government will function at national, regional and local levels; the appropriate division and decentralisation shall be such as to encourage non-racial, democratic participation and administration at all levels.

"The diversity of languages, cultures and religions of the people of South Africa shall be acknowledged," the ANC said.

"All shall enjoy universally accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties including freedom of religion, speech and assembly, protected by an entrenched and justifiable Bill of Rights and a legal system that guarantees equality of all before the law.

"South Africa will be a united, democratic, non-

racial and non-sexist state in which sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory," the ANC proposed.

"The constitution will be the supreme law and will be guarded over by an independent, non-racial, non-sexist and impartial judiciary."

The ANC has also proposed that an Interim Government Council, with legislative and executive powers, be appointed by Codesa to oversee the transitional period.

Once elections for a constituent assembly have taken place the ANC proposes two possibilities:

"Either the Interim Government Council continues to function in the agreed manner until the constituent assembly has completed its work and a new Parliament is in place, or the constituent assembly is vested with sovereign powers so that it functions both as a constituent assembly and as a legislature until the new constitution has been adopted."

The ANC said, however, that it was still considering the implications of the suggestion that the constituent assembly be vested with sovereign powers and did not yet have a firm position on

this.

"What concerns us is that the constituent assembly should not be diverted from, or in any way hindered in, achieving its primary purpose, which will be to adopt a new constitution."

The ANC considered it important that the interim government be given a legal form which meant its structures and powers be defined in legislation and the existing constitution be amended where necessary.

The Interim Government Council should have appropriate legislative and executive powers regarding the electoral process, the security forces, the public media, the Budget and "all other action that is considered necessary for proper government during the interim period".

"Our proposal is that an Interim Government Council be appointed by Codesa to co-ordinate and supervise the existing administration, and that the Interim Government Council be vested with legislative and executive functions to be exercised in accordance with procedures and structures to be determined by Codesa."

The proposals emphas-

sised the need for a short transition period, "a matter of months rather than years".

"Above all, the process must not be delayed, and we would be opposed to the adoption of any processes or structures which would have that result."

The proposals said the ANC was firm in its position that the new constitution should be decided on by an elected constituent assembly.

No contentious legislation should be enacted and no contentious executive action should be taken during the period of an interim government.

"We see it as a period during which there should be government by consensus or substantial consensus."

The ANC said there was a possible way in which its proposals and those of some of the other parties could be brought together "so as to meet the purposes we have identified as the essential purposes of an interim government".

"We are willing to explore such possibilities."

The ANC also called for the total dismantling of apartheid legislatures by the time the constituent assembly was established. — Sapa.

• See Page Four.

The Citizen 12/2/92

Nats favour a broad-based

govt

THE National Party supported the expeditious institution of a government broadly representative of the total population, Economic Co-ordination Minister, Dr Dawie de Villiers, has told Codesa.

Addressing Codesa's Working Group Three on transitional arrangements, he acknowledged the government was not representative of all South Africans and the exclusion of a large proportion of citizens generated widespread discontent and prejudice.

He said in a speech on Thursday, but only referred to the Press yesterday, that it was vitally important that a more representative government prevailed during the transitional period.

TO PAGE 2

NP view

FROM PAGE 1

"Such a generally representative government will not only see to the administration of the country, but will also be able to take the lead in further constitutional reform."

The NP also remained committed to strong regional and local government on the basis of constitutionally conferred and enshrined powers and functions.

"We regard sufficient protection of minorities and strong regional and local government as essential prerequisites to sound and stable administration in South Africa."

Dr De Villiers said cosmetic and racially based guarantees would only undermine the legitimacy and political rectitude of the process. — Sapa.

The Citizen 12/2/92

Group agrees on prisoners

A CODESA sub-group reached "sufficient consensus" yesterday about political prisoners, according to delegates.

Codesa's Working Group 1, which has three sub-groups, has been mandated to tackle the issue of free political participation and the role of the international community.

Sub-group 1 met for the first time yesterday at the Codesa headquarters, at

the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg, and dealt with the issue of political prisoners.

Delegates said there had been "sufficient consensus" — as stipulated in Codesa's terms of reference — at the meeting to move away from bilateral agreements, such as between the ANC and the government, on the issue of political prisoners.

It was felt, instead, that the issue should be decid-

ed within a much broader framework, like Codesa.

A delegate noted, however, that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, a member of the government delegation to Working Group 1, had not attended meetings on Monday and yesterday. He said the Working Group had been told Mr Coetsee was ill.

Working Group 1 is scheduled to meet again on Monday. — Sapa.

The Citizen

12/2/92

End violence — ANC, IFP

THE African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party met at Meadowlands, Soweto, yesterday to discuss the area's weekend violence that left nine dead and scores injured.

The two groups called on residents to refrain from any acts of violence and pledged support for

the continued presence of the police and the army in the strife-torn area.

The two groups further appealed to people to cooperate with the security forces.

The emergency meeting was called by the Greater Soweto Dispute Resolution Committee and will reconvene within three days.

There were three cases

of train violence in Johannesburg on Monday.

Two men were injured, one seriously, when they were thrown from trains — one at New Canada Station and the other between Langlaagte and Croesus stations.

At Kaserne-West Station police found the body of a man after two groups had attacked each other.

In Vlakfontein, south of Johannesburg, weekend violence claimed the lives of four people.

Police said a group of six men armed with firearms and spears killed a woman after they entered an Ennerdale truckshop and attacked the occupants. — Sapa.

The Citizen 12/2/92

Quash social aid Bill, says ANC

THE African National Congress has called for the immediate withdrawal of the Social Assistance Bill recently introduced in Parliament — and it intends holding discussions with the Minister of National Health and Population Development.

This was announced at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday at

which Mrs Winnie Mandela read a statement.

Mrs Mandela would not be drawn on action the ANC was considering if talks with the government failed to take place, or were unsatisfactory.

She said, however, the ANC had not been consulted about the Bill and had only learned of plans to introduce it about two weeks ago.

Yesterday Mrs Mandela said that the Bill removed the right to a pension "and replaces it with a system based entirely on the discretion of a director-general".

"The real effect of transforming a right into the subject of a discretion of an individual is to give the government a licence

to fail or refuse to give social grants without adequate explanation."

In terms of the Bill only people with South African citizenship would be eligible for pensions — which would exclude the thousands of homeland citizens who worked or who had lived in South Africa for most if not all of their lives.

At the Press conference Black Sash spokesman Ms Gill de Vlieg said her organisation had written to Health Minister Dr Rina Venter to protest against the Bill.

In her reply, Dr Venter had said she was not aware of any beneficiaries who would be negatively affected by the proposed new law. — Sapa.

The Citizen 12/2/92

Forming sub-groups now Codesa's main task: Barend

THE formation of sub-groups to facilitate the practical implementation of decisions reached by consensus at Codesa must become the immediate task of the Convention for a Democratic SA, says the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis.

In an address yesterday to Working Group 3, which is charged with discussing transitional arrangements, he said the subgroups should also translate divergences in approach into the "greatest possible degree of consensus, or sufficient consensus to proceed".

Mr Du Plessis told the working group it would not succeed in honouring its obligations unless the process was managed to best advantage and

reached agreement on key issues.

The group should establish the exact meaning of terms such as "transitional arrangements" and "transitional government" and ascertain more precisely the rationale for the objectives of such government.

"For instance, whether it is only to exist during a brief interim phase or, whether it is intended to provide the foundation for the evolutionary development of the future constitutional dispensation."

He said the government considered certain issues essential to the creation of successful transitional steps. These in-

cluded representation, legitimacy, constitutionality, the devolution and sharing of power, and the involvement of minorities.

Areas of commonality between delegations' viewpoints had to be urgently identified, especially concerning the executive and legislature at central government level.

"From these would emerge the nucleus around which the composition of interim steps would be formed and it should also define the areas in which further discussions must take the place."

He emphasised that differences in the viewpoints of groups should not be oversimplified.

Some of the delegations had proposed an elected interim government and others that the present government should be re-composed to involve all political groups. Another suggestion was that an interim government be appointed through Codesa.

Mr Du Plessis told delegates the negotiating parties had an obligation during the transitional period to actively encourage and support the maintenance of an effective and motivated administration.

"The essential service provided by the State must function smoothly to ensure an orderly transition to a new dispensation. Most administrative services were not policy orientated and should be maintained at maximum levels of efficiency.

The creation of a climate for free political participation was essential. This would require the termination of political violence and intimidation and the creation of political tolerance.

"To achieve these objectives, it is essential that the uncontrolled availability of arms and explosives be terminated."

— Sapa.

B. Day 12/2/92

KwaZulu link in Trust Feeds trial

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Special constables including some of the accused were brought to the home of KwaZulu Chief Calalakubo Khawula at Hibberdene in an official KwaZulu government vehicle shortly before their arrests last year, the Trust Feeds murder trial yesterday heard.

Khawula, who is an assistant chief whip in the KwaZulu government, testified that when police arrived at his home on July 31 last year, he was under the impression that all the special constables concerned had left, but he invited police to search the premises. One of the accused, Dumnisani Ndwalane, was arrested in a building at the back of the property.

Khawula said four men had been brought to his home by one of the official drivers at Ulundi, a Mr Cele, who asked him to provide accommodation for them.

They travelled in an official vehicle. He could not remember all the names but two accused — Ndwalane and David Khambule — were among them, he said.

Chief Khawula said he had not been

aware that warrants of arrest had been issued for Ndwalane and Khambule.

In his testimony earlier in the trial investigating officer Capt Frank Dutton said Khambule and Ndwalane had alleged that prior to their arrest they were warned by one Cele and Const Malinga of KwaZulu to go into hiding as the Trust Feeds investigation had been reopened. It was alleged they acted on instructions from a Col Mzimela.

The station commander of the KwaZulu Police at Mpumnlanga, Lt M H Mbele, also testified yesterday that all four special policemen, who joined the KwaZulu Police and are now implicated in the Trust Feeds murders, were stationed at Mpumnlanga from July 1989.

No one from the SAP had ever told him they were looking for any of the special constables, Lt Mbele said. Had they done so he would have assisted the SAP to find them.

B. Day

12/2/92

Call for township patrols

THE ANC and Inkatha have asked the SADF and SAP to continue patrolling conflict-ridden Meadowlands after weekend violence left nine dead and more than 20 injured.

Both organisations urged their supporters to co-operate with the security forces.

At a meeting yesterday the ANC, led by PWV regional representative Floyd Mashele, and Inkatha, under regional secretary-general Humphrey Ndlovu, sought the continued presence of troops and police in the area.

A joint statement said their presence was necessary because the situation remained tense.

The attempt by the two parties, under the auspices of the Greater Soweto Dispute Resolution Committee, to bring peace to Meadowlands, was delayed yesterday as

ADRIAN MADLAND

representatives of some local structures did not turn up. Another meeting has been scheduled within the next two days.

Mashele said all parties agreed that hostilities should end. He said some residents claimed the SAP had turned a blind eye during the disturbances. "The SAP should remain but they should serve the whole community," he said.

Police spokesman Lt-Col Tienie Haigryn said there had been no new incidents of violence in Meadowlands yesterday, but most residents had chosen to stay indoors.

Three schools in Meadowlands Zone 1 — Thuteloze High School, Tsweleng and Tshereletso primary schools — were closed yesterday as a result of the conflict.

B. Day 12/2/92

No money for exiles, says hard-up ANC

THE ANC was not a "fatcat organisation" with millions to spare and experienced periodic cash flow problems, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

She said the ANC's offer of a R2 000 payment for each ANC member returning from exile had run into problems and the ANC was battling to pay out the amounts. Some exiles who returned before the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) became involved had not received their payouts.

Marcus said there was a perception that the ANC had millions of rands to spend on

PATRICK BULGER

mansions and other luxuries.

She said this perception was proved by Italian millionaire Marino Chivelli who was reported at the weekend to be broke and attempting to sell the ANC mansions worth R94m.

She said she received calls virtually every week from people wanting to sell the ANC anything from Cape mansions to helicopters and fleets of aeroplanes.

"We are always concerned about money. There is no way we are a fatcat organisation," Marcus added.

She said occasions arose when the ANC experienced cash flow problems and payouts for exiles could not be made from money intended for other ANC activities.

She said the UNHCR's role was to make payments to the exiles. However, the exile repatriation programme was made more difficult by the fact that the exiles were returning to a difficult environment. It was not just the ANC's duty to look after returning exiles but SA society as a whole.

But society was not living up to its responsibility in this regard, she said.

B. Day 12/2/92

ANC and foundation agree on squatter plan

THE Urban Foundation and the ANC are virtually in agreement over what steps should be taken towards solving the PWV's squatter problem.

Both groups have proposed that a PWV region-wide group, comprising all interested parties, be established to discuss problems and solutions.

But a Transvaal Provincial Administration spokesman said yesterday the TPA would stick to its plan to establish working groups in different areas of the region.

In the Urban Foundation's first public statement on the squatter problem since the Zevenfontein issue hit the headlines, executive director Ann Bernstein said yesterday President F W de Klerk, in consultation with his "key Codesa negotiating partners", should appoint a task force to identify land for low-income settlement on the PWV. The task force should be headed by a Supreme Court judge, who would have as his deputies one representative of land-owners and one of the landless.

"Other members should represent additional key stakeholders in the PWV such as local authorities, employers, workers, and developers."

The task force would report back with a plan for the entire region within six months, Bernstein said.

Referring to efforts by the TPA and Randburg Town Council to solve the Zevenfontein problem, Bernstein said identification of land for future urban growth should not be left in the hands of officials.

The TPA's "ad-hoc" policy — it has now

DARIUS SANAI

backtracked twice after proposing first Diepsloot, then Blonbosrand as relocation sites for the 750 Zevenfontein squatter families — would not solve anything.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa would not comment on the Urban Foundation's proposal yesterday, but said the ANC had proposed a "regional planning forum", which would include all interest groups in the area, to discuss the issue.

ANC sources said yesterday the ANC was unlikely to propose a Supreme Court judge to head the forum, but its plan was in other ways similar to the foundation's.

TPA spokesman Piet Wilken would not comment on whether the administration would consider either the foundation's or the ANC's proposal, but said it was forming a group to discuss possible sites for squatters in the North Rand area.

The group would comprise local authorities, Regional Services Councils, residents' associations, Metropolitan Chamber members, and groups representing the homeless, Wilken said. Similar groups would eventually be established in other areas.

Bernstein said the foundation had not been invited to participate in the TPA's working group.

Sapa reports the Standerton Town Council has decided to suspend further negotiations with the TPA after proposals for a new black residential township near Standerton ended in deadlock.

• See Page 10

B. Day 12/2/92

ANC wives abandoned

LUSAKA — More than 100 repatriated ANC members have abandoned their Zambian wives, and the movement is reluctant to grant the women clearance as they might be rejected by their husbands in SA.

The women have complained that ANC authorities are barring them from following their husbands by denying them clearance documents.

However, ANC sources said the organisation was not responsible for arbitrating in marital issues, adding that if the women were repatriated without their husbands' consent it would be difficult to look after them without donor support.

Last week ANC chief representative Japhet Ndlovu told Zambian women and children to register with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees for repatriation as the movement could not maintain them. — Sapa.

B. Day 12/2/92 Venter bows to ANC objections

KATHRYN STRACHAN

NATIONAL Health Minister Rina Venter agreed yesterday to remove two sections from a new Bill governing social pensions, after ANC objections.

The ANC earlier yesterday had slated the new Social Assistance Bill recently introduced by Venter, and called for its immediate withdrawal.

In a statement, the ANC said sections of the Bill would remove the right to social assistance and replace it with a system based entirely on the discretion of the department's director-general.

Venter responded yesterday saying she would comply with the ANC's demands and remove those sections, but said all money granted by any state department was in any case subject to the director-general's approval.

The ANC statement said although the present system of social pensions was far from perfect, it had been accepted that there was a legally enforceable right to such pensions — enforceable when a person reached the stipulated qualifying ages.

"It is both surprising and unacceptable for the present regime to seek to take away, by legislative device, one of the few rights enjoyed by the disadvantaged and economically vulnerable section of our society," the statement said.

"(The ANC) believes this is designed to allow the government to give such grants up to a budgetary figure arbitrarily identified by it — rather than providing the necessary revenue based on the need."

A second "injustice" identified by the ANC, was the introduction of a requirement of SA citizenship before a person could qualify for a pension.

This automatically excluded "citizens" of the TBVC states, even though they might be residents of SA and have made a life-time contribution to the tax base of SA.

If it was taken into account that TBVC states' laws required residence in a particular territory for a person to qualify, then it meant people excluded in the Bill would not be entitled to security anywhere, not in SA, because they were not citizens, and not in the homelands because they were not residents there, the ANC said.

The ANC called for an urgent meeting with Venter to discuss the Bill specifically, as well as the setting up of a

Codesa-type forum in the welfare sector.

Sapa reports that Black Sash spokesman Gill de Vlieg told an ANC news conference yesterday her organisation had written to Venter to protest against the Bill.

De Vlieg said that at present whites received pensions of R304 a month, coloureds and Indians R263 and blacks R225.

She said the Black Sash had recently noticed an increase in the problems of pension payouts.

In some instances identity documents bearing the wrong birth dates were issued.

Or pensioners were not informed that their payments had arrived.

This meant the pensions lapsed after six months and backpay was not paid out, De Vlieg said.

B. Day 12/2/92

King 'has duty to claim land'

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini had to be present at Codesa to put forward land claims on behalf of the Zulu nation, KwaZulu's interior minister E. Sithabe said yesterday.

He was speaking in response to a suggestion in a Natal newspaper that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was prepared to resign from Inkatha to secure the Zulu king's presence at Codesa.

Sithabe said there was no truth in the report of Buthelezi resigning and described it as mischievous and calculated to sow division in Inkatha. Buthelezi was in San Francisco and not available for comment.

Sithabe said Inkatha would insist on the Zulu king being present at Codesa as Inkatha was not exclusively a Zulu organisation.

He said Transkei was claiming a territory south of the Umzimkulu River in Natal.

The claims have strained relations between the two governments.

The ANC has worked out a regional plan

PATRICK BULGER

for SA that would facilitate the reincorporation of the homelands and divide SA into 10 regions.

ANC national executive committee member Mathew Phosa said the ANC opposed land claims being made on the eve of the imminent reincorporation of the homelands.

A Transkei government source said that even when the homelands were reincorporated, SA would still be governed on a regional basis. Transkei was anxious to acquire more land before reincorporation.

Sithabe said King Zwelithini intended pursuing land claims on behalf of the Zulu people.

The KwaZulu government recently took issue with Transkei's claims and said Holomisa was not in a position to claim land on behalf of Transkei because he was not an elected leader and they did not believe he had any mandate to discuss the border issue.

• Comment Page 10

B. Day 12/2/92

COMMENT**Open the talks**

IN constitutional terms, Codesa does not exist. Parliament remains the sovereign forum where South Africa's laws are made and repealed. In reality, though, it is at Codesa — in its plenary sessions and its five working groups — that South Africa's constitutional and political future is being determined.

Parliament has been reduced to a three-day week — like the motor industry in times of slack demand — and soon will do little of substance other than rubber stamp Codesa's decisions. Its other major task, to ensure the constitutional legality of change, will be eventually to vote itself out of existence.

In view of its central role, Codesa should give serious thought to its relationship with the South African public in whose name it is acting. In particular, as it attempts to create an open and democratic South Africa, it is time for Codesa to open its deliberations to public scrutiny.

Its first plenary session was a good start in that it was open to the media and televised. Obviously, though, most of that historic gathering was stage-managed. It was only the unrehearsed parts — like the Mandela-De Klerk confrontation and Inkatha's refusal to sign the declaration of intent — that gave the public a sense of the political cut and thrust associated with open societies.

The situation is now becoming less satisfactory. The Codesa steering committee has been determin-

ing questions of public policy with varying degrees of success. The working groups are beginning to debate issues crucial to us all. Some participants have issued their proposals in public but this has not happened in any methodical way. Apart from unofficial "leaks", debates have been kept secret.

Often there are bland statements apparently designed to conceal conflict and disagreement. A case in point is the work of the subcommittee examining the status of Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders. This issue is important — it could have an effect on whether South Africa remains a republic or becomes a series of regional monarchies. On each issue, the public is entitled to know the arguments about the constitutional and procedural options.

Open government — including open committee meetings and hearings — is standard in many parts of the democratic world. One need look no further than the United States. The argument against open debates is that they encourage grandstanding and discourage compromise. But this assumes an attitude of deceit by political leaders towards their constituents, and an assumption that adult citizens need to be protected from the world of real politics.

The management committee would do well to initiate discussions — in the open — on the best way of enabling the public to keep informed of every step Codesa takes.

B. Day

12/2/92

New ANC X flexibility on interim rule

THE ANC has submitted flexible proposals on an interim government to Codesa which yesterday achieved an unprecedented degree of consensus on a range of issues.

One leading delegate speculated that so much progress had been made by the Codesa working groups that it was conceivable that Codesa negotiations could be completed within six weeks.

The ANC's document, presented at working group 3, states that an interim government is not an end in itself and the organisation will give serious consideration to any structure which will achieve the aims of an interim government.

ANC delegates said they saw a way to consensus on interim arrangements.

The document says the main task of an interim government will be to ensure free and fair elections and that government is conducted in the interim in a way that does not favour any party.

Meanwhile, working group 2, which is concerned with constitutional principles, has drawn up a checklist of items on which agreement has been achieved and on which there is now no need for discussion. About half the principles had been agreed on already, although several sticking points, such as the future of regional government, economic issues and minority rights, still needed to be resolved, delegates said.

Government also made a presentation to the interim government working group, which outlines the principles which should be applied, but does not specify the exact mechanism which should be implemented.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said

TIM COHEN

prerequisites for the creation of a successful transitional mechanism were that it should be fully representative, legitimate and that constitutional and legal instruments should be respected.

He also argued for a devolution and sharing of power and a mechanism which would involve minorities and be subject to an initial bill of rights.

The ANC proposes what amounts to a two-stage interim government, with the first structure being appointed by Codesa and the possibility of a second being elected simultaneously with the elections for a constituent assembly.

The possibility of an elected second stage interim government is a significant convergence with government's position, which calls for an elected interim government. This version is also very close to the DP's and Inkatha's proposals.

The ANC document says an interim government council should be appointed by Codesa to supervise existing administration. This council would be vested with legislative and executive powers to be exercised subject to Codesa.

"No contentious legislation should be enacted, and no contentious executive actions should be taken during this period. We see it as a period during which there should be government by consensus or substantial consensus," the document says.

Once elections had taken place for a constituent assembly, two possibilities could be considered: either the interim

To Page 2

Interim rule

government council would continue, or the constituent assembly could be vested with sovereign powers.

The document emphasises that the main function of the assembly — to adopt a new constitution — should be kept separate.

"There is possibly a way in which our proposals and those of some of the parties ... can be brought together ..."

Sapa reports the ANC's constitutional principles propose a united, multiparty state acknowledging the diversity of languages, cultures and religions.

The document says there should be multiparty democracy with the right to form political parties, and regular elections on

the basis of universal adult suffrage on a common voters' roll. Each vote should have equal value and there should be proportional representation.

"There shall be a separation of power with appropriate checks and balances," the document says. The constitution should also allow alternative action.

"Within the context of an undivided SA, government will function at national, regional and local levels; the appropriate division and decentralisation shall encourage nonracial, democratic participation and administration at all levels."

See Page 3

From Page 1